

leadership and management, build a relationship of genuine equality among cooperative members, and maintain a satisfactory relationship between cooperatives and the state; and at the same time, we must positively improve techniques, increase production, diversify products, and make handicraft and small industry a really useful part of light industry.

In short, in the process of the implementation of socialist industrialization, we must solidly develop important industries, such as machinery, electric power, raw materials, metallurgy, chemistry, construction materials, foodstuffs, textiles, household appliances, wood and paper products, and art items. Paying full attention to these important industries and rationally and proportionally developing them are not only in keeping with the need to improve our people's living standard and extending production under our country's conditions, but are also aimed at -- together with agriculture -- creating a solid foundation for an independent and self-reliant economy.

### Strive to Develop Agriculture

As a fundamental economy that supplies society with precious products -- food and foodstuffs -- as an important base for developing industry, the agriculture of our country must necessarily develop in two directions: both rapidly increasing total production, including many kinds of products, and rapidly raising labor output. Only on this basis will we be able to develop agriculture, build modern industry, turn a portion of social labor for domestic requirements into labor for export, turn a portion of labor for production of agricultural products, through the import-export channel, into labor producing equipment and machinery in the service of the technological revolution. This is the correct path to improve the people's living standards, broaden the rural market, and at the same time create an accumulation for socialist industrialization.

In this initial stage, agriculture's responsibility is extremely heavy. Agricultural production must surge powerfully ahead, meeting the consumption requirements of all the people -- first of all the nutritional requirement on an ever-improving scale -- insuring raw materials for light industry, insuring exports to serve the technological revolution, and insuring the requirements of national defense. Throughout the country, as well as in each region, only on the basis of correctly and concretely ascertaining these requirements and relying on the existing potential of our country's agriculture, will we be able to chart the best direction for production -- classify the regions and set up production plans, actively step up the technological revolution -- and create a new face for the agriculture of the entire country.

Our country's agriculture is an agriculture of the tropics, mixed to some extent with characteristics of the temperate zone and divided into three definite regions -- delta, midlands, and mountain regions. Each region has its own strength. Forestry, raising of large domestic animals,

and cultivation of slow-growing trees for industrial use are the strength of the mountain region. As to food, foodstuffs, and fast-growing trees for industrial use, they are the strength of the delta. The midlands are both a rice region and a region of subsidiary crops and various types of beans, both a land for industrial trees and a land for large-scale animal husbandry. In the course of agricultural development, the regions must know how to develop their own strengths. The central branches must know how to concentrate their means and capital to invest in suitable areas so as to promote agricultural production in all three regions. In the past few years, delta agriculture has made much progress and created many good typical models of several types. However, unless we rapidly effect new leaps forward in the output of rice, subsidiary crops, and other types of plants, particularly in labor output as a base for the new division of labor, we cannot bring about a new situation in economy and livelihood. The agriculture of the midlands and mountain region in the past few years developed weakly and in a manner entirely disproportionate to the great potentialities of these two regions. On the basis of achievements, it is time to have a powerful change in the direction of agricultural development and to boldly create in the midlands and mountain region new agricultural economic areas that possess a high production ratio. Only by closely coordinating the delta agriculture with that of the midlands and mountain region can we create a comprehensive and rich agriculture and enable agriculture to play its "basic" role in industrial development. The delta agriculture must develop powerfully to act as a stable "springboard" for the mountain agriculture. Conversely, the mountain agriculture must develop its own strength to assist the delta agriculture.

In addition to the delta, midland, and mountain regions of our country, the sea also occupies a particularly important position because it is a source of rich marine products and a convenient channel of communications and transportation. In the course of socialist industrialization, in charting the direction of production and carrying out a new division of labor, we must pay adequate attention to tapping the great potentialities of the sea, causing the sea to make an effective contribution to the improvement of the people's living standards and enrichment of the country.

In the immediate future, the strategic task of agriculture is to endeavor to achieve three targets: five tons of paddy, one laborer, and two pigs. In speaking about five tons of paddy per hectare of cultivated land we do not mean only to talk about the settlement of the food problem for rice planting households. We also mean to talk about the food base for everyone in society. This does not mean that the food problem will be settled simply by paddy and rice. We must combine rice with subsidiary crops, vegetables, and other foodstuffs according to a suitable ratio in line with regional characteristics. One laborer per hectare of cultivated land does not just mean the assurance of adequate labor for agricultural cultivation. It means dealing with a new division of labor to develop agriculture and industry and to devote a portion of labor to production for export. Two pigs on a hectare of cultivated land is not merely

intended to supply meat to the domestic requirements, but also to supply fertilizer for intensive cultivation and to reserve a portion of the meat for export. The process by which these three targets will be achieved is the process which turns monocultural agriculture into comprehensive agriculture and the process which develops regional economy and reassigns labor in each region on the basis of a new nationwide division of labor.

In order to successfully fulfill these strategic tasks, we must firmly grasp the direction for building and developing the large, socialist agriculture in our country and fully recognize the relationship between industry and agriculture in the immediate future. We must boldly improve agricultural leadership and management and set up a concrete and intense work style. Leadership cadres must go to each cooperative and region to learn about their concrete situation, and quickly map out bold and realistic measures aimed at settling decisively each economic and technical problem. From good typical models, we must endeavor to draw general conclusions on a scientific basis. We should not stop at the level of the experience acquired. However, when we utilize typical models, we must very concretely apply them in a manner suitable to each field, each mountain, each hill, each plant, and each domestic animal. We must expand democracy and develop initiative. At the same time, however, we must institute a strict discipline in economy as well as in technology, in production as well as in distribution, suitable to the characteristics of each region and cooperative, and we must overcome the casual habits and haphazard working methods of the small producer. All levels of the party and administration, particularly the provincial and village levels, must firmly grasp the economic and technical characteristics of each plant and domestic animal, must skillfully settle the problems of water, fertilizers, seeds, agricultural season, and farm tools. They must have a concrete knowledge of cooperative management and must institute a special-responsibility division of effort in agricultural production. First of all, they must be thoroughly familiar with and correctly implement the new statute of the cooperatives. Parallel with the improvement of the agricultural management system and perfection of the agricultural machine from the central to grassroots level, we must actively step up the building of a new material and technical base for agriculture, improve the systems for water projects, insure sufficient water for cultivation, develop the sources of manure -- mainly animal and green manure -- discard bad seeds, equip labor with adequate tools, and so forth.

Thus, in order to solve the two fundamental economic tasks in our initial step -- accumulating capital for industrialization and insuring the requirements of the people's livelihood -- the originally backward agriculture of our country must undergo an extremely deep revolutionary reform on several aspects: reform of the relations of production in parallel with technological improvement; comprehensive agricultural development in parallel with classification of specialized cultivation; intensive and rotation cultivation in parallel with expansion of crop areas. Such a revolutionary reform in agriculture cannot be merely the special task of the peasantry.

It must be the common enterprise of the working class, the entire socialist state, and of all branches and echelons, as well. Like industry, agriculture is also basic to the national economy. It is also built on the basis of the socialist public ownership system (although at a lower level). It is also an integral part of the process of social reproduction. For this reason, in the leadership and guidance of economy, we must not slight agriculture, because the slow, unbalanced growth of agriculture will certainly exert an unfavorable influence on the entire social production cycle, particularly during the initial stage when we use agriculture as the base for the priority development of heavy industry. That is why our state, from the central to the regional levels, and especially the industrial, financial, and trade branches, must further intensify service to agriculture and apply themselves more actively to agriculture so that within a short period of time basic changes will be brought about in agriculture thereby creating the conditions for other changes in the entire national economy.

### Building the National Economy While Developing the Regional Economy

In order to achieve close coordination and a proper balance with a varied agriculture that is undergoing such profound changes, the industry of our country must include two components: central industry and regional industry. The balanced coordination between industry and agriculture must be posed on a nationwide scale but it must also be posed on a regional scale. Agriculture must supply food, foodstuffs, labor, raw materials, and markets to the regional and central industries. Agriculture's means of production and the rural areas' consumption materials are supplied not only by the regional industry, but are also supplied by the central industry. These two relationships -- the relationship between agriculture and regional industry and the relationship between agriculture and central industry -- constantly change in accordance with the technological level and production scale of each branch, at each stage. In the immediate stage, when agriculture begins the new division of labor and the central industry is still young, the coordination of agriculture with industry within the sphere of each region has particular significance. For this reason, in order to achieve the best balance between industry and agriculture, we must decentralize economic management to the regions, increase the central level's assistance, and rapidly create a strong and stable regional economy in parallel with the building of central economic branches.

To build the regional economy in parallel with the central economy means to build a rational economic structure aimed not only at achieving the relationship between industry and agriculture in the best way but also at rationally solving a host of problems and other major relationships in our country's economy, which is moving from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Indeed, at the same time, the objective process of economic development in our country at present poses problems of a national character as well as those of a regional character, and balances on a nationwide scale as well as those on the regional scale. Beside the branches of economy and enterprises which can be developed only under the

centralized management of the central level, our country's socialist economy also has a number of economic branches and enterprises that can be favorably developed only under the regional management. If we do not recognize this objective reality of the economic life and fail to distinguish problems of a national character from those of a regional character, we will restrict development according to laws of our country's economy, which has not gone through the stage of capitalist development. Large-scale mechanized production can be brought about only on the basis of correct coordination between the unified centralized system of the central level and the regions' system of collective mastership, and between the building of major enterprises and the reform of small production and the re-division of labor in the regions. Not only must we know how to develop the strength of the entire country but we must also know how to develop the strength of each region in order to raise a high tide of production development in different areas and on different scales. Not only must we know how to make concentrated use of all the superiorities of the socialist system to build modern economic bases on a large scale making up the backbone of the national economy, but we must also know how to create in the regions the suitable forms of economic organization, so as to mobilize to the highest degree all the latent potential of the people participating in building the economy, developing production, and organizing their livelihood.

Advancing from a backward economy and a poor living standard, the consumption of needs of our country and people are developing in an increasingly complex manner. The central level can only, and must, manage the basic national consumption, whereas the regions have the task of quickly and fully meeting the consumption needs of secondary importance. To achieve close coordination and a clear delineation between the central and regional levels is the best way to satisfy the people's consumer requirements in a manner consistent not only with the level of general production development of the entire country but also with the concrete potential and characteristics of each region. For this reason, not only must the balance between production and consumption be posed and settled on a nationwide scale, but it must be posed and settled in each region. Both kinds of equilibrium have important roles, which assist and complement each other. Once the balance between production and consumption has been settled at the central level, the regions are better able to settle other balances between production and consumption arising in each region. Conversely, once the local balances of each region have been solved, the central level is better able to solve the major balances of an overall nature.

Within the sphere of each region, if the balance between production and consumption is achieved, the regional economy will develop better, the regional living standard will be further improved, and the region's ability to contribute to the central level will be richer. The fact that each and every region has the task and objectives to develop to the utmost all its own latent potential and that it competes in economic development according to its own capabilities and requirements, will cause many different features

in production as well as consumption, thus making the people's life increasingly diverse. Naturally, the basic norms of consumption must be unified on a nationwide scale because this is the principle of socialism and the necessary requirement of the system of socialist public ownership.

Advancing from small-scale, manual production to large-scale, modern production, social labor must necessarily be reapportioned. A given technological level gives rise to a given division of social labor. At present, when the production forces have exceeded the limits of individual countries, not only is social labor apportioned within the scope of one country, but to a certain extent it must also be assigned on an international scope. In our country, agricultural labor with very low output embraces three-fourths of our total social labor. For this reason, to talk about a new division of labor means first and foremost to talk about a redivision of agricultural labor. To shift part of labor for food production to the planting of industrial trees and development of livestock breeding, fishery, and forestry; to shift part of agricultural labor to industry and communications and transportation; to shift unskilled labor to skilled labor; and to shift low-output labor to high-output labor are the urgent requirements of the economic construction and the main objective of labor management at the present stage. If these new division-of-labor measures are carried out in good time and rationally, they will rapidly step up the process of technical revolution and the emergence of large-scale production. We must fully realize that initial accumulation as well as improvement of the people's living standard can be achieved only on the basis of redivision of social labor and redivision of labor among the branches of the economy, rather than on the basis of keeping intact the present state of agricultural labor.

In the immediate stage of our country's economy, the new division of labor must be carried out primarily from the production bases and from the regions outward. Naturally, the powerful development of the central economic branches will absorb a certain amount of available rural labor, creating entirely new labor standards and changing the labor structure according to the growth of large-scale production. Nevertheless, if we only rely on the development of the central economic branches, progress in the new division of labor will be slow, because each year the central economic branches can absorb only a relatively small portion of available labor and bring about high output only in a portion of social labor, while most of the remaining labor in the regions is urgently crying for a rational division and use. How to increase labor output and liberate a part of agricultural labor from old practices? How to use this surplus labor in the most advantageous manner? These are daily phenomena which only the cooperatives and regions can grasp concretely and quickly act upon. The shifting of many small machinery stations to the countryside has provided tens of millions of surplus workdays. However, because many areas did not know how to mobilize these workdays for developing new branches and professions, they were unable to enrich society with new property, or raise the common output of agricultural labor. If we do not overcome these

shortcomings in economic management we will restrict the introduction of new science and technology into agriculture, hinder the process of the new division of labor, and delay the building of the new economy.

This law on development in our country's new division of labor from small-scale to large-scale production requires that we not only develop central economic branches, but also concentrate on rationally building regional economy. Only on the basis of a redivision of labor in each region along with construction of regional economy, can we achieve a redivision of labor in the whole society. Conversely, economic development of the overall national economy and central economic branches will have positive effects on the labor and economic situation in each region and quickly bring about the new division of labor at the regional level.

In relations between urban and rural areas, there have long been two notable processes: the process of separation of cities from rural areas and the process of urbanization of rural areas. These two processes themselves are not independent and separate from, but closely linked with the development of the economy, particularly industrial development. The separation of urban from rural areas is, in reality, a separation of industry from agriculture. And urbanization of rural areas is, in reality, industrialization of agriculture, bringing industry to the countryside and closely combining industry with agriculture. Building the central economy while simultaneously developing regional economy is the best way to combine urban and rural areas and close the gap between them. Through constructing the bases of central industries on suitable sites, and through building the regional economy, including agriculture and regional industries, we can develop both the urban and rural areas. Our cities are built on various sites which are closely linked with rural areas. Besides the present few relatively large cities which are political, economic, and cultural centers of the whole nation, we will -- on the basis of economic development -- build more medium-sized and small cities in many places to elicit direct effects on rural areas and rapidly develop these areas in the economic, cultural, and social fields, creating a new look throughout the country, from the delta to the highland and giving every Vietnamese -- no matter where he lives -- sufficient material benefits and a rich, healthy culture.

Building the central economy along with regional economy also creates a solid economic foundation for the people's national defense. The strength of the people's war in our country is that of the whole people who stand up to fight the aggressors, are organized into political and military forces, and employ suitable combat methods in the three strategic areas: the highland, delta, and cities. Each province is a strategic unit in both military operations and logistical aspects, and in combat as well as production. Therefore, we must not only strive to build modern heavy industries, but also strive to strengthen regional economy; not only create large-scale production forces, but also know how to deploy these forces to specific sites as required by military strategy. If we achieve this, we can, in any

kind of war and under any war circumstances, solidly maintain and develop our combat and production capability and nurture the people's strength to fight for a long time.

This law of economic development in our country poses a series of relations between the central and regional economies as well as some new problems in our country's economic management.

The more regional economy develops, the greater will be the regional level's management responsibility and the more expanded will be the central level's centralized management. On the path of economic development, many regional questions will become national ones; and many balances and production areas of a regional nature will become balances and production areas of a national character. Thus, the central economy will be strengthened step by step on the basis of developing the initiatives and capabilities of various regions. However, the content of regional management will constantly become more diverse along with constant economic development. While regional management transfers to the central level those balances and production areas which transcend its limits, it receives a series of questions of balances and production areas arising from regional economic life. In the same progress, the economic life will constantly supply the central level's centralized management as well as regional management with a constantly revised and developing content. Therefore, we need not worry that the central economy will be weakened if the economy is decentralized to various regions, or that the regional economy will be restricted if centralization to the central level is implemented. Previously, we had originally set forth the assignment of economic management between the central and provincial levels, but the content of this assignment was not very clear and was not fully based on practical reality, that is, that our socialist economic base should necessarily include central and regional economies. Assigning economic management to regional levels aims at providing regions with conditions for developing agriculture and regional industry, at reorganizing socialist labor to contribute more, on this basis to developing the central economy and solving in time various problems concerning the livelihood of regional people, and at basing everything on the common lines and policies of the central government.

Through the total delineation of economic management there will be, in our nation's unified economic structure, central and regional economies, central and regional industries, national and regional policies, national and regional budgets.

Assigning economic management to various regions and striving to develop regional economy does not mean turning each region into an independent economic unit. The central government will firmly grasp the unified and centralized leadership concerning the whole economy through national policy, which includes the essential balances and norms, through adoption of various important policies and basic standards of production and consumption, and through distribution of materials and capital. The

central economy is composed of key branches. It functions as a leader or goading force for the whole national economy. Each region will rely on the common lines, policies, and directions of the central government to actively manage and build its own regional economy. The economy of each region is a component part of the national economy and at the same time provides a relatively reasonable structure in the regional domain. It reflects common lines, policies, and directions of the central government and also initiatives and the original and creative character of various regions as well as the characteristics and special nature of each region.

Relations between regions are those of socialist cooperation among parts of the same network of division of socialist labor, which embraces the whole nation. The content of this relationship is multiform, involving exchanges of experiences and mutually assisting each other in technology, raw materials, and consumption; pooling efforts in building economic and cultural works of common interest, and so forth. These relations should develop under the leadership of the central government and should not oppose, but supplement and further enrich state policy.

To permit provinces to have the necessary conditions to develop regional economies, in addition to the assignment of economic, cultural, and educational management, we should also insure that each province has a source of labor, wealth, and finance, and a market corresponding to the requirements of the new development of production and division of labor on a large scale. Naturally, the reasonable scale of a region is not a rigid, uniform and unchangeable thing. When we fix the limits of a given province, we should examine all facets of the problem and act so that the factors of territory, population, natural resources for industry, agriculture, transport, and communication can be associated in perfect harmony, thus creating the most favorable conditions for rational development of the regional economy.

The relationship between central and regional economies is a complicated one involving many fields. It should be concretely reflected by a series of regimes and policies such as the regime of planned revenues and expenditures, distribution of raw materials and products, and so forth. To implement the lines and policies of economic development of the party and nation, we should not stop at a certain number of common principles and slogans, but should advance broadly into the fields of organization, procedures, regime, and division of labor in order to simultaneously avoid unnecessary duplication and manifestations of irresponsibility, and also overcome the phenomenon of bureaucratic centralization and avoid anarchy and fragmentation.

#### Improve the System of Economic Management

After determining the lines and directions of economic development, the establishment of an appropriate system of management has extremely great significance, and will decide the success or failure of the lines

themselves. At present, the system of economic management and our machinery of economic management still have many irrational points unsuited to the task of building the economy, thus hampering the application of the party's lines and policies. It also has partly limited the speed of reforming and building the economy. Despite this fact, many of our comrades have failed to fully realize their shortcomings in this area or the importance of economic management tasks, and to deeply advance into organizational tasks of the economy.

Managing the economy means managing a living body which develops according to objective laws. A system of management can be called appropriate only when it fully reflects the common rules of development of the whole economy as well as its particular behavior in each region, part, cell, and situation. Being an objective product which experiences frequent changes according to the economic situation, it rejects all irresponsible, bureaucratic attitudes which depart from reality. It demands that leaders of various branches and levels pay great heed to economic life and that they be aware of the factors emerging from the practical reality. The strength of proletarian dictatorship originates from the fact that it is capable of recognizing the laws of development in general, and setting forth a thesis which corresponds to the requirements of development of matter itself.

In the present conditions of the northern part of our country, where the development of production and reassignment of socialist labor have just gone through their first phase, the system of economic management should be extremely flexible. It should follow the general economic laws of socialism. At the same time, it should fully apply the laws of development from small to large scale production and also reflect the unified and centralized character of the central government. It should also fully show the collective mastership of various regions and bases, step up planning, adequately use market relations, and develop cost accounting. Finally, it should afford encouragement by means of material benefits, step up political and ideological education, and heighten the masses' socialist consciousness.

To deal with management of socialist economy, we should, first, deal with planning -- a special strong point of the socialist economic regime. To bypass planning, minimize the important role of laws of the planned development of economy, is to depart from the nature of socialist economy and deny the organizational and economic managerial role of the proletarian and dictatorial state. However, the problem posed is: In our present planned economy, how can we and must we plan the economy and how must we use market relations and levers: credit, prices, salary, interest? This is one of the basic problems of the system of economic management in our country at present.

Advancing from small-scale production, many economic problems which have an overall significance have arisen simultaneously with economic problems having regional significance. Thus, to build the three levels of an

integrated plan at central, regional, and basic levels is an objective necessity consistent with the present development of our economy and with the main responsibilities of the first phase of economic development and accumulation. Each planning level has its responsibilities and prescribed rights aimed at solving practical and urgent economic problems. At the same time, each planning level will fully contribute to our common economic development. Central planning will outline the direction of development of the whole state-operated economy, assert the steps and development speed of various main economic branches, decide large balances and large development steps, and set forth the major duties and norms for the whole nation. Under the leadership of central planning, regions and bases will map out development plans for their regions and units aimed at correctly implementing the tasks and norms of the central plan and, at the same time, highly developing active and creative spirit so as to exploit various potent capabilities and settle in time concrete duties and problems emerging from their own region and unit. Each planning level is a production unit and cost accounting unit. It is also an accumulation and enlarged reproduction unit. In addition to national unified economic and technical norms, each planning level can and must have its own norms. Although the three planning levels have different duties and capabilities, they are unified in a living body in which the central planning level plays the leading role.

Our national economy is undergoing rapid revolutionary change. New demands, new capacities, and new balances in production and consumption are continually emerging, ones which are fully discerned only through experience. Therefore, in fulfilling planning, on the one hand, we must keep a firm grasp on long-range plans by outlining the trend of development in our national economy over a relatively long period and carrying out major projects for building and developing large-scale production. On the other hand, we must pay great attention to short-range plans which are programs of concrete struggle for achieving victory in each phase, fully solving each problem, and promptly handling problems which emerge during the execution of plans.

Without long-range plans -- plans for 5 or 10 years, for instance -- it is impossible to discern the economic development trend and fully carry out the necessary preparatory tasks, such as capital accumulation, training of cadres and workers, scientific and technical research, basic investigations, geological surveys, establishment of economic zones, and formulation of production plans, and so forth. But under the present situation of our national economy special attention must be paid to yearly and short-range plans and to leadership over the monthly or even daily struggles because these are concrete actions bringing about appropriate results. Therefore, closely following every step of our economic development, going down to the bases, discovering new factors promptly, and eliminating irrational points in time must become daily and regular tasks of economic organs. Leadership over the economy and production, like leadership over military combat, must be seen in this light.

An important part of our socialist economy is now still dispersed. There are numerous needs in our social life, especially in our myriad daily activities that our country has not yet envisaged and satisfied. This requires that our state, in its leadership over the economy, cleverly coordinate plans with the markets, using subsequent plans to improve earlier ones.

Through planning -- Building the second manifesto of the party and the unified law of the proletarian, dictatorial state -- we can and must regulate the basic economic relations and the essential balances and must actively take advantage of the relations between markets to control the economic norms and to control a number of vital economic activities that cannot be envisaged in the plan. We must not only grasp the planning task and plan norms but must also correctly manage all market activities so that we can develop their positive effects and prevent their negative impact on planned economic management.

Realities in building the economy in our country, as well as in our fraternal socialist states, prove that in economic management we must correctly use levers, prices, wages, profits, and loans and properly apply the socialist economic auditing system and business methods. As a historic product, the relations of goods and currencies are connected with the fixed levels of production development. On the basis of the system of private ownership, the development of relations of goods and currencies takes place simultaneously with the process of creating class differences, creating a distinction between the rich and the poor in society. However, when all economic arteries are in the hands of the proletarian state, when all exploiting classes are exterminated, and when small producers have entered the path of collective work, the correct and rational development of the relations of goods and currencies along with the new division of labor and technical revolution then constitutes a positive factor for developing production and organizing life. So, applying the law of values, achieving economic auditing, and taking advantage of levers, prices, profits, wages, and loans are very important economic problems. Application of the law of values and of the economic auditing system is aimed at evaluating the economic effect of each economic policy and each technical measure, controlling the quality of the work of each base, locality, branch, and echelon, mobilizing all latent economic potentialities, and encouraging everyone to develop his innovations, to practice extreme thriftiness, and to labor enthusiastically so as to benefit the country and the people. In building the economy in a poor country such as Vietnam, where labor output is very low and capital is limited, we must pay more attention to the effect of trade so as to be able to satisfy the immediate needs and to achieve expanded reproduction. Profits for expanded reproduction must be accumulated not only on a nationwide basis, but also in each branch, each echelon, and each basic economic unit. It is necessary to develop each branch, each echelon, and each unit during each production cycle; however, we must not hold a narrow concept of losses such as individual producers do in their businesses. In our country's present conditions, our biggest profit

consists in developing production, enlarging branches and professions, increasing the volume of products, and increasing output in each branch and in our entire national economy. Only on this basis can we speak of collecting profit and make this collection consistent with the socialist nature of our national economy. On the one hand, we must endeavor to make profits in each business link and in each phase; on the other hand, we must use the long-range economic situation as a base to examine the problem of profit or losses comprehensively.

During the change over from small production to big production and from a natural economy to a manufacturing economy, circulation and distribution play a particularly important role in society's reproduction. As an intermediary link between production and production, between production and consumption, for uniting the various economic branches and economic areas in the country into a uniform body, and for connecting our independent and autonomous economy with the economy in other countries of the world, the circulation branch must actively serve production, stepping up economic interchanges, intensifying the application of price measures, improving trade measures, and reducing circulation costs. Only in this way is it possible to step up the new distribution of manpower and the process of enlarged reproduction, thus contributing to the accumulation of more capital for society and to a more satisfactory serving of the people's livelihood. We must not lower the role of commerce to that of "ordinary trade." On the contrary, we must regard commerce as the housewife to society, as the people's logistic friends, in charge of protecting the economic interests and the mastership right of everyone in the society. As a center for distributing national income, a clearing center, and a "nerve center" of the entire national economy, the financial and banking branch must know not only how to concentrate the capital, but also how to make it possible to accumulate and concentrate it more quickly and distribute the national income correctly, thus insuring a rational relationship between accumulation and consumption and the characteristics and requirements of each phase of economic development.

During the present phase, our national economy is poor, labor output is low. Correctly settling the relationship between initial accumulation and immediate consumption is an arduous struggle. Without initial accumulation it is impossible to improve the quality of economic development or to build a heavy industry and large-scale, modern production to serve as the basis for building a prosperous economy and an abundant life. Thus, "the tightening of belts," reducing unnecessary expenses, and resolutely saving money for capital accumulation is an inevitable requirement reflecting our people's high level of enlightenment while advancing on the path of socialist construction. However, the nature of the socialist economy as well as the requirements to increase work output and develop production require that we look after the people's life, satisfy their fundamental needs, and resolutely put an end to the cases of unnecessary shortages and irrational difficulties in serving the people's daily life.

Moreover, the financial and banking branch must take advantage of its professional activities to intensify its supervisory and control role over the various branches, localities, and production bases and urge the various branches and echelons to further improve their economic plans and production trends, drastically economize manpower, material supplies, and money, and resolutely combat embezzlement and waste. We must regard embezzlement and waste as an unforgivable offense because it not only causes a loss in material wealth but also tarnishes the superiority of the new production relationship and the views and feelings of new socialist persons.

To fulfill these duties, economic cadres of various branches and echelons -- especially trade, financial, and banking cadres -- must study hard to thoroughly understand the economic line and policies of the party and state, equip themselves with fundamental knowledge about circulation, distribution, and credit, fully realize the importance of this leverage network, build them into great, strong branches, and positively use them in leadership over and management of the economy.

A striking characteristic of the present economic management in our country is that, on the one hand, we must manage a socialist economy which is shifting from small to large-scale production and from scattered to centralized operations; on the other hand, we must manage closely organized and highly centralized modern enterprises. Therefore, along with applying the general system of managing the national economy as a whole, we must build a suitable system of managing enterprises according to these basic principles: Insuring the execution of political tasks of enterprises, insuring technical mastery and the conditions for technical development, insuring the application of disciplinary rules of production, including those related to plans, materials, finances, and labor, and insuring workers' collective mastery and living conditions. All these basic principles of management reflect the substance of a centralized, unified modern industry and the right of collective mastery of the masses and workers, contributing to a constant increase in labor output and insuring the improvement of laborers' livelihood. This is also the aim of the management of enterprises.

To insure the execution of the economic management task, to develop production, and to organize life, we must build a strong apparatus responding to the requirements of economic management, suitable to the characteristics of each branch and each locality, strongly focused on the bases, and penetrating every economic and technical aspect. It is necessary to overcome the tendency to organize an apparatus along administrative lines, out of sink with the economic tasks and with the requirements of production techniques. Some important tasks are not guided by anyone, but sometimes overlap each other. In some areas there are too many persons engaging in bureaucratic paper work, but a shortage of supervisors. As a consequence, the efficiency of the managerial apparatus is reduced markedly. It is necessary to build correct operational relations, systems and

procedures between the various links of the managerial apparatus aimed at clearly determining the rights and duties of each organ, respecting the mastership right of each branch and each echelon under the general mastership right of the central government, and enabling the various production management echelons to rely on the common economic and technical norms within the framework of the state plan to take the initiative in distributing manpower, finance, and material supplies in order to exploit all potentialities and satisfactorily fulfill all production tasks. Concerning the relations between branches and echelons, special attention must be paid to control methods: Economic control, technical control, and control over cadres. Control and the systems concerning economic cooperation must be regularly carried out in order to promptly eliminate specific errors and shortcomings in managerial methods.

One of the important objectives of economic organization is to correctly determine the relations between the party, the government, and the masses in the field of economic management. As leader and staff of the army which is building the economy, the party is responsible for setting forth fundamental lines and policies, adopting important methods and measures, mobilizing the masses to deeply advance on the economic front, and controlling the activities of various government branches. Party leadership is an historic necessity aimed at insuring that the national economy develops in the right direction, defending the interests of all people's strata, and continually heightening the people's mastership right. In revolutionary undertaking in general and in economic development in particular, our party does not aim at any private interests. The entire national economy with its factories and land is the people's property which exists under different conditions and is operated under different economic and technical conditions. This objective reality requires that our party adopt different leading methods for different targets -- industry, agriculture, factories, or cooperatives -- in order to maintain its leadership, elevate the managerial mission of the administration, and insure the direct mastership right of the masses.

Representing the people's interests, the administration is the organ in charge of managing the national economy in the people's name. Therefore, all party economic policies and lines to be followed must be initiated by the administration. Basing itself on its laws, systems, and regulations and through its specialist, technical, and professional organs, the administration at all echelons directly manages the economy, directs production and distribution, and reconciles the material interests of various people's strata in the society in accordance with party lines. The responsibility of party committees is to build a stable administrative machinery, to respect the managerial functions and the ruling role of administrative echelons, and to insure that administrative organs have all the necessary conditions and power for managing the economy. Our party's success in management of the economy lies not only in the fact that it can set forth a correct economic line, mobilize its units to thoroughly apply economic measures and technology, but also in the fact that it can build a stable

system of administration fully able to undertake the management task, turning the party's lines and policies into practical activities of the masses.

In the last analysis, both the party's leadership and the administration's management role aim at guaranteeing the people's right to collective mastership in every realm of social life. However, in order to successfully mobilize the entire people to build the economy and to prevent bureaucratic phenomena and abuses of power, we must set forth appropriate forms of activity to motivate the masses to directly take part in economic management and in controlling the activities of party organs and of the state.

Being "the school of communism," of economic management, of workers' education, the trade union must assist the workers in clearly understanding the political tasks, and the position and importance of factories vis-a-vis production, livelihood, and the destiny and future of the country; unceasingly heighten the workers' mastership sense and capability; and, in practice, take part in production and other activities of factories. Economic management organs must respect the ideas of the trade union, considering it as the spokesman of a mass political organ, and must respect the masses' right to collective mastership. An important task of the trade union is to mobilize and guide workers in completely taking part in the emulation movement so that the movement can have a real mass character and reflect the mastership of workers in factories. Being a product of the public economy and of the new democratic system, socialist emulation has a content rich in political and intellectual mobilization and in economic and technical results. It is an adequate form to mobilize and educate the masses, a powerful force for boosting production, improving technology, and increasing productivity. It correctly coordinates the interests of the state, of each collective, and of each individual.

As the assault unit on the production, science, and technology front, the Youth Group must have an appropriate position in the managerial apparatus, especially in basic units. The party and government organs must rely on the youth group to fulfill new and heavy economic tasks and to solve complicated scientific and technological problems. Through seething social activities we can educate, train, and turn youths into deserving collective masters of society.

Thus, in the national economy as well as in each unit of economy there must be constant and close coordination among the party, administration, and the people. Only on this basis can the people's right to mastership be complete and guaranteed for a long time and can the new socialist regime be truly steadfast.

Achieving socialism, bypassing the phase of development of capitalism, is the shortest way leading the laboring people to freedom and happiness. However we must endure great difficulties and hardships, because we start with nothing and we do not inherit much from the old society. Moreover this is a new path opened to us in our history.

On this revolutionary path that is full of difficulties, our party, in the light of Marxism-Leninism and with the rich experiences of the friendly and brotherly countries, has gradually grasped the rules of development of the revolution and improved its lines and policies. Moreover, after scores of years of carrying out the socialist revolution in various phases, we have gained valuable experiences in building our economy and in reforming our society. The body of cadres -- managerial and technical cadres -- has attained maturity, especially in quantity. The new production relations have attained a predominant role in society, and are strongly impacting the development of the economy and our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Our people's diligent labor has created a number of new material bases for other phases of development in the days ahead. Moreover, the brotherly countries have brought us great economic and technical assistance and experiences. These are basic, favorable conditions that enable us to advance steadily. We will achieve in the days ahead greater exploits in socialist revolution, thus further contributing to the development of the economic potentials of the north to serve the people's life and, together with 14 million kith-and-kin southern compatriots, we will carry out our iron-like determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Our generation is very proud that it defeated the French imperialists, is now defeating the U.S. imperialists, and is building Vietnam into a socialist, prosperous, beautiful, independent, democratic and happy country in compliance with the earnest aspirations of President Ho and our people.

### Part III: Our Party, the Organizer of All Victories of the Vietnamese Revolution

#### The Success of the Creative Application of Marxism-Leninism to the Concrete Situation in Our Country

Forty years is really a short period of time in our people's 4,000-year old history, but our people's greatest and proudest achievements were crystallized in these 40 years. This is the time when our people arose, in the common tide of progressive mankind, with a great vitality of the new era, with all glorious national traditions and with full consciousness of their own fates and future.

From a small and barely populated country, from an age-old feudal society and living about 100 years under the imperialists' domination yoke when even the name of Vietnam was wiped from the map of the world, in a quarter of a century our people arose in a series of revolutions -- the August revolution, the anti-French resistance, the socialist revolution in the north, and the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. Due to its nature, scope, and historic importance in the national as well as international fields, this revolutionary process has led our country and our people to the heights of the new era, the era of victorious, noble ideals: national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The prime, basic, and decisive factor for all these historic successes is the founding and leadership of our party, a new-style proletarian party holding firmly the ever-victorious Marxist-Leninist banner and representing faithfully all the vital interests and genuine desires of the working class, laborers, and the entire people, a closely organized Marxist-Leninist party nurturing the traditions of solidarity and singlemindedness and intimately attached to the masses.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science and enjoying over 100 years of valuable experiences of the world proletariat, our party has led the Vietnamese revolutionary movement with a correct line, thoroughly carried out the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the north, led the north to the socialist revolutionary stage, while continuing to complete the people's national democratic revolution nationwide.

Our party has won glorious victories in the people's national democratic revolution, because it has correctly and creatively settled the following basic strategic problems:

To affirm and continually consolidate the leadership of the working class and its vanguard unit, the Marxist-Leninist party; to correctly coordinate the two anti-imperialist and antifeudalist tasks; to implementing step by step the antifeudalist task in close coordination with the anti-imperialist task and effectively serving this task.

To succeed in mustering the great peasant force; and to successfully build a firm and steady worker-peasant alliance as a main-force army of the revolution and as a core force to guarantee the unique leadership of the working class party.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the party founded the broad national united front, by mustering all patriotic and progressive forces, to direct the revolutionary spearhead at the enemy of the people.

To cleverly take advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions in order to divide his ranks, to neutralize the forces which can be neutralized, to isolate the most dangerous enemy, and to create conditions for the successful development of the revolution.

Applying flexible and precise revolutionary methods and using every form of organization and struggle appropriate to each period, develop the revolutionary armed forces using as the basis the development of the political forces of the masses. When the revolutionary conditions appeared, the party used the two forces -- military and political -- and coordinated military struggle with political struggle to attack the enemy in both the rural and urban areas, to win victory after victory, and to advance toward winning complete victory.

Meanwhile, it consolidated and strengthened the people's democratic administration, the great achievement of the revolution, using it as an efficient tool for carrying on the resistance and building a new society.

It also achieved international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the past decade, while uniting with the southern compatriots to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, our northern people used the people's democratic administration to fulfill the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship and advance the north toward socialism through the carrying out of three revolutions -- revolution of production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, of which the technical revolution was the main one. Socialist revolution is new to us, but realities in the past 10 years enable us to assert that the fundamental trend of the path leading to socialism in the north, as set forth by our party, is completely correct.

The great experiences of the Vietnamese revolution in the past 40 years were the successful experiences of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semifeudal country. During the past 40 historic years, our party creatively applied universal Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and matured in a society composed mostly of peasants, our party has attracted a great number of peasant adherents. Even so, our party has unswervingly and fully maintained the character of being the working class' revolutionary party, primarily because our party is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and because our party's political and organizational lines represent the working class' lines based upon Marxism-Leninism. As the only scientific, thoroughly revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism is like a beacon illuminating the way for our party to solve every problem of the Vietnamese revolution and to set forth correct revolutionary lines and methods. As a result, our party successfully frustrated the bourgeoisie's reformism and the petty bourgeoisie's narrow, super class nationalist tendency, successfully foiling the provocations and sabotage acts of the Trotskyites and other counterrevolutionary elements, overcoming political vacillations and rightist or "leftist" deviations within party ranks, and fulfilling every revolutionary task in every period.

While attaching great importance to learning from the fraternal countries' and parties' revolutionary experiences and regarding these as an absolute necessity for a proletarian political party eager to fulfill its tasks, our party has constantly based itself upon the concrete realities emerging from the Vietnamese revolution and upon the inspiring realities of Vietnamese society -- with all its inherent historical, social, and economic characteristics, its national traditions, and so forth -- in applying Marxist-Leninist theories, universal rules, and the fraternal countries' experiences in the national, democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. The Vietnamese revolution's present,

great victories are attributed to the revolutionary lines and methods independently and creatively adopted by our party.

### Endeavoring to Strengthen the Leadership of the Party in the New Stage

Our revolutionary tasks in the present stage are much heavier and more complex than those in the past. On the one hand, our party must strive to achieve the national, democratic revolution throughout the country and lead all our people in completely defeating the U.S. aggressors. This undertaking will involve extensive hardships and sacrifices. On the other hand, our party must accelerate the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the north -- an undertaking which is almost completely new to our party. Carrying out this great undertaking, we have now acquired many basic, favorable conditions from our achievements over the past 10 years or more. However, everything is only in the initial stage. Communists always squarely face the facts and know how to look into the future. Obviously, in the present economy of the northern part of our country, social labor remains mostly manual. We are therefore far from achieving our ideal and realizing our people's aspirations regarding socialism. To advance toward achieving modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, our party and people will have to make outstanding efforts and overcome countless difficulties.

Party leadership is the factor determining every success. Therefore, to fulfill the present revolutionary tasks, the key requirement is to strenuously strengthen party leadership.

Our party is a ruling party. The historical responsibility of a ruling party never decreases; on the contrary, it has immeasurably increased. As everyone knows, the basic problem facing every revolution is the problem of power. However, speaking in the context of the party's revolutionary undertaking and of the proletariat's class struggle as a whole, seizing power does not represent the ultimate goal. The successful seizure of power does not mean culmination of the revolution, but only the beginning.

It is absolutely necessary for the proletariat to successfully seize power. Without toppling the ruling class' power and establishing proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat cannot advance the class struggle toward full victory, that is, toward successfully eliminating not only the exploiting classes, but also the root causes of exploitation; eliminating not only the state of mutual class opposition, but also class differences; eliminating the causes of poverty and misery; and building the most plentiful and happiest life for the people. In short, the proletariat will advance toward successfully building a completely new society -- a communist, classless society, in which everyone leads a materially plentiful and morally rich life.

Throughout the historical periods during which these planned, organized, far-reaching, and profound social changes take place in conformity with the rules governing the objective development of history, the role of the working class party, which is the force that exerts leadership over society, is constantly enhanced. The party represents the most active component of society as well as the best organized and most enlightened component, ideologically and politically, which firmly grasps the development trends of our age and clearly sees the prospects and objectives of its struggle. The party is the only body that can organize and motivate the masses; bring together, coordinate, mobilize, and devote every effort and every activity to all links of the social apparatus in fulfilling the historical task of building a new society.

To strengthen party leadership in the present stage, the party must continue to comprehensively study, and thereby, develop, improve, perfect, and further concretize the party political line.

Our political line in the new stage, which was set forth by the third party congress, and which has been further developed by the subsequent party Central Committee conferences, remains our fundamental direction. Realities have proven that our party is taking the right path. However, as dialectic materialists, we will never let our cognizance remain at a standstill. Social realities and real life constantly change and develop, especially in our society, which is in the initial stage of the transitional period. Therefore, we must regularly and closely associate ourselves with life and -- in light of the real economic and social developments, the masses' experience, and what we have done and been unable to do -- comprehensively conduct necessary analyses, recapitulate experience, and draw necessary theoretical conclusions, in order to constantly supplement, develop, and further concretize party lines and policies.

The party political line must always originate in the objective rules governing social development. In the national, democratic revolution and in the war our party has adopted correct lines, because it has firmly grasped revolutionary rules and the rules governing people's war. In the socialist revolution and in socialist construction, it is imperative not to act at one's convenience in disregard of the rules. Engels clearly pointed out: "Never is it permissible to forget that once it became a science, socialism has required to be treated as such." (Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p 1052) Proletarian dictatorship and the people's revolutionary enthusiasm are very important moving forces because without them socialism cannot be built. If we think that we can build socialism with proletarian dictatorship and our enthusiasm alone and if we disregard all objective laws and economic facts which are sometimes "cruel and hard," we are grossly mistaken. When stressing particularly the role of subjective factors of men, the vanguard party, and the masses, Lenin always reminded the communist parties to absolutely refrain from taking one's subjective will as policy and one's feelings as a starting point for the revolutionary policy, and strategem. Lenin's political activities constituted a brilliant illustration

of this point. A well-known striking example is that when posing the problem of shifting from the communist policy in wartime to the new economic policy and when defining and executing this new economic policy, Lenin had to exert immense effort to persuade the communists who were imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm but unaware of the economic laws to realize that the new economic policy was absolutely not a policy of restoring capitalism but the only possible single policy for Russia at that time to vanquish capitalism and advance toward socialism.

Our party has matured in grasping the laws of the national democratic revolution and of people's war but has just begun to grasp the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only by making outstanding efforts and by outstandingly maturing in this aspect can our party fulfill its duty as a leader of society. The successes of the revolution and creativeness in the revolution are always the outcome of a correct association between the universal and the particular in the application of objective laws. Directly advancing from the point of a country having a small-scale production as a basis toward socialism, bypassing the capitalist development stage, we obviously face a series of new problems. To firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship and to carry out the three closely associated revolutions, including technical revolution as the key one, is the basic trend of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. However, the laws governing the technical revolution, socialist industrialization, the revolution of production relations, the ideological and cultural revolution, and numerous economic relations and the way to launch these revolutions in the present conditions of our country are problems that we must ponder patiently. It is necessary to study the principles of scientific socialism, to grasp the realities of our country's revolution, to learn the experiences of fraternal countries, and to attentively recapitulate the experiences of the past years in carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism in order to improve the ideological level of the party, to clarify the practical problems and, on this basis, to develop and perfect the party's methods, lines, and policies so that they can bear a truly scientific nature and exert a more effective impact on life.

To increase the practical organizational power of the party and of the state machinery is the urgent and key issue at present in strengthening the party's combativity and leadership over society.

A correct line is important and decisive but insufficient. In addition, it is necessary to carry out wide-scale organizational work to mobilize and use all social forces and all material and spiritual capabilities for the settlement of all concrete problems.

In the people's national, democratic revolution, our party not only possessed correct lines, but also demonstrated its outstanding organizational ability. When it still operated clandestinely or when it carried out overt activities, when it simultaneously carried out armed and political

struggles under normal as well as extraordinary circumstances, when a revolutionary situation did not prevail and when a revolutionary situation did prevail, our party constantly carried out the organizational task which, it is reasonable to say, attained scientific standards. As a result, our party successfully mobilized, brought together, and brought into full play every potential mass force and every major and minor revolutionary capability, and creatively adopted and skillfully coordinated various forms of propaganda and organization and versatile forms of struggle which were suitable to the balance of forces that existed between us and the enemy at all times and everywhere.

For more than 10 years now, our people have had to concentrate their forces in order to fulfill their duty to the vast frontline. In recent years, our people also have had to cope with a fierce war of destruction, which has upset normal activities to a certain extent. However, under party leadership our people succeeded in achieving important results in socialist construction, in cultural and economic development and in organizing their life. This proves that our party not only has a correct line, but also made initial progress in organizing the execution of its plans during the new revolutionary phase. However, as far as the sense of organization and the organizational activities are concerned, we suffered shortcomings and weak points, compared to the requirements of socialist construction. Faced with the necessity of carrying out the economic building task urgently, correctly, harmoniously, efficiently, and according to plans, the fact that many aspects of the apparatus for managing the economy, managing production, and serving the people's life were confused, loose, slow, and inefficient has revealed the low level of our actual organization.

Advancing directly to socialism and bypassing the phase of capitalist development means that we have not passed through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This represents the main cause of our party's and state's present weakness in organizational and managerial activities.

Small-scale production -- which is scattered, ramshackle, disorderly, undisciplined, and anarchic by nature -- left nothing worthy to us organizationally, but only left bad habits and patterns of doing business that are at complete variance with the organizational requirements of large-scale, socialist production. Therefore, advancing from small production, we now have not only two alternative economic development trends -- capitalist or socialist -- but also two alternative organizational methods -- handicraft or large industry. Errors in adopting correct lines would sway the direction of revolutionary development and would lead to elimination of the proletarian dictatorship. If we commit errors in the organization of management and if we introduce the views and methods involved in small production -- which, through generations, have become so familiar to us -- into the organization of management, we shall be unable to achieve socialism, true socialism with large, mechanized production.

We possess a correct political line, a tough proletarian dictatorship, a firm worker-peasant alliance, and broad national solidarity bloc, an enormous strength inherent in the new production relations, the people's revolutionary enthusiasm, and rich resources. We also receive wholehearted assistance from the fraternal countries. What do we need most badly? We need most badly economic, scientific, and technical knowledge and organizational and managerial abilities.

We have been trained for decades in the school of courage and stalwartness provided by the national, democratic revolution and the war. This represents a very great advantage and a very valuable asset. However, this definitely cannot compensate for what we need most badly -- the ability to organize economic construction and development, to carry out cultural development, and to serve the people's life. These tasks represent the basic tasks for a ruling party and for a state of the proletarian dictatorship.

At present, many of our comrades at various echelons -- from the central to basic echelons, enterprises, farms, and cooperatives -- in party organizations, and in the state apparatus have not fully realized the importance of the organizational task. They have separated the ideological and political tasks from the organizational activity and have substituted general ideological and political tasks -- worse still, some comrades have substituted desk activity for the organizational task, an activity requiring very extensive efforts, strenuous studies and research, conscientious thought, exploration of one method after another, actually carrying out and closely following the work, rectifying irrationalities in time, and tackling in time the new problems arising from the changing situation. In short, the organizational task is a very arduous, difficult task and activity.

Lenin said: "We must clearly understand that in order to achieve satisfactory management, in addition to the persuasive skill and the skill in knowing how to win in the civil war, it is necessary to know how to carry out the organizational task in the practical field. This represents the most difficult task because the problem is to organize the most comprehensive bases, the economic bases of the lives of tens of millions of humans in conformity with new formulas. This also represents the most noble task because only after the major, basic parts of this task have been carried out can one say that Russia has become a republic, not only Soviet but also a socialist country." (Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Administration," Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, second edition, 1969, p 10)

In the bourgeois revolution led by the bourgeoisie, the laboring masses have to fulfill only the duty of overthrowing the feudal regime, whereas the organization of a new society is in the hands of an exploiting minority, that is, the bourgeoisie. In reality, in this matter, the bourgeoisie does not need to make great efforts. The capitalist society and

economy have come into being spontaneously in a disorganized and anarchic state and at the expense of laborers' untold sufferings.

Conversely, in the socialist revolution, after overthrowing the bourgeoisie and seizing power, the working class and laborers, under party leadership, have a great, creative task: To organize and build a new society in which there is no system of exploitation of man by man, a society which develops harmoniously and vigorously in every field of the economic and cultural life. Socialism and communism are a very scientific, complex, subtle, and rational system of organization, production, and distribution. They insure and strongly stimulate the development of production and social labor output on the basis of renewed techniques and perfected relations of production. This is the best organized society and the highest social organization in history. So, the success of our undertaking greatly depends on the organizational power of the working class which is represented by our party and of the proletarian, dictatorial state, an essential tool with which to build a new society.

The anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and the socialist revolution have assigned many great, urgent tasks to our people and party. Our entire party must rapidly overcome the contradictions in its present maturity process between these two things: the need to urgently step up the revolution and construction undertaking with an increasingly greater volume and complexity on the one hand, and, the inadequate organizational power of the party and the inadequate managerial power of the state on the other hand. Now is the time for a revolutionary change in our conception of the role of organization and for a bold reform of the party's organizational task and of the managerial formulas of the state and all organs, branches, and echelons.

The party's leadership over the proletarian dictatorial system as a whole is a question of principle, decisive to the very fate of proletarian dictatorship. So, it is necessary to unceasingly strengthen the party's comprehensive leading role and to improve its leadership task. The party leads the proletarian dictatorial system according to its correct all-inclusive line by developing the effect of administrative organs and mass organizations, by controlling the activities of these organizations, by carrying out political and ideological tasks within the party and among the people, and by showing examples of positive actions of party members in implementing the party's line and policy and the policy lines of the administration and mass organizations.

The strengthening of party leadership cannot be separated from the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the administration in the management of the economy, state and social life in every respect. As a ruling party, the party has become the real leader of all society, having a proletarian dictatorial state, a very great tool responsible for, on the one hand, dispelling the opposition of hostile forces and for, on the other hand -- and this is a very important aspect -- mobilizing and organizing

the people to build socialism and to participate in managing the social life in every respect. The party can never exercise its leadership over society without an intermediary: the administration. Therefore, one must not believe that there is contradiction between the strengthening of party leadership and the improvement of the administration's role and efficiency. The power and militancy of a ruling party are mainly reflected in the efficiency and power of the state apparatus under party leadership. As the nerve center of the proletarian dictatorial system, the party can neither relax its leadership over the administrative organs, nor replace them in fulfilling their administrative tasks. To lessen or relax party leadership is to weaken the proletarian dictatorship. In fulfilling the administrative tasks in the administration's place, the party is busy with activities which do not fall within its competence. As a result, party leadership is not increased, but decreased. Another consequence is that administrative organs cannot improve their organizational and managerial ability, and party leadership is weakened. Heightening the party's organizational ability is first of all heightening the party's ability in leading the state apparatus and all its specialist, professional, and technical organs and using them for supervising the economic and cultural building task and the task of serving the people's life in accordance with the party line and policies.

Our national economy is developing quickly, advancing from small-scale production to large-scale production. This situation requires that our leaders should, on the one hand, keep a firm hold on economic rules and, on the other hand, closely follow various economic processes and new evolutions in the economic life to change or improve the managerial organization forms and make the economy develop at the highest rate. To be clever in the organization field and keep a firm hold on organizational science and technique, one must know how to versatily fulfill the organizational task and immediately spot new material changes so as to change one's organizational methods and formulas in time.

Constantly developing socialist democracy is the most important condition for strengthening and consolidating the administration. Moreover, this is the most important measure to be taken to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses under the conditions of the party exercising power.

There is a change in the quality of the relationship between the party and the masses from the moment the party does not exercise power to the moment it holds power in its hands. This is reflected first of all in the fact that the administration -- the people's organ of power -- is the masses' broadest organization by which the party established "direct and widespread relations" with the masses concerning "the most fundamental tasks and the most important and realistic aspects of the masses' lives," as Lenin said about the soviets. The revolutionary struggle to overthrow the old regime or build a new society is always the people's undertaking. Under party leadership, the working class and laborers are masters of and

build the new society through a broad and large proletarian dictatorial system in which the administration is the strongest and sharpest organization. Therefore, minimizing the administration's role also means lowering the people's role and violating their mastership right. Heightening the administration's role means heightening the people's role in state and social management, having them participate in building the new society in the most organized manner, and uniting them with the party through the largest and broadest organization. Absolutely, there cannot and must not be any opposition between the masses' mastership right and administrative organs' mastership role. With proletarian dictatorship, the only masters of society are the people or the laboring masses, including the working class, the collective peasant class, and the socialist intellectual class, while the administration is an instrument or an organization through which the people exercise the right of being masters of society in the administrative field. The strength of the ruling proletarian party and proletarian dictatorship in suppressing opposition forces as well as in building a new society primarily lies in the fact that in an increasingly fully developed socialist democracy, the party and state organs are closely united with the masses in all fields of social activity, attracting the great majority of the masses to participate in creating a new society.

It is regrettable that now a number of comrades have not yet fully understood the nature of the relations between the party and the administration and the people. Therefore, in a number of places there have been erroneous acts prejudicial to the relationship between the party and the masses, between the state and the people, and between the party and the administration and vice versa. These shortcomings must be promptly and resolutely corrected. It is necessary to fully realize that for a ruling party, the greatest danger which it must avoid is not only the mistakes in implementing the line set forth, but also the bureaucratic, commandistic, and mandarin-like practices which might cause the party to stay aloof from the masses and weaken proletarian dictatorship. The party's strength lies in its close solidarity with the masses, and the administration's strength lies in the fact that it truly belongs to and comes from the people and works for them. The stronger the administration, the larger the majority of laboring people it attracts to participate in state management, and the stronger the party's role in leading society. By having fully developed socialist democracy and relying on the socialist economy with steady and strong material and technical bases, the socialist regime will be as firm as a rock, and no force can shake it. This is our party's struggle trend and objective.

#### Constantly Building and Consolidating the Party to Make It Increasingly Strong and Powerful

To increase its combativity and strengthen its leadership over all social activities, the party must constantly build and consolidate itself in order to become very strong and stable. It must keep a firmer hold on Marxist-Leninist theory, more thoroughly understand the rules governing

development of the socialist society, and constantly improve its ability to apply this knowledge to realities in order to correctly and creatively determine a line and policy. The party must be strong within its structure and organization, from the upper to lower levels and from party committees at various levels to specialized committees at the district level. The party must be strong in all its organs, from its nerve center to its basic cells, and must insure thorough understanding of party lines and policies by everyone, from the upper to lower levels, from the central leading echelon to every branch, from within the party to mass organizations and the public at large. The party as a whole must advance, every cadre and party member must advance vigorously to adequately and outstandingly fulfill the greater and heavier tasks.

Improving party chapters and basic organizations is a particularly important task in consolidating and building the party. As a basic party organization, a party chapter connects the party with the masses, organizes the implementation of every party line or policy, and trains members and cadres for party work. The party's life is closely connected with social life in every sphere. This is shown by the presence of party chapters everywhere, at enterprises, on construction sites, in state farms, cooperatives, agencies, shops, research institutes, schools, hospitals, army units, and so forth. The party has developed unceasingly together with society and the revolutionary mass movement. This fact is directly reflected in party chapters and basic party organizations. In social life or in our people's present life, when facing important problems, our people have always consulted the party and awaited its call. It is through party chapters and basic-level party organizations that the party maintains its daily contact with the people. The party has become an essential factor not only in the people's revolutionary undertaking and creation but also in their life, sentiments, and most sacred desires. Whether party chapters are strong or weak and whether their actions and those of party members are good or bad or correct or false have a direct, immediate impact on the people's material and spiritual life.

Therefore, in building the party, we must concentrate our strength on consolidating all party chapters and basic-level party organizations to strengthen their leading role and combativity in every respect. The party's combativity must finally be manifested in the party chapters' power to turn all party lines and policies into actions of the masses in order to successfully carry out all practical revolutionary tasks. In this direction, we have stepped up the drive to build 4-good party chapters and 4-good basic-level party organizations in the past few years. Formation of good party chapters and basic-level party organizations must be based on political tasks in each specific period and must be closely associated with organizing and implementing these political tasks. A party chapter cannot be called good if, at this echelon, production is not satisfactory, labor output does not increase, the masses' democratic rights are restricted, duties to the state have not been fulfilled, the masses' life has not been comprehensively stabilized, nor gradually improved, and so forth.

It is necessary to improve every activity of party chapters to increase the effectiveness of their leadership. Party chapter activities must actually encompass concrete, rich political content. Party chapters must discuss party lines and policies, tasks of their localities and local units, plans to organize implementation of these tasks, and the daily production and life of the masses; insure clearcut distribution of work and responsibility among all party members and cadres; review results achieved in implementing party chapter policies and determine the responsibility of each individual; and so forth. It is necessary to improve party chapters' and basic-echelon party organizations' methods of carrying out their activities, and insure that the strength and working capabilities of state and professional agencies and mass organizations are fully developed and devoted to fulfilling specific tasks in conformity with party lines and policies.

To strengthen the party and party branches, each party member must be of high quality. The party must actually comprise the most outstanding and most enlightened elements of the working class, collective peasantry, and socialist intelligentsia, who represent social development and progress, are absolutely loyal to the working class' and party's undertakings, are closely associated with the masses, and who fight self-denyingly, stalwartly, and untiringly for the interests of the working class, the masses of laborers, and the people, and for the victory of socialist and communist ideals. Each party member must strive to effectively implement party lines, policies, and resolutions, set examples, and take the lead in combat and production. Each party member must, through implementation of party and party chapter policies, constantly strengthen his stand, train and improve himself ideologically, ethically, and morally, and strenuously study to constantly heighten his professional standards. Party members must show intense concern for improving the people's material and moral life, respect the people's collective mastership right, never ascribe to themselves any prerogatives, nor any special advantages vis-a-vis the people, be selfless and impartial, and be both leaders and servants of the people, as President Ho said in his teachings.

It is necessary, through the mass movement, to detect in time, educate, improve, and admit new forces into the party, especially outstanding youths of both sexes, who are filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, stand ready to sacrifice their lives for party ideals, and possess creative capabilities. To show gratitude to our party's founder and great teacher, the party Central Committee has decided to admit, this year, a new class of party members called "The Ho Chi Minh class" into the party. In addition to the long-standing, veteran, and highly experienced party members, the admission of new, young members into the party will insure that party ranks constantly and faithfully reflect our people's constantly advancing revolutionary movement, and that the strength of party chapters -- the party's combat fortresses -- constantly increases in pace with requirements arising from political tasks in the new stage. Besides admitting many new, really outstanding forces into the party, it is necessary to resolutely

oust from the party degraded elements who are detested by the masses and are unworthy of being members of a revolutionary vanguard party. These elements are not numerous. However, if we fail to resolutely oust them from the party, they would be highly detrimental to the party's fighting strength and to relations between the party and masses.

Consolidating and strengthening close relations between the party and masses represents a rule governing the survival and development of the working-class party. This task must be directly and daily carried out in party chapters and basic-echelon party organizations. Party chapters and all party members must regularly and closely associate themselves with the masses; clearly understand their inner thoughts and aspirations; educate, unite, and organize them; and lead them in striving, together with party members, to achieve the party's combat objectives. It is necessary to strenuously consolidate and strengthen trade union organizations and insure that trade unions truly represent the aspirations, fighting strength, and creativeness of the masses of workers, and that they actually participate in managing state, social, and economic affairs. Importance must be attached to admitting young, outstanding workers of both sexes into trade union leadership organs. Trade unions must strenuously educate, mobilize, and organize the masses of workers, accelerate the emulation movement for increasing labor output, develop workers' collective mastership in enterprise management, and satisfactorily organize the workers' lives.

To educate youths and develop and consolidate the Lao Dong Youth Group -- which bears the proud name of President Ho Chi Minh -- represents an extremely important task. It is necessary to insure that the youth group constantly remains worthy of being an effective arm of the party, an inexhaustible source of replenishment for party ranks, and the outstanding continuer of the party's and people's revolutionary undertaking. Special importance must be attached to the role and forces of women. Women have rendered extremely great, meritorious service to our revolution and society. Party chapters and basic-echelon party organizations must strenuously educate women, unite them, and fully develop their capabilities, so they can participate positively in political and social activities and in building the new society.

In order to closely unite the party and masses into one bloc, another important measure is for party chapters and basic-level party organizations to periodically organize meeting sessions in appropriate forms so that the party can criticize itself before the masses and the masses can criticize them and express their opinions. Mass criticism of party chapters is very important and necessary in consolidating and building the party. Party chapters and party committees of all echelons must mobilize and guide the masses in honestly criticizing the party. In recruiting new party members, appointing party chapter members, party committee members, and so forth, it is necessary to refer to mass opinion so that the deliberation, selections, and resolutions of party chapters can have a sound basis.

To insure the revolution's success under the condition of having correct policies and lines, the decisive condition consists of organizing and carrying out these lines and this is a strong and stable body of cadres.

The anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and socialist construction task are increasingly broad and heavy. Thus, the party must have a body of cadres having good qualities, who can symbolize the party's political lines during the new phase, and are numerous enough to satisfy present as well as future requirements. This body must be composed of all categories of cadres so they can satisfy the diversified requirements of various fields of the revolutionary undertaking.

Cadres' qualities are reflected by the results of fulfillment of tasks entrusted to them by the party for each revolutionary phase. Whether revolutionary tasks are fulfilled well, and whether the party's lines and policies are implemented correctly and thoroughly is the yardstick with which each cadre's qualities and knowhow are measured. To fulfill his tasks, each cadre must have high revolutionary spirit and revolutionary enlightenment. As a revolutionary combatant of the proletariat, a cadre must first be absolutely loyal to the party and its revolutionary lines, to the revolutionary undertaking of the class and nation, and to the communist ideal. He must cultivate revolutionary feelings, be closely attached to the masses, be unafraid of hardships and sacrifices, and courageously struggle to overcome all difficulties to fulfill his duties. Without these revolutionary qualities, he cannot correctly understand Marxism-Leninism, keep a firm hold on the nature of party policies and lines, or have a creative capacity in fulfilling all revolutionary tasks. Born and nurtured in our people's long revolutionary struggle movement and, in general, trained and tested through two great resistances and in the socialist revolution, our cadres have clearly exposed their high revolutionary qualities. In the present revolutionary period, our party must continue to bring these basic strong points into full play, along with preventing and immediately overcoming every corrupt and backward phenomenon which may occur among cadres when our party is in power.

But to fulfill revolutionary tasks, it is not enough to possess only revolutionary spirit. Being an act of self-awareness, revolution requires that cadres be imbued with revolutionary knowledge and thoroughly understand the laws of the objective development of society. Socialist revolution is the most thorough revolution in human society. It is not limited only to destroying the old order, but also is the enterprise of organizing and building a new society in every complicated aspect of life, especially economic life. To fulfill its tasks, the party's cadres must primarily possess a thorough command of politics, economics, culture, sciences, techniques and must be competent in organizing and managing. Lacking these requirements, cadres cannot make progress, cannot fulfill speedily and satisfactorily every task, and cannot avoid mistakes and causing losses to the revolutionary undertaking. So, in every task, each cadre

must equip himself with necessary knowledge, complete his tasks, and strive to advance toward mastering science and technology. Only by so doing can he satisfactorily carry out his tasks, lead the masses, and step up the revolutionary undertaking rapidly and vigorously.

In socialist revolution, the party's fundamental political tasks are to firmly hold the proletarian dictatorship and to carry out the three revolutions, of which the technological revolution is the most essential. The party's combat strength and all qualities and knowledge of the cadres and party members must be concretely reflected in satisfactorily carrying out these tasks. The party's body of cadres must primarily and necessarily be made up of the persons who are competent in organizing and leading the masses so that the masses can constantly implement the socialist ideal with the highest determination, the highest self-sacrificing spirit, and the necessary knowledge of the tasks undertaken.

The short-term and long-term demands of economic and cultural development require that our party and state step up the formation of a large body of intellectuals versed in social and natural sciences, and absolutely loyal to the party's revolutionary undertaking. Our present body of intellectuals has basically changed in composition and character. Our present intellectuals are socialist intellectuals and are linked with the workers and peasants. The absolute majority of them are workers' and peasants' children and young brothers and sisters freshly trained under the socialist regime. Educated by the party and forged through a long revolutionary process, our old intellectuals have considerably progressed in their ideological stand and have made great contributions in serving the people. However, intellectuals, including those originating in the working class and the peasantry, possess weak points that they must overcome. The party must educate and assist them in correcting their weak points so that they can serve the people's great revolutionary enterprise with all their energy and talents.

Our party places high value on intellectuals, because the intelligentsia is a necessary instrument of the workers in their struggle to liberate themselves and to build socialism and communism. The working class must have a numerous intelligentsia. Moreover, the party must see that workers and peasants can gradually advance to gain modern scientific and technological knowledge, to step up production and technological production and organize a civilized life. It is necessary to change incorrect concepts and attitudes with regard to intellectuals, culture, science, and technology. Each cadre and party member, youth, and worker must endeavor to learn to heighten his knowledge level in order to fulfill his tasks and to progress unremittingly. In addition to political criteria, there must be definite standards for levels of economic management and of scientific and technological knowledge for party committees at each echelon. To lead scientific and technological enterprises, party committees at all echelons must have skilled staffs, including experts in each branch of economy, science, and technology. Also, we must strengthen party committees and

party leadership organs in the departments and specialized branches and research institutes. The body of science and technology cadres, from technical workers to engineers and scientists, must be increasingly enlarged.

The development laws of the revolution and of the party require that the party adequately link together the cadres who have struggled for a long time and young cadres so that they can augment each other's strong points and assist each other in overcoming weak points, because both categories of cadres have certain strong points and weak points. Our party must endeavor to invigorate its contingent of old cadres while attaching great importance to forming and promptly promoting many more young cadres who have high revolutionary qualities, abundant energy, and great unyielding strength, and who have emerged in revolutionary movements.

The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its singleminded unity, in its unity of ideology and organization. This is the most beautiful tradition of our party. Thanks to its constant unity, our party could overcome every trial in every period and bring the revolution to its present glorious successes. As Lenin said, the proletariat has nothing without organization, but has everything with organization and unity. When the party is in power, the unity of the party is especially important, because without unity of spirit, thought, and action in the party -- the force which has led the undertaking of the entire society -- the party could not preserve the results of the revolution, the unprecedentedly difficult and great task of building a totally new society -- the socialist society.

Bringing into full play its tradition of singleminded unity scored in 40 years of hard combat and continuous successes and implementing President Ho's sacred testament seriously, our party is determined to "preserve its unity like the pupil of the eye." Our party never tolerates any sign of rightism. It considers sectarianism in the party the most serious crime against revolution. Being the vanguard of the working class and the most active segment of society, the party is strictly singleminded.

Its unity relies on Marxism-Leninism that is constantly kept pure by the party, and on the consciousness of all party members with regard to the party's ideals, goals, and tasks. The unity of ideology has been steadfastly guaranteed by the party's regulations on democratic centralization and its fundamental principles of organization. The party is a revolutionary army. But unity of ideology alone is far from enough, because "ideology can materialize nothing" (Marx and Engels, *Die Heilige Familie Oder Kritik der Kritischen Kritik*, Su Tnat Publishing House, 1963, p 202). To turn thoughts into action it is necessary to have organization. Moreover, without unity in the organization the unity of thought cannot exist nor can it be maintained. This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought. Conversely, the democratic centralization system requires that each party member have the right to discuss and decide all problems of the party, and, to express, in the party organization, all his views on any matter for the good of the revolution. Within the framework of the party's platform and rules, built by the entire party, the utmost

development of the democratic rights and wisdom of cadres and party members is one of the most important factors insuring the party's vital force. Ideological repression is incompatible with a proletarian party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought absolutely does not mean turning the party into a club for debates. The party is an army which on the battlefield must act as one man. Therefore the principle that the minority must submit to the majority, the lower echelon to the higher echelon, the individual to the organization, the whole party to the central committee -- the highest leadership organ in the period between the two congresses -- is the basic principle of the democratic centralization system. To infringe this principle is to undermine the iron discipline of the party and to undermine the unity in the party. Lenin stated: "He who weakens, however little, the iron discipline in the proletariat's party, especially in the period of proletarian dictatorship, has actually helped the bourgeoisie class oppose the proletariat." (Lenin, Complete Works, in Vietnamese, Su That Publishing House, 1969, Vol. 13, pp 46-47)

The party's leadership is always based on the collective principle. Individual dictatorship is a phenomenon completely opposed to the party's nature. A man, however exceptional his qualities, can never know all things and all facts in all aspects and in all their variations. Therefore it is necessary to have collective intelligence. Only with a collective decision based on collective intelligence will we be able to avoid subjectivism that leads to errors and sometimes to dangerous consequences. The collective leadership principle is the highest leadership principle of the party. However this does not lessen at all the leaders' individual responsibility. At present a number of comrades of the leadership organs do not attach due consideration to the collective leadership principle. Moreover, a number of comrades hold the collective responsible for everything. If a mistake is committed, they immediately cast blame on the collective, thus ignoring the party members' responsibilities. It is necessary to end this state of affairs.

Apart from the aforementioned ideology and organizational principles, unity in the party also largely depends on the comportment of the comrades and the way they solve differences of view. On the basis of common ideology and objectives for which they have fought and sacrificed themselves and the hardships and elation they have shared among themselves, the communists boundlessly love each other. No sentiment is more sacred than comradeship. Comradeship closely unites the communists in the struggle for the common ideology and objectives. There can be absolutely no concessions on matters of principle. However a fair and just solution to complicated problems, without infringing the matters of principle, and, when necessary, to know how to make concessions to each other when differences of views crop up is essential. This is a fact contributing to further strengthening the solidarity and unity in the party. This is one of our party's good experiences which, in the future, we must maintain and apply more satisfactorily.

Criticism and self-criticism is a fundamental method to be followed for strengthening solidarity and unity inside the party. It is also a rule governing the development of the party's progress.

The development of society, including a socialist society, is a complex process full of contradictions. The struggle between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness, arises continually. With each change in the situation, new objectives are set forth, requiring that our party devise new ways to deal with them and new formulas for organizational, political, and ideological tasks in order to attain these objectives. The party is an ideologically and politically uniform bloc, but the levels of consciousness of cadres and party members vary with each individual. Faced with changes in the situation and objectives, some comrades are quickly conscious of the trend of events and the path to follow. Other comrades are slow or not fully conscious of new events. Finally, some comrades are too slow in becoming conscious of new situations and objectives; their views do not evolve in pace with new situations and new objectives; moreover, they are conservative, clinging to their old views and work methods. Due to various complex circumstances, many party members are still influenced by non-proletarian thoughts. Thus, the struggle between the old and new, between progress and backwardness arises inevitably and permanently inside the party. Practicing criticism and self-criticism, along with heightening the consciousness of cadres and party members, is the fundamental method for solving these contradictions and achieving a unity of mind inside the party. This is a fundamental method for educating cadres and party members so they may develop their strong points and eliminate shortcomings and weak points. Lenin said that the party which has the courage to criticize itself, which dares publicly admit its errors and shortcomings, and which is determined to find causes of shortcomings and errors and determined to eliminate these shortcomings and errors alone is worthy of being called a revolutionary party and a party which is constantly attached to the masses and that such a party alone is able to lead the revolution to victory. President Ho taught us to carry out criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from the lower to upper levels, in order to further strengthen the party and make cadres and party members progress further.

To shoulder his heavy revolutionary responsibilities in the new phase, each cadre and party member must unceasingly consolidate his proletarian stand and improve his revolutionary ethics. President Ho's life and works constitute a brilliant example of noble communist achievements for all our cadres and party members to follow so as to constantly improve themselves. Fighting self-denyingly, stalwartly, and valiantly for the communist ideal to the last drop of their blood, Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Pham Dang Luu, Hoang Van Thu, Vo Van Tan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, and others gave us lessons on improving our revolutionary ethics.

Our party, the vanguard team of the working class, represents the most positive aspect of society in its development. So, our party's

ideology can be only proletarian ideology or Marxist-Leninist ideology. On the basis of heightening proletarian ideology, we must resolutely struggle to overcome petty bourgeois ideology, rightist and "leftist" deviation -- a widespread political phenomenon in which rightism is the more important -- individualism of various hues such as subjectivism or unilateralism. To overcome bourgeois thoughts is essential. Meanwhile, we must resolutely oppose every influence of bourgeois ideology on our party and stamp out all traces of non-proletarian ideology.

Every manifestation of non-proletarian ideology is against the very nature of our party's ideology. We must resolutely exclude all these ideologies like microbes which are harmful to our body.

In sum, our party's strength is all-encompassing. Our party must be strong in its line and in the way of organizing its implementation, strong in the political, ideological, and organizational fields, strong in building state machinery and powerful economic management agencies, strong in its close relations with the masses, in constantly consolidating proletarian dictatorship, and in developing socialist democracy, and strong in understanding and grasping the law of social evolution and in the successive victories of the revolutionary undertaking of our working class and people that has been organized and led by our party. The source of our party's strength is its solidarity and singlemindedness based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the organizational principles of a new-style, proletarian party.

We are determined to build our party into a greater and stronger one which can gloriously fulfill the historic mission entrusted by our working class and people.

"Strengthen Solidarity, Step Up the Struggle for Peace, National Independence, Democracy, and Socialism"

We are marking the 40th anniversary of the party at a time when the world revolution is powerfully developing and facing greater prospects of success.

After World War II, socialism exceeded the limits of individual countries and became a world system. As a result of its extremely great victories, the socialist camp is ceaselessly developing as the factor determining the development of mankind, the bastion of revolution, and the pillar of the defense of world peace. The powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, which has shattered most of the colonial slave system, continues to break the chains of old and new-type colonialism and deals decisive blows to imperialism's rear. The unprecedentedly strong struggle movement of tens of millions of workers and toilers in imperialist countries directed against the reactionary rule of state monopoly capitalists and their war policy is a mighty force striking powerfully at imperialism right in its lair.

These three great revolutionary forces, together with the broad world peace movement, are attacking imperialism successively and from various sides, thus causing the world's balance of forces to change in a way that is basically favorable to peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. Placing themselves against the alliance of these forces, the world's people are fully capable of shattering all the dark designs and war adventures of the imperialist warmongers headed by the United States.

The period since the end of World War II also marks the period of a high tide of socialist revolution, the most seething period in the history of the world revolution. More than one billion people in our camp, advancing from various economic and social circumstances, are marching powerfully on the path of socialist construction, turning former backward countries into countries with a beautiful political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, and a powerful defense insuring independence and the happiness of their people and setting a bright example and becoming the hope of mankind.

Under the influence of socialism, the present national liberation movement is developing in an extremely deep and broad manner and assuming a new quality. Its salient feature is the struggle for complete elimination of both old and new-type colonialism and the reactionary forces serving imperialism, a struggle that is closely and organically connected with the struggle for reforming society along noncapitalist lines. Only when it is led by a really revolutionary political party, when it has a correct line and suitable revolutionary method, when it firmly relies on the worker-peasant force and other progressive strata in the country, and when it is actively helped by socialist countries, will the national democratic revolution in many newly liberated countries have the capability of developing into a socialist revolution -- bypassing the path of capitalist development -- with different transitional steps.

In the imperialist countries, with the rapid development of capitalism into state monopoly capitalism and with intensified exploitation and repression of the working class and toiling people, social contradictions are becoming most acute. This situation permits the working class to strengthen its unity of mind and action, and on this basis, to succeed in rallying the majority of the toiling masses and other democratic strata into a united front against the state monopoly capitalist rulers and the control of U.S. imperialism, for achieving democracy and social progress and defending peace and national sovereignty, thus creating premises for a high tide of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

Those are the three great torrents making up a high tide of socialist revolution in our era, pulling mankind into the orbit of socialism, and pressing the people of various countries to march forward to complete the worldwide transitional step from capitalism to socialism.

During the past 25 years, to desperately cope with the ever greater victories of socialism and to counter the increasingly powerful struggle movement of the working class and oppressed nations, parallel with the terrorist demagogic policy at home, the imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, sought all ways and means to fight back at the world revolutionary movement. They exerted efforts to strengthen their armament, step up the arms race, and restore West German and Japanese militarism, relentlessly prepared for a new world war, and encircled, intimidated, and sabotaged the socialist countries, while carrying out every trick in an attempt to divide the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces in the world. With regard to colonial and dependent countries, they switched to the application of neocolonialism and instigated many special or limited wars with a view to repressing the national liberation movement.

However, the time when the imperialists can ride roughshod has gone forever. None of these frantic counterrevolutionary acts can save them from collapse. Imperialism has been successively defeated by the world revolutionary forces and forced to withdrawal from one position to another. Those who suffered the most defeats have been the U.S. imperialists, the chief imperialists who are playing the role of international gendarme. Clearly, the world revolution at present is in an offensive position that is stronger and more stable than ever before. Applying the offensive strategy, the socialist, national liberation, democratic, and peace forces are capable of smashing every war policy, defeating every type of war waged by imperialism in any region, and advancing toward shattering its entire war-waging plan, driving imperialism back step by step, toppling it part by part, accelerating the process of its collapse, thus consolidating lasting peace in the world and achieving victory for national independence and socialism on a wider scale.

To counter the wars unleashed by U.S. imperialism and the warmongering imperialists' plan to prepare for a new world war, and to score ever greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress, a united front of the world's people against U.S. imperialism must necessarily be set up. This front must include in its core the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, and the national liberation movement. At the same time, it must broadly attract all peace-loving and justice-loving forces, mobilize all potentialities of the world's people for a common objective, namely, to isolate the U.S. imperialists and the war maniacs who are allies or servants of the Americans, repel and defeat their plots and aggressive acts, defend peace, and continue to cause the world revolution to develop victoriously and incessantly.

The present arduous and decisive class struggle on a worldwide scale urgently demands that solidarity in the socialist camp and the international communist and workers movement be restored and consolidated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only in this manner will it be possible to unite the revolutionary forces in the world against

imperialism, smash the imperialists' plots of military offensive as well as their divisive acts against socialist countries, and resist all their repressive and sabotage maneuvers against the international communist and workers movement.

The Vietnam aggressive war is an important part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, the most warlike imperialist. Waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism tries to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam, turn South Vietnam into its neocolony and military base, and at the same time drive back socialism and use South Vietnam as a testing ground for the strategy and tactic of its aggressive war and various new types of weapons with a view to repressing the revolutionary movement and preparing for a world war. In this criminal war, U.S. imperialism has revealed its new, extremely cruel and fascist nature. However, it is becoming bogged down and sustaining ignominious defeats and is being sternly condemned throughout the world and even in the United States. The U.S. ruling position in the capitalist world is being shaken and is markedly deteriorating with every passing day. The Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation is the apogee of the common struggle movement of the world's people against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. It is making an important contribution to settlement of the world's fundamental contradictions in the present era, contributing to the defense of socialism, national independence, and peace, and pushing forward the struggle of the world's people for freedom, justice, human dignity, and man's right to live.

Our people are exceedingly proud to be assault fighters at the forefront of the people's revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism, mankind's most dangerous enemy. We pledge to exert efforts to defeat the aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and bring our national salvation resistance to final victory in order to fulfill our sacred national obligation and noble international obligation and be worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends throughout the world.

Since its birth, our party has set for itself the task of uniting with the international proletariat and with the revolution of colonial and semicolonial countries, considering it an extremely important task of principled significance and one of the factors determining the success of our country's revolution. This correct international line of our party, which has been followed throughout the process of revolution, on the one hand succeeded in winning increasingly greater support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement and on the other hand taught our people the pure sentiments of proletarian internationalism and taught them to oppose nationalist viewpoints of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and smash the perfidious, divisive tricks of the imperialists and their lackeys. At the same time, it encouraged our people to make an active contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people.

Obeying President Ho's testament, our party will henceforth, as before, always devote all its efforts to restoring and safeguarding solidarity and singlemindedness in the socialist camp and between fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unshakable friendship between our country and others in the socialist camp, especially with the Soviet Union and China, and will strengthen relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields with fraternal countries.

We strongly support the struggle of the proletariat and toiling people in capitalist countries for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. We resolutely support the struggle movement against old and new-type colonialism for national independence of the peoples of Asian, African, and Latin American countries and continue to develop friendly relations with nationalist countries.

We endeavor to tighten brotherly solidarity between the peoples of Indochinese countries to oppose the common enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- strengthen lasting friendship between our country and the Kingdom of Cambodia, and build good neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

We are determined to join our efforts with fraternal countries and progressive people the world over to continue fighting against the aggressive and war-provoking policy of the warlike imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, thus making an active contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

We are also ready to establish relations with all countries respecting our country's sovereignty and independence on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

During the past 40 years, each historic stage of the Vietnamese revolution, especially that from the August revolution to the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, has been closely connected with the active support and wholehearted assistance of fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, the national liberation movement, and all peace-loving and justice-loving people in the world.

Our people are eternally grateful for the extremely great and invaluable assistance of fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, considering it a noble manifestation of proletarian internationalism. We are also deeply grateful to other fraternal parties which have wholeheartedly united with our people and actively helped us in our long-term struggle. We sincerely thank the international working class, the nationalist countries, and progressive people in the world, including the U.S. progressive people, who have constantly approved and supported our just cause.

Reviewing the glorious stages of the Vietnamese revolution under our party's leadership, we feel more encouraged as we look to the future determined to struggle to fulfill the following great and urgent tasks:

The most urgent task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to totally defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south, safeguard the north, and advance toward peaceful reunification of the country. Our party, armed forces, and people should mobilize their mightiest efforts to lead the anti-U.S. and national salvation struggle to complete victory.

While remaining constantly vigilant and ready to cope with all new adventurous schemes plotted by U.S. imperialism, the north should redouble its efforts to boost production, gradually stabilize the people's livelihood, strengthen the potential of the economy and national defense, satisfactorily fulfill its duties as a big rear toward a big frontline, and continue to lead the building of socialism forward.

We should streamline the power of the state, fully implement the socialist democratic system and fully guarantee the collective mastership of the people to strongly develop revolutionary enthusiasm, intelligence, and creative spirit of the masses in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle as well as in building socialism.

We should strive to build and consolidate a strong and great party, so that it can play its role as a leading force for the whole society. We should maintain solidarity and singlemindedness within the party, and strengthen the people's political and spiritual singlemindedness.

The glorious victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years are the great achievements of all our people under the party's leadership.

We are extremely proud of our working class, which has heightened the heroic fighting tradition and is in the vanguard of the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Under the correct leadership of the working class represented by our party, our laboring people have been tenaciously and indomitably struggling, and together with the workers form a powerful pillar in the national liberation movement and also in building socialism. In the north, through two great leaps forward -- the implementing of land reforms and agricultural cooperativization -- the laboring rural people have become the collective peasant class, and together with the working class, have become the masters of the nation and society over half of a country which has been liberated. Our party will do its utmost to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, and will strive to politically and ideologically educate workers and peasants, and raise their cultural, scientific, and technical standards with a view to further developing the great role of the workers and peasants in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and continuing to make industrialization and cooperativization advance.

Having experienced two heroic and national salvation wars of resistance, the Vietnamese people's armed forces today have become an ironlike armed force of workers and peasants and are worthy of being called one of the solid pillars of the proletarian and dictatorial state, and are a force which the party and people are very proud of, entrusted with the task of safeguarding national independence and the free life in the socialist north. With their glorious feats of arms over the past 25 years, and under the "determined to fight and determined to win" banner awarded by President Ho, the Vietnamese people's heroic armed forces, together with the invincible South Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces, will certainly and totally defeat U.S. aggression and continue to fill the glorious pages of our history with new feats of arms.

We are also happy to see that the ranks of our intellectuals are becoming more and more numerous, including old intellectuals who have been serving the fatherland and people, and also tens of thousands of new intellectuals who came from the worker-peasant class and who have been trained and educated under the socialist regime. Our party and government consider them to be precious capital and will create all favorable conditions for the intelligentsia to conduct research and study to further elevate their thinking and specialized talents so they can contribute more to the great national revolution and be worthy of being patriotic, socialism-loving intellectuals.

Ever since the establishment of the Thanh Nien [youth] Revolutionary Association by President Ho Chi Minh, our Vietnamese youths have been constantly heightening the glorious fighting tradition. At present, throughout the country and on all revolutionary fronts, millions of youths are bravely advancing under the most difficult and adverse situations. They have been displaying their youthful enthusiasm to offer contributions to the fatherland and socialism. Our party is convinced that Vietnamese youths will fight more heroically and will constantly be in the vanguard of building socialism, and will strive to study and train themselves to become indomitable revolutionary combatants capable of becoming future masters of the country and of a new society, and deserve to be called the generation of heroic Ho Chi Minh youths. We will pay great heed to training and educating the children and youth class to become "Uncle Ho's docile nephews," and hope that our children will be able to follow in the footsteps of their elders and further contribute to the image of our fatherland.

Our nation and party are forever grateful to the Vietnamese mothers who have given birth and donated to the nation their distinguished sons who have been heroically fighting to protect the territory we inherited from our ancestors. The present sacred anti-U.S., national salvation struggle is also a period when our women have more strongly and heroically risen up than during any other period of our history. Our party will exert every effort to step up the liberation of women in order to let our women contribute more and more to the fighting and building of a new life.

Over the centuries, the mountain-dwelling and ethnic minority people had, side by side with the delta people, shed their blood and made enormous sacrifices to build and safeguard the Vietnamese patrimony. Particularly in the last decades, led and educated by our party, these fraternal ethnic minority people have been contributing more to the fatherland, closing their ranks more tightly, fighting very heroically against the common aggressors, and enthusiastically building the nation. Our party will strive to pay greater heed to developing the economy and culture in the mountainous areas in order to make the fraternal ethnic minority peoples rapidly advance toward socialism and build a happy and civilized life.

Defying all the schemes of the enemy aimed at sowing dissension and trouble, the religious compatriots are imbued with an enlightened, fervent patriotism and have closely united with all of the people. They have effectively contributed their part to the revolutionary tasks of the nation. Having gone through the protracted, difficult, but glorious war of resistance, the national alliance bloc, set up by President Ho, has been further strengthened and developed. In the coming years, we should further develop the great role of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. We are firmly convinced that all of our compatriots, regardless of nationality, religion, and political tendency, will forever carry aloft President Ho's banner of great alliance and will struggle together to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, and prosperous Vietnamese nation.

We are extremely proud of our heroic nation, our heroic people, and our heroic armed forces. With respect to our party, "with the characteristic modesty of a revolutionary, we are still entitled to say that our party is really very great" and deserves to be called a heroic party of a heroic people.

Having over the past 40 years weathered countless challenges and sacrifices, waged numerous heroic struggles, and accumulated considerable revolutionary experiences, our party will certainly fulfill its historic mission, that is to lead our people in achieving the national liberation tasks, and our nation toward the most enlightened path of mankind -- the socialist and communist path.

This year -- the year we celebrated the 40th founding anniversary of the party -- is precisely the year when our nation is 25 years old, the year when our people mark the 80th birthday anniversary of beloved Uncle Ho, and also the anniversary of great Lenin's centenary.

To our people and party, these anniversaries carry extremely great significance.

Over the past quarter century, our state -- the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia -- has mobilized and organized the forces of the people and conducted two heroic wars of resistance -- against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Since the north

advanced toward the socialist revolutionary stage, our state has switched to performing its historic tasks of a proletarian and dictatorial state and has implemented the socialist reforms and built socialism.

The greater our pride in our people and party, the greater our pride in President Ho, our beloved leader and great master. He was the most outstanding Vietnamese, whose works and name will be forever linked with the most brilliant era in the glorious history of our people. In celebrating the 80th birthday anniversary of President Ho, let all of our party and people strive to study his ideology, virtues, and revolutionary behavior, be worthy to be called his comrades and students, and be determined to implement his sacred testament in order to lead the revolutionary tasks of our people to final victory.

Together with the international communist movement and the whole progressive mankind, our party and people enthusiastically greet the forthcoming birth anniversary of Lenin -- the talented leader and the great revolutionary master of the working class, the laboring people, and the oppressed peoples the world over. As the one who carried on the works of Marx and Engels, Lenin had bequeathed to us, to the communists, and the revolutionary fighters throughout the five continents an invincible weapon, that is his ideological treasure and his extremely rich revolutionary experiences. Studying and putting into practice Lenin's great ideologies and advancing on the path traced by him, we vow to remain faithful forever to invincible Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

Obeying President Ho's teachings, let all of our party, people, and armed forces further close their ranks under the glorious banner of the party, let millions of people be united as one man, heroically rush forward, be determined to totally defeat U.S. aggression, successfully build socialism, and effectively contribute to the revolutionary tasks of the world people.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam!

Long live the Vietnam Lao Dong Party -- the organizer of all the victories of the Vietnamese Revolution!

Forever show our gratitude to the great President Ho Chi Minh!

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