

**COMMUNIST PARTY
OF VIETNAM**

**5TH NATIONAL
CONGRESS**

POLITICAL REPORT

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1982**

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Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The 5th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam was held in Hanoi from 27 to 31 March 1982.

The Congress reviewed the work done since the 4th National Congress and evaluated the achievements and mistakes made in the process. It brought to light the present economic and social realities of the country. It analyzed the causes of the successes and difficulties. It laid down the main orientations, tasks and objectives for 1981-85 and the 1980s as a whole in the economic and social fields. It detailed the major policies and measures aimed at bringing into full play the country's advantages, overcoming its difficulties, solving the important and urgent problems in socialist construction and national defence, and in strengthening the Party.

These questions were all touched upon in the Political Report of the Central Committee presented by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary General of the Party.

We publish here the full text of that important document.

The years that elapsed between the fourth and the fifth Congresses of our Party were the first of a new stage entered upon by the Vietnamese revolution, with the birth of the independent and unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They were years of economic restoration, change and development, of cultural transformation in the light of the policies set forth by the Party's fourth Congress. They were a period of war to defend the homeland and of struggle against a new enemy, Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. They were a period in which national independence and socialism in our country were further consolidated in close cooperation with the two friendly countries on the Indochinese peninsula, and with the Soviet Union and the world socialist community.

They were exciting and difficult years for the advance of the Vietnamese revolution, a period in which our people won great victories in the defence of the homeland and initial achievements in the rebuilding of our country, in accordance with the testament of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

At present the tasks our Party and people face are extremely heavy. Our fight is still very hard and complex, our enemies are stepping up their hostile

policies against our people; the current economic and social situation presents serious difficulties.

The fifth Congress of the Party will review the implementation of the policies of the fourth Congress, assess the achievements, the shortcomings and the present socio-economic situation, analyze the causes of the successes and difficulties, set forth the strategic tasks of our revolution in the new situation, adopt decisions and measures to bring into play the strong points of our country, take our economy forward over the difficulties, consolidate national defence, maintain security, and ensure an effective defence of the socialist homeland.

PART ONE

GENERAL SITUATION AND TASKS

After the complete victory of our anti-US resistance war in the spring of 1975, our entire people, filled with legitimate pride and new vitality, were moved by a common will to build the socialist Vietnamese homeland.

One prominent success of our Party and people has been the speedy reunification of the country into one state, the establishment of the system of proletarian dictatorship in the whole country and the carrying into effect of policies to speed up in all fields the reunification process, and to bring about national concord from North to South. For the first time, our homeland has achieved real unity on the firm basis of national independence and socialism. All the attempts by imperialism for decades to destroy the unity of our nation and to corrupt the Vietnamese people have met with failure. The U.S. imperialists dreamt of internal rebellions breaking out in our country after their withdrawal. But this has not happened. Political security has been maintained. A first step has been made to promote the working people's right to collective mastery. The overwhelming majority of those who

worked for the other side have become equal members of the national community. Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. The great strength of the reunified country is being brought into play in healing the wounds of war, rehabilitating the economy, building socialism, and has been amply demonstrated in the two wars to defend the country.

We have brought a timely solution to pressing economic problems, speedily started upon the reconstruction of vast rural areas in the South and economic and cultural establishments in the North which were devastated by the war. Millions of people have been given assistance to return to their former homes, reunite with their families, and take part in national construction. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed people in newly liberated areas have been given jobs. Tens of thousands of victims of the depraved way of life and culture under the old regime have been rehabilitated. Production and the people's life have gradually returned to normal.

After thirty years of war, our people have no greater desire than to live in peace, independence and freedom to rebuild the country and their own lives. However, reconstruction had not been going on for long when our nation had to face new and serious trials due to the hostile policy of the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles.

For a long time now, the Chinese leaders have dreamt of dominating Vietnam and the Indochinese peninsula as a whole, so as to pave the way for the materialization of their dream of expansion into Southeast Asia. While helping us to fight against

the U.S. aggressors — which they could not fail to do when the United States was still their enemy — the Chinese reactionaries had gradually made preparations for this perfidious design. After they entered into collusion with the U.S. their expansionist ambitions became increasingly apparent. They occupied the Vietnamese Hoang Sa (Paracels) Islands. They attempted to perpetuate the partition of our country, and tried to prevent our people from overthrowing the Saigon puppet administration and completely liberating South Vietnam from U.S. domination. After our people's victory in 1975, the Chinese reactionaries have been even more brazenly hostile towards Vietnam. They regard an independent, unified and socialist Vietnam as a major obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonic designs in Southeast Asia.

In their strategic calculations, the Chinese reactionaries intended to weaken Vietnam in all respects, and eventually to conquer our country with a two-pronged attack, up from the South and down from the North. They embarked on this scheme soon after our country had emerged from the anti-US resistance, still scarred and confronted with countless postwar difficulties. They incited Pol Pot to widen and intensify the war along the southwestern border of our country in an attempt to invade large areas from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, to create an opportunity for the reactionaries inside southern Vietnam to rebel and overthrow the revolutionary power. In co-ordination with these activities, China staged incidents involving Overseas Chinese, cut off aid,

withdrew its experts, tried by every means to cause us political and economic difficulties, and increased military pressure along our northern borders and in the Eastern Sea.

The Chinese leaders' hegemonic dream regarding Vietnam became increasingly obvious to our Party during the years of resistance against U.S. aggression. Nevertheless, proceeding from our policy of keeping good neighbourly relations with China and preserving peace for national construction, we took the initiative of proposing negotiations with China to resolve the disputes bequeathed by history. However, the Chinese rulers refused to enter into serious negotiations with us. Regarding the border conflicts started by Pol Pot, we also tried patiently and by every means to reach a peaceful settlement. However, with the aim of dominating our country, China incited Pol Pot to reject all our proposals and to intensify his war of encroachment on Vietnamese territory, causing great human and material losses to our compatriots in the southwestern border areas. Realizing the schemes of our new enemy and our historic mission to face and defeat Chinese big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, our army and people, in the light of the Resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, made preparations to cope with a possible war of aggression by China in the north while dealing a fitting riposte to the war of aggression waged in the South by Pol Pot clique under orders of their boss. At the same time, we strongly supported the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and

the Kampuchean people in their endeavour to liberate their country and save the Khmer nation from genocide.

Early in 1979, the Chinese reactionaries openly started a large-scale war involving 600,000 troops along the whole length of our northern border. With this criminal move, the reactionary group in Chinese ruling circles showed themselves as a direct and dangerous enemy of our people, and also as a very wicked international reactionary force threatening national independence, peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. They revealed to the whole world their true colours as counter-revolutionaries, proponents of great-Han expansionism and hegemonism, enemies of socialism and national independence, entertaining the mad dream of becoming a centre of world domination.

With our nation's traditional courage and staunchness, bringing into play the might of socialist collective mastery, our heroic armed forces together with our people in the northern border provinces, and with our people in the northern border provinces, and with the dedicated backing of the whole country, put up a gallant fight, defeated the aggressors, and compelled them to a shameful retreat.

The victory of the two wars to defend the homeland is one of great historic significance. Our people have inflicted an initial defeat on the wicked schemes of the reactionary ruling circle of China authorities, safeguarded independence, freedom and

socialism in Vietnam, fulfilled their international duty to the fraternal peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, and actively defended national independence and peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. By their victory, they have helped strengthen the three revolutionary currents of our time and the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism and reaction for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Through this fight, our Party and people have sharpened their vigilance against further treachery by the reactionaries in Chinese leadership. At the same time, events have shown that however truculent, cruel and perfidious the new enemy is, our people have the spiritual and material strength to fight and defeat them if they venture to start another war of aggression against our country.

Parallel to, and associated with, the victory won in the war to defend the country, we have strengthened the alliance of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries which are now closer than ever before. We have also stepped up solidarity and co-operation with the Soviet Union, joined COMECON, and broadened our co-operation with the other socialist countries. *These achievements of strategic significance* are a guarantee of paramount importance for our people in the successful building of socialism and the defence of Vietnam.

On the economic front, our people have recorded noteworthy achievements. We have striven hard to overcome the heavy aftermath of the wars of aggression and consecutive natural calamities. In

the main, the war-ravaged establishments in agriculture, industry, communications and transport have now been restored; production has developed in a number of fields. An initial effort has been made to redistribute social labour. Thanks to continuing efforts in grain and foodstuffs production, we have staved off famine in the areas heavily affected by natural calamities. Although the working people's living standards are still low, there have been improvements in some respects in many rural areas.

The new relations of production in the North have continued to be consolidated. In the South, the socialist transformation has scored initial results. The compradore bourgeoisie has been eliminated; a part of capitalist industry and trade has been transformed. Small industry, handicrafts and small trade are being reorganized. A section of the peasants in the Mekong delta have been organized into production collectives; the southern centre provinces have completed in the main the task of collectivization.

The production capacity of various economic branches has been further increased. With rehabilitation and reclamation work, and efforts to multiply crops, the acreage under cultivation has increased by nearly 2 million hectares. We have supplied agriculture with an additional 18,000 tractors of various types, raising the proportion of mechanized tilling to 25 per cent of the total cultivated area. Agricultural production has progressed particularly since 1979. The afforested area has reached 580,000 hectares.

The production capacity in industry has been supplemented by a further increase of 100,000kw of electric power, 2 million tonnes of cement. Many projects under construction will be brought into operation during the 1981-85 period such as cement works, power plants, motor engineering plants, ship building and repair works, sugar refineries, paper mills, spinning mills, etc. In communications and transport, we have restored or built nearly 1,700 kilometres of railways, 3,800 kilometres of roads, 30,000 metres of bridges, 4,000 metres of wharves, and acquired additional means of transportation. The fixed assets of the State in 1980 marked an increase of 10.2 thousand million dong over the 1976 figures.

We have recorded economic achievements in extremely difficult conditions. At the same time, we have to admit to many shortcomings and mistakes in this field. Therefore, results are still low in comparison with requirements and do not correspond to the efforts made or to the money invested. However, in the context of the past five years, we affirm the important significance of these achievements.

The Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee, Resolution No 26 of the Political Bureau and the new policies adopted by our Party and State in the economic field have helped to create a new drive and new progress in production. In the whole country, there are good trends in agriculture. In State-run industry a number of enterprises have emerged with high economic efficiency. Small

industry and handicrafts have also improved. The State's economic management, which has begun to take a more satisfactory direction, is creating new positive factors, and opening up the prospect of a better exploitation of the existing and latent possibilities to overcome difficulties and bring the economy forward in the coming years.

The cultural field has scored many achievements

Education has continued to develop. In the newly liberated areas, illiteracy has been liquidated in the main. In our country, nearly 16 million people, i.e., about one-third of the population, are attending classes. The creation of a new culture has been going on in the whole country. The southern provinces have done much to eliminate the old regime's legacy of reactionary, backward, depraved culture. Literary and artistic work has achieved some progress. In public health, physical education and sports, we have made efforts to move ahead. The scientific and technological branches have done a good job in a number of areas of the economy and national defence. Both in the fight to defend the homeland and in the work to build a new life, many examples have arisen of groups and individuals typical of the style and ethics of the new, socialist people.

All the great revolutionary achievements which our people have recorded through blood and sweat over half a century of struggle under the Party's leadership have been given an expression in the

new constitution. That is the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the constitution of the transitional period to socialism. The new constitution has institutionalized the Party's line of socialist revolution and the working people's right to collective mastery, giving our people an important prop, a sharp weapon to carry on the building and defence of the new society.

The past five years will go down in our nation's history as a period of great victories for the Vietnamese revolution. Overcoming countless difficulties, our people have taken the Vietnamese revolution forward to a new strategic position, more assured than before, and created better opportunities for the defence of the homeland and the successful building of socialism.

These victories are due to the leadership of our Party, a Party founded and steered by President Ho Chi Minh, faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the nation's destiny and the people's cause. They bear out the correctness of the policies charted by the Party's Fourth Congress and of the resolutions of its Central Committee. In the serious situation confronting the country faced with a new enemy, our Party has issued resolute and clear-sighted strategic options, and correct and timely decisions to *take our revolution over an important turning point and ensure its continued development in the right direction.*

The victories we have won in the past stage have once again highlighted the fine qualities of our

nation and of our people's armed forces. Over hundreds of years, our nation has never submitted to brute force. Since the August (1945) Revolution, several generations have succeeded one another in fighting aggression to save the country. Our people did not enjoy peace for long before they were confronted with a new aggression. In response to the call of the Party, our people, old and young, men and women, in the North and in the South, in the plains and in the highlands and our army have once again closed ranks, accepted hardship and sacrifice, put up a resolute fight to defend the territory of the homeland and extended whole-hearted assistance to their comrades and neighbours in danger. The determination of our people — workers, peasants and intellectuals, and of the people's armed forces, also shines in the daily struggle to overcome postwar difficulties and the trials encountered in the first stage of the advance to socialism. Great indeed are the heroic Vietnamese people!

Our Congress warmly commends our compatriots from all ethnic groups in the country together with all cadres and soldiers of the people's army, police, militia and self-defence corps who fought heroically in the two wars to defend our country, writing another chapter in the history of our country's struggle for independence and freedom. Night and day they defend our borders, territory, air space, territorial waters and offshore islands, preserving political security, public order and safety. Our

Congress thanks all strata of working people who have made constant efforts in economic and cultural rehabilitation, transformation and development, and who are tirelessly striving to overcome difficulties and ensure the country's continued advance along the socialist path.

Our victories in the current fight for defence and national construction are inseparably linked to the co-operation and active aid of the Soviet Union, the special solidarity with Laos and Kampuchea, the wholehearted support of the other socialist countries the sympathy and support of the world's revolutionary and peace forces.

From this rostrum, our Congress expresses our Party and people's most sincere and profound gratitude towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State, headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, towards the Soviet people who have been extending to our people all-round and effective assistance.

We express our warm feelings and deep gratitude to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, our comrades-in-arms who have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with us for several decades now against the common enemy; and who, together with us, are carrying aloft the banner of independence, freedom and socialism.

We express our heart-felt gratitude to the other fraternal socialist countries which have extended to our people's just cause a great and valuable assistance.

We warmly thank all our friends in the world who have been standing at our people's side and generously supporting us.

Over the past five years, besides successes and achievements, there have been great many difficulties, and on the economic front our country is now confronted with many acute problems. The results of the implementation of the economic plans in the five years 1976-80 have not reduced the serious imbalances in our national economy. Production rises slowly while the population increases quickly. The national product is not in a position to meet the needs of social consumption; part of social consumption must be taken from loans and aid, and the economy is not able to create accumulation. There are shortages of food, clothing materials, and other essential consumer goods. Great shortages exist in the supply of energy and materials, in communications and transport. Many enterprises operate below capacity. There are still great disparities between financial revenues and expenditures, goods and money, exports and imports. Markets and prices are unstable. There are still large numbers of people who are not employed. The livelihood of the working people, especially workers, public servants and peasants in areas affected by natural disasters or enemy destructions, is fraught with difficulties

in the economic and cultural life, in the way of life and public safety, there have been prolonged negative manifestations; in some respects, the socialist positions have been encroached upon by capitalist and non-socialist factors.

The root cause of the difficulties in the economy and daily life is the following: our economy is still primarily one of small production, and moreover suffers from the heavy aftermath of prolonged war and the vestiges of colonialism. Of the past five years, nearly three were spent in wars for national defence; new destructions occurred while the old wounds had not been healed; great natural disasters happened in quick succession; the enemy permanently engages in sabotage activities of various kinds. Our economy has simultaneously to meet three pressing basic requirements to satisfy the needs of national defence, to ensure the people's livelihood, and to build step by step the material and technological foundations of socialism. In these circumstances, difficulties and imbalances are unavoidable.

On the other hand, the difficulties have also stemmed from shortcomings and mistakes of the Party and State, from central down to grassroots levels, in economic leadership and management and in the running of our society. In certain fields, the shortcomings and mistakes in leadership and management have been the main causes leading to, or aggravating, the economic and social difficulties of the past years. The resolutions of various Central

Committee plenums have pointed out those shortcomings and mistakes.

Our Party's Fourth Congress, proceeding from an analysis of the leading features of our country, put forward correct general and economic policies, which reflected the laws governing the period of transition from small production to socialism in our country. However, during the five years 1976-80, there were shortcomings and mistakes in our grasping and understanding the actual situation, in concretizing and implementing the Party's policies. We have also shown very great shortcomings and made many mistakes in organizing and directing their implementation, which includes planning and management.

We failed to fully realize the difficulties and complexities of the advance to socialism from a primarily small production economy; we failed to fully realize the dimensions of the economic and social upheavals following a prolonged war; we failed to fully appreciate the difficulties and complexities in overcoming our weaknesses in economic and social management; we failed to fully foresee international developments which were unfavourable in some respects. As a result, we have shown subjectiveness and hastiness in setting a number of targets too high and too hasty concerning capital construction and production development, especially at the outset. Hastiness is also apparent in our organizing too large co-operative farms in some regions, in our planning and starting the construction of a number of projects while badly lacking data from surveys and adequate preparations.

On the other hand, we have shown utmost conservatism and slackness. Many Party and State bodies from central down to grassroots levels did not strictly or fully carry out the policies of the Fourth Congress and many resolutions of the Central Committee. They did not correctly assess the strong points and the potentialities, especially the existing potentialities of the country in terms of labour, land, forest and sea resources, material and technical facilities, branches and trades turning out consumer goods and export items. They lacked the determination and the will to ponder over how to bring into play these strong points and potentialities. We have maintained for too long the mechanism of administrative, bureaucratic management based on the State-financing system, we have been slow in changing those policies and regulations which hindered production. There is a very strong tendency of reliance on others in production activities and economic management.

Subjectiveness, hastiness, conservatism and slackness, which are all shortcomings and mistakes in carrying out the Party's policies, stem in the final analysis from failure to really grasp the laws governing the transition from small production to large-scale socialist production underlying the Party's policy, to fully grasp the realities, and from lack of economic knowledge. The shortcomings and mistakes in carrying out the Party's policies showed up in the adoption of irrational economic and investment structures in the failure to adequately conduct

planning at all central, local and grassroots levels, to pay due attention to planning from the grassroots, to link planning with cost-accounting and socialist business operations, to attach proper importance to productivity, quality and efficiency. The shortcomings and mistakes also showed up in the lack of attention to bringing into play the combined strength of all factors to bear on overall and economic policy; especially in the failure to bring into play the strength of the working people's collective mastery, and of the mechanism of Party leadership, people's mastery and State management, to achieve a good combination of the three revolutions, and to initiate a wide and far-reaching revolutionary mass movement.

In organizing the implementation, our shortcomings and mistakes lie in bureaucracy, divorce from realities, lack of sensitiveness to life, conservatism, slackness, lack of responsibility in economic and social management.

The ideological and cultural front has been neglected. The education of Party members and the masses about the struggle between the two paths has not been given due attention. In the struggle against psychological warfare, reactionary ideologies, depraved culture, our ideological and cultural work lacked incisiveness and militancy.

There have been delays in strengthening socialist legality; law and discipline have been relaxed. The struggle against law-breaking and social evils has not been resolute and thorough-going.

Party building work has been marked by prolonged slackness in some respects, and has failed to keep abreast of the new tasks, especially those related to economic transformation and construction. In particular, cadre work has suffered from great slowness and conservatism in all respects: training, assignments, employment and remuneration.

The above-mentioned shortcomings and mistakes prove that on a number of problems, we have failed to hold firmly enough to proletarian dictatorship whose comprehensive content was detailed in the Resolution of the Party's Fourth Congress. These are very serious shortcomings and mistakes. The Central Committee undertakes severe self-criticism before the Congress, and proposes that after the Congress there should be a drive of profound self-criticism and criticism in the Party, in State bodies at all levels, and that effective measures be taken to correct these shortcomings and mistakes.

The past five years have been a particularly significant period not only because of their important historic events. Their special value also lies in the useful experiences accumulated by our Party. All the above-mentioned qualities, shortcomings and weaknesses should be pondered over and analyzed by the whole Party, and necessary lessons should be drawn so as to further improve and heighten the Party's leadership and the State's management, and ensure the fulfilment of the tasks of the revolution in the period ahead.

After more than half a century of activity, our Party has devoted a major part of its attention and effort to the task of national liberation. In the past six years its historic mission has been and is still to lead our people in successfully building socialism, taking our country forward along the path to progress and development while constantly defending the homeland and ensuring a lasting independence for our nation and an ever happier life for our people.

However, our socialist revolution unfolds in a complex international context. The bellicose forces of imperialism, headed by the U.S., and the Chinese expansionists are working hand in glove to rally their forces against the world revolutionary movement, especially the Soviet Union and the socialist community. In Southeast Asia, the Chinese reactionaries and imperialist forces direct their attacks against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

At present, the Chinese reactionaries, aided and abetted by the United States are waging a war of sabotage against Vietnam on the military, political, economic and cultural fronts, using various means and resorting to very wicked tricks. The enemy position troops close to our northern borders, provoke limited armed conflicts, encroach upon our border areas; at the same time, they make active preparations for a large-scale war of aggression. Through psychological warfare and espionage, they seek to undermine us politically, ideologically and organizationally, to sow division among the various ethnic groups, to drive a wedge between the people

and the Party; they covertly rally the reactionary forces, organize opposition activities in an attempt to foment disturbances and subversion. They engage in economic sabotage, try to undermine production, connive with the imperialists in pursuing their embargo, and spread reactionary, depraved culture. They attempt by every means to tarnish the image of Vietnam in a bid to isolate our country in the international arena. Along with its anti-Vietnamese policy, China also colludes with the United States, helps gather together reactionary stooges, and entices ASEAN countries to oppose the revolution in Kampuchea and Laos. All these hostile actions are part and parcel of China's strategy against national independence and socialism in Vietnam and in the other Indochinese countries, a strategy designed to weaken and eventually to dominate our country and this region as a whole.

Thus our country is now in a situation wherein *it enjoys peace while having to face a war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists acting hand-in-glove with the US imperialists, and at the same time, to stand ready to cope with the possibility of a large-scale aggression by the enemy.*

Proceeding from this situation, in the new stage of the revolution, our entire people and army under the Party's leadership must closely unite and strive to carry out two, strategic tasks:

First, to build socialism successfully.

Second, to stand ready to defend the homeland.

These two strategic tasks are closely related. It is only by building socialism with effective practical results and making our country stronger in all respects and in all circumstances that we can find enough strength to defeat any war of aggression started by the enemy, and effectively defend our homeland. Conversely it is only by strengthening national defence, defeating the enemy's war of sabotage, and constantly ensuring the defence of the country that we can build socialism successfully.

"All for the socialist homeland, for the happiness of the people!" Such is the motto of our Party, people and army, the lofty mission that all Vietnamese from now on must assume before the nation.

While carrying out these two strategic tasks, we must seek to strengthen our militant solidarity and broaden our co-operation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, with the other socialist countries, and extend constant support to the struggle of the peoples of all countries against imperialism and reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. That is an international obligation of our people, and also a task of strategic significance, which has a bearing on the vital interests of independence, freedom and socialism in our country and on the Indochinese peninsula, on peace and stability in Southeast Asia and peace in the world.

The task of maintaining *combat-readiness to defend the homeland* requires permanent vigilance against the war schemes of the reactionaries in the

Chinese leadership and of the bellicose imperialist forces; it requires the mobilization of our entire Party, people and army to *resolutely defeat the enemy's war of sabotage, and also to keep the country constantly prepared to defeat the enemy in any emergency.*

To meet this requirement, we must develop an *all-round, modern, national defence by the whole people* on the basis of strengthening the working people's collective mastery in all fields. We must cater for the people's material and cultural life, maintain political security public order and social safety, strengthen the people's political and moral will, step up the solidarity of the various ethnic groups and the links between the army and the people. We must closely combine economy with national defence gradually developing the defence industry as we strengthen the economic potential of the country. These are key elements in achieving the defence of the homeland.

It is necessary to *build the people's armed forces* around the concept of people's war and national defence by the entire people, this includes main force and local troops in a balanced and integrated structure involving both standing army and reserve forces, with the required numbers and improved quality; top importance is to be attached to building a strong militia and self-defence corps, especially in border areas. The various categories of forces are to form closely linked mobile forces and on-the-spot forces to achieve a complete mastery of the ground

and to launch powerful offensives. We must strive to improve the country's defences, to ensure that the entire country and each locality stand prepared and able to take initiatives in any emergency. We must in particular improve our leadership, and build the northern border provinces and the Central Highland provinces into secure areas with a firm political base, a developed economy and culture, powerful popular armed forces capable of providing their own logistics.

We must continue to achieve *good results in the drive to build our army* into a people's revolutionary army possessing determination, strict discipline, good behaviour, increasingly higher standards as a modern regular army, a constantly improved state of combat-readiness, and fulfilling all the tasks assigned by the nation.

We must take greater care of the material and spiritual life of the troops, consolidate the close relationship between the army and the people; ensure that the policies concerning the families of fallen soldiers, war invalids and soldiers in active service are properly implemented. We must organize an appropriate and effective participation of the army in productive labour and economic construction. Deep and wide education work is to be undertaken to give the people and the youth a clear understanding of the law on military service so that they are prepared to join the armed forces and to steel themselves into new, socialist people.

To ensure political security and public order is a task of paramount importance to defeat the enemy's war of sabotage. We must resolutely suppress the counter-revolution, foil in time the plans of the reactionaries to make a comeback, detect and punish sabotage activities in all fields, enforce law and discipline more vigorously preserve the order of society and the safety of the people.

To carry out this task properly, we must *build up the people's police force* which must be unblemished and strong in all respects, and truly constitute a sharp instrument of the State of proletarian dictatorship, absolutely loyal to the homeland, the Party, and the people. We need full-time modern regular forces, which must be politically sound, professionally competent, with good scientific-technical standards, and suitably equipped. The people's police forces must also possess strong, part-time forces and a wide mass basis to ensure a good all-round performance.

We must coordinate the activities of all branches, departments, mass organizations, forces, armed forces units under the leadership of the Party Committees to fight the enemy's war of sabotage; to achieve good coordination between the police, the prosecution, and the judiciary in enforcing the law; to achieve good coordination between the police, the people's army, militia, self-defence corps, and the people in the maintenance of political security, public order and social safety.

In particular, in border areas and minority-populated regions, patient efforts must be made to mobilize the masses to enable our countrymen to clearly identify the enemy. Resolute and timely action is required to foil the enemy attempts to sow division among the various ethnic groups, instigate violent disturbances, and provoke troubles. We must ensure that unity and equality among the various ethnic groups is preserved, step up socialist transformation and construction with a view to raising the material and cultural living standards of our compatriots from all ethnic groups.

Our Congress highly appreciates the contributions of the people's army, the police, the militia and self-defence corps which have been fighting for over thirty years now under the banner of the Party. The people's armed forces will forever remain a trusted instrument of the State of proletarian dictatorship in the defence of the homeland and the preservation of our revolutionary gains.

While not slackening for a moment in the task of consolidating national defence and defending the homeland, our Party and people should also give priority to *the task of building socialism*. This is not only because socialism is our goal, but also because socialism and the strength of the socialist system are guarantees for our homeland's independence and freedom.

Our Congress maintains the line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy mapped out by the Fourth Party Congress.

The line of socialist revolution is: "To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, promote the right to collective mastery of the working people; carry out three revolutions simultaneously: the revolution in relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the scientific and technological revolution is the kingpin; step up socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the period of transition to socialism; establish the system of socialist collective mastery, build socialist large-scale production, develop a new culture and a new socialist people; abolish the regime of human exploitation, do away with poverty and backwardness; unceasingly uphold vigilance, constantly consolidate national defence, maintain political security and social order; successfully build the Vietnamese homeland into a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist country; actively contribute to the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The line of building a socialist economy is: "To step up socialist industrialization, build the material and technological foundations of socialism, and take our country's economy from small 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, build industry and agriculture in the whole country into an agro-industrial 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 the productive forces with the setting up and perfecting of new relations of production; combine the economy with national defence; strengthen the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and at the same time, develop our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty, and mutual benefit; turn Vietnam into a socialist country with a modern industry and agriculture, and advanced culture, science and technology, sound national defence, and a civilized and happy life."

These overall and economic lines constitute a single, integrated whole, out of which arise some problems requiring special attention, namely: *how to hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, promote the right to collective mastery of the working people, and carry out socialist industrialization.*

Taken together these lines constitute an application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, and the concretization of Lenin's thesis on the possibility of advancing to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

The overall line and the economic line in socialist construction guide all the activities of our Party,

people and army throughout the transitional period. All along this revolutionary process, we must maintain a correct understanding of these lines, put them into practice, and base ourselves on them to work out socio-economic strategies, development plans, policies and major decisions for the whole country and for each specific branch and field of activity, in keeping with the specific historical conditions of the country and the needs and possibilities of our people in each stage.

The stage ahead, which includes the five-year period 1981-85 and stretches up to 1990, is a period of special importance.

We are building socialism in a complex international situation with our country confronting serious difficulties, and *an acute struggle going on between the socialist and the capitalist paths*. We must realize that the building of socialism is in many respects a new task about which we do not have much experience. We do not try to conceal our shortcomings and mistakes, but some of these will require time to be overcome.

On the other hand, we enjoy very great assets. Over the past five years, our whole Party organizations at all levels and Party cadres and members have become more experienced. The Party, realizing its qualities, shortcomings and weaknesses more clearly, understanding policy more thoroughly and the realities more concretely, and armed with the

determination to correct shortcomings and mistakes, is sure to gradually find correct and effective solutions so as to bring about a turn for the better.

Our system is in its very nature a superior one. Our people are heroic, intelligent and creative, they thoroughly understand the difficulties of the country, they are undaunted in fighting and industrious in productive labour.

In national defence, we have got powerful forces, better defence positions and more experience than before. In economic management, changes in the right direction have begun to appear; a new spirit and new factors are gradually rolling back the negative manifestations in production.

One great advantage is that we possess ample unused productive capacities such as labour, land, industries, trades, and existing technical facilities, together with new productive capacities which will soon be added; we also enjoy all-round co-operation and assistance from the Soviet Union and the other members of COMECON, and of Laos and Kampuchea.

The stage ahead is one of continuing socialist construction and socialist transformation, further strengthening the political and moral determination of the people, reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the people's living conditions, halting and eliminating negative manifestations, achieving important progress in all fields,

creating a new balance in the economy, and at the same time, preparing for stronger strides forward in the next stage. Our Party should lead the whole people in making use of all existing and latent possibilities, closely combining political, economic, cultural and social activities at all levels, in all branches, creating a powerful revolutionary movement involving wide sections of the people, putting to work the creativeness and noble qualities of the working people, bringing into play the combined strength of the socialist collective mastery system.

In the political field, we should consolidate and bring into action the system of Party leadership, people's mastery and State management in the whole country and in each branch, each region, each unit. We should strictly observe the new Constitution, strengthen legality, preserve political security, public order and social safety, heighten vigilance, strive hard to defeat the enemy's war of sabotage, continue to consolidate national defence, and stand ready to defend the homeland.

In the economic field, we should combine economic development, organisation and transformation, and in particular concentrate our forces on the development of agriculture, taking it a step further towards large-scale socialist production in a rational agro-industrial structure combining right from the outset agriculture, consumer goods production and heavy industry. In this way, we shall meet the

immediate requirements of the people and national defence, and overcome the economic difficulties and imbalances, create accumulation from within the economy, and prepare to step up socialist industrialization.

In the ideological and cultural field, we should step up the movement for a new culture and a new people, in close connection with revolutionary requirements and in keeping with economic possibilities, thereby boosting the new system and the new economy. We must intensify the struggle to do away with old social evils, vestiges of the neo-colonialist culture, and all influences of reactionary ideology and culture.

The decisive factor for successfully carrying out socialist construction and national defence lies in raising our Party's leading ability and strengthening its fighting capacity. We must strive to build up a really strong and unblemished Party with increasing competence in economic and cultural leadership. We must ensure that every Communist Party member is an outstanding militant of the working class and the nation, truly standing at the fore-front of the struggle, setting examples, and enjoying the trust and affection of the masses. Acting upon the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, our Party must always be worthy of being "the leader and loyal servant of the people," the organizer of the successes of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.

PART TWO

MAIN SOCIO-ECONOMIC TASKS FOR THE FIVE YEARS 1981-1985 AND THE EIGHTIES AS A WHOLE

The experience of the five years 1976-80 spells out the need to put into practice the Party's lines — the overall line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy in our country — and to map out a *socio-economic strategy for the first stage of socialist industrialization*. To lay the basis for such a strategy, this Congress must define the economic and social objectives together with the main policy measures to achieve them.

Basing ourselves on the Party's policies and proceeding from the present state of our national economy, we define *the overall economic and social objectives of the eighties* as follows:

1. To meet the most pressing and essential requirements of everyday life, gradually stabilizing, and eventually improving to some extent the people's material and cultural livelihood. First of all, we must end the grain and foodstuffs shortage, and make efforts to meet the requirements in clothing,

study, medical care, housing, transport, child care, and other essential consumer needs.

2. To continue building the material and technological infrastructure of socialism, with the emphasis on boosting agriculture, consumer goods production and exports, while at the same time improving the technical basis of the other economic branches, and making preparations for a more vigorous development of heavy industry in the next stage.

3. To complete the socialist transformation in the southern provinces; to continue perfecting the socialist relations of production in the North; and to consolidate the socialist relations of production in the whole country.

4. To meet the requirements of national defence and to maintain security and order.

Implementing these four overall objectives requires a fundamental change in the present state of our economy:

First, the gross national product must expand in order to meet the demands of social consumption and ensure accumulation from within the economy, both of which tasks it fails to achieve at present.

Second, the gross national product must improve in both volume and structure from the present position where it remains too low and unbalanced, in order to meet an important part of the country's needs, including the import of articles unavailable or in short supply at home, to be paid with the income from exports.

To bring about a fundamental change in the present state of the economy, we must create new productive forces and improve social labour productivity, even in the absence of a developed industrial base. To this end, we must *carefully decide which economic and social policy measures to adopt.*

1. The first and most decisive factor is *a correct combination of industry and agriculture.*

Our most valuable asset is *labour*; the greatest potential resource which can be immediately tapped and which is also the most labour-intensive, is the *land* (including the forests and the sea); a large productive capacity is available in the *local industries and trades* (including side-line occupations in the countryside, handicrafts, small industries, and consumer goods industries) which have plenty of scope to expand and which can employ a large labour force. Our main mobilizing strength lies in *the socialist collective mastery system* which makes it possible to combine social labour with land, to ensure a vigorous expansion of local industries and trades, and to rapidly create new productive forces.

Thus the most important task, which can and must come first is to *achieve collective mastery in the interest of a rational and effective use of labour and land, and a vigorous expansion of local industries and trades* at all points of production, in every locality, and throughout the country; the purpose is to provide jobs for all working people, to exploit all available land, to develop all branches and trades in both quantity and scope, to achieve

better social labour productivity, a higher gross national product, and a wider variety of products. To this end, we must concentrate our forces on a vigorous development of agriculture, *take it a further step towards large-scale socialist production* in a structure closely combining agriculture, consumer goods industries, and heavy industry.

Taking agriculture a step further towards large-scale socialist production in the eighties requires the following main orientations:

Firstly, agricultural production work and the distribution of agricultural produce must proceed in accordance with the plans of the whole country. Under these plans, agriculture must strive to fulfil three tasks: to ensure food supplies for the whole of society, to supply agricultural produce as raw materials for consumer goods industries, and to create an important source of export items. The use of labour and land must be geared toward intensive cultivation, crop specialization and overall diversification in order to expand crops, livestock breeding, food processing, and other branches and trades in the countryside. Rational and scientifically based decisions must be taken regarding the structure of crops, livestock, local industries and trades to put both agricultural and forest lands to maximum use, so that the environment is well protected, every hectare of land is exploited with high economic effectiveness, and all local industries and trades can yield high incomes. A rational division of labour must be achieved in each establishment

and each locality to spur intensive farming and crop multiplication. At the same time, the work force must be redistributed on a nation-wide scale to expand farming areas with the same zeal as in the fight against the enemy, under close guidance, and following practical plans drawn up on the basis of past experiences in land clearance to ensure their effectiveness. We must strive to reclaim within three five-year plans all ten million hectares of agricultural land and fifteen million hectares of forest land, and to grow an average of two crops a year on arable land.

Secondly, step up the scientific and technological revolution in agriculture, actively build material and technical facilities, and make further advances in modernizing agriculture. Step up the building of water conservancy projects, both for irrigation and drainage; improve the soil and equip the land, widely applying achievements in biology to crops and stockbreeding; broaden the use of chemicals; make the most available sources of organic fertilizers while trying by every means to secure more chemical fertilizers and improve our performance in the fight against pests and epizootic diseases; mechanize agriculture in a way suitable to each locality, properly combining mechanized means with manual methods and semimechanized means, in order to maximize economic effectiveness; develop the processing industry, ensure good storage and timely transportation. To this end, we must bring into play our country's material and intellectual

potentialities especially in heavy industry, and at the same time import technical equipment unavailable or lacking at home, to be paid for by exports.

Thirdly, complete the socialist transformation of agriculture in a correct manner. Strive to perfect the cooperatives and production collectives, raise the quality of the collective economic sector, encourage the development of the household economy in the right direction. Achieve a steady development of the State sector in appropriate areas, expand in crop plants and animals for breeding, and develop suitable outlets for agriculture. Stress the consolidation of the State farms whose productivity, quality and effectiveness are to be increased, to make them true models of production and management. Establish and broaden socialist economic relations between the State and cooperatives, production collective, and individual peasants and relations between industry and agriculture, town and country. This will be achieved through State plans, economic contracts, State purchase of agricultural produce and sale of industrial articles, and various forms of production and business association.

Fourthly, the district will become the main level carrying out the three previous orientations. The grassroots of the district's economic structure is made up of cooperatives, agricultural production collectives, small industrial enterprises, and includes State farms, district afforestation centres, and other production units. We must actively build the districts by combining agriculture and industry (or

forestry, agriculture and industry, or fishery, agriculture and industry depending on the specific conditions of each district) that is to say, take the district as the basic unit for the division of labour and reorganization of production, put labour land forest and sea to good use, introduce intensive farming, crop specialization, expand crops and stockbreeding, develop local industries and trades. Finally we must reorganize the association of cooperative farms, handicraft units, small industrial establishments, and other production units jointly set up by the cooperatives, along with a number of State-run production establishments, technical stations, equipment stores, exchange counters purchasing agricultural produce and selling consumer goods. The economic structure of each district will be shaped by its economic conditions, its choice of production activities, specialization and trading links, and by the requirements and possibilities of the cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives. At the same time, building the district's economic structure must be linked to the provincial and national programmes of economic development. On the other hand, building the district cannot be divorced from building and strengthening the cooperatives and agricultural production collectives, but must aim at meeting the requirements of the local population, developing exports and contributing to national construction. Along with economic expansion, it is necessary to develop education, culture, medical care, physical education and sports,

etc, to properly organize the material and cultural life of the population, and develop a new type of countryside. We must combine the economy and national defence, and turn the districts into powerful defence units. Developing the districts in this way is the responsibility of the State, of economic and cultural establishments, and of the entire population of each district. In all fields, we must strictly adhere to the policy of "joint efforts by the State and the people." Active contributions by the people in labour, ideas and talent, materials and capital will play an extremely important role. We must take steps to review our work in the districts, draw experiences from it, while giving priority as far as State help is concerned to the districts in key areas regarding grain, foodstuffs, important industrial crops and crops with high yields of marketable produce, especially export items. We must also attach great importance to the training of cadres for the districts.

Taking agriculture towards large-scale socialist production does not mean in any way developing agriculture in isolation, but as part of a structure which closely and correctly combines agriculture with industry. The development of agriculture must be combined with that of *consumer goods industries*, in both extent and scope, from food-processing and light industries to small industry and handicrafts in the towns and the countryside. To boost consumer goods production is crucial policy orientation to meet the material and cultural needs of

society, broaden the domestic market, create an important source of exports, and expand the market abroad. To boost consumer goods production is to increase the value of agricultural produce, provide the State with commodities for exchange with the peasants, stimulate agricultural production; broaden the division of labour, create more jobs; develop the economy, increase social labour productivity, the national product and national income in the present stage. We must classify all branches and trades, achieve a rational division of labour and cooperation in the whole country, bring into play the capacity of central and local industries, small industry, handicraft, and use each individual craft worker with a view to developing production in major cities, provincial capitals and rural areas. *Small industry and handicrafts* in our country have great potential as an important section of the consumer goods industry. They are being transformed and reorganized into a component of the socialist economy, and will hold an important position in the national economy over a long period, especially in this first stage. As an immediate step, we should pay due attention to increasing supplies of equipment, improving techniques, producing and supplying raw materials, using economic incentives, giving appropriate encouragement to groups and individual working people, in order to achieve a vigorous development of small industry and handicrafts from traditional trades to those recently created.

To develop agriculture and consumer goods production is to lay the foundation for the development of heavy industry. On the other hand, to develop agriculture and consumer goods production, we must fully use available industrial capabilities, build in a rational way the essential heavy industries to supply electric power, coal, petrol, fertilizers, insecticides, basic chemicals, ordinary tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized tools, building materials, etc. At the same time we must boost other areas of heavy industry so as to increase the sources of materials and export goods, and supply additional technical equipment to other economic branches and to heavy industry itself. Goods which our heavy industry cannot supply to agriculture and light industry must be imported and paid by exports from agriculture, light and heavy industry.

While developing heavy industry principally and primarily with the purpose of boosting agriculture and consumer good industries, we should make preparations especially conduct more intensive geological surveys, — so that when favourable conditions obtain, we can start the construction of a number of key heavy industrial projects, especially in engineering and metallurgy. For we must not lose sight of the fact that the material-technological basis of socialism remains mechanized heavy industry capable of transforming agriculture and providing new technical equipment to the whole economy.

To further the development of agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry, to meet the requirements of production, construction, national defence, security, and the people's life, *communication and transport* must be improved in all respects: organization, management, guidance, material facilities, technical equipment, unloading and transportation means; the *postal communication* network must be expanded and improved.

Thus, *in the five years 1981-85 and in the eighties as a whole, it is necessary to concentrate on a vigorous development of agriculture, to regard it as a priority, to take it a step further to large-scale socialist production, to strive to boost consumer goods production and to carry on the building of a number of important branches of heavy industry; to combine agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational agro-industrial structure. These are main orientations of socialist industrialization in the coming stage.*

That is precisely "to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry", and to create a new productive force in this first stage. This is also to lay the basis for later stepping up socialist industrialization. At this later stage the main aim will be to build a modern agro-industrial structure with a comparatively developed heavy industry as its core.

2. *Correctly combine the building of the central economy with a vigorous development of local*

economies in a unified national economic structure. For good results in this respect, it is necessary to draw up an overall plan of development and distribution of productive forces. What should be stressed at present is the need to overcome obstacles at an early date, define a rational structure for local economies, achieve a smooth coordination of central and local economies, and properly combine branch-based management with local and area-based management. We must extend the scope for initiative and responsibility of the local authorities in the areas of planning, budget, materials, labour, personnel, organization, etc. The relationship between the central and local levels must correctly embody the principle of democratic centralism with the higher and lower levels being closely linked together to eliminate bureaucratic centralization and organisational paralysis. All this aims at creating the conditions for a vigorous development of local economies and a constant strengthening of the economic and technical branches.

We must step up the transformation and expansion of *Hanoi*, the political centre of the country, and Ho Chi Minh City into large economic, cultural, scientific, technological and foreign trading centres. The building of these two centres must rely on the efforts of the two cities themselves; at the same time, it must feature as an important task in the State plan, on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. The building of the capital city in particular is the joint responsibility of the whole country, and

all branches, all forces must be involved. We should rely on the strong points of the two cities regarding skilled and educated workers, available material-technical facilities and scientific and technological potentialities to develop industry, small industry and handicrafts, and turn out large amounts of consumer goods and technical products, with a view to meeting the needs of the whole country and boosting exports.

Efforts should be made to achieve rapid progress in *the mountain provinces and districts* in the North, the Tay Nguyen and the central coastal provinces. To this effect, we should make the most of the local work force in combination with labour imported from other areas. Combine the development of agriculture with that of forestry and the gradual building of industry, attach particular importance to expanding communications and transport and developing education, medical care, and culture in order to raise the material and cultural living standards of the various ethnic groups; combine economic development with national defence and maintaining security. For this purpose, we must complete the handing over of forest and forest land to the districts for management, and to cooperatives for exploitation according to State plans and regulations. The mountainous provinces and districts must turn to good account their strong points, base their development on agriculture and forestry, use the land to combine agriculture and forestry, organize specialized production along with trading

operations, and economic autarky, expand economic relations between the highlands and the lowlands, boost trade, thereby meeting the food, clothing and other daily needs of the local population, and increasing their contributions to national construction and defence. These orientations will limit, and eventually put an end to forest destructions and bring about conditions to really achieve sedentary abode and farming for the local population. In its investment policy, the State must pay due attention to the mountain provinces and districts; at the same time, it is necessary to issue and enforce other policies where appropriate to resolve particular problems of the mountain areas such as environmental protection, full use of the labour force, exploitation of special products, development of communications, cultural development, training, deployment and remuneration of cadres, etc.

3. *To ensure a good correspondence between productive forces and relations of production*, constantly and closely combine the transformation of the relations of production with the reorganization and development of production with the reorganization and development of production.

Continue the movement of agricultural cooperativization in the Mekong delta provinces, and gradually take agriculture towards large-scale socialist production. Overcome sluggishness, hesitation, inaction in directing the cooperativization movement; on the other hand, avoid hastiness, oversimplification, overambitious and purely formal

undertakings. Carry out land readjustments so that all working peasants have land to till; in those places not yet earmarked for transformation, such readjustments are to be conducted at once with a view to creating preconditions for cooperativization. Along with setting up production collectives and cooperative farms, develop marketing and credit cooperatives.

In building the cooperatives and production collectives, we must sum up and popularize in good time the experiences of advanced units in consolidating the social ownership system and improving management and distribution. Achieve good management of the farm land, decide upon a suitable size for cooperative farms and production collectives, carry out adequate size readjustments where absolutely necessary, widely apply and perfect the system of contract incentives for groups and individuals. Assist average and weak units to enable them to catch up with advanced one.

Reorganize and consolidate fishing cooperatives in the North, and set up fishing collectives and fishing cooperatives in the South.

With regard to private capitalist industry, we must work out suitable policies to move towards joint State-private enterprises or other forms. The capitalist component is to be radically eliminated in trade. With regard to small industry, handicrafts and service branches, we shall resort to collective forms of operation or maintain individual owner-

ship depending on the particular features of each trade.

Gradually shift excess small traders to production and other service activities. For a long period ahead, there will coexist three economic sectors in the North (State-run, collective and individual), and five in the South (State-run, collective, joint State-private, individual and private capitalist).

The State must unceasingly consolidate the State economy, and support, encourage and strengthen the collective economy as much as possible. With appropriate policies and organizational forms of production, it must strengthen its close ties with collective and individual economic organizations, and take care to associate the different economic components under the direction of the State economy in furtherance of the interests of socialist construction and socialist transformation along the lines laid down in the State plans.

In the process of economic transformation and construction we must correctly define the relationship between large, medium and small-scale economies, between mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual techniques; achieve a combination of these suitable to each branch, trade and locality; ensure a rational size and appropriate techniques for each unit; and attach greater importance to medium and small scale industry, and to semi-mechanized and manual techniques.

4. *Combine economic construction with national defence* according to a basic and long-term plan,

and, at the same time, provide in advance for timely and appropriate contingency plans. We must work out a mobilization plan so that the national economy is prepared in case of further aggression.

The planning of economic zones, the redistribution of labour and productive forces, the building of economic-technical branches, and the development of local economies must aim at bringing about a unified strategic set-up in both the economy and national defence, on a nation-wide and a local basis. Both the central and local economies should try to provide on-the-spot logistics support.

Develop the defence industry in an appropriate manner; and at the same time, turn to account its capacity to contribute to economic development.

While constantly increasing their fighting capacity and combat-readiness, the army must engage in production to provide for part of their needs, at least in those units in a position to do so. At the same time the defence industry must participate in appropriate economic activities, and use part of its capacity to take on the building of a number of projects. While participating in economic construction, the army must learn production and management techniques so as to ensure productivity and effectiveness.

5. Combine economic development at home with *the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries*. In view of their special importance, external economic relations must be strengthened. Firmly grasp the leading principle in foreign trade,

namely broaden and strengthen all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, develop cooperation with the other members of COMECON in the direction of socialist economic integration, take an active part in the process of international division of labour, in specialization and cooperation in production in appropriate fields; broaden all-round cooperation and mutual assistance with Laos and Kampuchea in order to develop the economic potentialities of each country; at the same time, expand in an appropriate way our economic relations with countries outside the socialist community. Attach the utmost importance to economic effectiveness; make good use of foreign loans and aid; strive to bring into play the full effect of the assistance extended by the Soviet Union and the other friendly countries, endeavour to fulfil our obligations, promote our international credibility; resolutely overcome any tendency to wait for, and rely upon external aid.

In all our economic activities, a task of strategic significance for our entire Party and people is to strive to *increase exports for the purpose of imports*. We must promote exports to import technology, equipment, machinery, spare parts, and materials for the scientific-technological revolution and industrialization. Exports must effectively contribute to creating a new balance in the economy, a new economic structure, and as an immediate step, gradually provide for the requirements of production and daily life. We must strive for a rapid increase

of export turnover, gradually narrowing down the gap between exports and imports, and eventually balancing them. We must try by every means to use our abundant workforce and exploit all possibilities regarding land, forest, sea resources, branches and trades, material and technical facilities with the aim to rapidly increase the sources of export items. We must pay special attention to tropical agricultural produce, forestry, sea and animal husbandry products, some items of consumer goods, some products of heavy industry, and a number of minerals. In addition, we must try to widen tourism and other services to earn foreign currencies. We must pursue a policy of thrift in home consumption in order to increase exports. While seeking an all-round development of exports, we must strive to produce leading export items of high value, in large and stable quantities, with steady markets.

Our policy is one of State monopoly over foreign trade and unified trade management by the central authorities. According to this principle, every branch, locality, establishment with a responsibility for export must strive to provide by its own means for its import requirements, and contribute foreign currency to the central authority. The various branches, localities, major economic organizations (such as companies and industrial combines) are entitled to conduct export-import transactions in accordance with the principles, policies, and unified management regulations of the State. In this spirit, the State should enact appropriate policies and

regulations to encourage the expansion of export-import activities and ensure their good handling. An important area for the State is to organize effective cooperation with foreign countries in order to quickly increase our export capacity.

6. *Extend the division of labour, redistribute and redeploy the work force in the whole country to increase labour productivity.* This is a requirement and also a leading orientation of all socio-economic plans. To achieve an extended division of labour on a local basis, along with a redistribution of the work force, on a nation-wide basis, combine labour with land natural resources and other means of production available, achieve a vigorous expansion of trades and professions, with a view to providing jobs for all working people and quickly creating a larger volume of products. To encourage all workers in every establishment, to enhance their revolutionary ardour and sense of collective mastery, improve their skills, promote initiatives, rationalize production, improve techniques; and strive to turn out more and better products with an equal or even reduced material input. Rely on the strength of collective mastery, on correct planning, on the use of appropriate incentive policies, and effective measures of organization and mobilization, and in particular a stronger *socialist emulation movement*, to bring about a drastic change in individual and social labour productivity.

In the years 1981-85 we must extend the division of labour, make full use of the work force available

at district level, and move large numbers of workers from densely-populated areas, towns and cities, to sparsely-populated districts to join the local population in production, to set up new economic zones in agriculture and forestry, and build important water conservancy, communications and industrial projects. Strive to achieve a marked increase in labour productivity in every economic establishment, especially in industry and agriculture. Resolutely streamline the State bodies, and redeploy an important section of higher level cadres and employees to reinforce the grassroots or to take part in production work.

The existing *technical work force* must be better managed and used; at the same time, we must strive for higher efficiency in training technicians and skilled workers, emphasizing higher quality and better integration in a more rational structure.

We must draw up and implement a correct *population policy*. One extremely important issue of strategic significance both economically and socially, requiring the utmost concern and direct attention of Party organizations and administrative bodies at all levels, is to improve the *family planning* campaign. Alter a number of specific policies and regulations which are no longer appropriate, amend and issue relevant policies and exercise very tight and resolute guidance over their implementation in order to bring down the population increase rate to an acceptable level.

7. *Step up scientific and technological work.* This is an important area for the scientific-technological revolution, the kingpin of the three revolutions. Nowadays high scientific and technological standards, in particular the speedy application of scientific achievements, the creation of high technologies in production, constitute one of the factors determining the economic strength of a country. As far as Vietnam is concerned our requirements in productivity, quality and efficiency in economic construction and management, development, thrift, the manufacture of new products and substitutes, especially in the field of consumer goods, export items, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, building materials, etc., are making huge demands on science (natural sciences, applied sciences, social sciences) and technology. To meet these demands, we must master those scientific and technological disciplines that are necessary for our country. We must work with the determination to master at any cost what the country requires.

We must link the scientific and technological activities to production, daily life and national defence; achieve a good performance in scientific research; bring into play in a fitting manner the role of every science; at the same time closely combine social sciences, natural sciences and applied sciences; attach great importance to the organization of collaboration and coordination between various sciences through inter-disciplinary activities for the purposes of joint research to resolve important

scientific and technological problems. In particular, progress is needed in widely and speedily applying scientific achievements and technical progress to production, management, and other aspects of socio-economic life.

Combine research work by the scientific and technological institutions with the experience of the broad masses of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres and working people in farms, factories, etc., with a view to carrying out integrated research programmes according to State objectives, especially in the field of agriculture, consumer goods production and exports. Scientific and technological progress must become a leading priority of socio-economic management and planning must be renovated to encourage the application of scientific and technological achievements; the scientific research institutes are to be re-arranged and perfected; the socio-economic effectiveness of scientific activities is to be enhanced. Make good use of the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the field of scientific and technology, and at the same time endeavour to establish relations in this field with countries outside the socialist community.

Generate powerful mass movement to master science and technology, quickly apply scientific achievements and technological progress, observe technical processes, procedures, standards and norms, introduce technical innovations and improvements, and raise professional knowledge and

skills. Achieve a better performance in scientific and technological management; take constant care to make good use of scientific workers, technicians and the millions of skilled workers, to promote their ability, and give them continued political and ideological education and professional training. In this spirit, universal general education is not only a matter of raising the cultural living standards, it has become an increasingly pressing economic requirement.

8. Correctly resolve the *relationship between accumulation and consumption*, in order to satisfy the present requirements of daily life and national defence and security, and to build the material-technological basis of socialism in order to improve living conditions and meet the requirements of national defence and security at a higher level in the future. For a satisfactory combination of consumption and accumulation, which are now equally pressing requirements, the basic task is to boost production, increase labour productivity, and practise thrift.

To practise thrift is a major and long-term national policy which should be made the subject of specific policies, regulations, target figures and measures. Practise thrift in all fields: capital construction, production, daily life, national defence and security spendings, and administrative expenses. Practise thrift in all respects: capital, materials, energy, raw materials, equipment, machinery, consumer goods, time and labour. Practise thrift in

social and individual consumption and in the spendings of the State, collectives and people. Although the living standards of our working people are still low, we should clearly realize that we are consuming beyond what we can produce. This is unacceptable. *We must live by the fruit of our own labour, and refrain from consuming beyond the limits permitted by production.* We must ensure the basic requirements of daily life but we must be prepared to endure difficulties to safeguard national independence and freedom, and set aside an appropriate amount for accumulation in order to achieve enlarged reproduction and build the material and technological infrastructure of socialism.

Each establishment, each locality, each branch must strive to accumulate, to mobilize and put to good use all sources of capital, all accumulation possibilities of the central, local and grassroots levels, of the State and the people, and concentrate capital in key branches, key areas, key projects as specified in the socio-economic strategy and the State plans.

9. *To establish a new socialist order in goods distribution and circulation* so as to help stabilize living conditions, boost production, bring about a turn for the better in the economic and social situation. Bring into play the action of distribution and circulation as a lever and a bridge between agriculture and industry, town and country, State enterprises, collectives and individuals, central, local, and grassroots levels. Highlight the active role of

distribution and circulation in stimulating production and serving consumption. Distribution and circulation must play an effective part in the struggle between the two paths, expanding the positions of socialism, rolling back those of spontaneous capitalism, regulating the incomes of the various strata of people in a fair and rational way. It is necessary to closely combine economic, administrative and educational incentives with economic incentives at the centre.

A problem of prime importance is *to increase the circulation of commodities, and concentrate goods, primarily essential goods, into the hands of the State.* To this end, the State sector must be strengthened and the State-run enterprises must vigorously develop production and strictly abide by regulations in handing over their produce to the State. The State must boost production and extend its control over goods from the collective and individual economic sectors through taxation in kind, purchases of mandatory quotas, and mutual contracts; all branches, all levels must constantly fight against theft and waste of State commodities and materials.

We must adopt at an early date an active *financial and monetary* policy suited to the current stage. The State must use finance and money as effective instruments for economic transformation and development, bring into play the role of the financial and banking services in supervising and controlling economic activities, and raising the effectiveness of

investment and production capital. The State must expand and put to work the sources of financial revenues from the State-owned, collective and other economic sectors, keep strict control of financial revenues and expenditures; it must keep a tight hold on the currency, improve monetary circulation, improve bank credit and accounting services, balance the budget, gradually narrow down and eventually put an end to overspending.

Continue the readjustments in the pricing system in a timely and steady manner so as to bring prices into play in boosting production, reorganising the economy, and stabilizing living conditions. Through re-adjustments rationally succeeding one another based on careful studies, and through the implementation of comprehensive policy plan, we shall step by step bring about a new pricing system, carry out a price reform in line with the domestic and international situation at present and in the coming period. While there still is an imbalance between supply and demand, we must apply a mechanism of both stable and flexible prices. Define responsibilities in the management of the pricing system throughout the country; highlight to the utmost the need for discipline in setting prices.

Continue improving the *wages system*. Urgently study various alternatives and actively create conditions for a wage reform in close connection with the price reform and the improvement of other links in distribution and circulation on the basis of progress in production. As an immediate step, strive to protect *real wages*, *apply the prin-*

principle of distribution according to labour, closely link wages with labour productivity, correctly extend the system of job work, piece work and productivity incentives along with the supply of rations stipulated by the State for essential items.

Improve the system of *State trading services* and marketing cooperatives, and eventually achieve a strong command of the market, controlling the major part of the wholesale trade, occupying a dominant position in retail trade, improving catering and other services. To improve material supplies, ensure integrated and timely supplies for production, giving priority to the most important areas, and ensure an economical and efficient use of materials. Strengthen market management, check and punish speculation, illegal price increases, trafficking, tax evasion and all activities which may upset the market.

10. Establish a *correct managerial and planning* system renovating the existing system. To abolish the mechanism of administrative bureaucratic management based on the state-financing system, overcome slackness, conservatism, irresponsibility, indiscipline, bring into play collective mastery as a motive force, promote creative initiatives, a sense of responsibility and discipline.

Throughout the process of expanding and running the economy, expanding material and technical facilities, and developing production, we must pay constant attention to qualitative development and seek to make good use of existing productive

cities and material facilities using whatever measures are suitable: developing an integrated approach, transformation, expansion and improvement. In every branch, locality, unit and in all cases, policies, plans, and measures, we must attach importance to productivity, quality and effectiveness.

During the transition to socialism, we must ensure without fail that all management levels — central, local, grassroots — are really working to plan, i.e., that each level actually works out, balances, and carries into effect its own plan, planning must be carried out at the grassroots; the plans must embody the principle of *cost-accounting and socialist business operations*. This conforms to the system of collective mastery, and represents one of its main aspects, namely to bring into play the combined strength of the community and the individual. It also involves achieving unity of the three interests, guaranteeing those of society and the collective and paying due attention to the personal interests of working people. To do so is to hold firmly to use-value while attaching great importance to labour value and the labour law of value.

At the central level, the State plan must direct the development of the whole national economy in accordance with the Party's policy and socio-economic strategy, and lay down the overall development tasks of the various branches and localities. Basing itself on a synthesis of the main features of local and branch plans, the State plan must ensure that the central authority holds firmly

under control the commanding heights of the economy, the major economic indicators, the main target figures, the leading projects and products of the national economy. *Branch plans* must be worked out. The plan of each branch must embody an overall strategy for its implementation on a nation-wide scale, in keeping with the general socio-economic strategy; provide for a constant rise in scientific-technological standards; ensure, through good cost-accounting and socialist business operations its own enlarged reproduction, and contribute to the national economy and to satisfying social needs. On the basis of national policy and the State plan, *local plans* (including provincial and district plans) must aim at turning to account the possibilities and strong points of each locality, broadening exchanges with national services and other localities, providing through their own export — import trade for their requirements in production and daily life, and contributing to the wider revolutionary cause. The *plans of grassroots units* (enterprises or connected enterprises in industry, cooperatives and State farms in agriculture etc.), must show creativeness and initiative in production and trade. Enjoying financial autonomy, every unit must cover production costs and plan for profits so as to increase its contribution to the country, ensure enlarged reproduction, provide better collective welfare and increased material incentives for its workers. Each planning level must bring into play its initiative, flexibility, keenness and knowledge of trade as Lenin put it, do away with

reliance on others, passivity, attempts to preserve autarky within narrow confines. We must broaden the home market and expand foreign trade, thereby taking full advantage of the possibilities and strong points of each level, ensure a quick turnover of capital, extend the division of labour, broaden specialization and cooperation, and boost production.

We must give planning an increasingly scientific basis, pay full attention to fundamental surveys, economic social and scientific forecasting, longterm programming, economic zoning, drawing up overall development plans and labour distribution charts. We must draw up adequate technoeconomic norms, define selection procedures for economic projects, draw up inter-branch progress charts and link economic — financial planning with scientific planning. We must strengthen the mandatory character of the plans on the basis of scientific and realistic planning.

As a matter of urgency we must study, issue, and correctly introduce *economic incentives* so as to stimulate and tightly control production and business activities. We must enhance the role of economic contracts in drawing up and implementing plans, and promote a sense of responsibility in the fulfilment of contracts.

Put to good use the commodity-money relationship and market relations, directing our main effort at using the organized market while striving to bring the free market to play a positive role.

Continue the reorganization of social production. Build and strengthen the *grassroots units* in all respects, and make the management of production and business operations a routine procedure. We must define at an early date organizational forms suitable to each type of grassroots unit in agriculture, forestry, fishing industry, communications, trading, material supplies, etc. Higher levels are duty-bound to assist the grassroots levels, and each unit must strive to ensure the material supplies required for a stable and continuous production process. We must rapidly promote a rational and flexible economic relationship with grassroots units, providing them with material supplies and finding outlets for their products. In each unit, care must be taken to protect the working people's health, improve their skills, and create favourable working conditions. While consolidating and strengthening the grassroots level, we must actively build *economic-technical branches*. We must make adequate preparations for and rationally organize specialized companies and corporations (national or regional), and other forms of association in production, construction, transport and circulation. The building of economic-technical branches must be combined with a stepped-up development of local economies.

Through *organizational adjustments*, we must bring the State apparatus in line with the requirements of the new managerial mechanism and eliminate cumbersome features and overlapping departments. We must rapidly achieve a clear

division of responsibility between the central and local levels, highlight the functions of the Council of Ministers in the unified management of the national economy, enhance the important role of both general and branch ministries. We shall strive to perfect the district levels, strengthen in a suitable manner the provincial and municipal levels and clarify the position of the wards and city precincts.

We must stress the importance of raising the working capacity and efficiency of the various managerial levels, ensuring good coordination, concentrating on the main tasks, using tight controls, giving due rewards and sanctions, summing up and popularizing useful experiences in good time. The determining factor for successfully renovating the economic management system is a drastic change in cadre work. In particular, we must assign competent cadres to key positions in the major production and business establishments, in various localities, especially key areas, in various branches, particularly general branches and key economic-technical ones that still show weaknesses.

To carry out in an integrated way the overall policies mentioned above is to create a *combined strength* to bring about a fundamental turn in the actual situation of the national economy. However this combined strength is the result not only of implementing policies and these measures, but also of implementing the Party's overall line and economic line as a whole. The system of collective mastery, the new culture, and the new people are

the goals of the socialist revolution, and also powerful motive forces for building large-scale socialist production. The people's feel and capacity for collective mastery, their educational standards, their patriotism, their love of labour must become material forces enhancing the development of production. The mechanism of *Party leadership*, people's mastery, State management must be given a concrete expression in all branches, at all levels through correct relationships and appropriate methods of activity in order to generate a powerful revolutionary mass movement to successfully achieve the economic and social targets of the eighties.

In the five years 1981-85, we should concentrate our forces on the following main tasks:

1. *Resolve the most pressing problems to stabilize and improve to some extent the people's living conditions.* Ensure food supplies for society. Supply workers, public servants, and soldiers with adequate rations of grain and foodstuffs. Meet the minimum clothing needs of the whole people. Ensure an adequate supply of writing-paper and newsprint for schoolbooks and newspapers. Ensure adequate supplies of essential medicines. Achieve a better supply of household utensils and daily necessities. Expand the means of transport. Ease the housing shortage, and improve to some extent the living conditions of urban dwellers, especially through increased water supplies, a more reliable supply of electric power and better sanitary conditions.

Improve the organization of the people's cultural and spiritual life.

2. *Develop and reorganize production.* Strive to turn to account all existing and latent possibilities in order to bring about a new balance in the economy. Concentrate on agriculture, stimulate the development of forestry and fishing; make every effort to develop consumer goods production; take the food industry and light industry a step forward. Ensure a better supply of electric power, coal, engineering products, metals, chemicals, raw materials to various economic establishments in accordance with a central integrated plan and a rational priority order on the basis of careful consideration of overall economic effectiveness. Step up prospection for, and exploitation of, oil and gas. Develop local economies, make active efforts in building the districts. Redeploy the work force to suit the new arrangement in production and capital construction; consolidate the newly-built economic zones, and bring into play their role at an early date; extend the division and redistribution of social labour.

Improve management and increase material facilities, and technical equipment to enhance communications and transport capacity. Ensure the safe delivery of import goods and the transportation of export goods, North-South transport, transport to and from key economic and defence areas, transport for leading construction projects and for Laos and Kampuchea.

3. *Reorganize capital construction* to suit present conditions, with a view to improving the use of existing material and technical facilities in the pursuit of the most pressing economic and social objectives. Develop integrated structures, transform, expand and improve the existing facilities; resolutely drop or postpone those projects that cannot be finished or are not urgently needed; continue work on unfinished projects that can be completed and are badly needed; undertake the building on a selective basis and in keeping with our possibilities of a number of new and badly needed projects to meet the requirements of the 1981-85 five-year plan and those of subsequent years. Increase the effectiveness of investments in capital construction.

4. *Improve circulation and distribution*, and take steps towards radical changes in this area. Steadily adjust the pricing system, making resolute efforts to control and eventually to stabilize prices. Guarantee the real wages of the workers and public servants, improve the wage system and prepare its reform, cater for collective welfare. Ensure satisfactory income to stimulate the peasants' ardour in production. Improve and strengthen State and collective trade, establish a strict control over the market throughout the country, resolutely clampdown on speculation and trafficking. Ensure State control over an overwhelming proportion of marketable foodgrain, the whole output of the State-run economy, and a large part of other goods in society so as to ensure that distribution goes accord-

ing to plan. Strive to balance the budget and to improve currency circulation.

5. Step up *socialist transformation* complete in the main agricultural cooperativization in the Mekong delta provinces with production collectives as the most common management form. Strive to complete in the main the transformation of trade, transport, industry, small industry and handicrafts in the South using appropriate measures and management forms. Consolidate the socialist relations of production throughout the country with regard to ownership, management and distribution.

6. Develop *economic cooperation* with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other members of COMECON. Strive to achieve a major improvement with regard to exports, and substantially reduce the gap between exports and imports.

7. Practise thrift, attaching particular importance to thrift in capital construction and production. We must save every work hour, every gram of raw materials or fuel we possibly can, make a rational use of equipment and machinery on the basis of advanced techno-economic norms. Use land in a rational and economical manner. Strive to save every year between 5 and 10 per cent of energy, materials and food. Put waste materials and faulty products to maximum use, and to initiate a broad movement to recycle discarded goods. Enhance a sense of responsibility in goods storage to avoid loss and deterioration. Enforce a strict ban on unauthorized spending by various offices and units. Conduct

an active campaign for thrifty consumption among the people. Carry out a resolute struggle against wastage and loss; to mete out severe punishments for theft of commodities and materials belonging to the State.

8. *Rapidly and widely apply scientific discoveries and technological progress* to production and daily life. Develop key scientific and technological programmes, actively finalize leading economic projects for the 1981-85 five-year plan. Strengthen technical management in production and business operations give the mass movement for innovations to improve techniques and rationalize production a further boost. Coordinate the activities of the various branches of the social and applied sciences in order to effectively contribute to the renovation of management and planning.

9. *Take step to renovate the economic management system.* Achieve a change in planning procedures by all managerial levels—central, local and grassroots. Plan from the grassroots, linking planning with cost-accounting and socialist business operations. Attach great importance to improving the work to implement the plans and concentrate resources on key tasks and links. Achieve a close combination of economic, administrative and educational incentives, attaching major importance to economic measures. Enact urgently needed incentive policies with a view to encouraging production, increasing productivity, and ensuring the unity of the three interests. Re-adjust the organizational and

managerial apparatus, improve working regulations, strengthen economic information work. Enhance the socialist emulation movement, making it a true and lasting mass movement.

10. *Step up cultural and public health activities* in keeping with economic needs and possibilities. Carry out the education reform in an active and steady way ; attach utmost importance to improving the quality of education. Lay down a rational training scale, and continue the training of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres, and skilled workers. Strive to develop and improve cultural activities, information, physical exercise and sport. Improve health protection hygiene, prophylaxis, medical treatment and environmental medicine. Wage a resolute struggle to eliminate all influences of reactionary, backward culture. Get rid of bad customs and superstitions.

11. *Strengthen social management*, wage a resolute struggle against law-breaking, social evils and other negative manifestations, stress discipline in State and economic management, maintain public order and social safety. Root out and punish economic sabotage, undertake an effective struggle against enemy psychological warfare and espionage. Promote a healthy and happy socialist culture.

12. Meet the economic requirements of consolidating national defence and security, which at the same time mobilizing the capacity of the defence industry, and making rational use of the military forces in suitable economic activities.

In the implementation of the socio-economic strategy in the stage ahead, the years 1981-85 will be a period of further development of the national economy, structural reorganisation, and stepped-up socialist transformation. These three aspects are to be closely combined to stabilize in the main the economic and social situation, to meet the most pressing and essential requirements of everyday life, reduce the most serious imbalances in the economy, take an important step towards overcoming the distortions which now prevail in distribution and circulation, lay the basis for a more vigorous advance in subsequent years.

PART THREE

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TASKS

Over the past years, parallel to the gradual formation of a new political and economic system, the creation of a new culture and the emergence of new people have recorded definite progress. Under the new regime, our people have cast off the shackles which had kept people enslaved for thousands of years; the working people have achieved a position of genuine mastery over the nation and society, and have retrieved their national values and human dignity. That is the greatest revolutionary gain. However, because our society has just entered the transition period, there have been many negative, unhealthy manifestations besides the new, socialist people who are taking shape, and the new progressive features that are emerging. The struggle between the two paths, between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary in the fields of culture, ideology, way of life is going on daily, in a very complex manner, and should not be underestimated.

As an immediate step, we must wage a resolute and effective struggle against the negative phe-

nomena in cultural and social life. We must take a whole range of measures in various fields : economic, administrative, organizational, ideological, cultural. At the same time, we must realize that the emergence of new people and the creation of a new culture is a protracted, complex and difficult struggle. It cannot go without a resolute campaign to wipe out the influences of the backward, reactionary ideologies and cultures, left over from the old society—the feudal society that existed for thousands of years, and especially the colonialist and neo-colonialist system which existed in the South for the past few decades; nor can it be separated from a determined fight to oppose psychological warfare, to eliminate the influences of reactionary or depraved culture covertly infiltrated from abroad by the imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and their agents. Over the past few years, we have not fully realized, and have relaxed to some extent these aspects of the struggle. It is the aim of the ideological and cultural revolution to create new people, commend good examples, criticize bad ones, so that a new situation arises where the whole cause of building socialism and defending the socialist homeland can be stepped up.

We realize that the new social and economic system exerts a decisive influence on the shaping of a new culture and new people. Conversely, success in building a new culture and new people will greatly boost the building of the new system and new economy.

The creation of a new culture and new people should be carried out step by step, right from this very moment. In this stage, objective and subjective conditions allow us to make initial progress in establishing a society with a new *way of life* and new human relations; a society in which the working people can lead a happy life although material living standards are not high. For as was rightly pointed out by the Party's fourth Congress, the cultural level of a society does not depend mechanically on the level of economic development.

Collective mastery is the loftiest human aspiration. It means gradually achieving mastery over society, nature and oneself; everybody working and fighting together for the development of the social community to provide enough food and clothing, and at the same time a happy and healthy life of equality and concord, free labour, love and reason. It means everybody being able to develop to the full his or her personality, talents and aptitudes, in a harmonious relationship between individual, family and society, and carrying into effect the motto: "Each for all, and all for every one".

As the Fourth Congress clearly stated, the new culture must have a socialist content and a national character, deep Party and popular spirit, and stress patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It must encompass all that is best in the age-old traditions of Vietnam, while assimilating on a selective basis the gains of human civilization and the achievements of modern culture and science. It must harmoniously combine all that is best in the cultures of the various

national groups which make up the Vietnamese nation, while retaining their specific features.

The Vietnamese people are filled with ardent patriotism and animated with a spirit of democracy and equality in human relations. "To love one's country and one's family, to love others and oneself" is a deep-rooted tradition of our people. Thanks to this patriotic and democratic spirit, our nation has accomplished glorious feats of arms in its four-thousand-year history. Since the birth of our Party, under the banner of national independence and socialism, our people's traditions of patriotism and democracy have been raised to a new level and developed more vigorously than ever. At present, our country is building a system of socialist collective mastery by the working people. This conforms to historical necessity, and marks a continuation and heightening of the Vietnamese nation's age-old patriotic and democratic culture.

The task of creating a new culture and new people has multiple and comprehensive aspects, of which the *educational system* comprising pre-school education, general education, secondary vocational education, vocational training, university and post-graduate education is one of primary importance.

Over the past years, thanks to the great efforts of the Party, State and people, of our teachers, education work has continued to develop vigorously. It has begun to implement the education reform outlined by the Party's Fourth Congress. All education institutions are striving to overcome their many difficulties stemming from lack of material facilities and

poor economic conditions, and have kept regular teaching and learning activities going. At present, 2.7 million children go to kindergartens or pre-school classes. The number of general schoolchildren has reached 12.5 million, and that of university students 150,000. In the South, the U.S.-puppet education system has been rapidly transformed, private schools abolished, and education as a privilege ended. The basis of a revolutionary education system has been built, curriculums have been unified, and schools have been opened to the children of the working and ethnic minorities. Pre-school, general and higher education have been developed, and complementary education stepped up.

The achievements recorded in education are a source of pride for our regime. However, education work has fallen short of the present requirements of the revolution. Generally speaking, the education system as a whole fails to properly prepare the younger generation in terms of moral qualities and ability to engage in productive labour, to struggle for socialist construction, and to defend the country. The programmes and plans of educational development, especially with regard to higher education, secondary vocational education and vocational training, are not in harmony with economic development plans. The distribution and employment of school graduates still leaves much to be desired.

The biggest problem now is *the serious decline in the quality education*. We have not only let the standard of cultural, scientific and technical training drop, but also relaxed the education of the

younger generation in revolutionary ideals and socialist ethics. The organization and direction of the education process is too distant and too lax. There are severe shortages of school buildings and school equipment, moreover those available are not well utilized and maintained.

The whole educational effort must take as its goal to train new people, workers with a sense of collective mastery, patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We must ensure that the younger generation can gradually master the world's treasures of culture and knowledge, turn this knowledge into a source of self-confidence, a scientific world outlook and method of thinking, thereby giving people an ability for creative thinking and correct action in accordance with the ideals of national independence and socialism, and the will to stand firmly for national independence and socialism.

Our task in the coming years is to continue the education reform, develop education in an active but steady manner with measures suited to the requirements and possibilities of the national economy, strive for a better quality of education, and pay due attention to vocational orientation for general school pupils. In the South and in mountain areas, while striving for better quality, we must attach great importance to increasing the number of schools, especially general schools; at the same time we must not underestimate the importance of complementary education and literacy work.

Consolidate and expand pre-school education; complete in the main the aim of universal first-level education, actively and steadily develop second-level basic general education and step by step strive to make it universal. Expand the work-and-study secondary general schools. Reform the network of vocational training schools, broaden the forms of training and perfecting skilled workers for industry, agriculture, small industry and handicrafts. Develop a rational network of vocational secondary schools, universities, colleges. Give particular attention to consolidating and improving teacher training colleges. Work out programmes and plans to train, perfect and turn to good account a balanced and integrated contingent of scientific workers, technicians, economic management cadres (including those of post-graduate standard) suited to the requirements of economic development throughout the country and in each locality. Strengthen political, ideological, and moral education in schools. Enhance the position, quality and effectiveness of the Marxist—Leninist education departments in universities and colleges. Each school must be a solid position of socialism.

Achieving these educational objectives requires efforts and contributions from the whole of society. Good coordination between the various departments of the administration and the mass organizations, especially the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, between the State and the people, between school, family and society, under the leadership of

the Party, such are the basic conditions for the success of our educational work.

Our Party, State and people highly value the role of teachers in training the future generations. Every teacher, every education administrator must clearly realize the importance of his or her task, love his or her profession as much as he or she loves the people, firmly grasp the educational objectives, set an example of moral qualities, strive to improve his or her work and whole-heartedly devote his or her knowledge, convictions, pedagogic skills to training useful citizens. The Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels must give constant care to developing the country's teachers, take steps to gradually raise their political, cultural, scientific and professional levels, and endeavour to improve their material and moral living conditions.

In building a new culture and moulding new people, one extremely important aspect is that of cultural and artistic activities — literature, theatre, cinema, photography, music, fine arts, architecture, museums, etc.

The implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Party's Fourth Congress in this field have yielded fairly good results. The neo-colonialist culture in the South has been eliminated in the main. The revolutionary culture which developed during the resistance war has undergone an even more vigorous growth since liberation. The mass cultural movement, cultural activities such as exhibitions, libraries, clubs, cultural centres have

continued to develop. A new feature in the countryside is the gradual establishment of a cultural network in a number of districts along with the initial steps being taken to develop material facilities for culture. In the field of cultural and artistic creation, a number of works of value have appeared over the past few years with marked effect in the promotion of new ideas. A number of works and artists have been given top awards in international competitions. Clearly, cultural development and transformation in a socialist direction has taken a step forward.

However, the cultural requirements of society are greater now than ever before. Cultural, literary and artistic work have failed to keep up with society's new demands. Attendance at movies and artistic performances have risen, yet owing to economic difficulties the circulation of books, newspapers and cultural items has decreased. Besides good artistic works, many cultural, literary and artistic activities, generally speaking, are not of appeal, fail to make a deep impression and to encourage people in the right direction. In cultural, literary and artistic activities, it is to be regretted that besides efforts to create new and progressive works, which should be properly appreciated and encouraged, some unhealthy tendencies have emerged. Meanwhile, the struggle on the cultural front has slackened in some respects, and as a result vestiges of neo-colonialist culture, bad customs and superstitions have tended to return to favour in many areas and affect a substantial number of

young people. Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels, and ideological and cultural services must be fully aware of their responsibility and enhance their supervision over cultural activities.

We must strive to develop and improve the cultural, literary and artistic activities for all and for each age group, each locality, each ethnic group, with a view to meeting the ever greater cultural needs of the people. Further broaden the mass cultural, literary and artistic movement, which must be closely linked to production and defence, thus creating a sound basis for our new culture. Tighten the links between mass culture, literature and arts, and professional activities in this field, unceasingly raising the standards of the masses in cultural creation and enjoyment.

Make patient efforts to promote a new, healthy, scientific, and simple way of life ; protect and develop spiritual values. Wage a resolute struggle against bad customs and superstitions, and carry on the struggle to sweep away the neo-colonialist culture and the influence of all other reactionary and depraved cultures. All this aims at giving the new thoughts, sentiments and way of life a truly dominant position in the life of the people, and achieving a common will throughout the country to build socialism and defend the socialist homeland successfully.

One task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to make culture pervade the people's daily life. Special attention must be given to promoting

cultural activities in grassroots units, to ensuring that every factory, construction yard, state farm, afforestation centre, army unit, police unit, service, school, hospital, government store, village, cooperative, ward, hamlet has its own cultural life. Achieve a better organization of cultural life in cities and provincial capitals, so that urban centres become worthy representatives of the new culture. Give the utmost care to promoting cultural life in the countryside with greater attention being paid to former base areas, and minority-populated regions. Build a number of works, such as cultural centres, cinemas, libraries, stadiums, etc., in district centres and in various villages in the districts, thus creating a network to promote and popularize the new culture in rural areas. To build these works and to develop cultural activities, we must rely upon joint efforts by the State and the people.

Literature and art constitute a very important and complex area of culture and social life. The Party must exercise stronger and better leadership, suited to the specific aspects of work in this field. The Party places its full trust in the writers and artists, highly appreciates their work, and always looks forward to seeing the emergence of creative talents and literary and art works of high ideological and artistic value, worthy of a country with an ancient culture and of a heroic people. The Party encourages all research and creative endeavour and the development of artistic styles and talents. At the same time, the Party requires writers and artists to firmly grasp the concept of socialist realism,

highlight the Party character and the responsibility of the fighters on the cultural and ideological front in the new stage of the revolution, to serve more effectively the interests of the people and make worthy contributions to the cause of socialist construction and national defence.

The press, publications, radio, information and agitation work, television broadcasts, etc., in short, the *mass media* as a whole constitute very important aspects of the cultural and ideological front. In the past few years, these services have made great efforts in disseminating the views and policies of the Party, progressive ideas, scientific and technical knowledge, cultural and artistic achievements of our nation and humanity. However, the masses and the revolutionary cause require the mass media to step up their ideological character, quality and effectiveness. At present, the press is still marked by poor content, poor information, bad presentation, low credibility, and low educational content. Radio broadcasts are not always attractive to listeners. Much remains to be done to improve the quality and enrich the content of T.V. programmes. Political and theoretical books and periodicals are still too few in number. There is a large demand for studies of scientific value and books presenting political and theoretical Marxism—Leninism in a varied, vivid and attractive manner suitable to all categories of readers: workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, etc. The mass media must become more practical, truthful, militant, and must achieve higher

technical and artistic standards. On the information and propaganda front, we must always have full command of the situation, resolutely take the offensive in order to smash in time the enemy's psychological warfare. In many rural areas, mountain areas, especially the higher land and border areas, there is now a very serious shortage of newspapers, radio sets, and means of information and propaganda are badly needed. The services concerned must make the greatest efforts to put an end to this state of affairs.

Physical education and sports are an important, indeed indispensable part of the creation of a new culture and moulding of a new people. The Party and State should pay greater attention to the development of physical education and sports to improve the people's health, promote the fine qualities of the new, socialist people such as courage, energy, skill, intelligence, esthetic sense, collective spirit, and honesty, and meet the requirements of national construction and defence.

Over the past years, the mass movement for physical education and sports at the grassroots level has made noteworthy progress and begun to gain ground in a number of districts and branches. The contingent of athletes has further increased. However, the movement has not developed on a broad and permanent basis; the performances and records achieved in many sports are still low.

In order to ensure a steady development of physical education and sports with practical results in

a balanced way, with a national, scientific and popular character, it is necessary in the years ahead to broaden and improve mass activities in physical education and sports, above all among schoolchildren, young people and in the armed forces. At the same time, we must make active efforts to build up a growing contingent of athletes with good political and moral qualities, high performances and records. To this end, we must strengthen the organization and management of physical education and sports at all levels, in all branches, and mass organizations; enhance the quality and effectiveness of cadre-training work, step up scientific research and applications and gradually increase the material and technical facilities for physical education and sports.

In the past few years, we have been confronted with ever greater and wider demands regarding *the protection of the people's health*. Carrying out the Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress, we have continued to emphasize preventive medicine, and made progress in combining modern medicine with our traditional medicine. We have quickly unified the health care system, promoted a mass movement for hygiene and disease prevention, increased both work force and equipment, especially at the grassroots and in the districts. Thanks to this, we have in the main checked epidemics and brought them under control in time, done a good job in first-aid for war casualties, markedly lowered the incidence of a number of social diseases,

increased the capacity of providing medical examination and treatment and achieving self-sufficiency in medicines. We have begun to keep health records on patients suffering from serious diseases and on some special categories of patients. In the South in particular, we have effectively got rid of some social diseases and evils, products of the U.S.-puppet regime, bringing a new life to hundreds of thousands of people.

However, much remains to be done concerning the protection of the people's health. The present conditions of environmental hygiene, especially in public places in cities, provincial capitals and industrial regions, pose many problems still to be solved. Shortages of medicines and medical equipment are obstructing the treatment of diseases. With the aim of bringing into play the great strength of the people, the capacity of the localities and services concerned, we must provide appropriate investments to protect and gradually clean the environment, enhancing the quality and effectiveness of our work to prevent and fight epidemics, to prevent and check social diseases, better organize medical examination and treatment. We must continue to promote and develop our traditional medicine, achieve a more effective combination of traditional medicine with modern medicine. We consolidate and develop the health network, especially at the grassroots and districts levels. An urgent task is to turn to account all possibilities available at home to create sources of pharmaceutical materials and actively develop the drug and

medical equipment industry, in order to put an early end to shortages of medicines, including through imports.

Our Party, State and people hold in high esteem the great contributions of the medical workers from central to grassroots levels whose noble task is to take care of our people's health. Protecting the people's health is a revolutionary task. Every medical worker, physician or pharmacist, from professor, medical doctor to nurse and ancillary staff, should clearly understand their great duty, and demonstrate the moral qualities of socialist medical worker: "doctors are like kind parents", and put all their intelligence and commitment to the service of the patients in particular and take care of the health of the people in general. Party committees and administrative bodies must provide favourable conditions for medical workers to raise their professional skills, enhance their political standards, and at the same time, seek ways and means to improve their living conditions, especially with regard to medical workers in grassroots units.

Our Party, State and people will remember forever the sacrifice of *fallen soldiers and war invalids*. In spite of the current economic difficulties, we have made great efforts to provide suitable jobs for war invalids, cater for the seriously injured ones, and organize social care for war invalids and the families of fallen soldiers. Following their tradition of gratitude to those who render services to the country, the various strata of people, especially

women, young people and children, have actively contributed to helping war invalids and the families of fallen soldiers with thousands of practical and moving deeds. In the forthcoming period, the Party Committees, administrative bodies and mass organizations at all levels must show permanent concern for war invalids and families of fallen soldiers, and ensure that all policies concerning them are fully implemented.

In accordance with the humane spirit of our social system, our State and people have done much to look after, assist, and support old people, orphans, invalids. This work was stepped up during the International Year of the Disabled. From now on, we should continue in this direction.

Administrative bodies at all levels, in coordination with the mass organizations, should show greater concern for poor children with no schooling.

With regard to the *retired workers* whose number is increasing year by year, our Party and State must enact the required complementary policies and regulations, show due concern for their spiritual and material life, especially make efforts to care with gratitude and due consideration for those cadres with a long record of revolutionary activities, and to attend to the health of old comrades. We welcome the contribution of retired workers to suitable social work.

Special attention is required to provide better *maternity and child care*. This is a big problem in economic and cultural development, moulding new

people, and building the new society, having a direct bearing on the happy life of every family. It is not only an extremely important task for our Party and State, but a common one requiring attention and contributions from the whole of society.

The new regime must seek to improve conditions for every family to live in happiness and for women to play a full role as mothers. A better performance is to be achieved in the family-planning campaign. We shall gradually extend society's role in assuming the task of catering for and educating children. However, this will in no way relieve the mother's role in bringing up healthy and well-educated children. The highest happiness of a young child is to be fostered and to grow up in its mother's love.

Despite the present economic difficulties of our country, our society has given priority to satisfying children's needs in food, clothing, medical care, schooling, and recreation, and striven to give the children the best facilities available. The State has recently promulgated new laws and decrees regarding the protection, care and education of children. All administrative bodies, services, mass organizations, economic, social, educational, health care and cultural organizations must fully carry out those policies in accordance with their respective functions. Socialism, and socialism alone, can bring happiness to people; and this is reflected first and foremost in concern for children's welfare.

PART FOUR

TO STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST STATE, TO LAUNCH A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES

To build and bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery according to the mechanism of Party leadership, people's mastery and State management is a problem of decisive significance for successfully fulfilling the important and urgent revolutionary tasks in the forthcoming period. This mechanism has been institutionalized in the Constitution, but it has not been clearly embodied in the organizational structure of the State, in the mode of social and economic management, in the rules and pattern of daily activities of the various Party Committees, State bodies and mass organizations from the central down to the grassroots level. The efficiency of the State machinery at various levels is not great enough. The activities of the mass organizations have not brought about on a permanent basis a buoyant and widespread mass movement. There is slowness in improving the Party's method of leadership with regard to the State and the mass organizations. That is

indeed a weak point in our leadership and management work over the past period.

The working people exercise their right to collective mastery mainly through the State, under the leadership of the Party. The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is *a State of proletarian dictatorship*; strengthening it is a pressing problem. It is necessary to strengthen the State to bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery and exercise to the full the Party's leadership in the accomplishment of the three revolutions, building the new regime and new economy, creating a new culture, moulding new people, maintaining political security, public order and social safety, preserving the revolutionary gains, defending the socialist homeland, and promoting the people's happiness.

Our people, in exercising their mastery through the State, do so primarily through *the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels*. However, so far, the representatives of elective bodies are given little training concerning their task, powers and methods of working; a number of elected bodies still work in a formal way falling short of their functions, tasks and powers as provided for by the Constitution. That is a weak point in the functioning of the State apparatus, and also a shortcoming in the Party's leadership work.

It is necessary therefore to strive to ensure that the National Assembly, the highest organ of State

power, really plays its role in law-making, deciding major issues of State, and supervising the activities of the administrative services at the central level ; and that the people's councils at all levels function in accordance with their position as local bodies of State power, making decisions on leading issues in developing the locality. The deputies to the National Assembly and the people's councils should fully use their mandatory responsibilities and powers, keep close and regular contracts with the electors, represent in time the people's views and aspirations to the State bodies, thereby bringing about a rapid acceptance and materialization of the people's suggestions.

In exercising their mastery through the State, our people also do so through *the Council of Ministers and the people's committees at all levels*, which handle political, economic, cultural, social, defence, security and other matters. As economic issues take precedence, the crucial problem now is to re-adjust the organization of the State's economic management bodies and improve their activities in close connection with the building of a new economic structure and a new management system.

In keeping with the new economic structure, proceeding from the requirements of production and trade, and to ensure genuine communication with the grassroots, it is necessary to rearrange and perfect the economic management bodies of the State in every branch, at every level. We must resolutely reform the organization, put an end to the current

state of affairs wherein the apparatus is cumbersome with many intermediate levels, overstaffed but not very effective.

Improve the work of the Council of Ministers, increase its effectiveness in carrying out appropriately centralized and unified management of the national economy. Attach special importance to perfecting the State Planning Commission and other general management bodies, bring into play their role in furthering and supervising the economic activities of the various branches, localities and grassroots units. Consolidate and strengthen the ministries and general departments in charge of branch management to ensure their good performance in programming, planning, policy-making, setting forth orientations and measures to develop science and technology, building the contingent of cadres and workers for each branch throughout the country. Hand over the actual business of conducting production and business activities to the various companies and enterprises.

To reorganize the various production and business establishment, steadily develop local economic structures, in particular build the districts, rationally develop the economic and technical branches in the fields of production, construction, transport, circulation in the form of companies or enterprise combines operating on a cost-accounting and socialist business system.

To consolidate and perfect on a permanent basis the local administration at all levels, pay adequate

attention to the administrative apparatus at village and ward level; give systematic training to the principal leading cadres of villages and wards; amend the policies with regard to the grassroots cadres of the administration and mass organizations.

Strengthening socialist legality is imperative to raise the managerial effectiveness of the State and ensure the working people's right to collective mastery. To strengthen social management in law, our State must diligently concretize the new Constitution through a system of laws. Great attention should be paid to the gradual establishment of a system of economic laws and public security laws. Strengthen the bodies engaging in legal work, and urgently step up training for cadres in State administration and the legal professions.

Our State must fully exercise its political and economic powers to preserve social discipline, wage an effective struggle against law-breaking and social evils, and do away with the abnormal situation in which many laws and legal orders are not correctly implemented, or even not implemented at all. The State bodies at the central and local levels should take a firm attitude and strong measures to prevent and eliminate violations of the people's right to collective mastery; mercilessly suppress the counter-revolutionaries; punish those exploiters who refuse to reform, hooligans and ruffians, speculators, traffickers, embezzlers; take stern measures against those cadres and employees who abuse their functions and powers to contravene the laws.

Party committees, State bodies and mass organizations must engage on a permanent basis in the task of publicizing and explaining the laws among the various social strata. Education on the law is to be introduced into schools at various levels, to promote a law-abiding spirit. Strengthen prosecution and inspection work; organize and broaden the system of people's inspectors; reform the procedure for handling complaints, so that they no longer pile up and go unheeded, put an end to the present state of affairs in which no service, no organization will take upon itself the responsibility of adequately resolving the people's grievances and the violations of civic rights brought to their attention.

The management bodies of the State must *improve their method of activity, renovate their style of work* so as to give management activities militancy, incisiveness, conclusiveness and practicality; provide close and thorough guidance with regard to each task, oppose red tape and the holding of too many meetings. Every section, every person in every service, every unit must abide by principles and regulation, observe strict discipline in the performance of their tasks. In the State management bodies, it is necessary to abide by the single head system and to put an end to the shirking of responsibility, an important cause of sluggishness in management. Promulgate and strictly implement regulations on specific tasks for each office in the State management bodies.

It is necessary to improve the procedures of study, discussion and approval with a view to ensuring correct and timely decisions on problems relating to economic and social management. Put to use research agencies, economic, scientific and technical organizations, mass organizations, collect the views of ordinary people and of cadres for the purposes of preparing socio-economic policies. In making decisions, it is essential to take into account the specific conditions and circumstances which may differ from one zone or one area to another in the country. After a decision or a directive of the Party and the State has been issued, it is necessary to promulgate in time an integrated set of specific policies and regulations required for its implementation. We must write off and avoid setting forth complicated, impractical, overlapping or contradictory procedures likely to cause difficulties to production and business units. Strictly forbid arrogant and authoritarian attitudes towards the people. Ensure a close follow-up of the implementation of all policies, handle in a clear-cut manner the requirements of the lower levels and the masses; achieve an early detection of incorrect or obsolete stipulations and issue in time new decisions to complement or replace them.

To eliminate sluggishness, bring about an atmosphere of diligent work, promote initiative and creativeness, and ensure unified centralization, it is necessary to apply in an integrated and effective way economic, administrative and educa-

tional measures. To lay down economic policies and measures, we must ensure a correct relationship between the three interests; carry out in a far-reaching, extensive and vivid manner political and ideological education work in the Party, State bodies, and mass organizations; strictly enforce regulations designed to maintain discipline and law; achieve a good combination of the three aspects of this work to stimulate all groups and individuals to work eagerly, well and efficiently. Efficient workers should be commended and rewarded; bad performance and faulty work must be given proper punishments. The outstanding progress of many agricultural and industrial establishments in production and exploitation over the past period has proved the point: ensuring the unity of the three interests, catering for the personal interests of the working people; arousing and fostering the revolutionary ardour of the masses; highlighting clear-cut responsibility and strict discipline, all this creates a motive force resulting in everybody working well, and stimulating dynamism and creativeness.

To strengthen the Party's leadership over the State, to improve the administrative work of Party committees is a decisive factor in promoting the role and effectiveness of the State.

At present, there are still Party committees and leading cadres that have not fully realized that to consolidate and strengthen the socialist State is a primary task of the Party; there still are Party organizations that take on themselves the

business of State bodies. It is necessary to urgently do away with this state of affairs. All Party committees, Party cadres and members must abide by the Constitution and the law in an exemplary way, and be at the forefront of the struggle to strengthen socialist legality. The Party organizations are strictly forbidden to lay down at will stipulations contrary to the law.

All Party committees must go deeply into every field of concrete activity, especially on the economic front with a view to promoting positive factors, redressing wrongful actions, detecting problems related to policies and measures taken, and working out and perfecting accordingly a method of leadership consistent with the character and special features of each branch. It is necessary to base oneself on the specific requirements and role of leadership in each branch, at each level to build the Party organization and assign cadres in a suitable manner. Party cadres and members working in State bodies must clearly understand the organizational structure of the State, the managerial mechanism, the method of leadership of the Party with regard to the State.

Revolution is the cause of the masses. In any historical period, revolutionary *agitation and organization work among the masses* bears a strategic significance. In the stage of socialist revolution, and at the present time when the revolution in our country is carrying out two strategic tasks: to build socialism and to defend the socialist

homeland, the importance of mass agitation work, far from being lessened, has increased. That is because the one revolutionary task of paramount importance is to bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery and to build a system to this effect; this is both a target and a motive force of the socialist revolution. The working people's right to collective mastery under the leadership of the Party is exercised mainly through the State, and also through the activities of the mass organizations which find an expression in the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Over the past five years and more, in specific areas of activity and during specific periods, we have initiated strong mass movements to heal the war wounds to fight against natural disasters, to create emulation in productive labour, to fight the enemy and defend the country, to maintain political security, public order and social safety, etc. There has been much improvement in the political and cultural standards of our working people and in their sense and capacity of collective mastery.

Our *working class* has grown much stronger. The number of workers has increased by 24 per cent, and skilled workers account for 1.7 million persons. The political, cultural and vocational standards of the workers have been raised to some extent. Faced with great difficulties in production and daily life, our working class has shown its revolutionary nature, maintained and developed

production, and began to build the material and technological foundations of socialism.

The 1.6 million-strong contingent of small industrial and craft workers and represents a major productive force, which has made an important contribution to economic rehabilitation and development, to boosting consumer goods production, improving living conditions and increasing exports.

Our *working peasants* have made further progress. Their consciousness and political, cultural, and technical standards have been markedly enhanced. The peasants in the North have produced many initiatives in intensive farming, increasing productivity, consolidating the new relations of production, and actively fulfilling their duty to the State. The peasants in the South have restored and developed their agriculture, are gradually embarking on the path of collective farming, and have clearly shown their commitment to the new regime.

Our country's *body of intellectuals* has undergone a fairly rapid development; it has marked a 78 per cent increase in five years. In the whole country, there are now more than 260,000 university graduate and post-graduate cadres. The intellectuals have made intensive efforts and devoted their energy and talent to the building and defence of the homeland. A number of our research and artistic works have attained high standards.

Our *youth* has grown rapidly to maturity, and made contributions worthy of the glorious traditions of the young generation and the nation. The "three actions for collective mastery" movement has mobilized the youth to march in the forefront in many areas of activity, in productive labour and in the fight to defend the homeland and maintain political security, public order, and social safety; at the same time, it has fostered in young people revolutionary heroism, patriotism, love of socialism and a spirit of creative labour.

Our *women* have proved worthy of their role as a mighty force within the revolutionary masses, a great social workforce, and have taken on the heavy responsibility of bringing up the future generations. The "new woman building and defending the homeland" movement has educated and mobilized women throughout the country to take a full part in their civic duties and family responsibilities. At the same time, it has fostered among women the spirit of striving for equality between the sexes, taking the liberation of women a further step forward.

Our *compatriots of various ethnic groups* from the mountains to the plains, from the high to the low lands, have contributed their determination and their traditions of unity and struggle to our victory in the two resistance wars and to the defeat of the enemy's divisive manoeuvres. Through their struggle and their construction work, the minority ethnic groups have further steeled themselves and

proved their patriotism and commitment to socialism.

Our compatriots of the various religious communities with constant attachment to the nation have united with the non-believers and early striven to fulfil their duty in building and defending the homeland.

The overseas Vietnamese, with their minds always turned towards the country, have engaged in varied activities and made active contributions to national defence and reconstruction.

Through countless difficulties and trials, the broad united front of our entire people has been further consolidated and developed! Every class, every stratum of working people have made their specific contribution and matured in the process. The fighting power, creative capacity and revolutionary potentialities of our people are great indeed. That is an inexhaustible source of strength, which guarantees the success of the historic tasks in the stage ahead.

However, in the recent years the mass movement has undergone an uneven development and in many cases, its effectiveness has been low. Sections of the workers have not been given a good education on the role of the vanguard class and the implications of socialist collective mastery. They still suffer the influences of the psychology and style of the small producer, they fail to consciously abide by labour discipline and the law of the State. A section of the youth have been unable to set for

themselves a revolutionary ideal, they fail to realize their duty to build and defend the homeland. A number of young people in towns and cities, under the influence of the bourgeois way of life and culture, and of the enemy's psychological warfare, hold ideas and commit acts at variance with socialist ethics and the socialist way of life.

The cause of these shortcomings lies in our own failure to turn to account the full strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship for educating and mobilizing the masses and to select themes, forms and methods of mass agitation in ways suited to the new requirements.

Many Party organizations and Party committees do not bother to study the situation concerning the lives and thoughts of the various social strata, they attach no importance to building the mass organizations and promoting their roles and functions; they fail to exercise close leadership over the revolutionary movement of the masses. No small number of State bodies suffer from bureaucratism, commandism, authoritarian methods; they violate the people's right to collective mastery. The activities of the mass organizations have also been bureaucratized; they have been slow in improving, and still fail to meet the new requirements of the masses. A number of Party cadres and members have suffered moral degradation, abused their positions of authority to bully the masses, violated the law, injured the prestige of

the Party and State, and adversely affected the revolutionary ardour of the masses.

The buoyant, widespread and effective emulation movement in the co-operatives and agricultural production collectives, which has resulted from a correct application of the allotment of delivery quotas to the working people, constitutes a valuable and useful lesson. A correct grasp of the requirements and aspirations of the masses, carrying our policies consistent with the vital interests of the working people, deciding upon specific forms and measures to harmoniously combine the three interests, closely linking correct economic policies with good organization work and effective propaganda and education work, all this has guaranteed the exercise by the working people of their right as masters and resulted in a powerful mass movement. And it is precisely through such a mass movement that the working people's right to mastery is really exercised. *Obviously the working people must really exercise their right to collective mastery if there is to be a revolutionary movement, conversely, there must be a revolutionary movement if there is to be genuine collective mastery of the working people.*

Our Party must direct the correcting of the shortcomings in the mass agitation work, strive to overcome bureaucracy in the Party organizations, State bodies and mass organizations, and

manage to set going a truly deep, broad and powerful mass movement.

The Party committees, mass organizations, and State bodies must coordinate their efforts to use integrated economic, administrative and educational measures, and bring about energetic and lasting revolutionary mass movements in every locality, especially at the grassroots, in every social circle, every branch, every field of life, movements directed at the common objective: *all for the socialist homeland, for the happiness of the people*. Each movement should have practical themes and concrete targets, closely linked to the successful implementation of economic, cultural, social plans and ensuring defence, and should yield effective results in all three economic, social and ideological fields.

The *Party cell* must assign mass work to its members and supervise their activities in mass organization. Every Party member must regularly participate in the activities of the mass organization of which he or she is a member, and use his or her exemplary actions and knowledge to convince the masses and encourage them to carry out the policies of the Party and State. The Party organizations must create favourable conditions for the masses to criticize the Party's leadership and express their opinions on their relations with Party cadres and members. They must get acquainted with the desires and possibilities of the

masses, collect their initiatives and experiences, and give answers to the problems they raise.

The *State bodies*, especially those in daily and immediate contact with the people, such as the administrative services in villages, city wards, districts, security services, tax-collecting offices, tribunals, state prosecution, the cadres and employees of enterprises, shops, schools, hospitals, etc., are duty-bound to carry out propaganda and agitation work among the masses, ensure a close relationship of the people with the Party and State, rapidly and properly handle the legitimate requests of the masses, fulfil their duty to serve the people. They must resolutely get rid of arrogant attitudes, authoritarian methods and irresponsibility. The State bodies must act in close coordination with the mass organizations to mobilize the masses to implement the lines and policies of the Party, and the plans and laws of the State.

The role and strength of the *mass organizations* lie precisely in the ability to rally the masses, understand their moods and aspirations, promote their socialist consciousness, stimulate their activity, initiative and creativeness. To this end, there must be a renovation of their organizational forms and modes of activity to suit the new conditions. In their activities, they must show a dynamic spirit and sensitiveness to the problems newly arising in life, and bureaucracy, oversimplification, and rigidity in organization and activity must be ended. Broaden the forms of organization according

to professions and the requirements of daily life and cultural activities so as to draw mass participation in social activities. The contingent of mass organization cadres must be renewed. In addition to competent and committed fulltime cadres, it is necessary to make wide use of part-time staff to help the mass organizations get closer to the grass-roots and the masses.

It is the duty of the mass organizations to educate their members in socialism, socialist legality, the responsibilities and powers of collective mastery, to promote the sense and capacity of mastery, to persuade the masses to consciously implement the policies of the Party and the laws of the State; at the same time, to collect and reflect the views of the people, to suggest policies and measures to the Party committees and State bodies to resolve problems relating to the people's interests and help build the administrative apparatus at all levels.

The *trade unions* must improve their organization and activities to carry out their role to the full in the socialist revolution as laid down in the Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress and the Constitution. As an immediate step, the Party's work among the workers and the trade-unions must be directed at building a powerful working class, promoting class consciousness, moulding new, socialist workers. The trade-unions must concentrate their activities on attaining economic, scientific, technological, organizational targets, step up the emulation movement for productive labour and

thrift among the workers and public servants, raise the workers' political, cultural, scientific-technological standards, and actively contribute to the training of highly skilled workers and good managerial cadres.

The trade-unions must take an effective part in State affairs, effectively contribute to the improvement of economic management, especially the management of enterprises, closely co-operate with the State bodies to resolve concrete problems on working conditions, labour protection and social welfare, stabilizing and ensuring the life of workers and public servants. The trade-unions must become the core of the socialist emulation movements, set examples regarding new attitudes towards work, the sense of discipline, initiative, creativeness, thrift and protection of public property; at the same time, they must criticize and overcome unhealthy manifestations in work and everyday life among a number of workers and public servants. The Party committees and administrative bodies must afford the best conditions for workers and public servants to take a direct part in handling production and distribution, and for the trade-unions to supervise and control the work of State bodies.

The trade-unions are duty-bound to defend the legitimate interests of the workers in the joint State-private enterprises and private capitalist ones in the South. On the basis of the new Constitution, the State should study amendments to the trade-union legislation.

The Co-operative Federation which represents the small industrial and craft workers must strengthen its political and ideological education work to enhance the sense of mastery among co-op members and craft workers; it must continue the transformation and reorganization of small industries and handicrafts, perfect the new relations of production, cater for the workers' social welfare and training, make suggestions to the Party and the State about policies and regulations to boost the development of this production sector in keeping with socialism.

The *work among the peasant* aims at uniting and educating the peasants to bring the worker-peasant alliance into effect, stepping up the three revolutions, achieving an all-round development of agricultural production, taking agriculture a further step towards large-scale socialist production, building a new socialist countryside, thus making an important contribution to socialist transformation and construction. The Party committees and State bodies, especially at district and village levels, must strive to build and consolidate the co-operatives and agricultural production collectives. The co-operatives and production collectives should fulfil their functions of organizing production and business operations, carry out their obligations to the State, cater for the life of their members; at the same time, they should do a good job in uniting and educating the peasants, fostering their sense of and capacity for collective

mastery. The Union of Collective Peasants and the Peasants' Association must be brought into action. It is necessary to find forms suitable to each locality to enable co-operatives and production collectives to exchange experiences on the organization of production and the building of the new countryside.

Our Party must further strengthen its *work among the intellectuals*, strive to bring into play the great potentialities of our intellectuals with a view to serving the country and socialism in an increasingly better way.

The Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee has issued a policy resolution on science and technology. The Party Committees, State bodies and mass organizations should implement this resolution, work out policies and plans for the development of culture, education, science and technology, and ensure their good implementation; overcome the shortcomings in the training, upgrading and employ of scientific workers and technicians; help them raise their political and professional levels, afford them favourable material and moral conditions to work to good effect.

Our Party has always held that *youth work* is of special importance. This is a strategic question for the revolution, a responsibility of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship. It should, both on an immediate and a long-term basis, develop the younger generation's sense of collective mastery

and bring into play its unique role in socialist construction and national defence, quickly overcome unhealthy manifestations among a number of young people and adolescents, strive to train young people so that they develop all-round qualities, and become the loyal and worthy inheritors of the Party and nation's cause.

The Party branches must exercise close leadership over youth work, help building the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization, in accordance with President Ho Chi Minh's behest in his Testament; "...The training and education of future revolutionary generations is of great importance and necessity". All branches, State bodies and mass organizations and the whole of society are duty-bound to work among the youth, and must achieve a close division and coordination of work for good results in this respect. It is necessary to achieve a genuine renovation of the forms and methods of organization and education of the youth in keeping with the new situation and tasks, the particular requirements of each age group, and new needs; to counter in time enemy sabotage with regard to the youth; to link political education to settling concrete matters related to the interests, material and cultural life of the youth. In the forthcoming period, it will be necessary to hold special conferences to study and resolve the new problems regarding the ideas and way of life of our youth; to issue in due course Central Committee resolu-

tions on agitation and education work among the youth in the new stage. The State should study and promulgate youth legislation.

Our Party correctly appraises *the good nature and revolutionary capacity of the youth and the political role of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union*. The Union must achieve a better performance in organizing its members and the youth and educating them in socialist ideas. It must enhance the young people's sense of collective mastery, give them a clear understanding of their duties and rights, help them live in accordance with communist principles, lead a civilized, healthy life, show creativeness in labour and study, wage an uncompromising struggle against negative manifestations. It must attach the utmost importance to educating the youth in national and revolutionary traditions, genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Finally it must encourage young people to march in the lead of the emulation movement for production and thrift, to develop culture, education, science and technology, to build the armed forces, to fight and stand combat-ready to defend the homeland, to maintain political security, public order and social safety.

The Union must improve its work in educating the adolescents and children, and guiding *the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization and the Ho Chi Minh Children's Organization*.

As an arm and a reserve of the Party, the Union must actively encourage and guide its members to participate in Party building. Party committees

must assign politically sound, knowledgeable and able cadres to be directly responsible for the work among the youth; and pay much attention to the training of prominent Union cadres into future leading cadres of the Party and State.

To continue to step up the cause of liberating women and achieving equality between the sexes, so as to promote further the role and capacity of women in the building of socialism and the defence of the homeland, Party committees should ensure that the Party's viewpoint and policy regarding the work among women are fully understood in all organizations belonging to the system of proletarian dictatorship. It is necessary to struggle to eliminate feudal and bourgeois viewpoints in the assessment of women's strength and capacities, the training and employment of women workers and cadres, the resolution of concrete matters related to the life of women and children.

The Vietnam Women's Union must strive to educate and encourage women to bring into play their right to collective mastery, to make even greater contributions to the homeland and to socialism, carry on the struggle for the liberation of women and the moulding of new, socialist women. It must cater for women's welfare, ensure that they enjoy good conditions in production, social activities and bringing up children. In coordination with State bodies, the trade-unions and the youth union, the Women's Union must undertake surveys on the women's life, labour

conditions, needs and aspirations, their status in participating in State and social management; suggest policies and laws to the Party and State to guarantee women's rights, and help supervise the implementation of these policies and laws.

Enhancing our people's tradition of unity, the *Vietnam Homeland Front* should mobilize the various social strata, religious communities, ethnic groups, intellectuals to actively participate in various revolutionary movements to build and consolidate the regime; it should strive to strengthen socialist legality, strengthen the political and moral consensus in our society, and promote the working people's right to collective mastery in the building of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

The Party must direct a good implementation of the Resolution of the Fourth Congress regarding the *policy on nationalities* while carrying on studies for a timely settlement of the new problems related to the Party's work on nationalities. It is necessary to strengthen the unity of the various national minorities on the principle of *equality, mutual assistance and joint collective mastery*; to step up propaganda and education work to give our compatriots from the various national minorities and in the whole country a deep understanding of the new situation and tasks and the Party's policy on nationalities and help them enhance their vigilance, counter in time all divisive and sabotage manoeuvres of the Chinese

expansionists of the imperialists and other reactionaries, write off the remaining national prejudices, and join in a common effort to build and defend the homeland.

The State must increase its investments for the national minority areas, and all Party branches, administrative bodies, mass organizations must make every endeavour to develop economy and culture, meet in time the pressing needs of the minority nationalities in production and everyday life, especially in the more remote and border areas, with a view to *taking a further step towards overcoming the gap left by history in economic and cultural development standards between the various ethnic groups*. Every level, every branch must implement the Party's policy on nationalities to the extent of its responsibility and possibilities; it must particularly seek a good performance in the training of leading and managerial cadres, scientific workers and technicians of minority stock, first and foremost, for the district and grassroots levels.

The *religious policy* of our Party and State is to respect the people's freedom of religious belief and non-belief; to unite all religious communities, to unite believers and non-believers in jointly building and defending the country; to mete out severe punishment for activities which abuse religion to the detriment of the interests of the homeland and socialism. All Party branches, administrative authorities, and mass organizations must step up

propaganda and education activities on the policy of our Party and State with regard to religion, and encourage believers to strengthen their ties with the other strata of the people, to strictly implement all policies of the Party and the laws of the State, and to engage eagerly in the emulation movement for production, study, fulfilling civic duties, defending the homeland and promoting a new life.

Our people are confident that the *overseas Vietnamese* will continue to enhance their traditions of unity and patriotism, and make worthy contributions to the building and the defence of the homeland.

PART FIVE

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND STATE

In the seventies, especially after the U.S. imperialists' defeat in Vietnam, the world revolution entered a new period of development. The three revolutionary currents of our time grew stronger, forming a powerful combined force, and achieved substantial victories in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The socialist countries have rapidly increased their influence in all respects, thus demonstrating the superiority of socialism, a system in which the working people are genuine masters and the highest goal is human happiness. The Soviet Union is vigorously advancing in the stage of building the material and technological infrastructure of communism; many countries are speeding up the final stages of building developed socialism; a number of others are developing the material and technological infrastructure of socialism. The socialist countries in COMECON have managed to keep a high tempo of economic growth. In particular, the Soviet Union has more than doubled its fixed assets

as compared with the previous decade, and its productive forces have reached a new qualitative level. The countries of the socialist community have built a strong national defence, developed the scientific and technological revolution both in scope and depth, and scored outstanding achievements in the cultural and social fields, resulting in good living standards and ensuring genuine human rights. Economic integration is expanding daily, increased cooperation in production, science and technology, and close coordination in the political and diplomatic fields have opened up good prospects for the development of the socialist community.

In spite of specific difficulties in its march forward, and the betrayal of the Chinese leadership, the socialist system has tipped the world balance of forces in its favour. With the Soviet Union as its bulwark, it is increasingly stepping up its action as the crucial factor determining the trends of human society, a powerful force for peace, and a reliable prop for the revolutionary struggle of peoples throughout the world.

The national liberation and independence movements are sweeping away the last positions of colonialism, and dealing heavy blows at neo-colonialism. In the past five or six years, over 20 new countries have won their independence and become equal members of the international community. The independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are carrying on their struggle for full sovereignty over their natural resources, now par-

tially under imperialist control, and for a new international economic order. Many countries, such as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Libya, the Congo, Benin, Algeria, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Grenada, etc., have close links with the socialist countries and progressive countries in each region. They have carried on the struggle against imperialism and worldwide reaction, established democratic and popular administrations, carried out economic, cultural and social reforms in the interests of the broad toiling masses, and chosen the socialist path. The increasingly close links of the national independence movement with the socialist system has brought a new strength to the revolutionary forces. Relying on this strong position, the Non-Aligned Movement has made great contributions to the consolidation of national independence and the preservation of world peace.

An acute class struggle is going on in developed capitalist countries. The working class and working people's movement has taken a new turn with wide scope, great buoyance and varied forms. Fierce battles against the bourgeois governments' attempts to place the burden of the economic crisis, inflation and the recession on the shoulders of the working people, against unemployment, exploitation and social evils, are closely linked to the struggle against the suppression of democracy, for the political rights of working people, against the arms race, for a foreign policy of peace, friendship and

international cooperation. These waves of struggle have toppled fascist dictatorships in a number of countries and plunged monopoly capital into a permanent crisis. In a number of countries, communist and worker's parties play an important role in political life and constitute the main force of democracy and social progress against monopoly capital.

Over the past period, imperialism has suffered repeated defeats; the capitalist world has been plunged into an unprecedentedly serious general crisis. Many factors which had brought about a strong development of the productive forces in the capitalist world up to the early seventies have been gradually losing their effect. Parallel to the economic and social impasse, cracks have appeared in the ideological facade of capitalist society. In the overall weakening position of imperialism, its ringleader — the United States — has suffered the greatest defeats and the deepest crises, and it is being superseded by other capitalist powers. The economic crisis and the energy and raw materials crisis have increased the contradictions between the imperialist powers.

In an attempt to find a way out of the economic crisis and to cope with the world revolutionary movement, the U.S. imperialists are rallying their forces, trying to maintain their dominant position in the imperialist system, re-adjusting their global counter-revolutionary strategy, aimed mainly against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

To this end, they have found a new ally, the reactionary Chinese ruling circles. The collusion of the leading imperialist power with Chinese expansionism is a key feature of the current international situation. The Reagan Administration's policy of "playing the Chinese card" and U. S.—Chinese collusion are a factor constantly threatening world peace, and especially seriously menacing security and stability in Asia.

The U.S. imperialists plan to launch a global counter-offensive in an attempt to achieve their ambition of winning military superiority in the world, regaining the lost positions, checking the development of three revolutionary currents. They are stepping up the arms race on an unprecedented scale, developing weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb, bringing medium-range nuclear missiles into Europe, launching impudent propaganda campaigns for limited nuclear war recreating a cold war atmosphere, and undermining détente and international security.

The United States openly relies on force to attack the national liberation movement which it slanderously labels as "terrorists". It expands and strengthens its network of military bases in the world, arms reactionary dictatorships in Central America, the Middle East, South Asia, Southern Africa, etc., in order to fan the flames of armed conflict and to create new hotbeds of tension in various regions. It is aiming to reach a military alliance with China in an attempt to use China for

its own interests in Asia. The United States and the reactionaries interfere in the internal affairs of Poland in an attempt to overthrow socialism in that country, and to undermine the united strength of the socialist community.

This policy of adventurism is fraught with danger for world peace. The struggle for the objectives of our epoch is going through rougher, harder and fiercer times than before.

However, the imperialists and reactionaries worldwide are coming up against the growth and offensive position of the three revolutionary currents, the desire and will for peace of the peoples inspired by the Leninist foreign policy of peace of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community.

At present, no nation in the world wants war, to destroy millions of lives, waste wealth and resources, and erase human civilization. Peace, the common gain of the peoples' struggle, must be preserved. Concerted efforts by the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, the forces for democracy and peace, and all peoples can succeed in rolling back the danger of a nuclear war, checking the bellicose and aggressive policy of the imperialists and the reactionaries worldwide.

The U.S. imperialists or anyone else who want to play the international gendarme are sure to be punished in a fitting manner wherever they put their interventionist and aggressive paws. Humanity

is now in an epoch when all peoples have awoken to their roles as masters, and even a small island can stand up and win independence. Any war started by the aggressors to crush the national liberation movement or to fight national independence countries is sure to bring disaster on its very initiator.

At the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev put forward an important peace programme including many new steps on nuclear weapons limitation and on disarmament; on the prevention and quick elimination of hotbeds of armed conflicts and tension, on the establishment of zones of peace in key areas in the world, from Central Europe to the Far East, from the Middle and Near East, the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, etc.

This programme of peace is the stance of the nation which suffered the heaviest sacrifices in World War Two and has since made the greatest contributions to the peaceable life of all peoples.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people once again express their full support for the peace programme and the unswerving stand of the Soviet Union, they warmly hail the good-willed and constructive proposals of the Soviet Union in their relations with the West, especially those made recently in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's important statements with regard to the situation in Europe and Asia, and aimed at checking the arms race, driving

back the danger of a nuclear war consolidating détente and international security and cooperation.

Looking back at over half a century of activity of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we are glad to note that ever since its founding, our Party has always pursued a correct foreign policy along with a correct home policy. The Leninist foreign policy advocated and persistently carried out by Comrade Ho Chi Minh is an integral part of the Party's strategy and tactics in all periods of development of the Vietnamese revolution. Basing itself on a lucid appraisal of the major developments in the international situation after the October Revolution, and after World War Two, closely combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, our Party has always guided the Vietnamese revolution along the path of development of our times. That is an important factor leading to the triumph of national independence and socialism in our country, and ensuring that our people will make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause worldwide.

Over the past five years, carrying out the Party's principled foreign policy, we have recorded important achievements, strengthening our people's ability to defend the homeland, and creating further favourable conditions for socialist construction. In spite of all the enemy's plans to encircle and isolate our country, the role and position of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has been enhanced in the international arena.

In the forthcoming period, our diplomatic work must strive to secure favourable international conditions and important international aid for the building and defence of the country, thereby helping carry out the tasks laid down by this Congress. In particular, it must become an active front in the struggle to defeat the policy of the Chinese expansionists colluding with the U.S. and attempting to weaken and dominate our country as an immediate step, it must aim at defeating their war of sabotage, checking their plans for renewed aggression, and consolidating peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Loyal to their international duty, our people have always united with the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, and strongly supported the resolute struggle of all peoples against the bellicose and aggressive policy of imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To develop friendship ties and broaden cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is a leading principle in the foreign policy of our Party and State.

Our people are very happy with the development of solidarity and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1978.

As the most powerful ally of Vietnam, the Soviet Union has been firmly standing at our people's side, giving a timely and generous response to our

requirements in the consolidation of national defence and the defence of the homeland. The USSR has supplied our economy with technical materials and goods vital for production and our people's livelihood, and donated as aid a series of major projects forming the first important material and technological foundations of socialism in our country.

The cooperation and assistance extended to us by the Soviet Union in the fields of culture, science, technology, training of cadres and skilled workers are being further expanded. The annual exchange of goods through trade between the two countries is developing favourably.

Solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is the key-stone of the foreign policy of our Party and State. In the interests of the two peoples, we shall in the future strive for an even greater development of the solidarity and cooperation between our countries. In our views, this is a guarantee of success for our people's cause of defending the homeland and building socialism, and for the consolidation of national independence and of the positions of socialism on the Indochinese peninsula. It is also a positive contribution to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system and to the strengthening of the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

Close links and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union are a matter of principle, strategy,

and revolutionary sentiment. Our Party is duty-bound to educate all age-groups so that they firmly grasp this principle and this strategy, turning them into a mighty motive force to bring our revolutionary cause to complete victory.

This year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics commemorates the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation. Our people sincerely wish the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU further and outstanding achievements in the implementation of the Revolutions of the 26th Congress.

In the past period, the solidarity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has entered a new stage of development, and brought about unprecedented changes in the revolutionary situation of the three Indochinese countries.

We hail the Lao People's Democratic Republic, our staunch and loyal comrade-in-arms, which has recorded outstanding progress in economic restoration, transformation and development along socialist lines and in national defence.

We hail the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole genuine and legitimate representative of the heroic Kampuchean people, which has won great successes in national revival and in the struggle to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Friendly relations between our States and peoples, political, economic, and cultural cooperation have greatly developed, and economic exchanges

have kept increasing. After the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and that between Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, our Party, State and people have done everything in their power to support and help these two countries, with dedication and in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. And all the feats of our people in the defence of the homeland, all the achievements we record in the building of socialism are closely linked to the valuable assistance of these two friendly peoples. Close connections in mutual affection and assistance, shared successes and difficulties are being increasingly clearly manifested in life, and reach deep into the sentiments of each of our peoples.

The special relationship between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is a key aspect of the revolution in the three countries, a matter of vital significance for the destinies of the three peoples. From one generation to another, our people should preserve the pure friendship and the tradition of solidarity between the three nations, unceasingly consolidate and strengthen the special relationship and militant alliance of our three countries, in a determination to defeat all acts of sabotage, division, and aggression by our common enemy — the Chinese expansionists acting hand in glove with the U. S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. We regard this as firm guarantee for the cause of defending independence

and freedom and successfully building socialism in each country on the Indochinese peninsula, and also an important factor of peace and stability in South-east Asia.

Concerning the issue of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and legitimate interests, equality and mutual trust, we have always striven to the utmost to fulfil our international duty towards our two friendly neighbours; at the same time, we endeavour together with them to achieve close cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields to further in an increasingly effective way each country's cause of consolidating national defence and security and building the economy and culture.

The solidarity and cooperation between ours and the other countries in the socialist community have undergone a new qualitative development since our country became a full member of COMECON. We have received from them strong support and comprehensive assistance. Under the treaties of friendship and cooperation and the agreements signed between ours and the socialist countries, cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields has been unfolded and has achieved heartening progress and results.

In the forthcoming period, we shall do our utmost together with the socialist countries to achieve good cooperation in the framework of bilateral treaties and agreements and promote the development of

cooperation in planning and policy coordination among the member countries of COMECON.

We warmly support the correct and resolute steps taken by the Military Council for the Salvation of Poland to defeat the reactionaries' plot to seize power, restore order and security so as to resolve the economic and social difficulties of Poland. We strongly protest against interference by imperialist forces in Poland's internal affairs in an attempt to hinder the recovery process of socialist Poland. We affirm our unshakable solidarity with the Polish United Workers' Party, the communists and people of Poland. We firmly believe that our Polish comrades will thoroughly smash all reactionary forces, overcome all difficulties, preserve and develop their revolutionary gains. The People's Republic of Poland will forever remain a solid link in the world socialist system.

Our people resolutely stand on the side of the Cuban people, strongly support the Republic of Cuba, an independent and sovereign country, a member of the socialist community, the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, now struggling against the U.S. imperialists' schemes of aggression and threats of attack. The Cuban people, who have risen up from a life of slavery, are carrying aloft the banner of freedom and socialism, for the independence of their homeland and for their own happiness. They are a heroic, dauntless nation that no aggressor can vanquish. Hands off Cuba!

Our people unswervingly support the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country without any outside interference.

We actively contribute to the strengthening of solidarity in the international Communist and Workers' movement on the basis of Marxism — Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Through the historic victory of their patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression, through victory in the two recent wars of national defence and through the present staunch struggle against Chinese expansionism, our Party has made and is making positive contributions to the struggle against Maoism and in defence of Marxism — Leninism.

As a nation which was once oppressed by imperialism and which has waged a protracted fight against the forces of aggression, our people fully *support the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples* to remove from world life all forms of colonialism, to regain and defend national independence, and to build a new international economic order.

The Vietnamese people thoroughly hold to the line of developing Vietnam's cooperation with the other members of the *Non-Aligned Movement*, contributing to bring into play the active role of the movement in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for world peace, and the independence and sovereignty of all nations. Our people support the active efforts of the non-aligned countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

We warmly hail the initiative of the People's Republic of Mongolia on the signing of a convention of non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between Asian and Pacific countries.

Our people highly appreciate the great role and increasing prestige of India in the Non-Aligned Movement as well as its contributions to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and elsewhere in the world. We deeply rejoice at the current development of Vietnam — India relations, and believe that friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries will develop with every passing day.

We resolutely support the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Afghan people who with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, are fighting against an undeclared war by the imperialists and international reactionaries, to defend the gains of the April Revolution.

Our people resolutely stand on the side of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada who are struggling against the U.S. imperialists' threats of aggression. We fully support the heroic fight of the Salvadorian people against the fascist dictatorship and the U.S. interventionists. We strongly support the peoples of Chile and Guatemala who are struggling against fascist rulers and intervention by the U.S. imperialists; support the struggle of the Panamanian people for sovereignty over the Panama canal.

We condemn the U.S. imperialists' use of Israel as a shock force against the Arab people, encouraging it to launch savage attacks on Lebanon and Iraq, to occupy Jerusalem and annex Syria's Golan Heights, thereby bringing about an extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East. We support all efforts to achieve a fair and lasting peace in the region on the basis of Israel ending its occupation of all Arab territories and respecting the fundamental, inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, of whom the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole genuine representative, including the right to establish a state of their own.

We resolutely support the Libyan people and government in their staunch struggle against the hostile policy of the U.S. imperialists, to preserve their sovereignty and national independence.

Our people express deep sympathy with, and warm support for, the Namibian and other peoples in Southern Africa who are fighting against the domination of the South African racists, for independence, freedom and national equality. We sternly condemn South Africa's piratic attacks against Angola, and fully support all steps taken by Angola to deal fitting ripostes at the aggressors.

With deep sympathy, our people closely follow the struggle of the working class and labouring people in the developed capitalist countries. For over a year now, there have emerged in almost

all countries of Western Europe, Northern Europe, and North America a mass movement of unprecedented depth, scope and strength since World War Two, against the Reagan Administration's bellicose and interventionist policy which is causing international tension and making the situation in Europe extremely dangerous. Recent developments in a number of European countries such as France and Greece have proved that the banner of peace, democracy, social progress has the power to rally broad masses of the working class and working people to force state monopoly capitalism back step by step, to win partial successes, to create favourable conditions for a continued advance of the people's revolutionary cause. Our people hope that in the forthcoming period, the working class and working people's movement in the developed capitalist countries will record greater successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people stand for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with ASEAN countries, which they are always prepared to join in a coordinated effort to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. Nevertheless, the relations of Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries with the five ASEAN countries are now encountering obstacles set up by Beijing and Washington in an attempt to seek advantages for China's expansionist and hegemonic policy and the U.S.

imperialists' interventionist policy in this region. The so-called "International Conference on Kampuchea" stage-managed by China and the United States constitutes a crude interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country with a view to opposing the revival of the Kampuchean people, and is a product of the hostile policy pursued by China and the United States with regard to the three Indochinese countries. We hope that for the sake of their fundamental interests, and of peace and security in this region and elsewhere in the world, the ASEAN countries will enter into talks with the Indochinese countries in order to settle problems in the relations between the two groups of countries, and eventually bring about peace and stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese people resolutely struggle to defeat all aggressive and annexationist schemes of the Chinese reactionary ruling circle authorities against our country, but we maintain intact our friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people. Persistently maintaining a policy of friendship and good neighbourhood with the Chinese people, we stand for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and settlement of disputes through negotiations. We have repeatedly proposed a resump-

tion of the talks which have been unilaterally suspended by China, but the Chinese side has adamantly turned down our proposals. The Chinese leaders have all along been pursuing expansionist and hegemonic ambitions. They have not yet given up their scheme of placing Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea under China's tutelage, they regard the three Indochinese countries as primary targets for aggression and annexation on their path of expansion into Southeast Asia. And now they are taking steps in their alliance with the United States for the purpose of carrying out this strategic design. That is the real cause of the increasing tension in the relations between the two countries, it is also a factor undermining peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The Chinese rulers must bear full responsibility for the serious consequences of this situation.

We stand for establishing and broadening normal State, economic, cultural, scientific and technological relations with all countries, irrespective of their political, or social system, on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. Such relations have been established between ours and many countries in Western Europe, Northern Europe, South America, and other parts of the world; with regard to the United States, our relations have not been improved owing to Washington's hostile policy. As a member of the United Nations, we entertain relations with

many international organizations under the aegis of the United Nations' Organization.

Our people will forever hold in high esteem the valuable support and warm sentiments extended to us by the peoples and governments of the friendly countries and by many international organizations. We are confident that, in the future, our country's relations with the above-mentioned countries and organizations will be maintained and further developed for the sake of peace, friendship and cooperation among nations.

PART SIX

TO RAISE THE PARTY'S FIGHTING CAPACITY

Ours is a staunch revolutionary party. In the new, difficult and complex fight to transform the old society, build socialism and defend the homeland, our Party continues to enhance its revolutionary and scientific character. The overall line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy laid down by the Fourth National Congress have been tested in practice and proved to be correct. The Party's unity and oneness of mind in the building of socialism, the defence of the homeland, and the resolute struggle against the aggressive schemes of the Chinese expansionists, have been consolidated. Through the implementation of the Resolutions of the Fourth National Congress, the Party organizations and State management bodies have gained more experience and ability in economic and social management. Entering a new period, the broad masses of Party cadres and members have preserved their revolutionary qualities and their political standards, their cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, and their leadership and management capacities have been raised to some extent.

However, the realities over the past few years have also clearly shown the Party's weakness and shortcomings in economic and social leadership, as manifested in deficiencies with regard to the implementation and concretization of the Party's lines, in its practical organizational capacity, in its style of leadership presenting features not suited to the requirements of the new stage. The qualities and shortcomings in the political leadership of the Party are closely linked to the qualities and shortcomings in the work to build it ideologically and organizationally.

We have made efforts to enhance the working class and vanguard character, the leading ability and fighting capacity of the Party, to perfect its organization from the central down to grassroots level, and to improve the quality of its cadres and members in combination while strengthening the State apparatus and promoting the role of the mass organizations. However, slowness in correcting the shortcomings in economic and social leadership and management, along with prolonged defects in the Party's ideological and organizational work, especially a decrease in revolutionary qualities, fighting will and sense of responsibility among a section of Party cadres and members, including responsible cadres at various levels and branches, have reduced the effectiveness of the Party's leadership, greatly hindered the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the Party and the laws of the State, and adversely affected the Party's prestige among the masses.

At present, the historic tasks incumbent on the Party are very heavy. The struggle to build socialism and defend the socialist homeland has taken on an acute and complex character. Our people's enemies of all kinds at home and abroad are spearheading their attacks against our Party, trying by every means to wreck it ideologically and organizationally. The situation in the Party, the historic tasks incumbent on it, the new circumstances of the struggle bring further into the limelight the particular importance of Party building work: it is necessary at all costs to bring about a definite turn for the better in the quality of the Party's leadership and in its fighting capacity. The key task in the building of the Party now is to *continue enhancing its working class and vanguard character, build it into a politically, ideologically and organizationally strong Party in order to successfully implement its programme, enhancing its capacity to lead the building of socialism and the defence of the homeland, ensuring that it constantly maintains its revolutionary and scientific character and remains a party with high moral standards, a high fighting capacity and close links with the masses.* To this end, it is absolutely necessary to renovate Party building work.

Raising the Party's leading capacity and the effectiveness of its leadership now has the following meaning: the responsible Party and State bodies must have a thorough understanding of the Party's policies, implement in time the policies and

the Resolutions of this Congress, and on their basis, work out correct plans, policies and measures both on the building of socialism and the defence of the homeland; enhance their practical organizational capabilities, discard inappropriate forms of organization and methods of work, build in all branches and at all levels a mechanism of Party leadership, people's mastery and State management; choose and appoint cadres with good moral qualities and equal to the tasks of the new stage, primarily to key leading and managerial posts in important branches and establishments; organize and mobilize the masses into a powerful revolutionary movement. Raising the Party's leading capacity as detailed above must be the overall result of a thorough understanding of the Party's policies, especially grasping and applying the principles governing the advance to socialism in our country as reflected therein, drawing sound lessons from experiences at home and abroad, a knowledge of management, science and technology, a scientific method of thinking, and constant responsiveness to new ideas and situations, a good method of organization to go deep into reality, to gain a timely knowledge of the requirements and aspirations of the masses, to detect and enhance their creative experience.

The Party's leadership must be strengthened in an all-round manner, but *special importance must be attached to economic leadership: the entire Party must go deep into the economic front, improve*

its style of leadership over the economy, enhance its capacity and efficiency in leading the economy.

To improve the quality of economic leadership and concretize the Party's policies, it is necessary to continue reviewing our economic work over the past period, and bringing out advanced models in agriculture, industry, capital construction, communications and transport, distribution and circulation. From these lessons and practical experiences, we shall work out correct policies, find appropriate and specific forms in the organization of labour, management, the organization and operation of trade, etc. Without detailed research and organizational work to achieve these practical tasks it will not be possible to translate the Party's economic programme into reality.

In economic leadership, we must, on the one hand, commend those localities and establishments which have shown initiative and creativeness in implementing the Party's lines and the policies of the Central Committee in keeping with local conditions, and which have managed to lay down correct policies and measures to increase labour productivity and economic effectiveness, develop production, and improve the people's livelihood. It is necessary to encourage those cadres who are responsive to new situations and who can consider problems from a novel standpoint, detect at an early date what has become obsolete in the old policies, forms of organization and management, and know how to care for

new developments arising in life. On the other hand, we should overcome and prevent such deviations as liberalism, parochialism, sectionalism, violations of democratic centralism, loosening the struggle between the two paths, departure from the Party's line of socialist construction and socialist transformation.

While going deep into the tasks of economic and cultural building, transformation and development, which are still very new, our Party must not relax, even for a minute, the task of consolidating and strengthening national defence, maintaining political security, public order and social safety, a task which requires the Party to enhance further its leading capacity and standards.

The Party must strengthen and improve its *ideological leadership*. The basic task of the ideological work is to *arm our entire Party, people and army with a basic knowledge of scientific socialism, promote revolutionary will, unwavering determination and the required knowledge to fulfil both strategic tasks: to build socialism and to defend the homeland.*

Our ideological work must give our Party cadres, Party members and people, and especially the principal leading cadres in all branches, localities and establishments *a deep understanding of the overall line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy in the transitional period, and a resolve to strive for their implementation, with the highest revolutionary ardour of collective masters.* A weak point of ideological work in the

recent period is its failure to equip Party cadres and members with the necessary knowledge, give them a thorough grasp of the Party's policies, and make these policies widely known to the people; its failure to bring about a broad consensus based on full theoretical and practical understanding; its failure to strongly criticize the views at variance with the Party's policies, and to give timely answers to the practical and concrete problems which have arisen in the implementation of these policies.

Explaining policy does not stop at general views. It is necessary to give demonstrations with scientific arguments and vivid realities, to help everybody clearly and deeply understand the Party's policies; to closely link a thorough understanding of the Party's lines to explaining the specific policies of the Party and State, to explain the present situation of our revolution, stressing the successes obtained in national defence and economic construction and cultural development, thereby generating people's enthusiasm and pride; at the same time, pointing out the difficulties, clearly analysing the causes of the problems encountered in production and life; to severely criticize shortcomings in leadership and managerial work, and clearly indicate the policies and measures taken to overcome the difficulties. We must make it clear that the struggle for socialist construction and socialist transformation is an arduous, complex and protracted class struggle between the two paths, and bring everybody to take a firm socialist stand in this struggle.

Our ideological work must *enable everybody to see clearly without any confusion that the immediate and dangerous enemies of our nation are the Chinese expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists*: it must clearly point out their aggressive and disruptive schemes against our country, enhance vigilance, secure a thorough grasp of the Party's policies, bring about a permanent state of combat-readiness and a will to fight to defend the homeland. It is necessary to well organize the work of popularizing the Party's views, and to ensure success on every occasion. To concentrate on criticizing and condemning Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, such is the main thrust of our current struggle against Maoism.

Our ideological work must be aimed at *enhancing the revolutionary qualities* of the Party cadres and members, combating individualism and opportunism in all forms, and resolutely eliminating manifestations of political degradation, organizational indiscipline, degeneration in the way of life, bureaucratization in the style of work, and conservatism in the approach to things. In this question, it is necessary to closely combine ideological education, self-criticism and criticism with organizational measures, increased control, strict enforcement of Party discipline, and to combine ideological education within the Party with the struggle against negative manifestations in State bodies and in society.

After the Fifth National Congress, a *deep political education drive* is to be carried out in the entire Party, with the study of Congress documents being taken as a basis for educating Party cadres and members on the Party's policies, carrying out far-reaching self-criticism and criticism, criticizing erroneous ideas, enhancing the revolutionary will and sense of responsibility of the communists in response to the new situation and the new tasks.

It is necessary to achieve a good organization of *scientific, technological, and especially economic, education for Party cadres, Party members and ordinary people*. Party cadres and members are to be educated in a style of economic leadership characterized by an ardent and diligent revolutionary spirit, and practical considerations of efficiency and aptitude to detect and turn to account the potentialities of the country.

In the ideological work, it is necessary to enhance combativity, *to analyse and criticise manifestations of petty bourgeois ideology, resolutely oppose the bourgeois ideology, the leftovers of the neo-colonialist culture and the vestiges of the feudal ideology*. The struggle against these non-proletarian ideologies must be carried out in an organized way, combining various measures, under close guidance, and with constant reference to the implementation of the tasks of socialist construction and socialist transformation.

The vitality and effectiveness of ideological work lie in its revolutionary and scientific spirit. Propa-

ganda must be truthful, telling the people the truth, what has been done and what has not, the advantages and the difficulties, the achievements and the shortcomings. Only through ideological work carried out on a scientific basis, free from subjectivism, one-sidedness, superficiality, oversimplification will it be possible to wage a sharp and effective struggle against all erroneous and hostile ideologies.

The mass media must be put to better and more effective use. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the political and ideological work carried out by Party cells on a regular basis. Every Party member, every Party cadre is duty-bound to explain the Party's policies, dispel misgivings among the people, expose in time hostile distortions, defend the Party's policies, promote and maintain the confidence of the masses in our country's revolutionary cause.

Marxist-Leninist education must be extended and improved in order to gradually provide our Party cadres, Party members and people with a scientific world outlook, a revolutionary conception of life, and a systematic knowledge of new developments in theoretical work of ours and other Parties, with an eye to their creative application to the Party's policies. It is necessary to carry out an all-round reform of the theoretical and political education work in the Party schools, the State and the mass organizations with regard to the contents and methods of teaching, and the training of lecturers.

We must strengthen theoretical work and improve the quality of social science research, closely linking them to the study, working out and popularization of the policies of the Party and State; to bring into play the role and potentialities of political science in the education of the working people in socialist ideology and in the study of the question of how to improve economic and social management. In the forthcoming period, it is necessary to undertake serious studies of the period of transition from small production to socialism, of the Party's economic strategy in the 80's, of the system of socialist collective mastery, of the mechanism of Party leadership, people's mastery, and State management, of Party building in the context of a ruling party and on a number of international problems such as: new developments in the three revolutionary currents, the present global strategy of the U.S., a critique of Maoism and other anti-communist ideologies.

We must actively train theoreticians, perfect the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School and other theoretical institutions, create a number of new research institutes, and achieve a close coordination of the scientific research institutions of the Party and State in carrying out theoretical research programmes.

The Party must above all strengthen organizational leadership, a decisive factor for the successful implementation of its policies. First and

foremost, it is essential to exercise good leadership over the building and consolidation of the socialist State, because today the Party leads the revolution primarily through the State. In the mechanism of Party leadership, people's mastery and State management, the leading capacity of the Party is manifested in close leadership over important questions of policy, while avoiding to get involved in concrete managerial business or to encroach on the powers and responsibilities of State bodies. The Party organization in a locality or a grassroots unit should know how to correctly determine what matters come under the Party's leadership. Improve the methods and forms of leadership of the Party over the State bodies in all branches, at all levels.

The Party must devote great efforts to *building the contingent of Party and State cadres*, first of all, leading and managerial cadres. The quality of the cadres is a decisive factor for successful leadership. The leading and managerial cadres of the Party and State must have good political levels, their knowledge and capacity of work must be equal to the requirements of the new tasks. On the economic front, the cadres must be able to implement the Party's economic line, and successfully carry out the economic and social targets laid down by the Fifth Congress of the Party.

In cadre work, it is necessary to make correct choices and properly assign key cadres at all levels, in all branches. A cadre must not hold many different positions; a suitable balance of good and

capable cadres in different age groups must be achieved. Young cadres, women and national minority cadres, who are good and capable and have come to maturity in the revolutionary mass movement, should be actively brought into the leading bodies of the Party and State. In the assessment of cadres, we should overcome the tendency to one-sided emphasis either on past work and family background, or on academic diplomas and degrees.

The promotion and deployment of cadres must go along with planned training. In the recent period, we have shown many shortcomings in the training of leading Party cadres at various levels; we have failed to lay down specific qualifications for leading cadres at each level; we have been slow in improving the programmes for training leading cadres. Many leading cadres have not been given timely, systematic and good training. With regard to leading Party cadres, especially the key leading comrades on Party committees, knowledge of political theory and general knowledge must be turned into a scientific approach, a broad political outlook, an analytical tool to study reality, to organize, to persuade and mobilize the masses.

It is urgently necessary to consolidate the existing contingent of cadres, to strengthen the training of leading and managerial cadres; to renovate the content and methods of teaching in the Party schools and the State management schools; to raise scientific standards in cadres training and speedily work

out programmes to train leading cadres at all levels, in all branches, in districts and important economic establishments.

The Party must *organize good supervision work*, one of its main functions of leadership. In the recent period, supervision work has not been given due attention, has not been well organized and has not played a strict regulatory role. Some Party committees have adopted decisions then stopped there without organizing and supervising their implementation. As a result, many tasks have suffered delays, decisions have not been fully implemented, misconceptions have been slow to be corrected. Now more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen supervision work, and increase its effectiveness. Control should be exercised over the implementation of the Party's policies at all levels, in all branches; over the preservation of revolutionary qualities and over the activities of Party cadres, Party members and employees in the State apparatus; we must defend good, capable and promising cadres: quickly detect new factors; correct shortcomings in time so as to ensure a practical and effective leadership in all circumstances.

Following the guiding principles for Party building laid down by the fourth Congress, we have achieved important results in raising *the quality of the Party membership, strengthening the primary Party organizations, consolidating the Party's leading apparatus at all levels.*

At present, our Party has 1,717,784 members¹ working in 35,146 primary Party organizations. In the new stage of the revolution, the great majority of Party members have clearly shown the revolutionary quality and creative capacity of the communists. On the front to defend the country, maintain political security, public order and social safety, on the front of building, transforming and developing the economy, culture, education and science, and on the diplomatic front as well, tens of thousands of Party members have set examples of sacrifice and dedication to the nation and the people, and fulfilled their duties. The political and cultural levels of the Party members have been raised. Over one million Party members have been given a chance to make political and theoretical studies in various connections. At present, our Party has nearly 500,000 graduates of secondary general education schools, and over 200,000 graduates of institutions of higher education or of secondary vocational schools.

However, at a time when the entire Party, army and people are striving for the noble cause of the nation and of socialism, a number of Party members have failed to preserve their revolutionary qualities, have lost their fighting will, deserted their duties, violated the policies of the Party and the laws of the State. Such persons have in fact estranged themselves from the Party and the revolution, and have

1. As of December 1981.

damaged the prestige of the Party. Over the past five years, our Party has brought out of its ranks corrupted, degenerated Party members. We are right to bring out of the Party in this way those persons who do not meet the requirements of Party membership. However, in many places where Party cards have been issued, many Party members have not been allowed to receive their cards. There are persons who clearly do not deserve to be Party members, but the Party branches have not firmly brought them out of the Party.

To keep the Party's ranks unblemished, it is necessary after this Congress to resolutely bring out of its ranks as soon as possible all opportunists, persons with paralyzed revolutionary will, exploiters, traffickers, speculators, embezzlers, bribe-takers, bullies. Those Party members whose political consciousness is too low and who make no progress through education by the Party organizations are also to be brought out of the Party. This must be done with great firmness and a high sense of urgency, but under close guidance by the Secretariat and Party committees, to guard against misconceptions.

All Party committees must base themselves on criteria of quality and capacity of Party members in the new period and *strive to raise their standard*. Every Party member, whatever his or her job, whether a worker, a public servant, a cooperative member, or an army or security fighter... must

have the qualities and capacities of a communist militant.

The qualities and capacities of a Party member are now primarily manifested in the spirit of revolutionary offensive, a firm confidence in the victory of the socialist revolution and the cause of defending the homeland, an unwavering attitude in face of difficulties, a persevering endeavour of every moment to make practical contributions to socialist construction and socialist transformation, to the development of production, the stabilization and gradual improvement of the people's living conditions. On the front of national defence, Party members must show not only a determined fighting spirit but also high vigilance against the Chinese expansionists' disruptive actions in the political, economic and ideological fields. They must not adopt an indifferent or evasive attitude or to content themselves with enumerating, and complaining about negative manifestations; on the contrary, they must take an active part in the struggle between the two paths, in the fight against negative manifestations and tendencies to spontaneous capitalism to defend the people's right to mastery, consolidate and strengthen the positions of socialism, and safeguard the image of the Party. Every Party member in whatever connection must review his or her style of work, get in close touch with the masses, go deep into the mass movement, attentively listen to the views of the masses, and accept their creative

experiences, constantly show a high sense of discipline and organization, preserve the unity of the Party, oppose mistaken views, defend the truth and the Party, maintain a healthy, honest life, and resist the temptations of a luxurious, depraved way of life.

The qualities of Party members are also manifested now in a passion for study, a thirst for knowledge, and strenuous efforts to raise their knowledge of socialism, the Party's policies, and the laws of the State, and enhance their expertise in their current jobs. Self-conceit, failure to study, wasting time, failure to strive permanently to raise one's standards in all fields, also constitute for a Party member a serious manifestation of moral degeneration.

The work of educating, steeling and supervising Party members must be linked to the revolutionary movement of the masses, the tasks and powers entrusted, the implementation of the Party's policies, the observance of the laws of the State, the improvement of the organization and management of enterprises, cooperatives, offices or units. Giving the masses an opportunity to recommend candidates for Party membership, to make suggestions on bringing out of the Party those elements not fulfilling the required criteria, to criticize Party members and supervise their activities, constitutes a very precious lesson in Party building. It must be reviewed adequately, and applied widely on a regular basis in all Party organizations. Enhancing

the activity and leadership of Party cells and Party members cannot be separated from the amending of irrational policies and regulations, of unsuitable managerial organizations. On the other hand, it is necessary to raise the quality of the political education given to Party members, renovate the Party cells' internal working, and to carry out serious self-criticism and criticism.

In five years, the Party has recruited over 370,000 new members, 85.9 per cent of whom are members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. These are very promising young people who have come under close scrutiny by the masses and have been recommended by them for admission into the Party. This batch of new Party members has rapidly brought its action into play and given the Party a new vitality.

Our Party can tap abundant reserves. Hundreds of thousands of prominent young workers, collective peasants, socialist intellectuals have emerged through the revolutionary mass movement. It is necessary to broaden the ranks of the Party and to *recruit many new, good Party members*. Attention is to be paid to those places where there are still too few Party members, such as the provinces of Nam Bo. More importance is to be attached to the recruitment of Party members of working class stock. We should not be narrow-minded and close the door for fear of difficulties. If we carry good work in recruiting new members, and bring into

the Party prominent elements who are conscious of the Party's ideal, have been trained and tested, and who furthermore possess political, cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, the quality of the Party organization will be raised. We should not cut down the requirements on the quality of Party members. The utmost efforts are to be made to prevent opportunist elements from getting into the Party.

Over the past few years, the Party committees at provincial, municipal, and district levels have paid great attention to *consolidating the primary organizations of the Party*, have been in close contact with the grassroots and sent more cadres to the grassroots level. As a result, the number of strong grassroots organizations have been on the increase and the number of weak ones has dropped. One positive sign is the emergence of more and more primary Party branches in the countryside and in enterprises, which have proved able to lead in production and in organizing the people's life, and which have brought outstanding models into existence, thus boosting the general movement in the whole country. However there are still no small number of primary branches which have failed to improve their leadership and to develop the revolutionary mass movement, and which have been working in a slow, passive manner. There are provincial, municipal and district Party committees which are still guiding the grassroots in a constrain-

ing, rigid way, and attaching no importance to enhancing the primary branches' role as masters and their initiative and creativeness. On the other hand, there are also provincial and district Party committees which fail to supervise closely and on a regular basis the activities of the grassroots. In order to enhance the effectiveness of the primary branches' leadership, it is necessary to define a mode of activity for each kind of primary branch; perfect the work of primary Party organizations to suit the new situation, actively train secretaries of Party committees of primary organizations and cells on methods of leadership.

Special importance is to be attached to *consolidating Party cells*. The Party cell must do a good job in allotting work to, supervising and helping each Party member, carrying out propaganda and education work with each non-Party person. In reforming the work of Party cell meetings to conform with the Party's position and responsibilities of political leadership, it must not be allowed to bring the meetings of Party cells down to the level of meetings of a mass organization or a production organization. Each Party cell must take specific steps to educate and enhance the quality of every Party member, to ensure that no Party member indulges in corrupt actions bullying the masses, actions at variance with the Party's lines and policies, and violations of the laws of the State.

To strengthen the Party committees, the leading core of Party organizations at all levels, is a very important task of Party building. The Party committees must be able to work out correct, intelligent decisions, giving correct answers to the problems raised. To this end, they must strive to raise their standards in all fields, especially to gain a deep insight into economic and cultural questions, and those concerning the organization of the people's life. In addition, they must organize a successful implementation of the policies decided. This requires that they raise their organizational capacity, know how to build and run the organization, bring into play the managerial effectiveness of the State bodies, and carry out good work in mass mobilization. Improve the forms and methods of work in keeping with the increased requirements of leadership, and do away with the mentality of small producers and a piecemeal mode of work.

Party committees must have a rational size and composition to ensure an effective leadership over all sectors of activity. Their make-up must be a combination of politically mature cadres and cadres versed in economics, science and technology and having organizational and managerial abilities. Furthermore, Party committee members must meet the required standards in moral qualities and leading capacities, they must be absolutely loyal to the revolution and the Party's policies, truly capable of discussing and deciding policies with the committee and organizing their implementation. Party com-

mittees must not be turned into coalition bodies. A number of key comrades in Party committees must concentrate on Party work, ensuring the leadership and control of the Party, and undertake no administrative work.

Party committees must *care for the building and perfecting of the Party apparatus*; choose and assign competent cadres to strengthen its commissions, put to good use and enhance the capacity and strength of the party apparatus. *Renovate the methods of work*; first and foremost, improve information work in the Party in order to make it possible for its leading bodies to dispose at any moment of up-to-date and accurate information about the situation; renovate the ways of preparing and issuing decisions, and achieve strict compliance with the regulations about organizing their implementation. Party committees must promote among the cadres a planned, methodical style of work, abiding by mandatory functions and regulations and showing constant concern for effectiveness.

Since the Fourth National Congress, in face of the new trials of the revolutionary struggle and the Chinese expansionists' disruptive and divisive schemes, our entire Party, from the Central Committee down to Party cells, cadres and ordinary Party members, has tightened its ranks, *strengthened its unity, and preserved its unity of will and action*. The Party's unity has been clearly manifested in the activities of the Central Committee. The

resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau are a product of the collective intelligence, of the unity of will and action of the entire Party.

The unity of our Party relies on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Party's correct political options, and the principle of democratic centralism in the organization and life of the Party. To preserve and strengthen the Party's unity in all branches, at all levels, it is necessary to fully understand the Party's policies, to have a full and accurate appraisal of the situation to make a clear analysis of the qualities and shortcomings in the Party's leadership, to promote democracy and highlight discipline, to carry out genuine self-criticism and criticism in all Party committees and cells, to fight individualism, indifference and irresponsibility.

Our entire Party, every Party branch, every Party cadre and member are resolved to do their utmost to preserve and enhance the tradition of unity of the Communist Party of Vietnam, to carry into effect President Ho Chi Minh's behest: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the Party cells, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the Party as the apple of their eye." We are resolved to enhance our vigilance, to smash all disruptive schemes and tricks of the enemy, to bring about an increasing unanimity of view within the Party, to mobilize

the strength of our entire Party and people in the new fight to successfully carry out the historical tasks laid down by this Congress.

The Fifth Congress is a new milestone in our Party's struggle for national independence and socialism, a protracted and arduous struggle but also one of great achievements.

The new period confronts our Party and people with tremendously complicated and heavy tasks. We have full confidence and strength to successfully carry out these tasks.

We have overcome our perplexity, hard to be avoided when entering a new stage. We have made more practical and richer the revolutionary options laid down by the Party's Fourth Congress. We have gained a deeper understanding of our country and people. We have indentified the enemy and clearly seen the obstacles on our path. We have got a more accurate and more practical appraisal both of our possibilities and strong points and of our difficulties and weaknesses. The lessons of experience drawn from the practice of building socialism and defending the homeland over the past five years are very useful to us. All this, which we could not have had five years ago, constitute our most valuable revolutionary asset when entering the new stage of struggle.

At present, our people's material and moral forces are growing ceaselessly; the revolutionary prospects are bright and good. But there are still many difficulties ahead. The requirements with

regard to the people's living conditions, the defence of the country, the building of a material and technological infrastructure for the march forward, are particularly pressing and great.

However, our Party has been steeled in the fight against difficulties, and has never balked at them. It has all the required strength to overcome all difficulties, and fulfil all revolutionary tasks in the new period.

It is the strength of the traditional unity of the entire Party, the strength of the unshakable unity between the Party and the people. The resolutions of this Congress will consolidate further the unity of the Party and strengthen further the deep ties between the people and the Party.

It is the strength of the international solidarity which has linked and will always link closely our Party and people to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the revolutionary vanguard of our times; to the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the Lao people; to the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people; to the Communist and Workers' Parties and peoples of the other countries in the socialist community; to all Communist and Workers' Parties; to the three revolutionary currents in the world.

With such a Party, such a people, such international relationship, we shall fulfil any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy.

To build socialism successfully in a country predominantly of small production, to defeat all the plans of expansionism on the part of the Chinese reactionaries acting in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to defend national independence and peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia, is a very heavy, yet glorious mission that history has assigned our people and Party. We are resolved to level all difficulties, march forward with enthusiasm and pride, and fulfil our duty to our nation and to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

— Under the Party's banner, let our entire Party, people and army march forward !

— Long live the heroic Vietnamese people !

— Long life the Communist Party of Vietnam !

— President Ho Chi Minh lives for ever in our cause !

— All for the Socialist homeland, for the happiness of the people !

— Our great cause will triumph !

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