

**6<sup>TH</sup>**  
NATIONAL CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF VIETNAM

*DOCUMENTS*

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**6TH NATIONAL CONGRESS  
OF THE  
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### RESOLUTION

**POLITICAL REPORT**

*Dear comrades,*

After defeating the US aggressors, completing the liberation of the Homeland and achieving national reunification, our Party has led the people of the whole country to embark upon a new stage of revolution, that of building socialism and defending the Homeland.

Over the past five years we have travelled a path full of trials. We have scored some successes, but we have made a number of shortcomings and mistakes. The revolution in our country enjoys some new advantages but is still facing tremendous difficulties.

While preparations were being made for this Congress, members of our entire Party and compatriots in and outside the country made outspoken suggestions to the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee. They advanced numerous heart-felt proposals. Our whole Party, people and armed forces are following the Sixth Party Congress, expecting it to make a correct assessment of the situation, draw valuable experience, and set forth tasks and objectives, policies and measures aimed at stabilizing the situation and carrying on the cause of the revolution.

Our Congress must do its utmost to meet the just aspirations of our compatriots and comrades.

## PART ONE

### SITUATION AND TASKS

*Dear comrades,*

The attitude adopted by our Party in assessing the situation is to *face the truth, to evaluate the facts correctly, and to tell the truth.* While correctly appraising the achievements recorded, at this Congress we shall focus on assessing the weaknesses, minutely analyzing the mistakes and shortcomings, finding out their causes and taking measures to put things right. We will also define the tasks and objectives for the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

Over the past five years, our revolution has evolved in the background of a domestic and international situation which opened up fundamental advantages but was also fraught with complexities.

**In the cause of building socialism and defending the Homeland, our people have still enjoyed great**

assistance and multi-faceted cooperation from the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, as well as encouragement and support from many friendly countries and freedom-loving people in the world. While the common strategic posture of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries has been improved, the all-round cooperation between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has facilitated the building of a new life in each country.

However, our country as well as Laos and Kampuchea has had usually to cope with acts of aggression, sabotage and economic blockade by hostile forces. The adverse upheavals in the world market have also aggravated our difficulties.

Starting from a very low economic level, and suffering from the sequels of long wars, our people have had to carry out two strategic tasks simultaneously: to fulfil both our national duties and international obligations, to meet long-term and pressing requirements at the same time, namely ensuring and improving the people's livelihood, accumulating funds for building socialism and strengthening national defence.

As regards the socio-economic situation, besides the achievements recorded, the decrease in production in the late 70s and the mistakes made in laying out the economic structure, especially in allocating investments and capital construction in the preceding five years (1976-80), have left us heavy consequences.

In the implementation of the tasks and objectives set forth by the Fifth Party Congress, our people have shown great courage in their efforts to overcome difficulties and surmount obstacles and have recorded *important achievements* in socialist construction.

In *industrial and agricultural production*, we managed to curb the decrease of the years 1979-80, and since 1981 have made notable progress.

The average annual increase in agricultural output was 4.9 per cent as against 1.9 in the 1976-80 period. There has been a major development in the production of food grain. The average annual output has risen from the 13.4 million tonnes in the 1976-80 period to 17 million tonnes in the 1981-85 period. The average annual increase in industrial output was 9.5 per cent compared with 0.6 per cent in the 1976-80 period. The average annual increase of the national income was 6.4 per cent compared with 0.4 per cent in the previous five years.

As regards the building of the *material-technical infrastructure* in the five years 1981-85 we have completed several hundred relatively large-size projects and thousands of medium and small projects, including a few major ones relating to electricity, gas and oil, cement, engineering, textiles, sugar, water conservancy, communications, etc. There has been an extra in productive capacity: 456,000 kw of power, 2.5 million tonnes of coal, 2.4 million tonnes of cement, 33,000 tonnes of yarn, 58,000 tonnes of paper; 309,000 hectares were irrigated, 186,000 water-logged hectares were drained, 241,000 hectares

were reclaimed. Extraction of oil and gas has started. The Hoa Binh and Tri An hydro-electric projects now under construction will be put into operation in the coming years.

A further step forward has been taken in *socialist transformation* of the economy. The majority of peasants in Nam Bô (former Cochinchina — *Ed.*) have taken the road of collective production. The people of various ethnic groups in Tay Nguyen (Central Highlands) have made progress in building a new life. Together with scientific-technical achievements, the nationwide implementation of the system of setting output quotas for each farmer, though still defective, has played a major role in boosting agricultural production, and has given a correct orientation for strengthening the collective economic relations in the countryside.

Our State and people have endeavoured to *meet the needs of national defence and security*, and to implement policies concerning the duties of the rear areas towards the army.

Caring for *the people's livelihood* is a constant and most difficult task of our Party and State in the context of a weak economy, successive natural calamities and rapid population growth. The various branches of the national economy have taken on another 4 million workers. The development in the fields of culture, education, public health, sports and physical training, literature and art has made noticeable contributions to building a new culture

and fostering the new man. Increased activities in science and technology have helped boost production, especially agricultural production.

Throughout the country many fairly good production and business establishments, excellent combat units and good districts have emerged. Dynamism and creativity in a number of localities and branches have helped make encouraging achievements. The lively practice in grassroots units, localities and branches has offered our Party and State leadership valuable experience.

Also over the past five years, in the fight to defend the Homeland, maintain political security and fulfil their international duty, our people and armed forces have won *great victories*.

We have taken a major step in defeating the schemes of the hegemonists against our country and have further strengthened our country's defence capabilities.

On the northern borderland of our country, our armed forces and people have built an ever stronger defence disposition. They have fought with courage and efficiency and managed to check the enemy's land-grabbing attacks.

We have taken a further step in thwarting the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage, wiped out and routed a major part of the FULRO reactionaries in the Central Highlands, captured lots of other reactionary groups and spies and scouts, thus speeding up the mass movement for preserving national security.

In the building of national defence by the whole people we have scored considerable successes in a number of spheres: consolidating the people's war disposition, consolidating political organizations in strategically important areas, and building reserves. Our army has further developed along the line of a modern regular army; its fighting strength has increased. Our militia and self-defence forces have been strengthened numerically and qualitatively. A number of results have been obtained in combining the economy and national defence and mobilizing the army to take part in economic construction, especially in building projects of industry and communications.

Our army and people have continued to fulfil their *international obligations towards Laos and Kampuchea*, strengthen our strategic alliance with our two fraternal neighbour countries and join efforts in strengthening the posture and strength of the revolution in all the three countries.

The achievements recorded in the implementation of the two strategic tasks, in the strengthening of the solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea, and the other fraternal countries in the socialist community, the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with national independent countries, with peace and progressive forces, have created *new factors for our revolution to move forward*.

Those achievements are closely linked to the correct viewpoints of the general line and the economic

line defined at the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses, they are linked to the home and foreign policies of our Party and State.

Those achievements have highlighted the diligence and bravery of our army and people. In face of the great difficulties encountered in production, fighting and life, our working class, peasantry, socialist intelligentsia and armed forces have upheld revolutionary heroism, the spirit of collective mastery, and have turned out an amount of products markedly larger than five years before. They have shown staunchness, intelligence and courage, and have achieved a great many feats of arms.

Those achievements are inseparable from the valuable assistance and support given by the fraternal socialist countries, friendly countries and international organizations, especially the great assistance of the Soviet Union, the cooperation and militant solidarity with Laos and Kampuchea.

While affirming the achievements recorded, we also notice that our country is beset with socio-economic difficulties:

— Though there has been some growth in production, it is slow in comparison with the capabilities available and labour spent, with the people's demand for a rapid stabilization of their life, with the need to accumulate capital for speeding up industrialization and strengthening our national defence. Failure to fulfil a number of major targets of the last five-year plan such as production of food

grain, coal, cement, timber, textiles, export commodities, etc., has affected all aspects of economic activity and the working people's life.

— Production and investment efficiency has been low. In general, only half of the designed capacity of enterprises has been utilized with reduced labour productivity and low product quality.

— Our country's natural resources have not been made good use of, and have been wasted at that, especially farm lands and forest resources; the ecological environment is being destroyed.

— Clogged-up circulation, inappropriate distribution of commodities and price hikes are having a negative impact on production, the people's life and society.

— Far from being reduced, the great imbalances in the economy between supply and demand in grain, foodstuffs, consumer goods, energy, raw materials, transport, etc., between income and expenditure, export and import, have become more acute.

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

— Numerous difficulties still beset the life of our people, especially workers and public employees. Many people at work age are jobless or still not fully employed. Many legitimate and minimal requirements of the people's material and cultural life have not yet been met. The countryside is running

short of common consumer goods and medicines; housing, sanitary conditions and cultural life in many areas still leave much to be desired.

Negative manifestations in society have increased. Social justice has been violated. Law and discipline are not strictly observed. Abuse of power and corruption committed by a number of cadres and State employees have not yet been severely punished in time; neither have the activities of those who engage in illicit trade or business.

This state of things has lessened the confidence of the masses in the Party's leadership and in the functioning of State bodies.

To sum up, *we have not yet achieved the objective set by the Fifth Party Congress, namely stabilizing in the main the socio-economic situation and the people's life.*

What is the cause of this state of things?

We do not underestimate the objective difficulties: they are enormous. But it is important to make an intensive analysis of the *subjective causes*, and point out the mistakes and shortcomings in the activities of the Party and State.

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

After the victory of the war of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, on the strength of a correct assessment of the fundamental characteristics of the revolution in our country, our Party decided in good time to unify the country and take

the whole country to socialism; it set forth the general line and economic line for the whole transitional period. But it has had shortcomings in assessing the specific socio-economic conditions of our country. As a result, over the past ten years we have made lots of errors in defining the targets and the steps to take in building the material-technical bases, in socialist transformation and economic management.

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

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

## 2. On arranging the economic structure

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

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

Having determined the steps to be taken by industrialization, the Fifth Party Congress decided on the following guidelines for the five years from 1981 to 1985: developing while rearranging production, readjusting capital construction to raise investment efficiency with a view to stabilizing the socio-economic situation, stabilizing the people's life, and creating the premises for stepping up industrialization.

However, we have not scrupulously implemented the resolution of the Fifth Congress. Agriculture has not been regarded as a branch of prime importance; conditions necessary for its development

have not been ensured, especially with regard to materials and goods, capital and incentive policies. Consumer goods industries, including handicrafts, are still neglected in terms of organization, investment and policy. Heavy industry fails to serve agriculture and light industry in good time. A major mistake was that we have hardly rearranged production units so as to avoid overlapping and overcome irrationalities, and have failed to focus our limited sources of energy, raw materials, materials and goods on key projects with a view to making the best use of the existing productive capacity. On the other hand, as regards capital construction, although we have suspended or deferred the construction of a number of relatively large projects and focused on key projects, we have not, in the main, brought about a rational adjustment. We have not resolutely suspended or deferred the construction of not really pressing projects and projects of low efficiency, and are still bent on building large-scale projects. There is too large an amount of unfinished projects, which causes capital to clog up for too long. A number of localities and branches have built many more projects outside the plans, thus causing capital and materials to be more scattered.

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

In socialist revolution, on the one hand, great efforts should be made to build new economic bases

and forces for the country, and on the other hand, great importance should be attached to transforming and making good use of the existing economic bases and forces through appropriate forms and steps. But we have not yet clearly and consistently determined the viewpoints, undertakings and policies guiding the work of socialist transformation. There have been manifestations of hastiness: we wanted to do away at once with non-socialist economic sectors, to rapidly turn the private capitalist economic sector into a State-run sector. With regard to small-scale commodity economy, we paid little attention to the characteristics of each branch and trade, and therefore failed to select appropriate forms of organization; there was a strong tendency to set up at once large-scale cooperatives, taking no account of technical equipment, of the level of management and capacity of cadres. So far as the content of transformation is concerned, we laid stress on changing the ownership of the means of production, but overlooked the settlement of problems relating to management, organization and the system of distribution. We often resorted to campaign-like, coercive measures, running after quantity, but neglecting quality and efficiency; and tended to slacken control after a spell of hasty actions. Thus, many so-called joint State-private enterprises, co-operatives and production collectives were established only for form's sake, and were not really based on the new production relations.

Failure to rearrange the various branches and units of production, and delays in renovating the

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

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

#### **4. On the mechanism of economic management**

Since the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee (Fourth Congress) in 1979, many resolutions of the Central Committee, many decisions have been taken by the Party and State on renewing the mechanism of economic management. Especially the Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Central Com-

mittee (Fifth Congress) and Resolution No 306 (draft) of the Political Bureau have a far-reaching renovating character. Experimentation and research have been conducted in many branches, localities and grassroots units on a new approach to business that will help tap the potentials of the economy with a view to developing production, improving distribution and circulation of goods, and meeting the demands of the people's life. This is a factor that makes a direct contribution to our economic achievements in the past five years.

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

Delays in renovating the management mechanism and failure to promptly put it into operation have led to disunity of action from higher to lower levels. A number of people and establishments have made use of deficiencies in the mechanism of management for personal and sectional benefit.

We have only pointed out the main orientation for the new mechanism. As for its content, form

and the concrete steps to be taken and the methods to be adopted, there are many outstanding problems left unanswered in both theory and practice.

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

#### **5. On distribution and circulation**

Over the past five years, there have been constant tension and disorder in the field of distribution and circulation of goods. The Party and State leading bodies have spent plenty of time on these problems, but so far the solutions have not been really effective.

This state of things was the combined result of many factors which, together, adversely affected our economy and social life.

First of all, those are mistakes in laying out the economic structure and in socialist transformation. They were also the ill-effects of the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on State subsidies which had existed for many years in economic management. Hence slow development of production, and increasingly sharper contradictions between supply and demand. Meanwhile, we slackened our vigilance and failed to take effective measures to

prevent bad elements and the enemy from taking advantage of our deficiencies to carry out their sabotage.

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

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

The errors in the field of distribution and circulation of commodities were very serious errors in economic leadership and management in the past five years.

## 6. On exercising proletarian dictatorship

*Slackening proletarian dictatorship* finds expression in the many shortcomings we have had in the socialist transformation, in the management of the economy and society, in the ideological and cultural struggle, and in opposing the enemy's schemes and manoeuvres of sabotage. We have failed to make full use of the aggregate strength of proletarian dictatorship in order to establish and maintain socialist order in all spheres of economic and social life. We have let violations of State law and regulations become widespread.

*Dear comrades,*

The above-mentioned errors were serious and protracted ones concerning major undertakings and policies, *errors in strategic guidance and in the organization and implementation of tasks.*

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

Exactly as our Fifth Congress pointed out, we were both subjective and hasty on one hand, and conservative and sluggish on the other; both aspects co-existed in fact and seriously hindered the revolutionary march forward.

The mistakes and shortcomings in economic and social leadership originated from shortcomings in the Party's *ideological and organizational activity and its cadre work*. This lay at the root of all other causes.

In this field, our Party did achieve some good results, our Party organizations and our contingent of cadres have further matured, and we have learnt new lessons of experience in building the Party when it is in power. We must, however, frankly admit that, faced with new developments and trials in the building of socialism, our Party's ideological and organizational activity was unable to keep pace with the revolution's requirements.

In the *ideological* domain, there was a lag in our theoretical appreciation and practical application of the objective laws prevailing in the transitional period. We were voluntaristic and simplistic in our desire to quickly achieve numerous objectives of socialism when our country was just at its initial stage. We had unjustified prejudices and in fact did not really recognize that the laws of commodity production were objective; consequently, we did not care to apply them in the determination of our economic undertakings and policies. We did not pay adequate attention to summing up our practical experience and learning from the experience of fraternal countries.

In *organizational* work, the biggest shortcoming was the stagnation and slowness in renewing cadre work. The selection and placing of cadres in various

leading and managerial offices still followed old-fashioned conceptions and unsuitable criteria, of a largely formal character, without proceeding from the requirements of the political tasks and professional qualifications. It was also done without adequate programming, with little heed paid to the opinions of the masses. The work of educating and supervising cadres and Party members lacked strictness.

Our style of leadership and work was fraught with bureaucratism, actions did not go with words, and working and decision-making procedures were not observed. The guiding and directing of affairs usually suffered from a lack of concentration, determination and consistency. Violations of Leninist principles in Party life occurred in various Party organizations and Party committees, first of all regarding the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, individual responsibility, submission by the minority to the majority, by the lower to the higher authorities, by the whole Party to the Central Committee.

With regard to organization, the State apparatus and those of the Party and mass organizations were left to overgrow, overlap and disperse.

The Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers were primarily responsible for the above-mentioned mistakes and shortcomings in Party leadership. It should be emphasized that the delay in correctly effecting a transition in the nucleus leading body was a direct cause of the inadequacy of Party leadership in

recent years in meeting the requirements of the new situation. The Central Committee criticizes itself earnestly for its shortcomings before the Congress.

From the revolutionary practice over the past years, we may draw the following lessons of experience:

**One:** In all its activities, the Party must be thoroughly imbued with the idea that "the people are the roots", and must establish and give full play to the working people's right to mastery over society. Our Party has no other aim than to struggle for the people's happiness. The masses are the makers of history.

Our people have a high revolutionary spirit and very valuable qualities. Having gone through over half a century of continuous fighting with untold sacrifices and hardships, they have always upheld their revolutionary heroism, worked tirelessly and fought valiantly for the independence and freedom of the Homeland and for socialism. When the Party makes mistakes and shortcomings, the people still eagerly hope and expect that it will correct them and take the country forward. Our Party must live up to that hope and expectation of our people.

The great lesson we can draw from the past years is that, in conditions of a party in power, special care must be taken to strengthen the links between the Party and the people, to wage a permanent struggle to prevent and overcome bureaucratism. Each party member must really be both a leader

and a very loyal servant of the people. All undertakings and policies of the Party must proceed from the interests, aspirations and capabilities of the working people, and must arouse the sympathy and support from the masses. Bureaucratism, commandism, aloofness from the masses and infringement on the people's interests will weaken the Party.

**Two: The Party should constantly proceed from reality, observe objective laws and act upon them.** The ability to realize and act upon objective laws is a guarantee for the correct leadership of the Party.

In order to overcome the shortcomings and improve the situation, our Party must, first of all, effect a change in conceptions and a renewal of thinking. We must correctly realize and act in conformity with the system of objective laws, of which the specific laws of socialism will have an ever stronger impact on the general development trend of our society.

The criteria for assessing the correct application of these laws in the Party and State's undertakings and policies are the development of production, the smooth circulation of goods, the gradual stabilization and improvement of the people's material and cultural life, the emergence of the socialist man with ever clearer features, the ever more wholesome social environment, and the strengthening of the socialist system. Any undertakings or policies that bring about an adverse effect bear evidence of an incorrect application of the objective laws and must be amended or cancelled.

**Three : We should know how to combine the forces of our nation and those of our times in the new circumstances. Our country can advance directly to socialism from a small-scale production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, because our revolution is taking place in a period of transition to socialism on the world scale. We enjoy great assistance from and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the alliance and all-round cooperation with our two brotherly neighbours, Laos and Kampuchea. Their assistance and cooperation are an important condition for our people to build socialism successfully and firmly defend our socialist Homeland. We also enjoy support and assistance from other friendly countries, from other revolutionary and progressive forces the world over. The development of the present scientific and technological revolution and the tendency for widening international division of labour and cooperation, even between countries with different socio-economic systems, are also very important conditions for our socialist construction. In all aspects of our revolution we must take special care to combine the national and international factors, the traditional and modern factors, to exploit all possibilities for expanding trade relations, economic, scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries, in order to serve the socialist construction and constantly fulfil our international duty and all our commitments toward fraternal and friendly countries.**

**Four : We have to make our Party be up to the political tasks of a party in power which leads our people in the socialist revolution. To ensure that our Party can fulfil this glorious historical mission, it is now imperative that we strengthen the combative power and heighten the capability for leadership and practical organization of the Party. The principle of democratic centralism must be firmly maintained in Party life as well as in economic and social leadership. Party members must unceasingly foster and enhance their revolutionary qualities and ethics, regularly practise criticism and self-criticism in the Party and in public. They must strengthen unity and one-mindedness in the Party, both in spirit and in action, while heightening their sense of organization and discipline, matching their words with their actions.**

The Sixth Congress should mark a turning-point of decisive significance in raising the Party's strength, enhancing its prestige among the masses, ensuring that it will bring itself up to the new tasks of the revolution. Our Party must become a strong leading party in the socialist revolution.

*Dear comrades,*

New, great and heavy tasks are lying ahead of us. After more than ten years of leading our country into the initial stage of the transitional period, our Party is now in a position to be more deeply aware of the characteristics of this stage. Small-scale production, with its inherent weaknesses, the aftermath of the past long wars and even of the recent ones,

the vestiges of the old regime — all are obstacles on our path of development. With the achievements obtained in the building of socialism, we have overcome to some extent our economic dispersion and backwardness, partly transformed the socio-economic structure and laid the initial bases for further development. But we have not gone far enough from a very low starting point. Our mistakes and shortcomings have made the situation even more difficult.

The complex socio-economic reality requires that our Party take policy decisions likely to change the situation drastically and bring about a turning-point in our development.

In the coming years, our revolution will continue to develop against an *international background* with many changes.

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

The socialist system has entered a new stage of development with new quality. The socialist community's achievements and its combined strength in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and defence fields constitute a decisive factor for the victory of world socialism in the struggle between the two opposing socio-political systems on earth. This is also a guarantee of prime importance for all humanity in the common struggle to safeguard peace and repulse the danger of exterminatory nuclear war.

The *national independence movement* is developing with new characteristics, a growing trend for linking national independence to socialism and stronger anti-imperialism. The imperialists, teaming up with other international reactionary forces, are combining military threats from outside with economic and political encirclement and sabotage aimed at achieving "peaceful evolution" and subversion from within, while conducting direct or proxy wars against revolutionary and progressive states.

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

The gap between developed capitalist countries and developing countries is getting wider and wider. The increasingly heavier exploitation by the imperialist countries has led to further impoverishment of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

which are plagued by accumulated debts. The struggle against the old international economic order, for the establishment of a new, just one, is getting more and more attraction with every passing day.

In the capitalist countries, the *working class movement* has taken a new step of development linked to the aggravating structural crisis of imperialism, to the democratic and peace movement against imperialism and the danger of nuclear war.

A salient feature of our times is the scientific and technological revolution which is taking place vigorously, creating a leap forward in the development of productive forces and an acceleration of the process of internationalization of these forces. This revolution has rendered the contradictions of our times more serious. A single world market is taking shape, in which the two opposing economic systems are engaged in a ruthless struggle against each other, while economic cooperation is an inevitable requirement for the development of both systems.

The struggle in the economic field is of ever greater political importance to the outcome of the struggle between the two world systems. The socialist countries, bringing into play the superiority of the new system with an increasingly effective use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, are changing their production structures and their management mechanism,

conducting a large-scale reform of profound revolutionary significance, and will surely bring about greater changes in a not too distant future.

The capitalist economy has not yet exhausted its capacity for development, but as the scientific and technological revolution and the productive forces continue to develop, they will further sharpen the basic contradictions in the capitalist system, first of all, those between labour and capital. The development of the productive forces also leads to big upheavals in the economic relations within the capitalist world itself, especially among its three centres, the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The capitalist countries are having contradictions and rivalries among themselves, at the same time they are seeking every method and means, even the exploitation of the scientific and technological revolution, to develop, to reconcile their inner contradictions and ally with one another against the revolutionary forces.

Controlling huge economic and military forces, imperialism — US imperialism first of all — and other international reactionary forces are stubbornly holding on to their objectives, refusing to renounce their policy of pursuing the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, continuing to provoke local conflicts, and launching counter-attacks against the revolutionary and peace forces. Never before has the danger of a nuclear war by imperialism been so great. The US monopoly capitalists whose main forces are the military-industrial complexes regard the increasing tensions in the world as a source of

big profits for them, as a justification for their colossal military expenditures, their global ambitions, their interference in other nation's internal affairs and their attacks on the interests of the American working people.

Although the fierce counter-attacks by imperialism and its international reactionary forces have caused losses and obstacles to peace and revolution, the energetic struggle of the revolutionary and peace forces with the Soviet Union as the mainstay has foiled part of their schemes. With the summit talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, the configuration of struggle in conditions of peaceful coexistence between the two opposing social systems is being strengthened and developing. The struggle for world peace is attracting large forces from all continents. The struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle are the two prongs of attack that are hitting hard at imperialism and weakening it.

Humanity is now at a crossroads, faced with a choice concerning new, global problems. A nuclear war can only bring an extermination to all belligerents and to life on earth. For countries with different social systems the only correct choice is the competition in the economic field and in their way of life. All sides should cooperate in solving such global problems, faced by all nations and the human community as a whole, as the population explosion, the food problem, the use of natural resources, environmental protection, etc. The socialist coun-

tries have affirmed that they definitely opt for the path of competition in economic field and in the way of life, and this competition can only take place in conditions of a firmly secured peace.

In the Asia-Pacific region, important changes are also taking place. The revolutionary and peace forces are growing stronger. The economy in the region continues to develop at a quick rate. This region is an area of fierce struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, while the relationship between countries with different social systems in this area also go with the common trend of struggle in conditions of peaceful coexistence. The Asia-Pacific strategy being frantically deployed by the warlike forces in the USA is essentially a strategy for rallying new forces aimed at furthering its imperialist interests, directed against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the movements for peace, national independence and democracy in the region.

With regard to Indochina, the hegemonist forces and imperialism have not given up their long-term scheme to weaken and subjugate the three peoples. They may continue their present policy of confrontation, using military threats, encircling and isolating us, so as to bleed us white and make it impossible for us to concentrate on economic construction and on improving the people's living standards. But obviously they have failed and will fail completely. Our people have new capabilities to consolidate and preserve peace, to take advantage of

favourable international conditions for developing the economy, building socialism and defending our Homeland.

We reaffirm at this Congress that *our whole Party, people and armed forces united and of one mind, will devote all their moral and material forces to the continued performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Homeland*, while making positive contributions to the common struggle of people in the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our people will continue to do their best to *strengthen our militant solidarity, heighten the quality and effectiveness of the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to consolidate and develop our special alliance with Laos and Kampuchea*, regarding it as a sacred international duty, a task of strategic importance to the vital interests of independence, freedom and socialism in our country and on the Indochinese peninsula as a whole.

For the sake of *defending our Homeland*, our whole Party, people and armed forces, bringing into full play the aggregate strength of our country and society, will resolutely defeat the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage, while having plans for readily coping successfully with all eventualities brought about by him.

We should thoroughly imbue ourselves with and correctly put into practice the view that "the whole people build the country and defend the Homeland"

and "the whole armed forces defend the Homeland and build the country", perseveringly carry out and concretize the Party's military line in the period of building and defending the Homeland.

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

Efforts must be concentrated on building the regular people's army, making it ever more modern, with ever higher overall quality, a rational, balanced, compact and strong organization, strict discipline, high combat-readiness and fighting capacity. We must well organize the defense of our sovereignty and firmly maintain security on the borders, in the air space, territorial waters and offshore islands, build and strengthen our border guards. The people's militia and self-defence forces must be developed with adequate strength and quality in order to meet the requirements of the tasks. The building of reserve forces must be promoted. We should promote research on and development of the Vietnamese military science and art.

Efforts of the State, the people and armed forces should be pooled to meet the requirements of the fighting tasks and combat-readiness, and the necessities of the material and cultural life of the armed forces. The policies on the duties of the rear areas

toward the army should be fully implemented. The defence industry should be developed step by step alongside the strengthening of the country's economic potentialities. On the basis of ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks of fighting and standing combat-ready and national defence production, we must mobilize part of the armed forces and employ part of the defence industrial capacity for economic construction.

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

*The preservation of political security and the maintenance of public order and social safety* should be carried out with the strength of all forces, armed and unarmed, and by every necessary means. This struggle must be organized closely and constantly in each region, in all units throughout the country under the centralized and unified leadership of the Party Committees at all levels. Residence registration work should be done regularly; enterprises, offices, schools, hospitals, city wards, villages, urban and rural districts must be made safe in terms of security and order, forming safe areas and lines in the localities. Our ranks must be made pure and strong; the enemy's acts of economic, political and ideological sabotage and their intelligence and espionage activities must be prevented and punished.

As the core of the revolutionary armed force in this important struggle, the People's Security Force must be tempered into a really pure, powerful,

regular, and eventually modernized force absolutely loyal to the Homeland and people, with firm bases among the masses, an ever higher professional level, and must truly constitute a reliable, sharp tool of the Party and the socialist State.

The victory of the cause of defending the Homeland must be guaranteed with the aggregate strength of the new system. While giving constant care to the task of national defence, our Party and people continue to attach prime importance to *the task of building socialism*, building the system of collective mastery, a new economy and a new culture and fostering a new, socialist type of man.

The Sixth Party Congress affirms the continuation of the general line of the socialist revolution and the line for building the socialist economy determined by the Party's Fourth and Fifth Congresses. This Congress must, by pooling the wisdom of the whole Party and people, sum up the creative and abundant experience of all branches, levels and grassroots units, solve a number of important theoretical and practical problems, develop the Party's line and raise the Party's capacity in guiding its implementation.

Today we have got conditions to acquire a better knowledge of the road to socialism in our country.

Advancing from capitalism to socialism through a transitional period is an objective necessity, and the length of this period depends on the economic, political and social conditions of each country. The transitional period in our country, which is advanc-

ing straight towards socialism from a small-scale production bypassing the stage of capitalist development, naturally must be long and difficult. This is a period of profound, comprehensive and thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation aimed at building from the beginning a new social system in terms of productive forces, production relations as well as superstructure. This is a period of complicated class struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, in all spheres of social life, in order to solve the "which-will-win" problem. Holding firm to proletarian dictatorship, promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously undertaking the three revolutions and carrying out socialist industrialization are the main contents of the Party's revolutionary line. After this Congress, with a scientific and revolutionary spirit, and by continuing the development of the determined line, our Party should *proceed to elaborate a comprehensive programme for the whole socialist revolution in the transitional period.* On the basis of that programme, we shall build a strategy for economic and social development, a strategy for scientific and technological development, etc.

Drawing up a comprehensive revolutionary programme and a strategy for economic and social development is a political event of utmost importance for revolutionary guidance in a relatively long period, laying the ideological and political foundation for all the activities of the Party, the State and society.

*The initial stage is a small transitional step within the great transitional leap forward. As Lenin put it: "This whole period [the transitional period] in our policy, is again divided into many smaller transitional steps. All the difficulties of the task we have to do, all the difficulties of the policy and all the ingenuity of the policy lie in knowing how to deal with the specific tasks of each of these transitional steps."*<sup>1</sup>

Our Party has repeatedly pointed out that the main task of the initial stage is to build the social, economic and political premises necessary for the development of large-scale socialist industrialization.

We have recorded a number of considerable achievements in building these premises. But regrettably, what has been done is not well co-ordinated, is imbued with shortcomings and causing disorder. So, in the remaining years of the initial stage, effective measures must be taken to quickly stabilize the economic and social situations, bring all activities into the orbit of normal development, carry out managerial and organizational reforms and establish production structures and a new mechanism of socio-economic management. The Sixth Congress determines that *the comprehensive tasks and the general objectives of the remaining years of the initial stage are to stabilize all aspects of the*

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1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (in Vietnamese), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Vol. 40, pp. 119-120.

*economic and social situations, continue to build the premises necessary for the acceleration of socialist industrialization in the following stage.*

Stabilization of the economic and social situations includes stabilization of production, distribution and circulation of goods, of the material and cultural life, enhancement of the efficiency of managerial organizations, re-establishment of order and discipline, and realization of social equity.

Stabilization and development are closely associated with each other in the process of moving forward. Stabilization is aimed at development, and stabilization is possible only when there is development.

Proceeding from the above-said comprehensive tasks and general objectives, the Congress defines the following *concrete objectives for economic and social development* for the remaining years of the initial stage.

**1. Producing enough for consumption and accumulation.** We must direct all our efforts at meeting the urgent and essential requirements of society, gradually stabilize and improve a step further the people's material and cultural life. Precisely speaking, we must ensure that the people get adequate food at a higher nutritional level than at present, and adequate clothing; we must satisfy

better their needs for health protection and treatment of diseases, travelling, education and cultural enjoyment, for essential household necessities, and lessen the difficulties in housing, particularly in urban and concentrated industrial area. These are the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism in the present conditions.

Stabilization of the people's living conditions must go in line with the requirement for accumulation from inside the national economy to make it strong enough to absorb foreign loans and aid and use these for extended re-production.

**2. Initially creating a rational economic structure for the development of production.** To have an adequate livelihood and accumulation, it is necessary to develop production, reduce the birth rate; and in order to boost production, it is necessary to build a *rational economic structure*, first of all, the structure of all economic branches in conformity with the law of development of the material production branches, with the country's capabilities, and with the international division of labour and international cooperation. This economic structure guarantees a well-balanced economic development with a stable growth rate. Through the rearrangement of production together with further construction of a number of necessary material and technical bases, we must by all means create a rational economic structure geared to the intensifi-

cation of agricultural production, mainly of grain and foodstuffs, and the promotion of the production of consumer and export goods.

**3. Building and perfecting further the new production relations in accordance with the character and level of development of the productive forces.** We must consolidate the socialist economic sectors, including the State-run and collective sectors, in an all-round manner, including the systems of ownership, management and distribution, helping these economic sectors play a dominant role in the national economy and show their superiority in labour productivity, product quality, workers' incomes and accumulation for industrialization. With appropriate measures, we shall make use of all the capacities of the other economic sectors in close association with and under the guidance of the socialist economic sectors. We shall continue to carry out socialist transformation on the principle of ensuring the development of production, raising economic efficiency and increasing the working people's incomes. The new system of economic management is to take shape in an integrated way, with planning as the centerpiece, practising cost-accounting and socialist business transaction in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. We must bring into full play the effectiveness of the new economic management mechanism so as to exploit better the capacity of the production establishments, strengthen order and discipline in economic management.

**4. Creating good changes in society.** The working people are to be provided with employment for a substantial part and the principle of distribution according to labour must be in the main guaranteed. Social equity should be realized in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country. All sources of ill-gotten incomes must be eliminated. In the building of a new culture we must pay special attention to building sound social relationships and way of life, and overcome negative phenomena, while preserving and promoting the spirit of democracy, humanism, heroism and other cultural values of the national and revolutionary traditions. Socialist democracy must be widened. We must enhance the people's law-abidingness, strengthen social discipline, ensure security and public order and observe the principle that "Everyone lives and works in accordance with the law."

**5. Ensuring the requirements for the strengthening of national defence and security.** An ever more stable and strengthened national defence and security will ensure favourable conditions for the cause of economic construction. On the basis of economic development, we must meet in an ever more adequate and stable manner the following requirements: meeting the material and cultural needs of the armed forces; strengthening the disposition for defending the Homeland both in

national defence and security ; ensuring the material and technical bases, and gradual equipment of the armed forces ; supplying materials and finances for national defence production.

These objectives will be concretized and quantified into specific targets of the economic and social plans. The milestone marking the end of the initial stage is the achievement of these five main objectives. The length of the initial stage depends largely on how we shall apply the lessons drawn from the practice of the past ten years, in order to accelerate the tempo of economic and social development in the years ahead.

## PART TWO

### BASIC DIRECTIONS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

*Dear comrades,*

We have potentialities at hand to achieve the tasks and objectives set for the initial stage of the transitional period. In order to translate these potentialities into reality, it is of prime importance to renovate the economic and social policies with a view to bringing into full play the role as masters and the zeal of the working people, creating a seething mass movement to carry out simultaneously the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution.

*Economic policies* must be directed toward exploiting rapidly and effectively the existing capabilities and potentialities of the economy. These include about half of the equipment capacity which

has not yet been utilized, the land with great possibility of intensive cultivation, the forests, the seas and other natural resources which have not yet been properly exploited, the abundant work force, the under-utilized contingent of scientific and technical cadres, the possibility of saving energy and materials and of tapping all the capital resources for developing production... These productive forces have been hindered by our mistakes and shortcomings in arranging the economic structure, in the socialist transformation and in the management mechanism.

*Economic plans and policies must be governed by the following guiding principle: all existing productive capabilities must be liberated, all potentialities of the country exploited, international assistance put to effective use, with a view to vigorously developing the productive forces along with building and strengthening the socialist production relations. This guiding principle underlies the following major policies and measures:*

**1. To re-arrange the structure of production, to make major readjustments in the investment outlay**

To bring the economy out of the state of disorder and imbalance it is imperative to resolutely and definitely *re-arrange the national economy in a rational structure* in which various branches, localities, economic sectors, productive forms of different dimensions and technical levels are to be arranged in a balanced and integrated manner suited to the actual conditions, thus ensuring stable development

of the economy. To this end, we must, first and foremost, re-arrange the production structure and make major readjustments in the investment outlay.

In the remaining years of the initial stage, with the 1986-90 five-year plan in the immediate future, we must really concentrate the country's human energy and material wealth on successfully implementing the three major comprehensive programmes on *grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods and export goods*, in order to reach, by the end of the stage, the following targets :

— Grain and foodstuffs: to produce sufficient grain for the whole population and for reserves, and to meet in a stable manner the essential needs in foodstuffs. We must see to it that the consumption of grain and foodstuffs reach a level which can ensure reproduction of labour power.

— Consumer goods: to produce enough to meet the normal requirements for essential industrial products of the people both in urban and rural areas.

— Export goods: to turn out a number of main export items to reach a level of export revenues that can cover an important part of requirements for the import of materials, machinery, spare parts and necessities of life.

Those target programmes have concretized the main content of the socialist industrialization in the initial stage which was defined at the Fifth Party Congress.

The urgent requirements for grain, foodstuffs, production materials, consumer goods, and export commodities determine the *foremost position of agriculture*. We must take agriculture one step forward along the path of large-scale production, aiming primarily at increasing the volume and percentage of agricultural commodities. Agriculture must be given priority in acquiring investment for the building of its material and technical basis, in supplies of materials and skilled labour; these investment sources must be put to effective use. Investment in agriculture must be undertaken in a comprehensive manner from production to processing, transportation and storing, so that more finished products will be turned out. We must expand and complete the irrigation networks, widely apply scientific achievements and technological advances, particularly in bio-technology, put new strains and breeds to widespread and stable use, meet fully and in time the requirements for fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary medicines, increase draught power, provide sufficient ordinary and improved tools, effect mechanization gradually and in selected areas, reduce the loss of agricultural products in harvesting, storing, transporting and processing, and hold the initiative in providing against and fighting floods and storms.

The guideline for agricultural development is to combine specialization with overall development to achieve balance between crop and cattle farming, rice and subsidiary food crops, food crops and

industrial crops. We should strongly develop short-growth industrial crops. While increasing the acreage of perennial crops we must attach importance to their quality and practise intensive cultivation right at the start. Intensive cultivation and crop multiplication are the main measures to be taken along with increasing the acreage under cultivation steadily and effectively. Policies on cropland and other lands are to be revised and amended in order to manage and utilize the land resources effectively and economically.

*Forestry* should be developed along the line of preserving and making effective use of the forest resources, increasing the forest acreage, developing specialized afforestation in selected areas, speeding up the tempo of regreening barren hills according to the agriculture-combined-with-forestry formula, preventing the destruction of forests and forest fires, speeding up the tree-planting campaigns with an eye to varieties giving timber, new materials and firewood. We must take positive steps in resettling nomadic people and allotting lands and forests to collectives or to the people for long-term use so that they can be masters of forests as they are of farm land; build integrated forest-agricultural-industrial economic zones; extract, preserve, process and use timber and other forest products with ever higher economic efficiency.

*Marine products and fresh- and brackish-water products* constitute an enormous economic resource. We should pay attention to both the catching and

rearing of aquatic products while solving appropriately the problems of processing and transporting those products in order to meet the requirements of home consumption and rapidly increase the volume of export goods. We must invest more and amend related policies to make the most of water surfaces suitable for aquatic product rearing. The water acreage which is now under the control of State-run or collective enterprises and which has not yet been fully utilized is to be leased or allotted to the people on a contractual basis for developing production.

*Light industry, small industry and handicrafts* must by all means meet the people's demands for ordinary commodities, satisfy the demand in processing farm, forest and aquatic products, rapidly increase the volume of subcontracted products for export and other export goods, while widening the variety of products in order to meet the diversified demands of consumers. It is imperative to fully exploit all sources of raw materials, make the best use of cast-offs, and take advantage of material resources from abroad through sub-contracts.

The development of light industry will be, first of all, based on the rearrangement of production and on in-depth and comprehensive investments so as to fully utilize the capacity of the equipment available at the existing installations with attention given to those installations having high capacity and high processing efficiency. It is advisable to utilize rationally the capability of heavy industry and national defence enterprises for production of

consumer goods. Correct policies are needed for mobilizing as much as possible the capital and technical resources of the people, including overseas Vietnamese, in order to develop material-producing enterprises as well as processing enterprises of various forms. State-run economic enterprises should be developed and consolidated in those areas that control production and circulation.

Consumer goods production units must be closely linked to the market and fully acquainted with the consumers' demands and taste. Socialist trade organs must strive to play their role as the representatives of the consumers in placing orders and signing contracts with production units. We can apply the method of bidding in placing orders and supplying materials to production units capable of turning out products of high quality and at low costs, whether they are State-owned or collective production units. Those production units doing bad business and failing to thrive must either change their production lines, reduce operation or be closed down.

The development of *heavy industry* and the building of the *infrastructure* must be directed toward furthering the economic and national defence objectives in the initial stage, and as practical conditions permit, prepare the premises for economic development in the subsequent stage. Priority must be given to developing *energy industries* (electricity, coal, oil). The *engineering industry of all ministries*

*and localities* must be rearranged, synchronized and specialized alongside the gradual renewal of existing equipment.

In the *materials-industries*, attention should be given first of all to minerals and other raw materials for producing fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary medicines. It is necessary to make full use of the existing capacity and build more small-size installations for producing building materials, chemicals and metals. With regard to heavy industrial products that must necessarily be turned out at home for developing agriculture and light industry, we must strive to organize their production on an appropriate scale and with suitable techniques. As for those products which cannot be made or have not been produced sufficiently at home, we must import them through the use of revenues from exports. Agriculture and light industry must turn out products for export with a view to meeting their own requirements for imports and procuring foreign currency for the State. The building of heavy industry establishments which exceed our practical conditions and capacities must be avoided, including those serving for agriculture and light industry.

With regard to the *infrastructure*, importance must be attached to developing *communications and transport*. We must maintain, upgrade, homogenize and improve the management of the existing facilities and put them to effective use; additional necessary establishments should be built in a selective manner to ensure production, the circulation of goods, the people's livelihood, and prepare

for the acceleration of industrialization. Priority should be given to developing transport and communications by water, increasing the volume of railway transport, rearranging in a rational manner land transport and developing air transport. Collective economic units and the people are encouraged to contribute either labour or capital to expanding the network of communication lines in rural and mountain areas and developing means of transport, particularly rudimentary and semi-mechanized means of transport. We must overcome bottlenecks in the transportation of goods and take one step forward in improving public conveyance for the people. It is necessary to raise the capacity, improve the quality of service and overcome backwardness in communications, and modernize equipment in areas where conditions permit.

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

*Service industries* should be developed. They include technical services and other activities in the service of production and the people's life.

Along the guidelines mentioned above, the three major target programmes for the production of grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods and export commodities must be worked out promptly and put into effect in the 1986-90 plan as the central socio-economic task of all branches and at all levels.

These programmes must be realistic. Their targets, means and measures of implementation and related policies must be well balanced. With regard to each category of product, we must take into account all factors for the process of re-production from production conditions to processing, storing, transport and marketing, and deal in a comprehensive manner with the questions of technology, organization of production and economic policies.

In working out these three programmes we should pay special attention to combining economy with defence, to the distribution of work force in various areas so as to bring into full play the strength of each region in their integrated and mutually complementary relations in accordance with the point of view on developing the commodity economy, expanding exchange activities at home as well as with foreign countries, overcoming the tendency towards autarky. There must be close combination between agriculture, forestry and fishery on the one hand and industry, small industry and handicrafts on the other, between production and circulation and services in each district, each province and each economic zone. *The district as an economic unit* plays a very important role in building and implementing the three programmes. To build the district is by no means to create a cumbersome economic-administrative apparatus, but to develop, consolidate, arrange and integrate production and business units of various economic sectors with

the aim of making the best use of labour, land, forest and sea resources, trades and occupations in the district.

In keeping with the guideline of rearranging the economic structure, we must make *major readjustments in the State's investment outlay for capital construction* in order to focus our resources on carrying out the three programmes mentioned above and ensure efficiency. The yardstick for the efficiency of an investment is low capital, more job opportunities and rapid completion of the project.

We must thoroughly examine all unfinished projects including above-norm and below-norm ones, be they undertaken by the central government or local administrations or by any branch, as well as those that have not yet been started, but for which agreements on the import of complete equipment from abroad have been signed. We must resolutely slow down or halt the construction of those projects that are not really urgently needed or those that cannot be put to effective use when completed, in order to shift the priority to more urgently needed projects. It is imperative to concentrate our resources on completing a number of key projects in a rapid and co-ordinated manner. Together with carefully selecting new projects for construction, we should *give priority to comprehensive and in-depth investment in the existing installations*. Only when the existing facilities, even though enlarged, cannot meet the requirements, shall we consider the construction of new projects. Even so this must always be kept in line with

and aimed at the defined orientation and targets, with mainly small and medium size projects, making the best use of advanced techniques, ensuring fast construction and putting to use parts of the projects as soon as they are completed.

This guiding principle should also govern the construction of scientific, technical, educational, health care and cultural establishments. Instrument must be allocated selectively so as to solve the housing problem for workers and State employees, providing for the reconditioning of existing residences while creating conditions for the people to build more houses both in the cities and in the countryside.

Thorough preparations should be made for the investment in economic development in the next stage, particularly in projects that will overlap the stages.

Along with re-adjusting the investment orientation and outlay, it is imperative to re-define the investment regulations and rules in order to heighten the responsibility in working out options and making decisions on investment plans, particularly with regard to major projects decided upon by the central government. We should avoid ratifying the projects one by one, separating them from the general context. The investors' responsibility and material interests must be linked with the efficiency of the investment. We must strictly control all the State-owned capital construction projects, regardless of the sources of capital supply. The system

of construction bidders is to be applied with the defined standards on deadline, the quality and cost of construction.

In order to bring about a definite shift in arranging the production structure and investment outlay, we must renew our way of thinking and working, have the courage to admit our erroneous decisions and correct them, to handle complex cases with determination. All branches, localities and grass-roots units must be active and resolved in re-arranging the production and construction projects under their control, together with the central government make a big readjustment in the production structure and investment outlay on a nationwide scale, and resolutely wrest back the initiative in order to stabilize the socio-economic situation.

**2. To build and consolidate the socialist production relations, to use and transform the various economic sectors properly**

In order to strongly develop the productive forces, along with rearranging the production structure and investment outlay on a branch and territorial basis, we must correctly determine the structure of the economic sector.

In our society, many able-bodied people are still unemployed or underemployed. The State sector's ability to absorb the work force is still very limited in the years ahead. It is impossible either to bring all those who engage in individual business into collectives within a short period of time. There

are branches and occupations which, if collectivized, are not expected to bring in good results. While the financial resources of the State and the collective enterprises are still limited, the idle money at the disposal of the people is used mainly for consumption purposes, or kept in reserve and spent on hoarding purposes. Policies are needed to pave the way for the working people to create jobs by themselves, to stimulate everyone to invest their money in production and business, to practise thrift in consumption for the purpose of accumulation and widen reproduction on a nationwide scale.

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

Such policies would permit the use of various economic forms on appropriate scales and technical levels in each link of the production process and circulation in order to fully exploit the capacities of the various inter-related economic sectors, in which the public sector plays the leading role. This is a solution of strategic significance, helping to liberate and exploit all potentialities for the development of the productive forces and the building of a rational economic structure.

This solution results from the reality of our country and is an application of the Leninist point of view to regard the multi-sector economy as a characteristic feature of the transitional period. In our country these economic sectors are:

—The socialist economic sector comprising the public sector and the collective sector, together with the household economy closely attached to the latter.

—The other economic sectors are: small commodity production economy (handicraftsmen, individual farmers, and people engaged in private business and services); private capitalist economy; State-capitalist economy in various forms, with joint State-private ventures as a high form, natural and subsistence economy of some ethnic minorities on the Central Highlands and in other mountain regions.

In carrying out the policy of socialist transformation we must base ourselves on this characteristic so as to be able to work out correct guidelines and measures.

According to the law of the correspondence of production relations to the character and level of development of productive forces, the process of socialist transformation must be undertaken in appropriate steps and suitable forms. Practical experience has clearly shown that the productive forces are held back not only in the case of backward production relations, but also in case the production relations are not developed in a coordinated way, with certain factors far more advanced

than the level of productive forces. The practical conditions of our country require that importance be attached to intermediate and transitional economic forms, from a lower level to a higher level, from a small scale to a large scale. In each step of socialist transformation, it is imperative to accelerate the building of the material and technical basis, create new productive forces, and on this basis continue to shape the production relations into new and appropriate forms and scale so as to further develop the productive forces.

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

Over the past ten years, the resolutions of two National Congresses of the Party have recorded the task of basically completing the socialist transformation within the term of each Congress, yet

this task has not yet been accomplished. Reality has taught us a bitter lesson, i.e. we should not be so impatient that we go counter to the objective laws. Now we must set it right as follows: *It is a permanent and continuous task throughout the period of transition to socialism to step up socialist transformation in appropriate forms and steps, making the production relations tally with the character and level of development of productive forces and always be a driving force for the development of productive forces.*

In the years to come, to carry out socialist transformation steadily and bring into full play the positive effect of the multi-sector economic structure, the most *important thing* is to strengthen and develop the socialist economy, first of all, to enable the State sector to really play the leading role and control the others.

It is imperative to renew the management mechanism, ensure the right to autonomy for the *State-run economic units*, really shift to cost accounting and socialist enterprise, and restore discipline and order in economic activities. We must also rearrange production, strengthen the material and technical bases and step up the application of technical advances in order to increase labour productivity, quality and efficiency, thus stabilizing and gradually increasing the real pay of workers and public employees, increasing the accumulation for each enterprise and for the State. The State sector should take the initiative in enhanc-

ing the integration with the other sectors in order to channel those sectors into the orbit of socialism.

To strengthen the *collective economy*, it is imperative to enhance organizational and management skills and strengthen the material and technical bases along with maintaining exchange and integration links with the State sector and the household economy, first and foremost, in the sphere of materials supply and marketing of products. In agriculture, it is necessary to handle correctly the relations between the State, the State-run economy and the cooperatives, and at the same time improve the internal management of the cooperatives and perfect the mode of fixing quotas of finished products for groups of producers and each producer, and link the establishment of new production relations and the building of the material and technical bases with the building of the new countryside. The collective production units in the South must be consolidated strictly in accordance with the criteria of the collective economy. Only when conditions are ripe can these collective production units be transformed into high-grade and large-scale cooperative. This should not be done in haste.

The *household economy* which plays an important role and has great potentials should be encouraged and assisted so that it can develop in the close and mutual aid relationship with the State and collective sectors. As a matter of principle, after fulfilling their obligations and duties towards the State and the collectives, families of workers, employees and co-op members can, with their own labour, engage

in production or business in various occupations and in strict observance of the law and policies. The income from the household economy not only helps improve the people's well-being, but also is a source of accumulation for enlarged reproduction.

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

With regard to the *small commodity production economy*, the State recognizes the necessity of this economic sector in the transitional period and will give it guidance and assistance in production and business, and in integration with the State and collective sectors. People engaged in private undertakings should be motivated to take up the collective way of work on the basis of voluntariness and mutual benefit. Prejudice, discrimination against or harassment of those self-employed workers who do not yet want to join collective economic units or who apply to withdraw from those units should be avoided.

With regard to small traders, through various forms suitable for each trade or branch, we should arrange, transform and make use of them as a reserve force for the socialist trade, and assist the redundant work force in the field of circulation to shift to production and services.

The State permits small private business to use their capital, technical and management skills for organizing production or running business in a number of branches or trades in manufacturing and service industries in areas where they are needed, in the whole country. The scale and scope of activities of private capitalist economic units are to be stipulated according to the trades and categories of commodity. The activities of the private capitalist economic units are guided along the orbit of socialism in various forms of State capitalist economy, through the control of the State and economic integration with the State and collective sectors. The *State capitalist economy* constitutes a transitional form which can be organized from a lower level to a higher level, that is from supply and sales agents and sub-contracting agents to joint ventures with the State.

In the field of circulation, private capitalist trade must be eliminated. With regard to certain traders of medium size businesses skilled in handling perishables, the State should engage them in joint State-private enterprise in order to utilize their skills in accordance with the law and policies.

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

If we acknowledge the existence of the small commodity production economy and the private capitalist economy, it is natural that we should

constantly fight the tendency of spontaneous capitalist development and the negative aspects of those sectors in economic activities. In virtue of law, policies and the strength of the socialist economy, the State controls and regulates these economic sectors according to the motto of "using them for transformation, and transforming them for better use."

Consistent policies concerning the various economic sectors should be revised ; amended and publicized. Principled stipulations must be turned into laws so that concerned people may confidently and boldly engage in business undertakings.

Prejudice and bias in the evaluation and treatment of working people in the different economic sectors must be done away with. The State applies economic policies (such as those concerning investment, taxation, credit, etc.) favouring the socialist economic sector ; however, as far as law is concerned, the principle of equality must be observed. Those who turn out material wealth and render useful services to society, fulfil their obligations, abide by law and policies are respected and entitled to enjoy the incomes corresponding to the results of their legitimate labour and undertakings. Loafers and parasitic elements should be criticized and forced to work. Law-breakers are to be punished according to law. Anyone who violates economic contracts shall be fined and have to pay the damages. That is the consistent policy toward all citizens, regardless of the economic sector they belong to.

This point of view, must permeate all concrete policies, propaganda, education and cultural work so as to establish the right way of thinking among the people, create a favourable socio-psychological environment for the implementation of the policies and the transformation of the multi-sector economy.

### **3. To renew the economic management mechanism**

The rearrangement of the economic structure must be accompanied by the renewal of the economic management mechanism.

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

In that mechanism, the economy was managed mainly through administrative orders with detailed, legally enforceable plans and quotas handed down from higher levels. This was at variance with the principle of democratic centralism. Economic-administrative organs interfered deeply in production and business activities of grassroots units but were in no way materially responsible for their own decisions; as a result, the grassroots economic units

had no right to autonomy while they were not held responsible for the results of their production and business.

That mechanism did not pay adequate attention to the commodity-money relationship and economic efficiency. This resulted in a management and planning style mainly based on relations of supply and delivery of materials and goods, realizing cost-accounting only for form's sake, divorcing responsibility and material interests from the efficiency of the use of capital, property, materials and labour, separating the payment from the volume and quality of labour.

That mechanism has given rise to a cumbersome managerial apparatus with management cadres lacking in dynamism and business skills and indulging in a bureaucratic and authoritarian style of management.

The old mechanism is closely linked with an economic thinking based on over-simplified conceptions of socialism and characterized by voluntarism and subjectivism.

The guideline for renewing the economic management mechanism has been confirmed as follows: to abolish the bureaucratically centralized management based on State subsidies and to establish a new mechanism conforming to the objective laws and the level of economic development.

After seizing power and getting hold of the key economic branches in the country, the socialist State is in a position to manage the national economy

according to a unified plan and must necessarily do so. *Planning* is the number-one characteristic of the economic management mechanism right from the beginning of the transitional period.

The process of development from small-scale production to large-scale production in our country is the process of turning what is mainly a subsistence economy into a commodity economy. We are managing in a planned way a commodity economy having the characteristics of the transitional period. The full and correct use of the commodity-money relationship in planning the national economy is an objective necessity. *The correct use of the commodity-money relationship* is the second characteristic of the new mechanism of economic management which we are shaping.

The use of the commodity-money relationship demands that production should be closely linked to the market, all economic activities should compare expenses and results, all economic organizations and units should make up themselves for the expenses and should gain profits to realize enlarged reproduction, that they should carry out economic cost-accounting and socialist enterprise.

The planning of the process of enlarged reproduction of commodities requires a comprehensive application of a system of laws that are having an impact on the economy. In this system, the fundamental economic law, together with other specific laws of socialism, has been further bringing into full play its leading role, and has been applied in a uniform way with the laws of commodity

production, especially the law of value, and the supply-demand relationship. Planning must always be closely linked with a judicious use of economic levers. *The economy must be managed mainly by economic methods* which have as their driving force the harmonious combination between the interests of the whole society, the collectives and those of the working people. The income level of the collectives and that of workers surely depend on the results and economic efficiency of their labour.

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

All this leads to the need to decentralize economic planning and management on the principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of making a clear distinction between the function of the administrative economic management of the central and local State organs and the function of production-business management of the grassroots economic units.

Parallel to the correct definition of managerial tasks and functions of all levels and branches, we should renew the organizational structure of the managerial machinery and cadre work, foster a contingent of managers with good qualities and abilities, able to meet the need to renew the management mechanism. The correct appointment of responsible cadres in central and local economic

managerial organs and in major economic establishments is a question of decisive significance to the building and functioning of the new management mechanism.

The essence of the new mechanism of economic management is the *mechanism of planning on the basis of economic cost-accounting and socialist enterprise, in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism.*

The renovation of the management mechanism is a process of reform with a far-flung revolutionary significance, a struggle between the old and the new and the backward and the progressive. The struggle for renewal not only is held back by the force of habits, but also runs up against the privileges and prerogatives of people who stick to the old mechanism. This is the struggle inside the Party and the State organs, among comrades, and right within ourselves. There's the rub. The main obstacle we have to overcome now is conservatism in people who want to go back to the familiar old mechanism, and who are unwilling to solve the problems which await a prompt solution.

The main orientation and contents of the renewal of the management mechanism have been determined. But what is more important and difficult is to find concrete economic forms, steps and contents for each phase of the renovation work. As we lack experience, importance should be attached to the research, studies, experimentation and summing up of practice. Manifestations of hastiness and simplism

which find expression in the desire to achieve renewal in a short period of time are not realistic.

In the course of renovating the economic management mechanism the following questions of principle must be grasped.

*To effect democratic centralism in economic management*

Bureaucratic centralism in management and direction work is rampant. Disorganization and dispersion in economic activities also are widespread.

We must restore order and discipline in economic and social management. A management mechanism fraught with bureaucratic centralism which holds back the initiatives of the lower levels and reduces the efficiency of the centralized management is the immediate cause of a state of disorder and indiscipline. Therefore we should not try to get over this chaotic state by going back to the old mechanism, but should be determined to implement decentralization of management on the principle of democratic centralism.

The decentralization of management must ensure the right to mastery of the three levels: the right to decision-making of the centre (including all the central branches) over the key fields of activity, over questions of strategic significance so as to ensure a balanced development of the whole economy; the right to initiative of localities in fulfilling their tasks of economic-social management on their territories; and the right to autonomy in production-business of grassroots economic units and

the mastery of labour collectives. In the division of labour and decentralization of management, responsibility must go with rights, and duty must be closely linked to interests.

It is imperative to apply these principles to those fields of concrete management still beset with problems such as planning, management of materials and goods, export and import, foreign currency, investment in capital construction, finance, money, prices, labour and wages.

The role played in economic management by the central and local State organs is, in the final analysis, to create conditions for economic establishments to operate effectively. The State must supervise and control enterprises and production and business units belonging to all economic sectors by means of laws and economic policies and a policy on technological advances, rather than deeply interfere in production and business operations of enterprises. Legislations set a number of limits which enterprises are not allowed to transgress. Policies compel enterprises to have their own options on production and business which prove the most useful in accordance with the guidelines of State plans. It is necessary to lay down stipulations to ensure the unified control and supervision by the State over all activities of grassroots units. Cases of cover-up, deceit, false accounting and reports must be properly treated.

The building of a system of autonomy in production and business in enterprises and the working people's collective mastery at the grassroots must

continue to be amended through experimentation and practice. On that basis, it is possible to clarify and correctly settle the functions, duty and decentralization of administrative-economic management from the central organs to localities, and from provinces to districts.

The principle of democratic centralism in economic management demands a higher sense of discipline and strict observance of law. The guidance and direction from higher to lower levels, first of all, from the central organs, must be in line with the resolutions of the Party and of the State and in accordance with the already established functions, tasks and rights. Lower levels must obey higher levels, and higher levels must be responsible for their own decisions.

#### *Renewal of planning*

National economic plans in the coming years must ensure the implementation of the guidelines for the rearrangement of the economy, the layout of the production and material structures according to the target programmes. Balances in the plans are to be established from the grassroots, generalized from lower levels and submitted to the central level for guidance and re-adjustment. Planning in branches and planning on territorial regions must be closely linked.

With the right to autonomy in production and business, all grassroots economic units will take the initiative in keeping contacts with the demands of the market, exploiting all possibilities to develop

production and business with a view to realizing the targets and tasks of State plans. *Economic contracts* among production and business units serve both as a basis for plan-making and as the legal means to ensure the implementation of the plans. We should enhance the system of economic contracts and ensure its efficiency through the *State economic arbitration systems*.

The State uses economic levers both in direct and indirect planning to ensure the implementation of the guidelines and targets of national economic plans. The fixing of law-binding plans should be confined only to a number of quotas really necessary to ensure basic balances and commitments to foreign countries. We should strive step by step to build the State's reserve forces so as to take the initiative in handling unexpected cases in the process of implementing the plan.

The State Planning Commission and other central organs entrusted with administrative-economic management, once released from routine work, must further concentrate on studying the socio-economic strategy, on working out long- and medium-term plans, on ensuring the overall and balanced relations in the economy and on the making of economic policies and laws. These are important factors contributing to raising step by step the quality of national economic planning.

*To make good use of economic levers*

In order to stimulate the development of production, re-establish order on the market and stabilize

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

In a multi-sector economy like ours, alongside the goods circulation operated by the socialist trade system, there exists a free market which includes direct selling and buying activities between producers and consumers among the population and the circulation and service activities of private traders in both urban and rural areas. The State must take effective measures to transform and abolish private capitalist trade and severely punish speculators and traffickers. Nevertheless it is impossible to abolish private small trade out of wishful thinking by means of administrative orders. We can only restrict it with a better replacement by socialist trade and we should know how to utilize it in those domains where socialist trade is not in a position to fare well or is not necessary.

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

It is obvious that the State-run trade monopolizes the marketing of those commodities wholly produced or imported by the State sector and the State enforces administrative measures to ensure that

monopoly. But even with regard to those goods and materials, economic measures are also very important. If the pricing policy and the mode of trading are not rational, it will be impossible to stop those goods from flowing into the free market by devious ways.

As regards products turned out by the economic sectors other than the State sector, the principal measure which helps the State-run economic organizations control them is to adopt an appropriate pricing policy and a mode of trading based on mutual agreement, mainly through economic contracts signed with the producer. The correct economic policies coupled with the investigation, detection and punishment of speculators and traffickers constitute effective measures for eliminating the black market. The policy of forcing prices and a cumbersome mode of trading, together with such measures as banning or restricting the selling of goods by farmers and producers on the market, would compel them to find ways to cope with the State by either holding back the goods, secretly selling them to private dealers or narrowing down production. This would eventually lead to a drop in production, cause tension between supply and demand, and price hikes. Such a policy would only enable private traders to increase their activities and weaken the worker-peasant alliance.

*Pricing policies* must involve the application of various laws with that of value exerting a direct impact. Prices must correspond to the value of

goods and, at the same time, to the purchasing power of the currency, and must take into account the supply-demand relationship. The requirements for adjusting income, guaranteeing the social policies, and promoting socialist transformation should be met through the concerted use of various measures including pricing, financial and credit measures, etc., instead of using pricing as the only measure, which in that case would divorce prices from the law of value.

In order to stabilize prices, the pricing policy must aim, first of all, at stimulating production units and every producer to turn out more goods, reduce costs and sell their products to the State. It is impossible to stabilize prices by rigidly maintaining them regardless of the currency's purchasing power, of the supply-demand relationship and the fluctuations in the price-making factors. On the other hand, active steps should be taken to gradually do away with the spontaneous character of free market prices.

We should strive to apply a uniform system of prices — those of commercial transactions. This system closely connected with the socialist business accounting mechanism, will have the effect of stimulating production and expanding the circulation of goods, promoting the socialist trade service to switch to business enterprise, seize and control the market; it will help avoid creating artificial demands and effectively prevent the loss and illegal sales of goods.

In the present context, in certain areas and at certain times, there are certain essential commodities over which there are strains between demand and supply, and great fluctuations in prices which the State has not sufficient resources to curb. In such cases a double-price policy can be applied on a temporary basis in the purchase of farm produce and retail sale of consumer goods.

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

The *wage policy* must meet the urgent demand that the real incomes of wage-earners be ensured at a time when the funds of commodities controlled by the State is still insufficient and prices remain unstable.

It is essential that we should develop production, that the State should control the commodity funds as regards grain, foodstuffs and other necessities of life, apply an appropriate mode of selling, to make sure that wage-earners can buy the needed commodities, and that the use of ration tickets should be restricted to the minimum.

The correct application of the principle of "distribution according to work" calls for a radical reform of the wage system in such a way as to ensure the reproduction of labour, to do away with egalitarianism, step by step abolish the remaining subsidized part in the wage system, apply the forms of remuneration closely linked to the results

of labour and economic efficiency. Those problems must be solved simultaneously with the application of work contracts system, the streamlining of the state administrative apparatus and the non-productive management apparatus of production and business organizations. This must be carried out steadily and gradually in conformity with the possibility for achieving a balanced commodity-money relationship and an increase in labour productivity.

*Financial and monetary policies* play an important role in bringing economic activities under the business cost-accounting mechanism and in fighting inflation, in stabilizing prices and the currency's purchasing power.

We must step by step work out and complete the national financial policies in such a way as to ensure the right of economic enterprises, to financial autonomy; to strongly encourage the State sector and other sectors to expand production with high labour productivity, product quality and economic efficiency; to create ever growing sources of accumulation for each unit and for the State; to adjust and distribute the various sources of incomes in a rational way, with a view to achieving social justice and ensuring that the accumulation-consumption relationship corresponds to socio-economic objectives.

The various financial policies and regulations, first of all the tax policy, must be renovated. We must put an end to the State-subsidized system through budgets as characterized by indiscriminate

subsidies, by allocation of funds without relating material responsibility to economic effectiveness. We should avoid using credit funds in a way incompatible with the socialist approach to cost-accounting and business transaction, and should amend some regulations on social welfare which are beyond the actual possibilities of the economy. Financial regulations will take into account the *policy of strict economization both in production and in consumption.*

Increasing budget deficits remain the most important cause of inflation and soaring prices. To strive for a reduction of deficits, a balance between revenue and expenditure must be struck as the primordial task of financial work in the 1986-90 period. Alongside the fundamental permanent measures in the national financial policy, it is necessary to apply emergency measures for a short period so as to increase revenue and cut spendings, thus restricting and ultimately putting an end to the issuing of money for budget expenditure.

The bank has the urgent task of striving, in coordination with the financial and other economic activities, to reduce inflation, effect a rational readjustment of the rotation of money and widely apply various forms of non-cash payment, thus actively contributing to re-establishing the money-commodity balance, stabilizing the currency's purchasing power, meeting the need for the expansion of production and goods circulation.

Besides the task of controlling the money circulation of the State Bank, it is necessary to set up a

system of specialized banks doing business in credits and banking services and operating on the basis of economic cost-accounting. Good service must be the basis upon which to exercise the function of supervision by monetary means over production and business activities. Authoritarianism must be opposed. Collective credit organizations must be developed widely among the population and usury by private money-lenders must be prevented.

The policy of practising thrift must be thoroughly carried out in planning and in the use of economic levers. The main guideline for practising thrift in every economic activity is to effect a vigorous shift to socialist cost-accounting and business transaction, link responsibility and material interests with the effectiveness of the use of property, capital, materials and labour. In cost-accounting and business transaction it is necessary to step up the application of scientific and technical advances, establish and apply economic-technical standards so as to reduce production cost. Along with a thrifty use of energy and materials, we should make a more efficient use of equipment, apply technical advances to maintaining and prolonging the life of machines. To ensure the quality of products means to practise thrift both in production and consumption ; economic policies must be carried out in combination with administrative and educational measures with a view to encouraging the turning out of high-quality goods, preventing the making of bad-quality ones and punishing the making of fake goods.

We must encourage everybody to practise thrift in consumption, to save money for accumulation in various forms. The policy of thrift in consumption must help encourage the use of home-made goods, limit the use of goods reserved for export and prevent the import of luxury goods. The use of public money for feasting and gift-giving must be strictly prohibited. We must fight waste in the use of public property and means for everyday needs.

The process of renewing the economic management poses multiple problems to be solved so as to bring the entire system of management policies, regulations and rules as well as the management apparatus under the new mechanism. This reform of a revolutionary character must be carried out in a concerted way with good combination between higher and lower levels, between the renewal of the managerial bodies and the mass movement. The amendment and promulgation of management policies and regulations must be based on realities, on the initiatives and experience gathered from various localities and grassroots units, instead of being only the result of research done by a few white-coloured workers.

In the immediate future, we shall take effective measures to curb inflation and price increase rate, lessen difficulties in the life of wage-earners. Only by so doing can we create the economic, social and psychological premises for speeding up the process of reform. Through swift and firm steps by 1990 we shall have set up a new management mechanism, reorganized the management apparatus, trained,

upgraded and deployed rationally a contingent of cadres so as to ensure the smooth running of that mechanism.

#### **-4. To bring into full play the driving force of science and technology**

While the world is rapidly advancing to a new stage of the scientific-technological revolution, we can see all the more clearly through the realities of our country the urgent necessity of making science and technology really a *great driving force* for the socio-economic development of the country.

The key position held by the scientific-technological revolution in the building of socialism must find its expression in life. On the basis of what have been accomplished, we should step up and complete the elaboration of a *scientific-technological development strategy* serving as a scientific basis for the socio-economic development strategy and for defining the orientation of scientific and technological work.

The choice of orientation for scientific-technological work must be in line with that of objectives and orientation for socio-economic development. In the years to come we must select and *organize the wide application of appropriate scientific and technological achievements* with a view to serving first of all the three programmes on foods, consumer goods, and export goods. In agriculture, biological and other scientific-technological achievements should be widely applied to fertilize the soil, rapidly

increase productivity in crop and cattle farming, raise the coefficient of soil utilization and reduce deterioration and losses of grain and other agricultural products. In industry, construction, communications and transport, scientific-technological activities should be geared to improving, renewing and perfecting various technologies, rationalizing production organization, renewing equipment, producing raw materials, materials and spare parts, sharply reducing the waste of materials, making full use of raw materials, renewing and raising the quality of products, especially export goods.

We should put into effect a number of selected research subjects related to such *modern scientific and technological* tendencies as bio-engineering, new materials and technologies, electronics and informatics. We should step up the work of economic survey and evaluation of our natural resources, natural demographic and socio-economic conditions; the work of strategic forecasting and study, zoning for programming purposes and distribution of productive forces, establishing economic and technical grounds for major decisions on socio-economic development, making the best use of the ecological environment while effectively preserving it.

*Natural sciences* should step up research on such subjects as guaranteeing the scientific basis for the development of various technical branches and the selective application of modern scientific and technological achievements, thus defining step by step the key scientific and technological orientations.

We should take concerted and effective measures to overcome the lag in social sciences. The main task of *social sciences* in the years to come is to take an active part in the Party's theoretical work, contribute to the elaboration of a programme for socialist revolution in our country in the transitional period, elucidate a series of theoretical questions, especially in the field of economic and social management on the basis of summing up the practical experience of our country and grasping promptly and keenly the theoretical achievements of fraternal countries. Social sciences must become an effective means for the renewal of conceptual and thinking methods, the forging of social consciousness and socialist personality.

The organic combination of social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences should be stepped up. Each economic development project must take into account all economic, technical, social and environmental aspects. Efforts should be exerted on solving the pressing scientific-technological problems with practical effectiveness.

The scientific and technical forces should be re-organized, well allocated and put to effective use. Appropriate mechanism, policies and measures should be instituted to encourage and enable scientific and technical workers to bring into full play their creation and direct their work to production enterprises and economic zones where their presence is needed. The Party and State shall try to help scientific and technical workers to work more efficiently and shall call for everybody to contribute to the

country by making inventions, rapidly applying scientific-technical advances to production, and studying to solve socio-economic problems.

Scientific institutions should be reorganized and rationally allocated in various territorial regions, on the principle of *closely linking sciences and technology with production and life*, with a view to using science and technology as a component part of social productive forces, creating conditions for shortening the research — production processes, doing away with overlapping, redundancy and dispersion. On this principle, we shall bring a number of institutions of research on specialized applied technology under the charge of associated enterprises or big enterprises. Various forms of co-operation between science and production should be expanded. Combined scientific-production organizations with appropriate forms and scales are to be set up. The activity of centres for applying technical advances should be organized well. The test-production sections of scientific and technical research institutions are to be reinforced. The role of universities, colleges and vocational secondary schools is to be further promoted in carrying out research and development according to the principle of closely combining science, training with production. A number of general scientific-technological centres for important economic zones will be established. Preparations should be made for the setting up of the Vietnam Academy of Sciences.

*The level of investments in science and technology* is to be increased from different sources: State

budget, self-raised funds of production enterprises, concentrated funds of branches, preferential credits from banks, etc. Importance should be attached to in-depth investments and good management so as to put to effective use the existing material and technical facilities of scientific-technological institutions.

We should broaden and enhance the effectiveness of *international cooperation* in science and technology. Through this cooperation, we should promptly grasp scientific and technological achievements, thus avoiding waste caused by overlapping researches. Scientific and technical cooperation must be closely linked to economic cooperation. A policy of selective transfer of technology is to be worked out and implemented in combination with research and development in the country. We are to participate actively in a general programme of scientific-technological advance in line with the priorities defined by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) till the year 2000.

The promotion of the role of science and technology as a driving force depends to an important extent on the management mechanism. The economic management mechanism and the scientific-technological management mechanism call for and encourage the creation and wide application of achievements in science and technology, so as to bring about practical results. We should widely apply the mode of contracting for research and development between scientific, technical, production and business organizations. A number of re-

search institutions for applied research and technical development will be gradually brought under the economic cost-accounting system. These institutions have the right to autonomy and bear responsibility for their scientific-technical activities. Production and business enterprises will buy inventions which will be accounted for in production costs. The various policies and measures on prices, profits, taxes, credits, wages, bonuses, specialized funds, etc., must really help stimulate production and business enterprises to approach scientific establishments, place orders with them and use science and technology as a decisive factor for heightening the efficiency of production and business. Regulations on copyright, rewards for the creation and application of technological advances must be fully implemented. The Council of State Awards on Science and Technology must carry out its activity in a practical way. It is necessary to build up and develop activities on industrial ownership (such as copyright on inventions, trade marks, etc.).

We should speed up the activities on standardization, measurement, inspection and control of product quality, link the producers' responsibility and interests to the quality of products, enact discipline on production according to standards and norms, step up the work of inspection, control, evaluation and certification of product quality, institutionalize and strictly implement the regulations on technological control.

We should reinforce the system of economic, scientific and technical information, enhance the

capacity of ensuring information for leadership and management, for research, development and production activities, create favourable conditions for receiving economic, scientific and technical information from abroad. The quality of mass media should be strongly developed and enhanced both in contents and in form. The archives work must be organized well, ensuring the safety and making effective use of national archives.

The scientific-technological revolution is the cause of the broad masses. Our Party consistently pursues a policy of stepping up the *mass movement* to march into the field of science and technology. This policy stimulates initiatives, encourages the popularization of scientific and technical knowledge, the summing up and wide application of advanced experience and models, and the motivation of millions of people engage in scientific and technical activities through their creative work.

Leading and managerial cadres at various levels have an important role and great responsibility in ensuring the successful implementation of the task of scientific-technical development. The present level of responsible cadres is to be further heightened to keep pace with the demands of the new step of scientific and technical development.

#### **5. To expand and heighten the effectiveness of external economic relations**

Whether the task of stabilizing and developing the economy in the initial stage as well as the cause of scientific and technological development and

socialist industrialization in our country will be carried out rapidly or not depends to a large extent on the expansion and heightening of the effectiveness of our external economic relations.

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

The CMEA's all-round programme of assistance to and cooperation with Vietnam till the year 2000 in preferential terms constitutes a great advantage for the development of external economic relations, the industrialization and the building of the new economic structure of our country. We must, together with fraternal countries in the CMEA, take an active part in building this programme and fulfil our responsibility in the execution of the programme. The beginning of a radical improvement of the CMEA's mode of activity, and the reform of the structure and forms of economic, scientific and technological cooperation among CMEA member countries demand that we renew our management mechanism accordingly, especially in external economic relations.

In the whole area of external economic relations, the most important task is to boost exports so as to meet the needs in import.

In the *export* programme for the coming years, we must calculate, the economic efficiency of each item precisely so as to select the most profitable products for export, determine the main export products which have both a great volume and good conditions for stability and development in terms of production and outlet. On that basis, we should have integrated plans for investment, from raw materials to processing, maintenance and transport, while organizing production and circulation in a rational way, renewing the management mechanism and using economic levers to implement the export programme successfully.

Agricultural, forestry and fishing products hold the most important place in the export structure in the coming years. We must rapidly increase the volume of products, heighten our processing capacity while striving to lower production costs and raise the efficiency of foreign exchange earnings. We are determined to organize well the export of farm products to the Soviet Far East, thus gaining a stable and growing position on this market.

We should make full use of our abundant and skilled labour for the execution of sub-contracts signed with foreign countries and for turning out handicraft products and other consumer goods, from ordinary to sophisticated products, exploit this great possibility in our cooperation with the CMEA member countries.

The export of minerals that has a rational rate of foreign currency earnings should be stepped up.

Priority must be given to the fulfilment of commitments made with foreign countries and the strict implementation of export contracts with regard to quantity, quality and delivery schedules. This must be ensured, regardless of difficulties and obstacles. We should reinforce discipline in the delivery of export goods according to plans, and at the same time link the distribution of imported goods with the delivery of export commodities, instead of distributing them in a State-subsidized and egalitarian way, as has been done up to now.

In order to do away with the price hikes and competition in buying goods for export, we should promulgate, along with administrative and organizational measures, a policy on export duties, especially with regard to a number of items of goods which have a high rate of foreign currency earnings.

The *import* structure must be in line with and serve well the reorganization of the production structure and the readjustment of the investment structure. It is necessary to promulgate a policy on import duties so as to stop irrational imports and prevent the import of luxury goods. We should determine correctly and in good time the prices for imported goods in order to avoid wasteful use and losses of goods and encourage production and use of domestic substitutes for imported goods.

Export-import activities must be vigorously shifted to socialist cost-accounting and business

transaction on the principle of State monopoly over foreign trade, of unified management by the central government of export and import according to plans, laws and policies. A question of prime importance is the renewal of the management of units producing and marketing export goods. Besides common regulations on the right of autonomy in production and business transactions of grassroots units, it is necessary to complement the policy of encouraging the production of export goods, so as to create conditions for export goods producing units to keep abreast with the needs, tastes, prices and other business conditions on the world market. Production units that doing export trade on a relatively large scale are allowed to deal directly with foreign customers under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

We should rearrange in a rational way export and import organizations, get rid of intermediary links and troublesome procedures, bring under unified management the export and import of important items, do away with the buying competition on the domestic market and competition among Vietnamese companies on foreign markets. Business organizations assigned to unify export and import channels must operate according to the mode of business enterprise, instead of a bureaucratic and authoritarian way; they must not pressure or cause trouble to people producing export goods or needing imported goods. The accounting and share of profits gained from exports must be done in a fair and open manner so that grassroots units and

localities can see that it is more profitable to export through organized channels than to do it by themselves.

The Foreign Trade Bank, while assuming unified management of foreign exchange, must guarantee the right of foreign exchange account owners to use them in accordance with State policies. Regulations on foreign-exchange transactions through the Foreign Trade Bank should be worked out to prepare for their application when the value of the domestic currency is stabilized. A mechanism must be instituted for timely adjustment of the internal accounting rate on foreign-exchange and the non-market exchange rate especially with regard to overseas remittances in order to keep up to date with the actual situation. We should have policies aimed at encouraging overseas Vietnamese to send home money and materials instead of consumer goods.

Along with expanding export and import and securing financial aid and long-term loans, we should apply diversified forms in developing our external economic relations.

We shall further broaden the relations of allround cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, ranging from sub-contracting and joint ventures to direct investments, strengthen further the relations of direct co-operation and association in the fields of production and science between our country's economic, scientific and technical organizations and their counterparts in fraternal countries.

The policy of encouraging foreign investments in various forms shall be publicized, especially in those branches and enterprises for which high technology is needed and which produce goods for export. Along with the promulgation of the investments code, we should apply policies and measures to create favourable conditions for foreigners and overseas Vietnamese to come to our country for business cooperation.

Importance should be attached to organizing and encouraging overseas Vietnamese to contribute to national construction in various ways, including technical and capital investment, bringing into play their possibilities in helping broaden our cooperative relations with foreign countries, companies and economic organizations.

Scientific-technical cooperation and the training of cadres and skilled workers shall be promoted. The sending of workforce and experts abroad to work on contracts must be organized well with attention to be paid to the form of project-based contracting for construction and various services. Our country's favourable conditions for the development of tourism should be rapidly exploited through domestic investments and cooperation with foreign countries. International transport, ship and plane chandler services... shall be developed.

In our special alliance with Laos and Kampuchea in economy, science and technology, we should attach importance to practical effectiveness, to ensuring benefit and growth for the economies of all the three countries. We should carry out without

delay the division of labour and cooperation in production and coordinated investment in those fields where conditions permit, while rapidly increasing the volume of goods and services exchanged among the three countries. We shall continue to help Laos and Kampuchea in basic survey, programmed zoning and personnel training.

The broadening of external economic relations will give rise to complex problems, and measures should be taken to curb and prevent negative phenomena, but that is not the reason for closing our doors. We should have plans for training and upgrading the moral and professional qualities of the contingent of cadres engaged in external economic relations, including full-time specialized personnel and those working in production and business enterprises having business relations with foreign countries.

*Dear comrades,*

*I shall now present some major guidelines and tasks of social policies*

Social policies embrace all aspects of human life including working and living conditions, education and culture, family relations, and the relations between different social classes and ethnic groups. The viewpoint of our Party and State on the unity of economic and social policies should be fully reflected in realities. We should combat all manifestations of neglecting social policies, that is, neglecting the human factor in socialist construction.

The level of economic development constitutes a material condition for the implementation of social policies. However, social targets are also those of economic activities. Right in the framework of economic activities, social policies, through their direct influence on the working people's labour productivity and the quality of products, are an important factor for the development of production. For this reason, we should work out *fundamental and long-term social policies* and concretize the tasks and objectives suited to the demands and capabilities in the initial stage.

In bringing into full play *the human factor* and regarding *servng the people* as the highest objective of all activities, we should work out plans for building the new social class structure, concretize and implement the policy on nationalities and the policy concerning freedom of belief.

While advancing toward a radical abolition of the socio-economic foundation of social inequity, we should carry out a firm struggle against all negative phenomena so that the principles of social justice and a healthy life style can be affirmed in the life of our society.

### **1. To implement demographic planning and create employment for working people**

Efforts should be made to *reduce the annual population growth rate* to 1.7 per cent by 1990. The Party, the administration and mass organizations at all levels should give close and constant guidance

to the family planning movement, considering it a very important condition for raising per capita national income and achieving socio-economic objectives.

Together with making investments in the expansion of the technical network in service of birth control and family planning, we should pay adequate attention to educational and cultural measures aimed at helping change the psychology and practices of the people, first of all young people, with regard to family planning. Efforts should be made to guide the implementation of the Law on Marriage and the Family after its ratification by the National Assembly.

It is a primary socio-economic task in the years ahead to give jobs to working people, first of all to young people and to those living in urban areas. Along with creating more jobs for the people, the State should work out policies aimed at enabling the working people to secure their own employment. To this end, it should encourage the development of the household economy, tapping to the full all the potentialities of the other economic sectors including the private capitalist economic sector. We should promulgate and implement a labour act.

The way to solve the employment problem is to expand on-the-spot trades and occupations to attract a major part of the new, surplus workforce alongside re-allocating the workforce in the whole country. Attention should be paid to developing agriculture, handicrafts, small industries, services

and other areas of production, especially the production of goods for export and the manufacturing of goods under sub-contracts with foreign countries.

We should expand labour cooperation with foreign countries in combination with vocational training for young people and the improvement of our specialists' professional standards. Attention should be paid to forming an appropriate structure of trades and occupations, selecting workers and cadres according to proper criteria, and closely supervising them organizationally and ideologically. Together with the host countries, we should take care of the material and cultural life of the Vietnamese working in foreign countries and organize well their sending of money and goods to their families at home. Attention should be given to creating jobs for those who have returned home after working or studying in foreign countries.

We should step up campaigns to motivate nomadic people to settle down for sedentary life and farming in mountain regions, linking this task to economic zoning and construction at district level. We should amend the policy regarding the building of new economic zones, sedentary farming and the building of the economic and social infrastructure so as to help new settlers to stabilize production and their life.

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

**2. To establish social justice, form a cultured life style, ensure social safety, restore order and discipline in all the aspects of social life**

We should ensure adequate real incomes for the working people in different production activities according to their labour efficiency, thus stimulating their labour zeal.

The legitimate interests of legal business transactions and services beneficial to society should be respected. Sources of ill-gotten incomes must be prevented and strictly dealt with. We should combine the strength of functional bodies and that of the struggle of the masses to severely punish law-breakers, regardless of their positions. Public criticism in the press is a legitimate right of all citizens and should be exercised in a well-regulated manner. We should ensure justice regarding the rights and duties of citizens, and oppose all abuses of privileges and prerogatives.

We should build a style of life and work in line with the law, restore order and discipline in all the activities of the State and social life, raise the people's sense of willingness and self-respect in combination with educational and administrative measures to be taken by social organizations and State bodies. Concern for the people and mutual respect should become an ethical criterion in all economic, cultural and social activities, especially in services catering for the majority of the population.

**3. To care for and satisfy the people's educational and cultural needs, protect and improve their health**

On the basis of boosting production to increase national incomes, we should gradually expand social consumption funds, enabling them to play an ever greater role in the development of education, public health, culture and other areas of the people's welfare.

*On education*

The goal of education is to form and develop comprehensively the socialist personality of the younger generation, train a skilled workforce with a homogeneous set of trades and occupations suited to the demands for social division of labour. Education, especially higher and vocational education, should directly contribute to the renewal of socio-economic management. To this end, we should sum up our experience in implementing educational reforms, make readjustments and improve quality. The educational system is to be developed in a planned way from pre-school education to higher education and post-graduate training, with quality and efficiency well ensured. Training must be rationally organized and must reflect the unified character of the educational process in its various forms: training and refresher courses, regular and irregular courses, full-time and in-service courses. The objectives of each training course should be concretized into training programmes and criteria for rating the results of training. We should improve

the regime of examinations and the issuing of certificates, diplomas and academic degrees along the line of ensuring quality and impartiality.

We should pay adequate attention to developing pre-school education, raising the quality of education of pre-school children, and building more schools and classes for them. We must eliminate illiteracy which can still be found in a number of localities, complete universal primary education among school-age children, make junior-high school education universal in localities with favourable conditions, and step by step expand secondary education in diversified forms. The curricula for general educational schools should comprise basic general knowledge, manual labour, general technology, general vocational-orientated education and job-training. Due attention should be paid to education in mountain regions and to the use of languages of ethnic groupes alongside the national language.

Efforts should be made to expand and consolidate vocational schools and courses to train and foster skilled workers, and develop job-training centres for the youth and other working people. We should re-arrange the network of universities and colleges, foster the teaching staffs and managerial cadres, and quickly form a contingent of leading professional cadres for different branches and services. Alongside increasing the quality of training in professional and practical ability, adequate attention should be paid to political, ideological, moral, legal, physical and military education. Teaching and learning should be combined with production, scientific

experimentation and research, and the application of technical advances. We should make good preparations for young people to embark on a working career, production and fighting, and help them understand and perform their civic duties better.

The quality and proficiency of educational workers and teachers should be regularly upgraded. We should pay attention to heightening their social status and taking care of their material and cultural life. We should work out a reasonable policy on scholarships for students at various universities, secondary vocational schools and job-training centres.

The programme for educational development should be closely associated with socio-economic development plans in each locality in particular and in the country in general. Adequate investments should be made in the educational sphere, first of all in providing sufficient textbooks and school facilities. Besides the State budget we should clearly mention the contributions to be made by various branches and localities, by economic and social organizations to the educational pursuit. International cooperation in education should be made promoted. Preparations are to be made for the promulgation of an education act.

#### *On cultural and literary and art activities*

The quality of the cultural, literary and art work should be raised. Each cultural, literary and art activity should take into account its social efficiency, its positive effects on the psychology and feelings of the people in raising their socialist consciousness

and aesthetic standards. Attention should be paid to healthy demands and tastes of the people of different social strata and different age groups.

Mass cultural activities should become a common practice in society, especially among the young people. However, we should overcome all manifestations of exhibitionism and formalism. We should build and make better use of the network of libraries, clubs, cultural houses, museums and tradition houses from the centre down to grassroots levels, in different branches and localities. We should undertake good management of publishing, film-making and the distribution of books, newspapers and films. Efforts should be made to develop the mass media and improve the quality of information, to help the working people at grassroots production establishments in various regions acquaint themselves with the cultural and art values of the nation and the world, and acquire general and modern knowledge of science and technology. We should bring cultural and art activities up to mountain regions and remote villages. Due attention should be paid to applying national, modern and simple architecture to the construction of cultural and public utilities and population centres.

We should improve our policies toward professional artists, grant adequate remuneration for artistic work, and encourage creativity and the fostering of talents. Cooperation between State bodies and associations of literary and art workers and other mass organizations should be promoted so as to bring into full play the initiative and creation

of each individual and the collectives of writers and artists, and keep them in close contacts with the working masses. The State and people should join efforts to build the necessary material and technical facilities for cultural and art activities, preserve and restore historical and cultural relics. Efforts should be made to complete the collection of cultural and art assets of ethnic groups in the whole country, encourage art research and experimentation, ensure stable activities of art ensembles with ever higher quality, and prevent any tendency of show-business and other negative phenomena.

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

*On caring for, protecting and improving the people's health*

The people's health and the future of our nation have always been a constant concern of our Party and State. Healthcare is a responsibility of all branches and mass organizations and also the responsibility and legitimate interest of each citizen.

On the basis of a thorough understanding of preventive medicine, the combination of modern medicine with traditional medical practice, and the guideline of "joint efforts of the State and the

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

We should take active measures and apply appropriate policies aimed at quickly strengthening the network of public health, especially in rural and urban districts and at grassroots levels. Greater efforts should be made to launch nationwide mass movements and motivate all branches and services to take part in protecting the environment and making it ever cleaner and healthier, preventing and combating epidemics and social and occupational diseases... We should try to improve the quality and efficiency of medical examinations and treatment, educate medical cadres and workers in the spirit of complete devotion to their patients, step up scientific research work, carry out reforms in the training and upgrading of medical cadres and workers, and constantly raise the standard of our medical science and our healthcare work, strive to make more investments in the public health service, and take better care of the material and cultural life of medical workers.

Greater efforts should be made to develop the production of pharmaceutical materials and products and medical facilities and equipment, and expand the farming, processing and effective use of traditional medicines. We should work out policies on investment aimed at forming concentrated regions for growing medicinal plants and herbs, to create sources of raw materials for the production of pharmaceutical products for domestic use and for

export, expand pharmaco-chemistry, and build an antibiotic industry. We must strive to increase the capabilities of export to cover the import of what cannot yet be manufactured at home. A pharmaceutical industry is to be built.

We should make better use of international cooperation and aid in the service of the people's health.

Together with the public health service, *sports and physical training* should contribute to restoring and improving people's health.

We should endeavour to broaden the masses' sports and physical training movements and raise their quality, step by step make physical exercises a daily routine of all people, especially the younger generation. The quality of physical education at schools should be heightened. The system of schools and classes for children showing aptitude for sports should be strengthened and expanded, while developing the contingent of young athletes, selecting suitable sports and concentrating efforts on improving national records. Attention should be paid to educating athletes in socialist ethics and the spirit of sportsmanship. We should strive to ensure the conditions for sports and physical training work with regard to personnel, science, technology, material facilities and, especially, organization and management.

#### **4. To promulgate social security policies**

Our country has just emerged from a long fight and even now, we are fighting to defend our national independence while performing our internationalist

duties. The number of disabled soldiers, war veterans and families of fallen combatants is considerable. The number of retired cadres and workers is increasing.

We should step by step build a socialist social security policy for the entire people according to the motto "joint efforts of the State and the people", expand and develop projects serving social security, establish diversified networks and forms of social security for people who have rendered meritorious services to the revolution and for people in distress. Policies and regulations concerning social security should be amended so as to make them compatible with the process of renewing the economic and social management mechanisms.

The policy on retirement should be thoroughly implemented. Social, healthcare and cultural and information service for pensioners must be organized better. We should involve retired revolutionary veterans, war veterans and disabled soldiers in social, cultural and political activities in forms suited to their health conditions and experience, especially their participation in educating and fostering the younger generation.

We should work out plans and take practical measures to attract still able-bodied people into production and service activities, and train disabled soldiers for suitable jobs. War invalids, children of fallen combatants and people who have fulfilled their military duties should be given priority in obtaining jobs and studying at schools and colleges.

We should attend to and take better care of disabled and sick soldiers, close relatives of fallen combatants, and old and helpless people who have rendered meritorious services to the revolution. Better care should be given to orphans, the handicapped, and lonely old people.

The family, a cell of society, is playing a role of paramount importance in building a new system and a new economy and in fostering a new type of man. The Party, State and mass organizations should work out guidelines and policies toward the building of the new cultured family and ensuring family happiness. We should help heighten the people's sense of self-consciousness in fostering sentimental and ethical relations within each family, in carrying out family planning, in bringing up and educating children, and in organizing the material and cultural life of the family.

*Housing* is one of the fundamental issues in the socio-economic policy of the State. We should have a comprehensive policy on the housing problem, draw more investments from the State, collectives and the people in the production of building materials and the construction of dwelling houses. We should carry out a fair and equitable distribution of houses in cities and provincial towns.

#### **5. To correctly implement the policies on social nationalities**

*The class policy* (including the policy toward each social class and the policy concerning relations among

the interests of different classes) and the *policy on nationalities* have always constituted an important part of social policies.

In the period of transition, the old social class structure is gradually replaced by a new one. This process should unfold in a planned way and should be closely linked with the achievement of socio-economic objectives and tasks.

We should adopt a correct and consistent view and apply effective policies and measures to shape the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia in all respects, thereby making the socio-political foundation of the new society ever firmer and bringing into full play the superiority of socialist forces in the struggle against capitalism. Now, after more than ten years of socialist transformation and construction, it is necessary to conduct basic surveys, gather reliable information on the social and class structure in the whole country as well as in each locality, and single out problems to be solved on the basis of the class policy.

Leading bodies at all echelons should follow with adequate attention and keen concern the opinions and aspirations of the masses with a view to re-adjusting and amending policies, especially on issues relating to the legitimate interests of each class and each social stratum.

In order to accelerate the three revolutions in regions inhabited by minority ethnic groups, we should intensify ethnological research and social surveys

aimed at thoroughly understanding the specific differences between regions and ethnic minorities. On this basis, we should amend, concretize and implement the policy on nationalities, and avoid clichés, wishful thinking and the imposition of inappropriate organizational forms in the process of economic, social and cultural construction and development in regions inhabited by ethnic minorities.

We should make more investments, focus greater efforts from all branches and echelons, and encourage self-reliance and self-support among minority ethnic groups, with a view to tapping, preserving and developing economic potentials of regions inhabited by ethnic groups. Efforts should be made to step up the movement for sedentary life and farming among nomadic people and stabilize the life on highlands, in border areas and in former revolutionary and resistance bases.

While promoting socio-economic development in areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, we should fully implement the policy on nationalities, enhance the fine and close relations among ethnic groups in the spirit of unity, equality, mutual assistance and collective mastery of society, combine economic development with social development, boost production, and care for the life of the population including natives and those who have come from other parts of the country.

The programme for moving people from low-lying regions to highland areas in the context of a nationwide re-arranging of social workforce should include a plan for forming the new social class structure

in regions mainly inhabited by ethnic minorities. We should take appropriate forms and measures to involve minority nationals in the process of economic development in their role as really equal masters of society .

The comprehensive development of each ethnic minority should be closely associated with the consolidation and development of the minority community as a whole. The strengthening of the sense of community and unity is a process governed by objective laws. This sense, however, does not contradict or exclude the diversity and originality of each group. Ethnic feelings and psychology will remain for a long time and are a delicate question. In handling relations among ethnic groups, we must be cautious with regard to the interests of each group and the feelings of each individual. We should oppose all manifestations both of big-nation chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism.

## PART THREE

### INTERNATIONAL TASKS AND FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND STATE

A law-governed question of the revolution in our times is the combination between the struggle of the people of each country and the common struggle of the people of the world. The victory of the revolution in each country is also that of the whole progressive mankind in the common struggle against imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The triumph of our people in the anti-US war of resistance is a vivid expression of the combination of our nation's strength and that of the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. At present, the revolutionary cause of our country enjoys even more favourable conditions for broadening international cooperation and winning international support.

In the coming years, *the tasks of our Party and State in the field of external affairs are to strive to combine the strength of the nation with that of*

*the epoch, firmly maintain peace in Indochina, contribute actively to the firm maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, strengthen the special relationship between the three Indochinese countries, strengthen the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community, secure favourable international conditions for the cause of building socialism and defending the Homeland, and at the same time, make an active contribution to the common struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.*

The international activities of our Party and State must serve the struggle to defend the Homeland, maintain political security, defeat the multi-faceted war of sabotage waged by the enemy, and continue to fulfil our internationalist duty toward Kampuchea and Laos. We should secure new favourable conditions in economic and scientific-technological cooperation, participate ever more widely in the division of labour and cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and at the same time widen our relations with other countries.

To strengthen the solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is always the key-stone of the foreign policy of our Party and State. The Soviet Union, the land of the great Lenin, the homeland of the October Revolution of which we shall celebrate the 70th anniversary next year — is the radiant symbol of the strength and superiority

of socialism and socialist internationalism. Our Party, once again, expresses its full support for the domestic and foreign policies adopted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the (revised) Programme of the CPSU, considering it a model of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. On the basis of the Vietnam — USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, we are making every effort to raise incessantly the quality and effectiveness of that all-round cooperation in the interests of the two countries, and at the same time step up our coordination of action with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace and revolution in the world, first of all in the Asia-Pacific region.

The high-level meetings of the Party and State leaders of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, among them the recent meeting between General Secretary Truong-Chinh and General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, have manifested the high unity of views between the two parties and states and marked the constant development of the fraternal solidarity and all-round cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union.

Our Party is deeply conscious of the fact that developing and strengthening the special relationship between the three Indochinese countries, unity, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, all-round cooperation and mutual assistance in building and defending the Homeland constitute a law governing the existence and development of all the

three fraternal nations. By practical and effective measures we strive to develop the relations between our country and Laos and Kampuchea, making each country and all the three countries ever stronger, foiling the enemy's divisive schemes and manoeuvres. Vietnam is consistently true to the internationalist duty toward the Lao revolution and the Kampuchean revolution. We regard every success won in the cause of national construction and defence of the two fraternal countries as our own, and each success of ours as inseparable from the solidarity, support and assistance given us by the parties, States and people of the two fraternal countries.

We continue to strengthen our relations of friendship and cooperation with the CMEA member countries: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Romania. We also widen our relations with other fraternal countries such as Albania, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, etc.

The meeting of the General Secretaries and First Secretaries of the parties of the CMEA member countries recently held in Moscow marked a new step of development in raising the level of cooperation among the socialist countries in all fields, especially the economic field, serving the cause of accelerating the progress of fraternal countries. We particularly rejoice at the fact that the leaders of the fraternal countries were unanimous on the necessity to set forth a programme for heightening the effectiveness of the CMEA's cooperation with and assistance to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in

accordance with the characteristics of each country. Our country does its utmost to contribute to raising the effectiveness of the economic, scientific and technological cooperation in the CMEA, coordinate efforts with the fraternal countries in consolidating the unity, increasing the strength and promoting the influence of the socialist community. We shall actively participate in the programme of cooperation on scientific-technological advances among the CMEA member countries. With a spirit of self-reliance and socialist internationalism, our people are determined to do their best to bring into full play all the possibilities of our country for the cause of national construction and defence, and at the same time for the fulfilment of their duty and commitments for the consolidation and strengthening of the common forces of the socialist community.

As a detachment of the international communist and working-class movement, our Party contribute actively to strengthening the unity of the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, promoting cooperation among fraternal parties in the struggle for the common goals, namely peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We extend our consistent and full support to the movement for national liberation and independence, condemn the policy that the imperialist circles, notably the US imperialists, are carrying out against nascent independent countries in an attempt to get rid of their revolutionary gains. We stand for solidarity with the national liberation movements,

the forces of national independence and social progress in the struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of each country and the right to equality between countries, for a new world economic order, to oppose all forms of colonialism, racism, apartheid, and zionism. We extend our strong support to and uphold our solidarity and cooperation with the independent countries that have chosen the path of socialism.

As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, we rejoice to see the growth of and the ever greater role played by the Movement in international political life, including the important contributions made by the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of India — chairpersons of the Movement — in the very difficult recent period from the Sixth to the Seventh Summit Conferences. We express full approval of the noble objectives, namely peace, disarmament and national independence, set forth by the Eight Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement and are determined to make a worthy contribution to the new step of development of the movement.

We strongly support the heroic struggle waged by the working class and people in advanced capitalist countries against oppression and exploitation by monopoly capitalism, against the nuclear arms race, for peace, democracy, employment and improvement of the standards of living. We support the fraternal communist and workers' parties' policy of uniting and rallying all democratic and progressive forces.

Our Party and State support the policy of the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries

with a view to building a lasting peace and security in Europe on the basis of respect for the territorial-political status quo that has taken shape since the end of the Second World War. That policy has found its vivid expression in the spirit of the Helsinki and Stockholm Conferences and has made an active contribution to the development of good neighbourly relations and peaceful cooperation among countries with different socio-economic systems in Europe.

Being a nation that has endured untold sacrifices in the long struggle for independence and freedom, we deeply sympathize with and extend our militant solidarity and strong support to the African peoples, especially the peoples of the countries in Southern Africa who are waging a staunch struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. We always stand by the side of the peoples of Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique in the struggle to safeguard their independence and to build a new life. The struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress against the South African dictatorial regime, the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO for the return of their independence, the struggle of the peoples of the front-line countries in Africa against the apartheid regime of South Africa, will certainly be victorious. We support the efforts of Zimbabwe, a young front-line country of Africa which is assuming the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement and making an active contribution to solving the burning questions of Africa.

We stand in close solidarity with the peoples of fraternal Algeria and the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen who are building their new lives. We support the struggle of the people of Sahrawi to consolidate and complete their independence. We demand that the United States and other imperialist countries give up their scheme of economic blockade and acts of hostility against Libya and Syria. We vehemently condemn Israel for its continued occupation of part of Lebanese territory and resolutely support the struggle of the Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization for their sacred fundamental national rights; we firmly support the people of other Arab countries against Israeli zionism backed by the United States.

The communists and the people of our country greatly rejoice at the brilliant victories obtained by the Cuban people in the cause of building socialism and defending the homeland, by heroic Nicaragua which, seething with fighting spirit, is defending its revolutionary gains, by the Salvadorian people in their undaunted struggle under the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, against the United States imperialist intervention and the fascist dictatorial regime.

Our Party and State practise with perseverance a foreign policy of peace and friendship. We stand for and support the policy of peaceful co-existence among countries with different political and social systems, the elimination of wars of aggression and all forms of terrorism, especially state terrorism regarded by US imperialism as its national policy.

We support the tireless efforts made by the Soviet Union with a view to eliminating nuclear weapons, establishing a comprehensive international security system in the military, political, economic and social domains. We demand that the United States take a serious attitude in its relations with the Soviet Union, discuss with the latter so as to find out concrete and practical measures to end the arms race, first to end nuclear weapons tests. We lay bare the stubborn attitude of the United States which still refuses to give up its arms race both on earth and in outer space, thus aggravating tension in international relations.

In the present situation of Asia which is developing in a complicated manner as a result of the United States stepping up the formation of a NATO-type military alliance in the East, our Party, Government and people highly value and fully support the comprehensive plan for peace in Asia and the Pacific set forth by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok.

Our Party and State highly appreciate the solidarity and many-sided cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India of which a new good step of development was marked by the visit of General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev to India in November this year. This constitutes a very important factor for the cause of peace in Asia and the world. We welcome the new Delhi Declaration, an important document which embodies the will and

aspirations of the whole of mankind in the struggle for a world free from nuclear weapons and from violence in international relations.

We:

Support the Soviet Union's policy of normalizing relations with China.

Support the initiative of Mongolia on proceeding toward a treaty of non-use of force and non-threat to use force in relations between countries in the region; support the efforts aimed at turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the initiatives aimed at establishing nuclear free zones in Southeast Asia; support the national independence and de-nuclearization movement of the South Pacific countries and on the Korean peninsula.

Support the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at easing tension and proceeding to the reunification of the country by peaceful and democratic means.

Support the firm measures taken by Afghanistan against the undeclared war waged by the imperialist forces and their henchmen. Our people highly value the Soviet Union's goodwill stand as evidenced by its decision to withdraw part of the Soviet army units from Afghanistan, advancing to a complete withdrawal when a political solution is reached, guaranteeing a permanent end to the armed intervention from outside against that country.

We wish to see an early end to the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq.

We constantly strengthen and broaden our relations of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of India — a country occupying a specially important position in Asia and the world, and a great friend who has always reserved for our people fine sentiments, wholehearted support and assistance.

The Vietnamese people and the Chinese people have had age-old friendly relations and have united with and assisted each other in the struggle against imperialism, for independence, freedom and national construction. The peoples of the two countries have common interests, namely peace, independence and economic development. The Vietnamese Government and people consistently treasure the friendship between the peoples of the two countries and are resolved to do their best to restore it and have put forward many proposals aimed at an early normalization of relations between our country and the People's Republic of China. Our stance is to set great store by the fundamental and long-term interests of the two countries. We hold that the time has come for the two sides to enter into negotiations to solve both immediate and long-term problems in the relations between the two countries. Once again we officially declare that Vietnam is ready to negotiate with China at any time, at any level and in any place to normalize the relations between the two countries, in the interests of the two peoples, and of peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

We welcome the fair and reasonable decision of the Lao People's Democratic Republic aimed at

normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful co-existence. We fully agree with the Lao Government's readiness to do all it can to create favourable conditions for the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between Laos and the Kingdom of Thailand, first of all for the resumption of negotiations with the latter so as to normalize the relations between the two countries.

We fully support the People's Republic of Kampuchea's readiness to negotiate with opposition individuals and groups to realize national concord on the basis of excluding the criminal genocidal Pol Pot gang. We stand for the continued withdrawal of Vietnamese army volunteers from Kampuchea and at the same time are ready to cooperate with all parties concerned so as to proceed toward a correct political solution on Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese Government and people make sustained efforts to develop their friendly relations and cooperation with Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries. We desire and are ready to hold negotiations with countries in the region with a view to solving problems in Southeast Asia, establishing relations of peaceful co-existence, and building Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

Our State stands for the strengthening and widening of relations with Sweden, Finland, France and other Western countries and Australia and Japan on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Our Government continues to hold talks with the United States to solve the humanitarian problems left by the war and is ready to improve relations with the United States in the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the pure revolutionary thoughts and sentiments of the great President Ho Chi Minh, our Party continues holding high the banners of peace, national independence and socialism, closely combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty, strengthening international cooperation, and striving to fulfil our national tasks and our internationalist duties toward the world's people.

## PART FOUR

### BRINGING INTO PLAY THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY AND RAISING THE MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

"Revolution is the work of the masses." This lesson is always important. Revolutionary practice has demonstrated that a revolutionary movement will emerge wherever the working people have a sense of mastery and actually enjoy the right to genuine mastery over society.

In applying that lesson to a new stage of revolution, our Party considers *socialist collective mastery* to be the essence of the socialist democratic system, which should materialize in every aspect of life. We have defined the relationship of *leadership by the Party, mastery by the people and management by the State* into an over-all mechanism in the management of the entire society.

The achievements recorded in the building of socialism and defence of the country have testified to our people's profound patriotism, devotion to socialism and great energy, to our endurance through hardships, our industriousness, creativity and our courage in fighting; they also testify to the efforts by our Party and State organs in discharging their functions.

Apart from these fine manifestations, there exist in our society some abnormal phenomena, that is a lack of cohesion between the Party, the State and the people; bureaucracy in the leading and management bodies, and in organizations specially entrusted with mass work. The main cause is that the mechanism which co-ordinates the activities of the Party, the people and the State has not yet been concretized into institution.

Together with the consequences left by the old mechanism of economic management, manifestations of bureaucracy in the attitude and work style of leading cadres at various levels, in different branches, including economic and administrative units, have not yet been criticized and done away with. A section of Party cadres and members, especially those having powers and authority, forgetting the years of the liberation war when they shared weal and woe with the people, stayed aloof from the latter, and did not show any concern for dealing with the pressing problems raised by the masses. Some Party committees underestimated the mass work; they did not rely on the people to guide and control grassroots Party organizations. Quite a few

administrative bodies were heedless of the people's opinions; they were inclined to use only administrative measures instead of mass motivation. This Party has not yet brought into play the role and functions entrusted to the mass organizations in educating and motivating the masses to participate in economic and social management. Mass organizations have not yet actively renewed their mode of activity to make it suit the character of these organizations.

The whole Party, from the leaders down to every Party member, must be imbued with Uncle Ho's teaching: "Our Party represents the common interests of the working class and of the whole working people, instead of striving for the interests of any group or individual". A sense of *servng the people* should permeate every act of each cadre, Party member and State employee. That is the first criterion whereby to judge each person's qualities.

The people's right to collective mastery should be institutionalized by law and organization. Democracy goes hand in hand with discipline; so do rights and interests with responsibilities and obligations. Everyone must master their own labour, work with discipline, with high productivity and high efficiency, so as to make worthy contributions to the building of the country. Every citizen must take part in maintaining law and order, opposing the enemy's sabotage, and in the defence of the Homeland, which should be regarded as their sacred obligations and noble rights.

The objectives set by the Party Congress can only be achieved through revolutionary actions and creativity by millions of people. The Party and the State should work out a policy on training the contingents of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, on strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and on caring for and fostering the younger generation. As far as the working class is concerned, the Party must take special measures to raise its socialist consciousness and understanding in all aspects, making it worthy of its role as the vanguard of the revolution; at the same time the Party must care for its material and cultural life, and create necessary conditions for the working class to fulfil its historical mission.

Management is not only the work of professional managerial cadres, but also the people's cause. It is therefore necessary to elicit the masses' participation in the management of State organs, either in administration, production and trade transactions or in the maintenance of law and order. Right at the moment when an undertaking or policy is elaborated and decided on, the leading and managerial bodies must think about giving full play to the people's role in economic and social management. It is necessary to get rid of the erroneous view that the mass work is only a measure to organize and motivate the masses to implement decisions and policies. For those specific policies that will be directly related to the people's life in the whole country or in various localities as well as grassroots units, the Party committees or adminis-

trative bodies must organize consultations with the people before making any decision. "Let the people know, discuss, work and control", that is a daily practice of society, which materializes the system that ensures the working people's right to manage State affairs themselves.

It is necessary to encourage wide and constant participation by the masses in renewing the mechanism of economic management. The collectives of working people have the right and duty to take part in working out production and business plans, in the disposition of the labour force and the selection of managerial cadres as well as in the control and supervision of activities of the management bodies. The Party committees must play a leading role in organizing meetings of workers and employees in factories and offices, meetings of members of agricultural co-operatives and production collectives, in small industry and handicraft co-operatives, so that the collectives of working people have their say as the direct masters in grassroots units.

In communes, precincts and population centres, it is necessary to bring into full play the role of the Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Collective Peasants' Association and the Fatherland Front in motivating the people to develop production and household economy, the distribution and circulation of goods and services, to organize cultural, educational, healthcare and environmental activities, as well as to maintain law and order.

Together with the concern and care for the people's life, the State organs must *respect and*

*guarantee the civil rights* stipulated in the Constitution. After the promulgation of the Penal Code and the draft Law on Marriage and the Family, the State has yet to issue other laws. It is necessary to overhaul and consolidate the organization, to take effective measures to abolish corruption, abuse of power, to get rid of and severely punish those degenerate elements who bleed the people white and bully them in the name of the State and Party. The Court as well as Control, Inspection and Security organs must rely on the people to discover and take timely action against any violation of the civil rights.

The elimination of violations of the law, the protection of production and socialist property can be carried out effectively only by really relying on the control and supervision by the masses. In this respect, the mass organizations play an important role. Control and supervision of State organs by the people, in order to achieve good results, should be organized and directed by the mass organizations. It is necessary to use the system of people's inspectors, to strengthen the system of workers' inspectors in factories and offices, to diversify the participation by the Youth Union, the Women's Union and the Fatherland Front in the inspection process. Labour discipline and social regulations can be strengthened only when there is a correct management mechanism, and strong measures of a legal character are applied, coupled with the education in socialist ethics.

To materialize the working people's right to collective mastery essentially means to respect man, to promote the creativity of the people from all walks of life, and channel it towards the building of a new society, and through socio-economic construction to *train and temper the new man and form collectives of new working people*. To build up a strong collective, it is necessary to foster each individual and discover and foster talents. The building of a new way of life and foster a new type of man is of paramount importance in our society. If we fail to build up a sense of self-consciousness and self-mastery for everyone, then the right of all the people to collective mastery cannot be guaranteed.

The cultural, literary, artistic and educational branches and mass media should on the one hand fully understand the masses' aspirations and minds so as to serve them better and keep the Party informed of their aspirations and thoughts, on the other hand, they are responsible for creating correct public opinion, which positively help materialize the people's right to collective mastery. The slogan "the people have faith in the Party, the Party has faith in the people" should be realized in daily life through concrete deeds.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party and mass organizations, first of all the Federation of Trade Unions, the Collective Peasants' Association, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union play a great role in encouraging the people from

all walks of life to take part in economic construction and management, and in social management. Administrative organs and branches at all levels must respect the mass organizations and the Fatherland Front, work in close coordination with the latter and create favourable conditions for them to successfully discharge their functions. Party members, administrative cadres, the armed forces and security forces must play a direct role in the everyday mass agitation work, and must regard it as a necessary step to be taken for the good performance of their work.

Party Committees must closely lead mass organizations, set forth tasks and goals of action according to their respective functions and duties, and train and upgrade the contingent of mass organization cadres. On the other hand they must also respect the organizational independence of mass organizations, encourage their initiative and creativity in carrying out revolutionary tasks. The mass organizations must also rapidly renew the content of their work and their work style to suit the reforms in economic and social management. The activities of the mass organizations must be vigorously shifted to the grassroots units so as to motivate the masses to take part in revolutionary movements.

It is necessary to solve numerous problems relating to the masses' legitimate interests. In the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on resolving the issues that can be solved, in accordance with each section of the people.

! So far as the *workers and employees* are concerned, we must work out a reasonable salary and social welfare system necessary to ensure the material and cultural life of the working people and their families. The Party should sum up its experience and issue resolutions relating to the building of the working class. The State should make amendments to the Trade Union Law.

With regard to the *peasantry*, we must find out good solutions to problems related to the relationship between the peasants' obligation to contribute to the State and their own interests. The State must review its policies concerning the peasants and abrogate inappropriate ones.

With regard to *intellectuals*, it is of prime importance to ensure their freedom of creation. We must correctly value their abilities and create conditions for their correct use and development. We must do away with narrow-minded views of those who do not realize that intellectuals today are socialist working people, educated and led by the Party and having ever closer ties with the workers and peasants.

The *Youth* should be ensured employment when they come of age; we should foster their personalities, abilities, and ideals following the motto "live, struggle, work and study following the great Uncle Ho's example." We must fully realize that the young people are the generation entrusted with the historical mission of successfully building socialism. We should boldly give them responsibilities, and train and foster them through social activities.

*Adolescents and young children* should be ensured the right to education and cared for in social affection and family love. The Party Committees and the Youth Union at all levels must be concerned with the building of the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization.

*Women* in general, and female workers in particular, have special features that should be taken into consideration. To bring into play the great role of women in the revolutionary cause, we should make sure that the Party's guidelines for motivating women permeate the entire system of proletarian dictatorship, and concretize them in policies and laws. The State organs, in co-ordination with mass organizations, should take practical measures to create more employment for women, to train and foster women cadres to ensure mother and child healthcare, and to correctly put into effect the Law on Marriage and the Family. We should help women to discharge their dual functions as citizens and mothers, and to make families happy.

The Party should continue to bring into play the tradition of unity and staunch and courageous revolutionary struggle of our *ethnic minorities* so as to consolidate and further strengthen the unity among ethnic groups, with a view to building prosperous mountain regions, thereby successfully achieving the revolutionary objectives and tasks set by our Congress. We should further promote the education of Party cadres and members, the armed forces and people throughout the country, helping them understand the policies on nationalities, heighten

vigilance, promptly expose and frustrate the enemy's schemes and acts aimed at sowing division among the ethnic groups. We must work out programs and plans to further train and foster the contingent of cadres of ethnic minorities, especially those from the highlands and border areas, and from a number of areas in the South.

Our Party and State have consistently pursued a policy of respect for freedom of belief. We must lead and assist *people of various religions* to unite in building a new life and to participate in the defence of the Homeland with enthusiasm. We should constantly heighten vigilance, oppose resolutely and in good time the schemes and manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to drive a wedge between religious and non-religious people, and between people of different religions.

*Overseas Vietnamese* are forming a community which, while merging into the society where they live are attached to the Homeland. Our Party and State, with full understanding and high appreciation of their patriotism, will further create favourable conditions for them to promote unity within their community, to keep contacts with their relatives at home and to contribute ever more to the building of the Homeland.

*Dear comrades,*

Our State is the instrument of socialist collective mastery which is organized by the working class and other working people into a body of political power. During the transitional period, it is a

*proletarian dictatorship State that exercises socialist democracy.* Under the Party's leadership, the State's functions are to institutionalize by law the rights, interests and obligations of the working people, and to manage the economy and society by law. Our State must guarantee the genuine democratic rights of the working people, and at the same time mercilessly punish those who violate the people's right to mastery.

Raising the effectiveness in management by the State is a pressing task and a necessary condition for guaranteeing the mobilization of the masses' enormous strength to fulfil all political tasks set forth by the Party, thereby meeting the requirements and aspirations of the people.

Our State apparatus is still bulky and not very effective. The management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and State subsidies is the direct cause making the apparatus overburdened with numerous echelons and levels. The functions and duties of the organization, as well as the functions and criteria of cadres have not yet been clearly defined. In a number of branches in the centre and in localities there is a tendency for sub-division into many bodies and close-knit specialized units, which results in many redundant or overlapping organizations. In many cases, assigned cadres and employees are not equal to their tasks. The system of job responsibility is not clear enough. As regards the working style, it is fraught with formalism and paper work, with too many meetings,

too many delays and lack of a scientific basis and firmness in decision-making ; moreover, organization for the execution of decisions is deficient.

To set up a new management mechanism, it is necessary to initiate a large-scale reform in the organization of State organs along the following lines :

*To set up and put into effect a State management mechanism that reflects the working people's right to collective mastery at all levels.* To strengthen the State apparatus from the centre down to the local and grassroots levels and turn it into an integrated system, with a clearcut assignment of tasks, division of responsibilities and authority for each level, on the principle of democratic centralism, a clear distinction between functions for economic-administrative management and for production and business management, and combination of branch management and management by regions and territories, in accordance with the characteristics of their economic and social situation.

It should be a State apparatus fully capable of discharging its main functions, namely :

— Institutionalizing the Party's lines and decisions into laws and specific policies ;

— Working out a socio-economic strategy and concretizing it into plans for socio-economic development ;

— Exercising socio-economic and administrative management ; co-ordinating economic and social

activities in the entire society according to plans ; maintaining State regulations, law and order, and national defence and security ;

— Supervising the implementation of the State plan, discovering the imbalances and working out measures to overcome them ;

— Putting into effect science-based and highly efficient labour regulation ;

— Setting up a streamlined apparatus of high quality with a contingent of cadres possessing good political qualities and capabilities for State, economic and social management.

The State must fulfil the task of working out socio-economic plans, programmes for scientific-technological advancement, and a system of laws, policies and regulations. It must raise the capabilities for administrative management, preserve socialist legality and exercise its State authority to the full and at the same time set up an economic management system suited to the new management mechanism, giving greater scope to the initiative of the grassroots economic units in production and business.

To strengthen the effectiveness of the management by the State means, first and foremost, to uphold the role of the National Assembly and the State Council, and of the People's Council at all levels. At present, people-elected bodies at different levels are still chosen, elected and functioning in a formalist way. In many cases, Party committees at various levels run the whole show, doing the work

of State organs, in many places the selection of people to elected bodies is done in a forcible manner. Many People's Committees do not truly respect the People's Councils.

The people-elected bodies, from the National Assembly down to the People's Councils at all levels, should constantly improve and review their activities in good time. They should enrich the contents of the sessions, discuss and decide practical matters. Socialist legality and supervision of the activities of the State management bodies should be strengthened so as to help the elected bodies correctly perform their functions, duties and authority.

The Council of Ministers and the People's Committees at all levels should raise their guiding and directing capacities so as to organize the effective implementation of the Party and State undertakings and policies.

It is a pressing task to rearrange ministries, State committees and general departments, and to streamline the State administrative machinery of the ministries. A ministry's managerial administrative machinery should not get involved too deeply in the production activities and transactions of enterprises. It is necessary to reduce the number of such intermediate organs as departments, agencies, bureaux, sections and to move vigorously toward the direct expert-type working style. The number of deputies at all levels and organs should be reduced. Along the guidelines for re-arranging the State organs in the centre, local People's Committees also should

be streamlined, with full powers, duties and managerial capabilities with regard to the area under their jurisdiction.

The management of the country should be performed by the law, not only by moral concepts. The law is the institutionalization of the Party's lines and policies, a manifestation of the people's will ; it should therefore be uniformly put into force throughout the country. To observe the law is to implement the Party's lines and undertakings. Management by the law requires that attention be paid to *law-making*. It is necessary to step by step amend and perfect the legal system so as to ensure that the State machinery be organized and operated in accordance with the law.

We must attach great importance to the work of *disseminating and explaining the law and teaching the people to observe it*. It should be taught in Party schools and State-run schools (including secondary schools, colleges and universities) and those run by mass organizations. All management cadres, from the centre down to grassroots levels should acquire a knowledge of administrative management and an understanding of the law. Various forms and measures should be used to educate and raise the people's sense of observing the law, and to provide them with legal consultants.

*The law must be strictly observed ; all citizens are equal before the law*. As our Party is now in power, all cadres in whatever positions must live and work in strict, compliance with the law, and be exemplary in observing the law. No one is allowed

to make use of their power and influence to infringe on the law. Any violation of the law should be brought to justice. Those who break the law must be handed over to judicial organs for trial; their cases should not be handled as "internal affairs". We should not follow the feudal practice of trying the common people according to law and mandarins according to "rites". The Constitution stipulates: "During trials, judges and people's jurors are independent and subject only to the law" — All attempts to cover up offences against the law or offenders in whatever form are prohibited.

We must use the force of socialist legality, coupled with that of public opinion to counter offences against the law. Party committees from top to bottom should constantly exercise their leadership over the judicial work, supply the judicial sector with cadres of good qualities and abilities, and closely supervise the activities of the judicial bodies.

*To renew the working style.* Good leadership and good management mean making correct and timely decisions and organizing their execution. Preparations for making decisions and decision-making must follow strict rules. We should put an end to bureaucratic practices which require numerous unnecessary intermediate levels and put into effect the working style of conducting investigations and studies, handling affairs expeditiously and avoiding all complicated and troublesome procedures. The decision-maker must be held fully responsible for his decision.

To raise the effectiveness of State, economic and social management, it is necessary to have a contingent of qualified cadres who possess abilities, experience, political qualities and revolutionary virtues. State administrative cadres (including ministers, deputy ministers, chairpersons of administrative committees at all levels, heads of department or agency, etc.) must have a good grasp of the principles and rules of administrative management, of the law, and must acquire professional efficiency. We have general-affairs cadres but no versatile cadres. To raise the efficiency of management by the State, to give more responsibility to cadres holding key positions in various branches, we should from now on cease appointing people with little or no specialized knowledge as leading or managerial cadres of special organs, and put into effect a system for removing from office irresponsible and incompetent cadres.

To expand and upgrade the contingent of cadres, we should reorganize the system of training schools, work out plans to upgrade various categories of cadres according to appropriate programmes. All leading and managerial cadres in key positions, from the centre to the provinces, districts and communes, from directors-general down to managerial cadres of grassroots units, should attend regular training courses and examinations, where they can learn in a practical and systematic way the Party's lines and policies, the management mechanism and new knowledge on management, on technical, professional and legal matters.



## PART FIVE

### ENHANCING THE LEADING CAPACITY AND THE FIGHTING POWER OF OUR PARTY

*Dear comrades,*

For the last five years, our Party has gone through a period full of activities and trials. From both the achievements and mistakes, our Party has further matured in its leadership work. This Congress is a milestone marking that step of maturation. However, all that has been achieved and left unfinished has also shown that our Party's leadership work has not proved equal to the tasks of the new period. Our Party has not yet met the requirements in solving lots of socio-economic problems, in its style of leading and also in the testing of the qualities of Party cadres and members. The root cause of this inequality is that in the past several years, we have slighted the Party-building work and had shortcomings in this process. This should be fully

realized with a high sense of responsibility by the whole Party, from the Central Committee to grassroots organizations and each Party member.

The large-scale and the complex character of the socio-economic tasks in the transitional period, the "which-will-win" struggle between the socialist guideline and the capitalist guideline, and our people's struggle against imperialism and international reaction are demanding the constant enhancement of the leading capacity and fighting power of our Party.

Our Party must be mature in political leadership, develop and concretize its lines and work out correct solutions to the new problems of the cause of socialist construction and national defence. To enhance its fighting power and its practical organizational ability, the Party must effect a renewal in many respects: renewal of the way of thinking, first of all economic thinking; renewal in organization; renewal of the personnel; renewal of the style of leading and work.

Our Party must take great pains to build itself into a firm and strong party in politics, ideology and organization, thus having a decisive impact on the development of the revolution in our country.

**1. To renew thinking, enhance the revolutionary qualities of Party cadres and members, and of the people is the main task of the ideological work**

The world today is changing rapidly. Socialism is endeavouring to demonstrate its superiority over

capitalism in every respect. For the fraternal socialist countries, renewal is the way to move forward to meet the needs of our times, to cope successfully with all trials and to satisfy the ever-increasing requirements of the people. For our country, renewal is an imperative demand of the revolutionary cause, a matter of vital significance. For many years now, there still exist in our knowledge of socialism many outdated concepts, especially those concerning industrialization, socialist transformation, economic management mechanism, distribution and circulation of products, etc. This is a cause of the slow development and concretization of the general line and the economic line in the initial stage of the transitional period. Therefore only by means of renewal, first of all renewal of our thinking, can we overcome difficulties and achieve the objectives set by the Sixth Congress.

To renew thinking, our Party must fully grasp the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, inherit the invaluable revolutionary ideological and theoretical heritage of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan and other leaders of our Party, absorb the theoretical achievements, the new and rich experience of fraternal parties and the scientific advances of our times. We must promote theoretical research work, systematically sum up the work of socialist construction and national defence, draw correct conclusions, do away with erroneous or outdated concepts. To renew thinking does not mean negating the theoretical achievements that have been recorded, nor negating

the universal laws of socialist construction and the correct lines that have been defined, but on the contrary, it does mean complementing and developing those achievements.

The documents of the Sixth Congress have demonstrated the beginning of the renewal of thinking by our Party. All of us, from leaders to ordinary Party members, in whatever field we are working, should again check our knowledge and absorb new concepts in good time, and resolutely get rid of erroneous concepts. To help every Party member and every working person thoroughly understand the resolutions of the Congress, bring about a renewal in outlook, heighten revolutionary enthusiasm in Party cadres and members, and the people at large are the first and foremost task of the ideological work.

The renewal of thinking in all fields of activity of our Party and State is both an urgent task and a regular and long-term one. The conservatism and inertness of old concepts are no small obstacles, especially when those concepts are closely tied to inveterate individualists and conservatives. Favourable social conditions should be created to ensure the process of renewal of thinking: a democratic atmosphere in society, especially in Party life, and in scientific research; the spirit of respect for the truth; an accurate information system; regular and serious criticism and self-criticism, etc. It is important to set great store by theoretical work with a view to giving the renewal of thinking a scientific content.

Together with the renewal of thinking, the ideological work must be geared to *promoting new qualities, new virtues*, enhancing love of country and socialism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist internationalism and arousing the people's revolutionary spirit. The political qualities of each person must find their expression in his firm stand in the struggle between the two roads, between us and the enemy, between the good and the bad; in his perseverance, dynamism, creativity, high sense of responsibility, efficiency in his work performance; in his faith in the people's strength and in the Party's leadership in the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks. Pessimism, vacillation, loss of confidence, disorientation, which are contrary to the fine nature of the vanguard revolutionary fighter, must be got rid of. The problem of social ethics is arising in all its urgency. In our society, a struggle is taking place between two ways of life: one that has an ideal, is healthy, honest, living by one's own labour, with a sense of respect for and defence of public property, concern for collective and national interests, and the other is characterized by utilitarianism, deceit, selfishness, parasitism and money-seeking. The forces engaged in the ideological work must actively take part in that struggle by condemning, exposing the rotten nature of the old way of life, strongly asserting and widely popularizing new moral values, promoting the formation of the new way of life.

In the world as well as in our country, the struggle between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology is going on grimly. Our enemies, both at home and abroad, are seeking every means to undermine our cause ideologically. They spread all sorts of distortions aimed at undermining our Party and our order. The communists should heighten their spirit of revolutionary offensive, keenly keep abreast with the situation and smash their slander campaign in good time. But in the past the ideological work was not effectively carried out along that line. At times, in some places, some Party members showed their passivity, indifference and helplessness before the spreading of false reports and ill-intentioned rumours, were paralysed in face of the enemy's ideological attacks. To do away with such an abnormal state of things, it is necessary to reorganize the struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare, first of all in major cities.

The effectiveness of the ideological work depends first and foremost on the leadership of Party organizations. Our Party is one in power provided with an apparatus for ideological work with material means which, though still not sophisticated, have increased considerably compared to the past, with nearly two million Party members and over 100,000 Party cells. Why then has our ideological work not produced results matching the requirements and why is the ideological front being left vacant in many places? An important cause is that many of our Party organizations have not effectively exercised or do not know how to exercise their

leadership on the ideological front, many comrades assigned to important positions in various State organs have failed to do propaganda and education work. To control the ideological front, Party Committees at all levels must know the state of mind of the people well, work out plans for the ideological work, know how to organize, foster and use the Party organs, cadres and members engaged in the ideological work and turn them into a powerful army with high combativeness.

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

The quality of Party life must be heightened in all its organizations from the centre down to the cells. The effectiveness of meetings must be manifested in two respects: working out undertakings and measures to solve different tasks, helping participants in the meeting grasp the Party's viewpoints, receive new information, experience, and knowledge, thus enhancing their sense of responsibility. Meetings with a rich content of Party committees and grassroots organizations are the prime condition for the ideological work to be carried out effectively.

Party organizations must form contingents of lecturers and propagandists whose revolutionary qualities, political and professional knowledge are constantly improved, and who are constantly fostered and used in the work of spreading the Party's lines and policies. The cause of delays in forming

such contingents was the slighting of oral popularization, the lack of a rich and interesting content and of necessary facilities for lecturers.

The task of the mass media is to spread the Party's lines and policies, keep close contacts with reality, give timely information and intensive analysis of new events, find out and truthfully depict good typical examples, wholeheartedly support and encourage new factors, bravely struggle against backwardness and sluggishness and other negative manifestations, deal with and have a good approach to essential problems of concern to society, make social public opinion healthy and encourage the masses to fulfil the revolutionary tasks with initiative.

The press is the voice of the Party, it also echoes that of the masses. As their knowledge in every field is constantly increasing, our people require of the press and other mass media that they reflect the truth, improve their quality, strengthen their mass character and combativeness, do away with simplism, monotony, superficiality, clichés and one-way information.

The quality of publishing work should be improved in both the centre and at local levels to ensure that many useful books are available. We should promptly detect, and take measures against, violations of principles and irresponsibility that result in publishing and circulating harmful literary and art works. Efforts should be made to publish a number of high-quality books on politics, science,

technology, and literary works with a relatively large circulation to provide each establishment with a good library.

Party organizations must pay attention to guiding the *cultural, literary and art work*.

No other ideological form can substitute literature and art in fostering healthy sentiments, exerting a deep impact on the renewal of people's thinking habit and way of life. Literature and art must constantly enrich themselves with the Party and people's character, they must be closely linked with the two strategic tasks of the revolution, keenly grasp the reality that is going on in a complicated way, discover in good time and commend the new, create vivid models, assert the young talents in life, bravely criticize the negative aspects that hamper social renewal. Truthfulness, the ideological and artistic characters are invariably the criteria whereby to judge the value of a socialist realistic work. Our Party demands that writers and artists constantly raise their sense of responsibility as citizens and militants, and perform their noble functions: to create spiritual values that foster the minds and sentiments of generations of citizens and shape their personality and character, and create an ethical environment in society. Criticism of literature and art should be promoted in a constructive, courageous and objective spirit, while undue deference, aberration and lack of refinement are to be done away with.

Party committees at all levels should create favourable conditions for the creative and perform-

ing activities of cultural workers, writers and artists, constantly foster their scientific world outlook and revolutionary outlook on life. We should set great store by the young forces emerging from the labour, production and fighting movements. Managerial cadres at different levels should raise their leading abilities in the domains of culture, literature and art to suit the specific features of culture, literature and art and to meet the needs of their development ; they should oppose all manifestations of constraint or laissez-faire.

An allround reform should be carried out in the *work of Party schools* to improve the quality of training and upgrading leading and managerial cadres at all levels.

The system of Party schools must focus their efforts on training successors selected under a plan, and regularly upgrade leading and managerial cadres still in office. Party Committees must have a long-term plan for training cadres which serves as a basis for training, upgrading, placing and making use of cadres. The teaching staff should be renewed, textbooks rewritten, methods of teaching and learning improved.

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

Following the Sixth Congress, a widespread study drive should be launched to make the resolutions fully understood and closely linked to the process of implementing the political tasks.

Training, upgrading and renewing the contingent of cadres in charge of ideological work should be promoted. Cadres with practical experience will be selected and assigned work in the fields of popularization and education. These cadres will be transferred to practical work for a certain period of time on a rotational basis. Attention should be paid to meeting just demands for building the infrastructure for the ideological work: newsprint audio-visual facilities, schools, teaching aids, accommodation and study aids for learners at Party schools.

## **2. Renewing the contingent of cadres, perfecting leading and managerial bodies**

Our Party has changed a part of and raised the ability of the contingent of cadres, but the change is still slow, and the quality of the contingent of cadres still has left much to be desired. Renewal of leading cadres at all levels is *the most important link* that our Party has to hold firm in order to push up reforms of revolutionary significance. Having been tempered in long struggles, many generations of cadres have matured, which serves as a basis for solving the problem of renewing cadres.

On the basis of defining concrete qualifications, it is necessary to systematically re-evaluate cadres, to arrange and strengthen the leading organs of the Party and State, the managerial organs of important economic, social, defence and security branches, the key positions in forty provinces, cities, and special zones, in over four hundred urban and rural districts, in major establishments of the national economy.

*Renewing the contingent of cadres* means re-evaluating, reselecting, rearranging, alongside training and upgrading in order to have cadres with moral, leading and managerial qualifications and being up to their tasks. To renew the contingent of cadres, first of all there must be a renovation in the cadre work and of those engaged in organizational and personnel work. The renewal of cadres should be carried out rapidly and resolutely, but hasty changes should be avoided. We should also avoid renewal for form's sake, that is, only based on age groups and academic degrees. Renewal should not be simply interpreted as a change of persons, only paying attention to new cadres, overlooking able and qualified cadres with many years of seniority.

To renew the contingent of cadres in the right way, it is necessary to renew *the concept on evaluating cadres*.

Effectiveness in the performance of political tasks must serve as a criterion whereby to judge the

cadres' qualities and abilities, and the requirements of the tasks must serve as a basis for assigning cadres.

The tasks of building socialism and defending the Homeland, first of all the task of building the economy is requiring cadres with proper qualities and abilities. Those are cadres whose political qualities have been tested, who firmly maintain the working-class stand, firmly grasp and strictly implement the lines and policies of the Party and the State, are eager to acquire new knowledge, dynamic, creative, and versed in economic and social management, with a high sense of organization and discipline. Those are cadres with good revolutionary qualities and style of leadership, first of all a sense of collectivity and democracy, coupled with decisiveness, a sense of responsibility, who go deep into the reality and the masses, care for people, set good examples of life style, are capable of uniting cadres and people and mobilizing their labour enthusiasm.

We should start from the common interests of the revolution, from the Party's unified cadre policy to select cadres in an open and aboveboard manner. All manifestations of individualism, position-seeking, self-centredness, parochialism, departmentalism and bureaucracy in cadre work will badly affect the implementation of the political tasks and Party unity. We should cease limiting the use of cadres within a locality, a branch, and refusing to take in cadres from other localities and branches.

Renewing the contingent of cadres also implies *rejuvenation*. On the basis of the already set criteria, there should be more young cadres in the leading and managerial organs, with a harmonious combination of old and young cadres in order to enhance the fighting power and the dynamism of the contingent of cadres and to ensure continuity in the leading organs. Only by doing away with the rather deep-rooted feudal concept of class, hierarchy and order, can we discover and promote young excellent cadres.

*Preparing for the contingent of successors* is a constant duty of the Party organizations that must be planned elaborately. All leading cadres have the duty to join the rest of the staff to select, train and upgrade succeeding cadres. Elderly and experienced cadres have the duty of supporting and helping the succeeding cadres. Talents are not natural products, they must be discovered and painstakingly fostered. Many talents may wilt if they are not discovered and used in the right places and at the right times. The training and upgrading of cadres must follow strict rules. That is the combination of upgrading the knowledge gained at school with practical work. It is on the basis of the strengths, weaknesses and the prospects of the cadres concerned that we should boldly appoint them to suitable positions. Then they should be constantly watched, checked on, upgraded and given conditions for attaining higher levels of maturity. The planned rotation of cadres will contribute to

the training of leading cadres with good foresight, wide knowledge, leading skills and ability.

We should combat *bureaucracy and authoritarianism* in the work of selecting and assigning cadres. Cadre work must be democratized by clear stipulations. It is the common work of different Party and State organs, not the specific job of the organs in charge of organizational and cadre work, although the work of these organs is important.

Only when *the cadre management mechanism is right* can the evaluation of cadres be accurate, good cadres discovered and promoted, bad and incompetent ones replaced, fortuitous factors, chance and unwholesome motives in the cadre work be done away with.

We should set up the job responsibility system of the Party committees for the management of key cadres at different levels, in different branches, which is considered to be an important and indispensable function of Party leading bodies. We should ensure the collective character in decision-making relating to cadres on the basis of democratically considering all opinions by the organizations and individuals concerned, together with heightening the sense of responsibility of the head of the organization. In no case should the chief be deprived of the authority and especially of the responsibility to select his subordinates. There should be stipulations on division of labour and distribution of authority in the work of cadre management; we should define the limits of authority and responsibilities, and the relations between Party organiza-

tions and State organizations, between branches and the localities, between high-level and low-level authorities; define the process of selecting, evaluating, promoting and placing cadres, thus bringing the management of cadres into regulations and good order.

### **3. To renew the working style, abide by the principles on Party organization and Party life**

Democratic centralism is the cardinal principle guiding all our organizational activities, inner-Party life and working style. The great organizational strength of our Party lies in the full implementation of this principle. Bureaucratic centralism, paternalism, authoritarianism, disregard for opinions of subordinates and failure to give full play to collective wisdom will bring about erroneous decisions and weaken the unity of the Party. Departmentalism and indiscipline would also badly affect Party leadership and State management and render them less effective.

*We should re-establish rules and regulations, strengthen discipline* in the Party and the State apparatus, scrupulously implement the Party's lines and policies, speak and act according to the resolutions of the higher levels and the collective. All Party cadres and members must observe Party discipline. All dynamism and creativity must be founded on the Party's lines and policies. The leading organs should firmly hold their right to centralized guidance and unified management, and

should not condone wrong doings. Only when discipline within the Party and in the leading State organs at various levels has been re-established can we have enough strength to re-establish order in society.

No leading official is allowed to stay outside his organization, to give himself the right to speak and act differently from decisions taken by the collective. No lower-level authority, even if it headed by a member of the Central Committee, may give itself the right to disobey or contradict instructions from a higher authority.

Collective leadership should be strengthened, and *democratic* life expanded. So many important, new and complex problems are being posed to the leading bodies. Individual knowledge and experience are limited. Any subjective, authoritarian and simplistic decision will certainly lead to mistakes. Creative experience of the grassroots and localities must be studied, opinions of the masses and of specialists and scientific workers must be listened to. All important undertakings must be collectively discussed and decided on. Leading cadres must calmly listen to opinions contrary to their own. All differing opinions must be expressed frankly and brought under democratic discussion in order to attain the truth.

*Raising the quality of Party committee activities* is an important requirement. Necessary information should be provided so that every Party committee member can firmly grasp the situation and be able to contribute to the process of decision-making.

The way to conduct a meeting should be improved in order to ensure democratic and frank discussions, with definite conclusions, if need be, by vote including secret ballot thus making every adopted resolution a product of collective wisdom that everybody is obliged to carry out. Nobody is allowed to propagate and realize a personal opinion that has been rejected by the majority.

*Promoting criticism and self-criticism* in the correct sense of the phrase is a law of development of the Party, a yardstick to measure the level of democracy in inner-Party life and the sense of responsibility of the Party toward the people.

Communists must have the courage to face the truth. In the Party, it is impossible to tolerate the attitude of hiding one's shortcomings, exaggerating one's achievements, fooling one's superiors, showing undue deference for others, or bullying and revenging one's critics. While preparations for this Congress were being made, the movement of criticism and self-criticism took place fairly widely from higher to lower levels. Some shortcomings were revealed and corrected, and the people's faith was initially consolidated. It is necessary to make criticism and self-criticism a routine in the life of all Party organizations.

Criticism and self-criticism must not be considered an opportunity for mutual attacks, it must be considered a normal Party activity, in which we can exchange opinions to help one another make progress, and to enhance unity and oneness of mind.

We should improve our working style and go deep into realities of life.

Leading cadres must spend a necessary amount of time going down to grassroots units, to meet the masses in order to study the situation, listen to their subordinates' opinions, and solve concrete matters on the spot and in time. They should go to model bases to sum up experience, and to places where there are difficulties and weaknesses in order to help them set things right.

Within the entire Party, a *system of quick and accurate information* should be established. The Party's leading organs must be kept fully informed of the situation and the content of the issues they are in charge of before they can make decisions.

*Control* is a main leading function of the Party, an important link in organizing the execution of decisions. This is an effective measure to do away with bureaucratism. All organizations, from those of the Party and State to those of masses, all fields of activity, from economic and social ones to those of national defence, security and external relations without any exception, must be put under the control of the competent Party organization. The Party Central Committee and other committees must firmly hold control work, use the result of control work in guiding the implementation of resolutions. Each Party committee, in regular periods, must work out a control programme focused on the main tasks and important units. The role of the Control Commission and other commissions of the Party should be put to use and given full

play, Party control, State inspection and control by the masses should be closely combined; control work must lead to definite conclusions and a correct settlement.

We have initially established rules for the work of Party and State organizations. It is necessary to draw experience to complement and complete these rules. There should be specific stipulations and practice of some rules for inner-Party work and life, first of all, rules regarding meetings, control, criticism and self-criticism and contacts with the masses.

#### **4. Enhancing the quality of Party members, struggling against negative manifestations**

Together with heightening abilities and tempering style, there must be drastic change in the work of forging and raising the revolutionary qualities of Party cadres and members.

Every communist must learn all his life, following the exemplary virtues and style of Uncle Ho, the great teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, bear in mind and act upon his teachings, heighten his revolutionary qualities and fight individualism, thereby proving worthy of his position as a leader and a truly loyal servant to the people.

Let us preserve and uphold the noble title of Communist Party member. Let everybody think and act for the sake of the communist ideal, in the revolution's interests, not for the sake of position and personal interests. That ideal must find a

concrete expression in every Party member's job, fight, study, and lifestyle. Honesty, aversion for hypocrisy, talking less and doing more, matching deeds with words, facing the truth, telling the truth, not concealing one's shortcomings, these qualities must be constantly emphasized and fostered. We should work out stipulations to curb the habit of bombast and exaggerating achievements, take sanctions against cadres and organizations that "turn in good reports on their foul doings", take a severe attitude toward opportunists, self-seekers, flatterers and those who like to be flattered. All Party cadres and members must respect the principle of collective leadership, respect the people's right to mastery. Authoritarianism, overbearingness and bullying the masses must be condemned and punished.

In thought as well as in deeds, we must *thoroughly fight corruption, abuse of privileges and prerogatives*. Let every Party cadre and member, with the conscience of a communist, check whether they are leading a healthy life and living on the fruits of their labour. Money-seeking thought and action, selfishness, violations of socialist property and the people's interests, stealing of public property, using public property for gift-giving, wasteful feasts and "internal distribution of goods" — all this must be criticized and sternly dealt with.

The education and fostering of Party cadres and members must materialize in the programmes of work and practical activities of the Party Central Committee and committees at all levels, of grass-roots organizations. Leading cadres must set good

examples in their life style. The higher one's position is, the greater the requirements for setting examples. Nobody has the right to give himself privileges and prerogatives. All practices concerning the supply of provisions and articles for daily use which are stipulated by the branches and localities themselves and which contradict general stipulations must be abolished immediately.

Each Party committee must concretely and accurately know the qualities of every cadre under its control. The Party cells must check and control the qualities and working style of Party members, including leading cadres.

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

It is necessary to make public in newspapers, radio broadcasts or in Party and mass organization meetings a number of cases of Party cadres and members, including high-ranking officials, making serious breaches of moral standards. By so doing, we will strengthen the people's faith in the Party.

Provincial and district Party Committees cannot authorize their grassroots organizations, especially the weak ones, to do the work of selecting Party members, but they should give direct guidance first

of all to those establishments that hold State property or those associated with the political and material life of the masses. Following this Party Congress, it is necessary to have a plan to launch a campaign to purify the Party, overcome manifestations of corruption in the State apparatus and drive back negative phenomena in society. A Party Central Committee session will specifically discuss the Party-building work.

#### **5. Enhancing the fighting power of grassroots Party organizations**

Carrying out the Party undertakings and policies, bringing into full play the masses' right to collective mastery, improving the qualities of Party members, etc., all these important tasks lie in the fighting power of the grassroots Party organizations. The achievements that have been obtained, the potentialities that have been tapped, and valuable experience all stem from the endeavours of the masses at the grassroots, with basic Party organizations as the leading core. However, the deficiencies of many grassroots Party organizations have restricted our revolutionary gains.

Basic Party organizations should closely control all activities in grassroots units and ensure that they conform to the lines and policies of the Party and State. In a grassroots unit which operates under the one-man leadership system, the basic Party organization must correctly discharge its function

as the supervisor of everyone's work, including that of the leading cadre. Periodically, the Party committee must work out programmes of supervision and know how to organize the forces, mobilize Party members, specialized cadres and the masses to take part in supervisory work. We should select and appoint Party committee secretaries who can match the managerial leader in both qualities and abilities.

Mass work plays an important role in all the activities of the grassroots Party organizations. Each Party cell and member should pay attention to the political and ideological education of the masses, and, by a communist's exemplary deeds, inspire the masses to strive hard to fulfil their tasks in labour production and combat. It is necessary to facilitate the masses' participation in Party building, in making suggestions and criticism on the activities of the Party cell, checking on the qualifications of Party members, spotting those who are no longer qualified as Party members, and recommending outstanding people for admission to the Party. We must widely carry the practice of criticism of the Party cells and members by the masses once a year at the summing-up meeting.

The grassroots Party organization, first of all the Party cell, should pay attention to educating and tempering Party members. The Party cell should organize well the assignment of Party members; every Party member should be assigned a task, which he or she should fulfil well.

Retired Party members are increasing in number and making up a big part of city ward and communal Party organizations. We should keep them informed of current events and policies, and assign them tasks suited to their abilities and health conditions.

While resolutely expelling unqualified members from the Party we must recruit new members among outstanding people, those who emerge from the masses' revolutionary movement. Our Party membership is large, but unevenly distributed. We should therefore keep attaching great importance to recruiting new Party members while making a rational transfer and distribution of Party members. It is important to ensure membership qualifications right in the process of selecting and admitting people to the Party. As for weak and inefficient grassroots organizations, higher Party committees should give them concrete instructions to help strengthen them before new Party members are admitted.

As the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is the Party's reserve force, grassroots Party organizations must pay attention to educating and tempering Youth Union members, and to help each members live and work in line with the Union's ideal. The Union is the main source for recruiting new Party members.

We should pay attention to increasing the percentage of workers, women and ethnic minority nationals while recruiting new Party members and training cadres.

## **6. Strengthening Party unity and oneness of mind**

Our Party has a fine tradition of unity and oneness of mind. In the course of the revolution, through thick and thin, and at the turning-points of history, our Party has always been united as one in thought and action. That is why it has been able to unite broad masses of the people and lead the revolution to glorious victories.

While laying stress on the Party's unity and oneness of mind as its essence, we should not underestimate the impact exerted by a number of negative factors. There is lack of consensus on a number of viewpoints and lack of coordination in the working style and relationship among a number of leading cadres at various levels. Parochialism and departmentalism are rampant. Owing to the characteristics of our revolutionary struggle, the formation and growth of the contingent of cadres in different parts and regions present some discrepancies. They have therefore some difficulties in fully understanding one another. The enemy and bad elements have taken advantage of this state of things to incite the people and stir up division.

It is always a matter of vital interest for the revolution to strengthen the political, ideological and organizational unity and oneness of mind based on Marxism-Leninism, on our Party's policies, viewpoints, and organizational principles.

Party unity is not for form's sake; it must be based on the struggle to defend the Party's lines and viewpoints. Unity does not mean absence of

difference in opinion. Consensus can only be reached through exchange of opinions and discussions. If our views still differ, realities will clarify them and will help us reach a higher degree of consensus. But in Party life, we must abide by the principle of democratic centralism, collective leadership, and individual responsibility: submission of the minority to the majority, of the individual to the organization, of the lower level to the higher one, and of the whole Party to the Central Committee.

We should pay attention to preserving unity in the Party's leading organs, thereby strengthening the unity of the whole Party. Our Party is determined to do all it can to preserve and bring into full play the Party's tradition of unity, to put into practice President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people. Our comrades, from the Central Committee down to the Party cell, must preserve the Party unity and oneness of mind as they do the apple of the eye."

*Dear comrades,*

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam marks the Party's important renewal of its political, ideological and organizational leadership, and that has a great significance in further strengthening our Party's unity.

Numerous difficulties still lay ahead of us, but our Party and people have the necessary conditions to overcome them and to take our glorious revolutionary cause further forward.

Our Party is a contingent of fighters who are politically mature and acquiring new experience.

Ours is a revolutionary people. They have had close ties with the Party in our long struggle, defeated all forces of aggression, liberated the country and reunified the Homeland.

It is our Party and people's precious tradition, in face of difficulties and trials, to enhance their unity and oneness of mind, to fight heroically for the independence and freedom of the Homeland, and for the lofty ideals of communism.

In 1990, we will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the 45th anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the centenary of the great President Ho Chi Minh's birth. Let our entire Party, people and armed forces turn their thoughts towards those days, continue to act upon his Testament by launching a movement of seething and effective revolutionary activities and striving to fulfil the 1986-90 Five-Year Plan.

All for our socialist Homeland, for the happiness of our people!

**RESOLUTION**

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, having discussed the Political Report of the Central Committee (Fifth Congress) delivered by General Secretary Truong Chinh and the report of the Central Committee on the main guidelines and targets for socio-economic development for the five years 1986 — 90, affirms its determination to renew the Party's leading work in the revolutionary and scientific spirit.

The Congress highly values the process of democratization of the political life of our Party and people during the preparations for and the conduct of the Congress. Party members and compatriots at home and abroad have made constructive and diversified suggestions to the Central Committee, and put forward judicious proposals, helping our Party to reach decisions enabling us to meet the requirements of the present stage of revolution.

The Congress marks a major shift in direction in the process of continuing and renewing the Party's leadership politically, ideologically and organizationally, and of further strengthening the unity within the Party, and the link between the Party and the people.

The Congress fully agrees with the conclusion of the Central Committee in assessing the situation,

summing up experience and defining the tasks, objectives and policies and guidelines with a view to taking the revolutionary cause forward.

The Congress decides:

— To adopt the Political Report of the Central Committee. The whole Party should abide by the standpoints and conclusions expressed in the Report, and strive for the successful implementation of the tasks set out.

— To adopt the main content of the Report of the Central Committee on the guidelines and objectives for socio-economic development in the years 1986 — 90 regarding it as basis for directing the construction work and organizing the implementation of the five-year plan.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam notes that: The past five years were a path beset with trials for our Party and people. The revolution in our country took place in the context of fundamental international and domestic advantages, but was fraught with difficulties and complexities. While implementing the tasks and objectives set by the Party's Fifth Congress, our people have made tremendous efforts, overcome difficulties and obstacles, recorded *important achievements* in socialist construction, and won *great victories* in the fight for the defence of the Homeland and for the fulfilment of their international duty. Many fairly good production and business establishments and excellent units have emerged;

a number of localities and branches, with dynamism and creativeness, have recorded encouraging achievements.

The achievements recorded in the fulfilment of the two strategic tasks, together with the strengthening of the relations of solidarity and overall cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea, and the other countries in the socialist community, the widening of friendship and cooperation with national independent countries and the forces of peace and progress, have created *new factors for the advance of our revolution.*

These achievements, stemming from the Party's lines defined at the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, are the results of the persevering and steadfast endeavours of our entire Party, people and army.

The Congress vehemently commends the people of all ethnic groups throughout the country, the working class, collective peasantry, socialist intelligentsia, and other strata of the working people and the people's armed forces who, in very hard and difficult conditions, have upheld revolutionary heroism, the spirit of collective mastery, of hard work and creativeness, displayed courage and resourcefulness, and recorded new successes and feats-of-arms.

The Congress warmly welcomes our overseas compatriots who always turn their thoughts to the Homeland and are making active contributions to the cause of building the country.

The Congress expresses the heartfelt gratitude of our Party and people for the great assistance of the Soviet Union, the wholehearted assistance of fraternal Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries, the sympathy and support of friendly countries, international organizations and progressive people throughout the world.

While affirming the successes already recorded, we are fully aware that our socio-economic situation is faced with tremendous difficulties: slow increase in production, low production and investment efficiency; many disturbances in distribution and circulation of products; delays in adjusting the great imbalances in the economy; slow strengthening of socialist relations of production, difficulties in the working people's life; negative manifestations in many localities, especially in some places they are very serious.

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

The Congress has not under-estimated the objective difficulties; it has severely pointed out that the subjective causes of the above-mentioned situation are the mistakes and shortcomings in the leadership and management of the Party and State.

We have had shortcomings in assessing the concrete situations in the country and in defining the objectives and the initial stage of socialist construction. In the years 1976 — 80 we in fact under-

took to promote industrialization while the necessary premises for it were not yet available, we displayed both hastiness and laissez-faire in socialist transformation; we were slow in renewing the already outdated mechanism of economic management. In the 1981 — 85 period, we did not correctly implement the judicious conclusions of our Fifth Party Congress on concretization of the economic line in the initial stage; we were not sufficiently resolved to do away with the manifestations of wishful thinking, hastiness, conservatism and sluggishness in laying out the economic structure, in socialist transformation and economic management. Moreover, we made new and serious mistakes in the fields of distribution and circulation of products. We slackened proletarian dictatorship in social and economic management, in the ideological and cultural struggle, in the fight against the enemy's wicked schemes and acts of sabotage.

The above-mentioned mistakes were serious ones in *major undertakings and policies, in strategic guidance and organization for implementation.*

The main ideological trends leading to these mistakes, especially mistakes in the economic policy, are wishful thinking and voluntarism, simplism in thinking and action, hastiness, laissez-faire in economic and social management, failure to strictly observe the Party's line and principles. Those were manifestations of both 'left' and 'right' deviations of the *petty bourgeois ideology.*

The mistakes and shortcomings in the economic and social fields originated in shortcomings in the *ideological, organizational and cadre work of the Party.*

In the ideological field, there is a lag in theoretical perception and weakness in applying the laws of the period of transition to socialism in our country. In organization, the greatest shortcoming is the lack of programming and slow renewal of cadres; the principle of democratic centralism has been violated in Party life, the style of leading and working are fraught with bureaucratism; the apparatus is too big, overlapping and ineffective; the education and management of cadres and Party members are not close enough.

From the practice of past years, our Party has drawn valuable lessons of experience, particularly the following: *First*, in all its activities, the Party must implement the idea "to rely on the people as the roots", and promote the working people's right to collective mastery. *Second*, the Party must always proceed from reality, observe and act upon objective laws. *Third*, we should know how to combine the forces of the nation and those of the times in the new conditions. *Fourth*, we should take care to build the Party up to the level of a party in power, leading the people in the socialist revolution.

The Central Committee (Sixth Congress) and Party organizations of all levels, in their activities, should thoroughly grasp and earnestly apply the

above lessons, strive hard to meet the new requirements of the revolutionary cause, lead the people to develop successes, overcome difficulties, and create radical changes in national development.

The Congress affirms that *the whole Party, people and armed forces, united as one, are determined to devote all their spiritual and material forces to continue carrying out the two strategic tasks, namely successfully building socialism and firmly defending our socialist Homeland of Vietnam* and at the same time contributing to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our people will continue to do their best to strengthen solidarity and raise the quality and effectiveness of their all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, unceasingly strengthen and develop their special alliance with Laos and Kampuchea, regarding it as a sacred international duty, a task of strategic importance linked to the vital interests of independence, freedom and socialism of the three fraternal countries on the Indochinese peninsula.

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

The stabilization of the socio-economic situation implies stabilization and development of production, stabilization of distribution and circulation of products, stabilization and gradual improvement of the material and cultural life of the people, enhancing the effectiveness of organization and management, establishment of order and discipline and materialization of social justice.

The concrete objectives are: to produce enough for consumption and accumulation; to create a rational economic structure so as to develop production; to take a step further in building and strengthening the new relations of production; to bring about changes for the better in social life; and to satisfy the needs of strengthening national defence and security.

While attaching prime importance to the task of socialist construction, the Congress affirms that the whole Party, people and armed forces must heighten vigilance, strengthen the defence capacity and the security of the country, be determined to defeat the enemy multi-faceted war of sabotage and to hold the initiative in all circumstances for the defence of the Homeland.

The Congress entrusts the Central Committee (Sixth Congress) with guiding the implementation of the tasks set in the Political Report. The following tasks are to be emphasized:

1. To elaborate and organize the implementation of the **three programmes on grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods and exports** so as to achieve the following targets by the end of the initial stage:

— To meet the needs of society in foodgrain, and to have some reserves; to meet in a stable way the essential needs in foodstuffs. The level of consumption of grain and foodstuffs should be high enough to ensure the reproduction of the work force.

— To satisfy the demands in staple consumer goods.

— To turn out a number of main exports, to rapidly increase the export value in order to cover a major part of import requirement in materials, machinery, spare parts and other necessary goods.

The three target programmes constitute the main content of the five-year plan for 1986—90, and require a high concentration of human and material resources for their implementation. We should combine the building of the economic-technical branches with developing the strong points of each region, province and city along the line of expanding the production and circulation of goods, paying great attention to building the economy on the district scale, correctly utilizing and integrating the various economic sectors while promoting the leading role of the State sector.

The implementation of these programmes necessitates a balance between objectives, means and measures and an harmonious deployment of the organization of production, science and technology, and economic policies.

These three programmes guide the streamlining of the national economic into a proper structure, first of all the re-arrangement of the production

structure and the major adjustment of the investment structure so as to make effective use of the labour potential, the land and the currently available material and technical bases.

We should ensure that agriculture, as well as forestry and fishery, be the forefront and given priority in the provision of investment, energy, materials and working skills, first of all in the key areas, so as to achieve high economic efficiency. We should strive to develop light industry, small industry and handicrafts so as to meet the needs for common consumer goods, processed agricultural, forestry and marine products; rapidly increase the quantity of sub-contracted goods for export and other export items. We should continue to build a number of heavy industry establishments and substructures, first of all for the energy industry, communications and transport, in accordance with the real conditions so as to practically serve the objectives in economy and national defence in the initial stage and preparing the premises for promoting industrialization in the next stage. Service activities in production, circulation, daily life and tourism should be widened.

The activities in the fields of science and technology, natural and social sciences, should be promoted and closely combined. We should increase the level of investment while renewing the managerial mechanism and reorganizing the contingent of scientific and technological workers, closely associating them with production and daily life, thus bringing about practical results and making them

part of the social productive forces. Scientific and technological advances should be widely applied with a view, first of all, to serving the three programmes.

We should promptly amend and complement the economic policies, especially those concerning the provision of materials, circulation of goods, prices, taxes, credit, money and salaries, with a view to encouraging the enterprises, workers, peasants, and handicraft producers to eagerly develop production.

We should broaden and heighten the effectiveness of the external economic relations, promote export to meet the needs for import, widen our participation in the international labour division, first of all and mainly by promoting the all-sided relations in labour division and cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, and with other member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We should take the initiative in cooperating with the fraternal countries in charting and implementing the CMEA programme for assistance to Vietnam, and the CMEA General Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress till the year 2000. We should actively develop economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other countries, with international organizations and private organizations abroad on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. We should seriously observe our commitments in external economic relations.

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

3. The economic management mechanism should be renewed with a view to creating a driving force that would make the economic units and the

working masses eagerly develop production, enhance productivity, quality and economic effectiveness. We should resolutely do away with the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on State subsidies, establish in a balanced manner the planning mechanism in accordance with socialist cost-accounting and business transaction in strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism. The new mechanism shall make planning its centre-piece and the correct use of commodities-currency relations and economic measures its main form of control combined with administrative and educational measures. It shall effect the division of managerial power on the principle of democratic centralism and establish order and discipline in all economic activities.

The renewal of planning must ensure the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Congress on the streamlining of the economy and of the production structure, and a major adjustment of the investment structure. The plan must be worked out from grassroots level upward under the guidance and regulation of the centre in order to ensure a positive and realistic balance. We should closely combine branch planning and territorial planning. Economic contracts between production and business units must be guaranteed by the State economic arbitration system.

We should make full and appropriate use of economic levers in economic planning and management, on the basis of harmonious combination of the interests of the entire society, of the collectives

and of individual producers. The income of the collective and of individual producers depends on the results of their labour and the economic efficiency of their activities. Policies and regulations on the control of materials, labour, consumption of products, pricing, finance, credit, wages, etc., are to steer economic activities to implementing the objectives of the country's economic plan and create conditions and raise the demand for all economic units to do well cost-accounting and business transactions and all organizations and people to practise thrift in production and consumption.

The division of managerial responsibilities must be based on the principles of democratic centralism. Efforts should be made to overcome manifestations of bureaucratic centralism, indiscipline, regionalism, and selfishness. The right to autonomy in production, business transactions and finances of grassroots economic establishments and the production collectives' right to mastery must be ensured. Management bodies from the centre down to urban wards and villages should correctly perform their financial and economic management functions and should not interfere in production and business undertakings of grassroots units. The efficiency of centrally-run, unified and concentrated management should be ensured in spheres of national importance. At the same time, efforts should be made to ensure the initiative of local authorities at various levels in the economic and social management on a territorial basis.

**4. Resolutely resolve pressing problems relating to distribution and circulation of products with the following main measures:**

The productive capacities must be released. Efforts should be focused on ensuring supply of raw materials and renovation of concrete policies aimed at strongly stimulating the production of essential goods and items which bring major sources of revenue for the State budget.

The State should closely control raw materials and goods turned out or imported by the State-run economic establishments, issue rational pricing policies and judicious modes of purchase and sale so as to have a firm hold on commodities and money. The socialist trade should be really shifted to commercial undertaking with ever higher quality of service aimed at taking control of the market. The central authorities should work out a decentralized system of price-fixing and price-control in keeping with the practical situation, ensure the normal operation of production establishments and the initiative of socialist trade in buying and selling.

To rapidly increase the volume of goods in circulation, we should expand the interflow of goods and do away with measures of restricting and splitting up the market according to administrative territories. We should promptly find out and severely punish speculators and traffickers.

We must markedly reduce the budget deficit by creating sources of revenue and increasing the turnover in conformity with our policies. Efforts should

be made to cut back on expenditures, cancel or postpone spendings on what is not in urgent need, gradually reduce and eventually end the issuing of banknotes for budget expenditure. We should enforce the control of money in circulation, draw in idle money kept by the people, and achieve quick turn-around of funds. At the same time, modes of clearance without the use of cash should be expanded in service of production and business transactions.

Diversified measures should be taken by the State to ensure the real wages of the working people and adequate supply of essential things for the army.

These measures should be taken in a homogeneous manner to step by step redress the balance between the volume of goods and money in circulation with a view to solving the pivotal issue, namely gradually reduce then put an end to inflation. On this basis, we will lower the tempo of price increase, stabilize prices and the purchasing power of money, reduce difficulties, and gradually stabilize the working people's life, first of all wage- and salary-earners.

In line with the above-mentioned orientation, the Party Central Committee (Sixth Congress) should promptly decide on concrete undertakings and policies, guide all branches and all levels to strictly observe them, with a view to effecting changes for the better in a given period of time.

## **5. Build and organize the implementation of social policies in a practical and efficient manner**

Our social policies aim to bring into full play all capabilities of the people and regard serving the people as the highest objective. To belittle social policies is tantamount to slight the human factor in socialist construction and national defence.

The primary economic and social task in the years ahead is to ensure employment for all working people, especially in urban centres, and for young people. The State should strive to create more jobs and carry out policies aimed at enabling the working people to create legitimate jobs for themselves. The rational reallocation and redistribution of workforce should be made in each region and in the country as a whole. The Labour Act should be promulgated. We should strive to reduce the annual population growth rate to 1.7 per cent by 1990.

Social justice must be exercised in accordance with the practical conditions. Social security should be ensured and order and discipline should be quickly restored in all spheres of social life. The motto "Live and work according to law" should be acted upon. Persons engaged in illicit undertakings must be severely punished.

The quality of education should be raised to shape and develop comprehensively the socialist personality of the younger generation, train a contingent of working people endowed with cultural

and technical knowledge, a high sense of discipline and creativeness, rationally distributed among different trades and branches, and meeting the need for the division of social workforce.

Efforts should be made to promote the quality of cultural, literary and artistic activities and build a socialist culture, literature and art imbued with the national character.

The network and quality of public healthcare and physical training and sports should be widened and improved, especially at the grassroots level, to better satisfy the demands of healthcare.

We should implement well the policy toward disabled soldiers, families of fallen combatants, families of cadres and army men now working or fighting at the front, families which have rendered meritorious services to the revolution, and retired cadres, workers and public servants. A socialist social insurance policy toward the entire people should be worked out and implemented step by step on the "joint efforts of the State and the people" pattern.

With regard to workers and public employees, a rational wage and salary system and necessary social allowances should be to ensure the material and cultural life of the working people and their families.

With regard to peasants, the relations between their interests and obligations toward the country should be dealt with satisfactorily. We should re-examine policies concerning peasants and annul inappropriate ones.

As regards intellectuals, the most important thing is to correctly appraise their capabilities and create favourable conditions for them to utilize and develop their creativeness.

We must strictly implement the Party's policy on nationalities. More investment should be made and concrete economic and social policies applied with a view to bringing into full play the capabilities of the mountain regions in economic construction and cultural development and the care for the people of ethnic groups.

Favourable conditions should be created for overseas Vietnamese to build a united community which, while merging with the host society, keeps close ties with the Homeland, and makes ever bigger contributions to national construction.

#### **6. Enhance our country's national defence and security capabilities**

We should enhance the strength of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship, closely combine economy with national defence and inversely, speed up the building of the all-people's national defence, further strengthen the people's armed forces and the rear areas; promote education on all-people's national defence; make the people's army a regular and ever more modern one; build the militia and reserve forces, build the people's war array, strictly observe the Military Service Law and other policies regarding the rear areas. We should strengthen the organization for maintaining national

sovereignty and firmly defending the borders, air-space, territorial waters and offshore islands; build and strengthen the border defence forces; care for the army's spiritual and material life, and strengthen the good relationship between the armed forces and the people.

The defence of political security, the maintenance of social order and security should be carried out with the strength of all forces by all possible means, in every field and unit. The security forces should be made pure and strong and firmly rooted in the masses, with ever higher professional standard and absolutely loyal to the Homeland and the people. We should organize the masses' movement to safeguard the Homeland's security, make factories, offices, city precincts, villages, urban and rural districts safe in all fields, thereby forming safe areas and front-lines in the localities, purify and strengthen our ranks, check and punish the enemy's acts of economic, political, ideological, and cultural sabotage, as well as their intelligence and espionage activities.

We should enhance the role of the Party and the effectiveness of its leadership, institutionalize the Party's line and policies concerning national defence and security. Party committees and administrative organs at all levels should have a good grasp of the tasks of national defence and security and guide their implementation, considering it as their permanent important duty.

## 7. Intensify activities in external relations

We should combine the strength of our nation with that of our times in the interests of our people and in view of our internationalist obligations. We should struggle to preserve peace in Indochina, thus contributing to the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia, in Asia and the Pacific, and in the world, against the policies of arms race and nuclear war threat of the imperialist circles, and elicit favourable international conditions for the building of socialism and for the defence of our Homeland. We should develop and enhance the special relationship between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; unite with each other and respect each other's independence and sovereignty; promote multiform cooperation and mutual assistance to build and defend the Homeland. Solidarity and multiform cooperation with the Soviet Union is the key-stone of the foreign policy of our Party and State; we should promote the relations of friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries; make contributions to enhancing the strength and influence of the socialist community.

We should enhance the unity of the international communist and working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; promote the cooperation among fraternal parties in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. We should widen our relations with international organizations; strongly support the movement for national libera-

tion and independence, against imperialism, colonialism and racism; widen our relations with all other countries on the principles of peaceful co-existence. We are ready, in the spirit of equality, guarantee for the independence, and sovereignty of each other and mutual respect to negotiate to settle problems related to the Sino-Vietnamese relations, to normalize the relations and restore the friendship between the two countries in the interests of the peoples of the two countries, and of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

**8. Bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery, raise the efficiency in management by the socialist state**

Under the leadership of our Party, we should strengthen and promote the role of the Fatherland Front and mass organizations, first and foremost the Trade Unions, the Communist Youth Union, the Women's Union, and the Collective Peasants' Association. We should renew the content and working style of the mass organizations, vigorously turning to the grassroots units so that the majority of the people can take part in revolutionary movements. We should build up the contingent of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and pay attention to the education of younger generation; enhance the unity of the whole people, of all ethnic groups and religious bodies, realise socialist democracy, respect and ensure the citizens' rights, fight red-tape authoritarianism and bullying

of the masses in leading and managerial bodies at all levels; regularly put into practice the mottoes "let the people know, discuss, work and control", "all for the people and by the people." We should encourage and organize the masses to participate in economic and social management, and in economic reforms. Through the emulation movement for socio-economic development, we should train and foster the new man, build up new labour collectives, discover and foster young talents.

*Raise the effectiveness in management by the State*

We should uphold the position and role of the National Assembly and the People's Council at all levels, create conditions for the people-elected bodies to correctly discharge their functions, duties and rights as stipulated in the Constitution, strengthen socialist legality and management of society by the law. The duties, rights and obligations of the State organs should be clearly defined for each level on the principles of democratic centralism, making distinction between the function for administrative-economic management and that for production-business management, combining the management by branches with that by localities and regions. We must streamline the State managerial apparatus to enable it to institutionalize the Party's lines and undertakings into laws and specific policies, build and organize the implementation of the State plans, effectively manage and direct social and economic activities, maintain law, discipline and social order and security.

**9. Build the Party to raise it to the level of a party in power with the heavy responsibility of leading the entire people to successfully realize two strategic tasks**

Building the Party to make it powerful politically, ideologically and organizationally is a decisive factor for the development of our country's revolution. The main task of the ideological work is to renew our thinking in all aspects of activity of the Party and the State, first of all to renew economic thinking, raise the revolutionary quality of cadres, Party members, foster the love for country and socialism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and awaken the masses' revolutionary will. We should renew the Party's organizational and cadre work, the working style, maintain the organizational and operational principles in the Party, raise Party members' quality and resolutely expel from the Party all those who are not sufficiently qualified as Party members, and heighten the fighting capacity of the Party's grassroots organizations.

We should democratize the cadre work, constantly assess, select and assign cadres while training and fostering them through studies and practical activities so as to have a contingent of cadres sufficiently qualified in moral and competent in leadership and management. We should pay attention to rejuvenate the contingent of successors.

We should seriously observe democratic centralism in Party life, raise the quality of Party Committee

work at all levels. We should push ahead criticism and self-criticism in its right sense as a law of development of the Party, a yardstick to measure the democratic level in Party life and the sense of responsibility of the Party towards the people.

We should upgrade the Party's educational and control work. Party members should think and act for the ideal of Communism, in the interests of the revolution; fight opportunism under all forms, fight individualism, position- and interest-seeking departmentalism, parochialism; fight corruption, and the scramble for privileges and prerogatives. Party cadres and members who do not care for the people's interests, but only seek their personal interests are not worthy of being in the Party's ranks.

We should promote unity and oneness of mind in the political, ideological and organizational fields, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the Party's line and viewpoints. We should take care to maintain unity among the leading bodies of the Party, and on that basis, enhance the cohesion of the entire Party. We should preserve the unity and oneness of mind within the Party as we preserve the apple of the eye.

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

That programme must interpret the wisdom of our entire Party and people, and shall be submitted to our Seventh Party Congress.

#### **10. Raise the efficiency of guidance and direction**

Proceeding from the demand of fully implementing all the tasks set by the Congress, the Party Central Committee elected by the Sixth Congress should take drastic measures to raise the leading and guiding efficiency of the Party and State apparatus. The most important links to be grasped are to make and enforce in time all the concrete policies, particularly economic policies, streamline the organization from the centre down to the grassroots levels so as to conform to the new tasks, assign cadres with good qualities and capacities to carry out the tasks, re-establish order and discipline in economic and social activities, launch mass movements to carry on vigorous and continuous revolutionary activities.

The Party Central Committee should direct the entire Party and society to undertake *a campaign to purify and raise the fighting capacity of the Party organizations, purify and raise the efficiency of the management of the State bodies; push back and do away with all negative phenomena, make social relations wholesome and observe social justice*

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam demonstrates the Party's determination to raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to march forward on the way charted by President Ho Chi Minh, mobilize the entire Party, people and army to strive for independence, freedom and socialism. All the Vietnamese communists are determined to be worthy of their leading position in this glorious revolutionary cause.

The Congress calls on our entire Party, people and armed forces to unite closely around the Party Central Committee, make the greatest efforts to promote the achievements already recorded, strive courageously to overcome all difficulties and trials, translate the Party's Resolution into reality and make new progress in all fields of socio-economic life.

The year 1990 will be the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the birth centenary of the great President Ho Chi Minh. Let an enthusiastic revolutionary movement be launched throughout the country to fulfil the 1986—90 Five-Year Plan and to record ever greater victories for our revolutionary cause!

All for the socialist Homeland, for the people's happiness!

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