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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 5, May 1982

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## UNDER THE GREAT PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S BANNER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 1-3

[Editorial]

[Text] This year, our entire party, army and people celebrate President Ho's birth anniversary in a joyful and enthusiastic atmosphere of greeting the success of the fifth party congress.

Continuing to implement President Ho's sacred testament, the fifth party congress reviewed the revolutionary movement in our country over the past years; outlined the strategic tasks for the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage; set forth the guidelines, tasks and main economic and social objectives for the 1981-85 5-year period and the 1980's; decided policies and measures on the development of the party with a view to increasing the party's combativity; and elected a new party Central Committee. The congress was a new milestone on the path of long-term revolutionary struggle of our people for national independence and socialism.

Since President Ho's passing away, acting on his sacred testament our entire party and all our armed forces and people have struggled arduously and registered great victories. We have defeated the U.S. imperialists and completely liberated the southern part of the fatherland. We have unified the country quickly on the state level, promulgated the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and established a system of dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the country. We have fought and defeated the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists and their lackeys on the northern and southwestern fronts, defending firmly the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland. We have restored, transformed and built the economy; transformed and developed culture; and maintain political security. We have strengthened the militant alliance and formed a firm and steady interdependent posture of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries. We have strengthened militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the socialist community. The position of our country has been enhanced in the world arena. These victories have brought our revolution to a new, more stable strategic position compared to the past, creating greater possibilities for firmly defending the fatherland and successfully building socialism.

At present, our country, while enjoying peace, has to cope with a multifaceted war of sabotage waged by the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. Our entire party and all our soldiers and people now have two strategic tasks: Successfully building socialism and standing combat ready to defend firmly the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Only by fulfilling these two strategic tasks will we be able to fully implement President Ho's testament.

Building socialism is our primary task. Success in building socialism will make our country powerful and prosperous and enable our people to live a plentiful and happy life. President Ho has advised us in his testament: "Our party must devise very sound plans for developing the economy and culture in order to improve constantly the people's living standards." Continuing to act on his behest, the fifth party congress outlined the orientation and tasks to further develop the national economy, readjust the economic structure and push forward socialist transformation with a view to basically stabilizing the economic and social situation and meeting the most pressing and essential requirements in our people's material and cultural life. The number one target of the economic program devised by the congress is to solve the food problem of our society firmly and steadily and to satisfy adequately clothing needs and other essential demands of the people. Let us do our best to implement the resolutions of the congress and successfully build socialism in our country so that our people will enjoy a plentiful and happy life, as President Ho has long expected.

Social construction goes along with the defense of the socialist fatherland. Lenin has said that a revolution is of value only when it is capable of defending itself. President Ho said on his visit to King Hung's temple: "The Hung Dynasty founded the nation, you and I must join hands in defending it." The fifth party congress also outlined our people's immediate tasks in national defense, namely, to resolutely defeat the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists' multifaceted war of sabotage, successfully perform the task of maintaining political security, public order and social safety, while ensuring that the country is always powerful enough and ready to triumph over the enemy in all eventualities. Defending the fatherland is the sacred right and obligation of every citizen. Implementing the resolutions of the congress, let every Vietnamese citizen heighten vigilance and combat readiness in order to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

To fulfill these strategic tasks, it is imperative to strengthen the combativity and improve the leadership abilities of the party. Achieving unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the party's revolutionary line is a prime requirement of the party-building task. President Ho taught us in his testament: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and our people. All comrades from the Central Committee to chapters should preserve the party's unity as they do the apple of their eye." President Ho further advised: "Our party is a ruling party. Every party member and cadre must truly be imbued with revolutionary ethics and be frugal, incorruptible and absolutely impartial. It is necessary to keep our party absolutely pure so as to be worthy as the leader and the faithful servant of the people. Imbued with President Ho's views on party building, the fifth party congress has set forth the key current party-building

task, namely to continue to enhance the party's working class character and make the party strong in political, ideological and organizational aspects. This is necessary to ensure the successful implementation of the party's line. We must improve the party's leadership abilities in the cause of socialist construction and national defense. We must make our party constantly maintain its revolutionary and scientific nature so that it will remain as a truly pure party that has a high combativity and which is attached closely to the people. Implementing the resolution of the congress on the party-building task, let us endeavor to make this task a success and help the party fulfill its duties satisfactorily in the new stage.

We are now in a fairly complex situation. We have won great victories and scored great achievements, but we have also committed some mistakes concerning policies and economic management, and we are faced with numerous difficulties. The demands concerning the people's daily life, the defense of the country and the building of material and technical bases of socialism are particularly urgent and great. The new stage has imposed difficult but very glorious tasks on us. Our party and people, having gone through a protracted and arduous revolutionary struggle, are experienced in overcoming difficulties. They have never shrunk from difficulties.

The fifth party congress has illuminated the way for us to advance. In light of the resolutions of the congress, we are determined to overcome difficulties and fulfill our revolutionary tasks in the new stage.

Under the great President Ho Chi Minh's banner, our entire party and all our soldiers and people should exert every effort to turn the resolutions of the congress into reality in the everyday life and bring the cause of socialist construction and the defense of the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland to complete victory.

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## SPLENDID SUCCESS OF THE THIRD LPRP CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 4-9

[Capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] Last April the LPRP held its third national congress in Vientiane. This congress, representing 35,000 members of the LPRP, reviewed the situation in Laos over the past 10 years, since the Second LPRP Congress in February 1972, with emphasis on the 6 years since the emergence of the LPDR on 2 December 1975. The congress set forth orientations, tasks and targets of the Lao revolution in the new revolutionary stage -- the transitional stage toward socialism nationwide -- as well as targets and tasks for the First 1981-85 5-Year Plan and subsequent years up to 1990. The congress elected the new party Central Committee headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, outstanding son of the people of various nationalities in Laos and esteemed leader of the Lao revolution.

By its great significance, the Third LPRP Congress has marked new and very important progress for the Lao revolution.

The LPRP has creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Laos, led people of various nationalities to victory in the struggle for national revolution and democracy, thereby triumphantly establishing the LPDR.

In the fall of 1975, grasping the favorable condition which resulted from the victories of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean revolutions, the LPRP promptly mobilized the people in a concerted uprising to seize and control the country's administration. This dynamic and creative leadership prevented damage, destruction and chaos in Laos. It also created new forces and favorable conditions for national construction and defense.

Since the complete liberation of Laos, the LPRP has led the tasks of economic and social transformation and building according to socialist guidelines. To date, in industry the socialist economy has reached 93 percent; in communications and transportation, 47 percent and trade, 32.7 percent. Moreover, 1,343 agricultural production cooperatives have been established.



Thanks to the policy of encouraging agricultural production, many localities have begun planting two crops instead of the traditional one crop per year. For the first time in its history, Laos has become self-sufficient in food for 2 consecutive years, 1980-81.

In the industrial domain, electricity output for 1981 reached 807 million kilowatt-hours or a per capita output of 230 kilowatt-hours. Machinery products, bricks, wooden goods, soap, tobacco and paper have increased from 100 to 200 percent compared with 1976.

THESE ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO STABILIZING AND IMPROVING THE PEOPLE'S DAILY LIFE.

In the cultural and educational domains, illiteracy has been basically eliminated. In 1981, 85 percent of the illiterates could read and write. In the 1980-81 academic year there were 620,000 general school students -- a 100-percent increase compared with the 1976-77 academic year -- 1,125 university students -- a manifold increase compared with the 1976-77 academic year. There are almost 10,000 Lao students studying in fraternal socialist countries, of whom more than 4,000 are university students. This is a great advance for the Lao revolution. THE ENHANCEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND HAS CONTRIBUTED VERY SIGNIFICANTLY TO HEIGHTENING LOVE FOR THEIR COUNTRY AND SOCIALISM by the people of various nationalities in Laos.

Since national liberation, the LPRP has consistently built the national defense force and mobilized people throughout the country together with the armed forces, to defend firmly the unified Lao fatherland. This is the greatest achievement of the Lao revolution. Now Laos has a regular army and a firm and strong people's security force. These forces are continuously heightening their vigilance and are ready to foil all schemes and the multi-faceted sabotage activities being conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces.

Evaluating these achievements, especially in the economic and social fields, the Third LPRP Congress affirmed that the Lao revolution is in the first stage of its transition toward socialism. The general lines of the Lao revolution in the transitional stage toward socialism are: TO CONSISTENTLY CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP; TO ORGANIZE AND PROMOTE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES AND DEVELOP THEIR RIGHTS TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY OF SOCIETY; AND TO CARRY OUT SIMULTANEOUSLY THE THREE REVOLUTIONS, NAMELY, THE REVOLUTION IN PRODUCTION RELATIONS, THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WITH THE PRODUCTION RELATIONS REVOLUTION A KEY FACTOR FOR DEVELOPING PRODUCTION AND THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AS THE KINGPIN. THESE ARE ALL AIMED AT BUILDING SOCIALISM, FULLY EXPLOITING AND DEVELOPING ALL THE POTENTIALS OF THE COUNTRY; DEVELOPING INDUSTRY THROUGH THE EXPLOITATION OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY; DEVELOPING THE NATURAL ECONOMY IN ORDER TO GRADUALLY ADVANCE FROM SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION; AND DEVELOPING INDUSTRIALIZATION BY USING SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION AS A BASE FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN ORDER TO TURN LAOS INTO AN AGRICULTURAL-FORESTRY-INDUSTRIAL ADVANCED COUNTRY. THIS WILL BRING HAPPINESS TO THE PEOPLE OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES IN LAOS; ELIMINATE FOREVER THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN; STRENGTHEN NATIONAL DEFENSE; FIRMLY PROTECT LAO SOVEREIGNTY, NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE NEW REGIME IN ORDER TO BUILD LAOS INTO A PEACEFUL, INDEPENDENT, UNIFIED AND SOCIALIST COUNTRY, THEREBY, TOGETHER WITH VIETNAM AND KAMPUCHEA, FIRMLY DEFENDING THE BULWARK OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN THE REGION AND CONTRIBUTING POSITIVELY TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND WORLD SOCIALISM.

The Third LPRP Congress has affirmed two strategic tasks of national defense and construction in the new stage of the Lao revolution, of which the task concerning socialist construction is regarded as the most significant one.

On the economic front, the party has affirmed that the agricultural and forestry production is strong and has the potential to accelerate the improvement of the people's daily life and contribute significantly to building the initial capital for the socialist industrialization. In the years ahead, the party intends to improve agriculture comprehensively, develop the strength of agriculture and forestry in order to strive to become totally self-sufficient in grain and food. It also intends to gradually fully develop the agricultural cooperatives. Over the next 5 years, the development of cooperatives will be completed in rice growing areas, while this task will be carried out gradually in upland agricultural areas and other places.

In the industrial field, the party stressed that since Laos has abundant agricultural and forestry resources it should seek international cooperation based on these resources in order to formulate plans to develop small industry, handicrafts, light industry, processing industry and the electric, construction and repair sectors; and to expand and build additional establishments for ore exploitation. The general aim is to have the whole network of industry, small industry and handicrafts serve agriculture and forestry production, communications and transportation. In this context, the electrical, engineering, communications and transportation sectors must exceed the present requirements.

The party also set goals for trade, pricing, banking, finances and wages and various aims and concrete measures aimed at fulfilling important economic tasks and targets.

The LPRP is paying special attention to strengthening the economic cooperation between Laos and Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Kampuchea and other countries of the socialist community.

The people of various nationalities in Laos have inherited the tradition of solidarity, struggle and respect for loyalty and sincerity. This is a basic strength. However, the multifaceted national structures and the slow progress in education and the difference in languages, habit and customs are obstacles to the unification of various nationalities into one nation. As a result, the LPRP in every revolutionary stage has paid special attention to tasks concerning the nationalities. The party's attention to the various nationalities has been reflected through its guidelines, revolutionary strategy, aims, policies and other concrete measures. The strengthening of the tasks concerning the united national front and tasks concerning nationalities in general has always been a decisive factor for the success of the Lao revolution in the past, present and future.

The party contends that education is a very important factor in Laos. Unless the people's educational background is enhanced, the Lao people will not be able to improve and develop the economy, know how to protect the country and how to become masters of the society and of their lives.

On the basis of this judgment, the LPRP contends that the cultural and ideological revolution must advance one step further, to be centered around tasks concerning education. The aim of the cultural revolution is to build a genuine and socialist national education; eliminate vestiges of reactionary culture, continued ignorance and feudalism left behind by history and neocolonialism; and stop the infiltration of decadent and reactionary culture. The long-term goal of tasks concerning culture and education is to build a new man and turn Lao workers into people of socialist consciousness who understand modern science and technology and who have a sense of responsibility and the ability to become masters of the society.

The LPRP affirms that the Chinese expansionism and hegemonism which is aimed at subjugating Laos and other Indochinese nations, is a direct and dangerous enemy of the Lao people.

Under all circumstances, the party must strive to CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE PEOPLE'S SECURITY FORCES, in order to foil all sabotage schemes and tactics of the reactionary group in the Beijing leadership in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, thereby firmly protecting the peaceful work of the people, defending Lao independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the new regime.

The LPRP affirms its support for a foreign relations policy which includes the determination to foil the hostile policy of the Chinese big nation expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces.

The party contends that THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SPECIAL SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION WITH VIETNAM AND KAMPUCHEA AND THE STRENGTHENING OF SOLIDARITY AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION WITH THE GREAT SOVIET UNION AND OTHER FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, WILL ALWAYS BE A MILESTONE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE LAO PARTY AND STATE, and this will be an invincible power that no enemy can smash.

The unwavering policy of the Lao party and state is to establish friendly and good-neighborly relations with ASEAN countries, especially the Kingdom of Thailand.

The Lao people have resolved to oppose the hostile policy of the Chinese reactionary leadership, but to spare no efforts in maintaining friendly relations with the Chinese people.

Through various domestic great revolutionary achievements and with the correct foreign policy, the LPDR is gaining the sympathy and support of world progressive opinion. The status and prestige of the LPRP and the LPDR in the international arena is consistently enhanced.

The revolutionary cause of the working class and the people of various nationalities in Laos has scored tremendous achievements. This was due to the correct leadership of the LPRP, which was formerly part of the Indochinese Communist Party, the vanguard party of the working class and people of the three Indochinese countries, founded and led by President Ho Chi Minh. Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the Lao revolution, the LPRP has enhanced the spirit of creativity, charted the correct revolutionary line, triumphantly completed various strategic tasks, strategems and revolutionary methods and led the Lao revolution from one victory to another. Comrade Truong Chinh, head of the VCP delegation to the Third LPRP Congress has said in his speech: "The victory of the Lao revolution is the brilliant victory of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Laos and of the ardent patriotism and the spirit of solidarity, in addition to the undaunted impetus of the struggle of the people of various nationalities in Laos who are determined to surge forward to become masters of their own destiny. It is the victory of the militant alliance of the three fraternal countries in Indochina and the socialist community, of which the Soviet Union is the mainstay, and of the world revolutionary movement. It is also the victory of the correct and consistent foreign policy of the Lao party and state which clearly and principally distinguishes friend from foe, and which flexibly implements various suitable positions and policies aimed at positively contributing to the struggle of peoples of various nations for the common goal of the era."

The great revolutionary victories scored by the fraternal Lao people of various nationalities for more than half a century, especially during the past decade, have indicated that the LPRP has applied a correct line in building itself gradually to become the party with working class characteristics which is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the people's interests; and in closely combining the genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

The LPRP affirms that one of the important party building tasks in the new stage is to STRIVE TO FIRMLY MAINTAIN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW POLITICAL PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT WHICH RULES THE ADMINISTRATION, and to maintain its role as a leading core for the firm proletarian dictatorship system in order to protect national independence, build socialism in Laos and fulfill the country's international obligation triumphantly.

In light of the resolutions of the Third LPRP Congress, the fraternal people of Laos will surely advance firmly on the path toward successfully building a socialist, independent and prosperous Laos and make it a worthy member of the heroic and strong world socialist community, a fortress of peace, national independence and socialism in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese party and people are proud of the LPRP, the unyielding comrade and the intimate friend of Vietnam. They were very moved to hear the heartfelt speech of Comrade General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihane at the recent Fifth VCP Congress in which he said:

The LPRP pays special attention to educating its cadres and members and the people of various nationalities to strive to protect the special Lao-Vietnamese solidarity and it resolutely struggles against all enemy schemes for sowing dissension and it instructs the younger generation of Lao to foster this special relationship to make it bloom and last forever...under all conditions. In the past as well as at present we have always stood side by side with Vietnam and done our best to contribute to the victory of our fraternal people and our intimate comrades.

As close comrades-in-arms of the Lao communists and people, the Vietnamese communists and people are very happy to note the splendid success of the Third LPRP Congress. We firmly believe that in light of the resolutions of the LPRP Congress, the working class and the people of various nationalities in Laos will strengthen their solidarity and strive to score new and ever greater victories for their revolutionary cause.

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## THE SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY AND OUR TASKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 63-71

[Article by Tran Quoc Tu]

[Text] Every revolutionary is required primarily to assess the situation and tasks correctly. Only by correctly assessing the situation and tasks, can we set forth effective policies and measures to improve the situation and advance the revolution to victory.

We should have a correct method of thinking to assess the situation correctly. The most correct method of thinking is the Marxist-Leninist method of materialist dialectics. Only by grasping this method of thinking firmly can we analyze the situation scientifically and objectively, detect contradictions in life and set forth proper guidelines and policies to settle these contradictions in our advancement.

Our country is in the stage of socialist revolution. To be well aware of the revolutionary situation in our country, we must understand socialist revolution and socialist laws. We must further know the peculiarities of our country which was originally a colony of imperialism and an economically underdeveloped country where small-scale production prevails. We are moving directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

Together with a proper method of thinking, we must also have a correct attitude. Only by adopting the attitude of masters of the country and the revolution can we properly assess the tasks achieved in order to be aware of success, failure, advantages, shortcomings and problems, and can we analyze the causes correctly and discover guidelines to develop good points, correct mistakes and advance. If we lack a sense of mastery, adopt an indifferent and irresponsible attitude, and pass the buck, we will not be able to assess the situation correctly and discover the causes of difficulties in order to overcome them. Only those "clear-sighted and clear-minded" people can evaluate the situation correctly, tell right from wrong and perceive the struggle guidelines for continually advancing the revolution.



We are now in a rather complicated situation. Although we have won very great victories, we are facing serious economic and social problems. Although we have scored many achievements and good points, we still have shortcomings and mistakes. In our advance from small-scale production to socialism, we are encountering many new problems for which the solution does not exist in the works of the socialist founders Marx and Lenin. Our struggle takes place in a stage of very complicated conditions which require not only our courage but also our creative intelligence. Faced with this complicated situation rife with problems, large numbers of our party's cadres and members have demonstrated their revolutionary stalwartness by firmly maintaining their working class stand and relying absolutely on the party's revolutionary lines. They have properly and clearly realized the situation and their duties, and have strenuously struggled to overcome problems and fulfill their duties in the new stage. On the contrary, some people whose method of thinking and attitude is wrong, have seen only problems and not victories, only shortcomings and not achievements and advantages. They have therefore become suspicious and pessimistic. Their militancy has declined. This lack of tenacity is manifested among some of the party cadres and members.

Following the total liberation of the southern part of our country, the people's national democratic revolution ended and our entire country stepped into a new stage, the stage of socialist revolution. This is a special turning point in the history of our revolution. "Every special turning point in history has caused some formal changes in petty bourgeois vacillations. These vacillations always take place beside the proletariat and always impregnate, to a given extent, the ranks of the proletariat." (Footnote: V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works" Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1959, Book II, Part II, page 535) "So long as the deep roots of capitalism have not been eradicated, these vacillations necessarily still take place." (same footnote as above). In a country like ours, small farmers and petty bourgeois account for a majority in the population. As a result, "these petty bourgeois vacillations" are all the more prevalent. They are the main cause for the erroneous conceptions about the present situation and tasks.

The strength of our party lies in the unity of millions of cadres and members who act as one. There must be unity of thought before we can achieve unity of action. Only by expounding the revolutionary situation in our country to help all the people properly understand the new situation and tasks, can the party unify its action and thought and develop its strength.

The present situation in our country was profoundly analyzed at the fifth party congress. Our achievements and shortcomings were correctly assessed at the congress. The strategic tasks of our revolution in the new situation were also set forth at the congress. This is the ground on which the party will unify its knowledge of the situation and tasks. Making all party cadres and members fully aware of the situation and tasks as viewed by the congress is a very important aspect of the present ideological task which is aimed at creating conditions for unifying the action and thinking of the entire party.

Our people's achievements over the past 5 years were highly appraised at the fifth party congress. The party Central Committee's political report read by General Secretary Le Duan at the congress pointed out clearly: "The past 5 years have gone down in national history as a very glorious and victorious stage of the Vietnamese revolution." Rightfully so, in the past 5 years, under the party's leadership, our people have scored very great achievements, completely changing the face of our country. These achievements have advanced the revolution in our country to a new strategic position firmer than previously, creating a greater capability to defend our fatherland firmly and to build socialism in our country successfully.

Following the victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, we quickly unified the country on the state plane. This is the first time that our country has been truly unified on the basis of lasting national independence and socialism. Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese nation is one. This is the will, aspiration and sacred sentiment of all the Vietnamese people. Our Vietnamese people sacrificed and struggled for generations to unify the country. Due to the ups and downs of history, interspersed with periods during which our country enjoyed independence, unity and prosperity, our people suffered painfully from the division of their country. The century-long "Nguyen-Trinh internecine war" divided the country into the "outside road" and the "inside road." No sooner had Nguyen Hue chased the Qing troops out to begin national reunification than quisling Nguyen Anh let the enemy enter our country. Under French domination, our country was divided into three parts. During the U.S. imperialist aggression our country was divided into two regions. Witnessing our country's division caused pain which tore our hearts. Who among the Vietnamese people of both sexes, young and old, did not want the country unified?

It was as if the Vietnamese nation was revived when its country was reunified, with life from north to south bubbling over with national conciliation. The Vietnamese people's long cherished dream had now come true. The system of proletarian dictatorship was established throughout the country. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was born. The SRV Constitution was promulgated. All of the cruel plots and tricks of the imperialists and international reactionaries trying to sabotage the Vietnamese national unity were defeated. Under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard party, the Vietnamese people quickly unified the country on the state plane and implemented many economic, political, social and cultural policies to accelerate the process of unifying the country comprehensively. The Vietnamese people in the Ho Chi Minh era have achieved the extremely glorious goal of unifying their country. All of us can be legitimately proud of this great achievement. Henceforth, with the great strength of more than 50 million people living on a land of over 320,000 square kilometers full of natural resources, our Vietnamese people can build a prosperous country and firmly maintain our newly gained independence in order to feel proud and happy just like other nations on all the five continents. This is the most fundamental achievement because from now on the great strength of a unified country and the superior socialist system will be the basic factor in creating all of our people's victories.

With the strength of a unified country, our people have defeated Chinese expansionism and hegemonism to defend Socialist Vietnam firmly.

After living for a third of a century in fierce warfare our people now earnestly desire to live in peace and rebuild their country. This simple aspiration still cannot be fulfilled because the reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles have plotted to annex our country and the Indochina Peninsula in order to achieve their ambition of invading Southeast Asia and conquering the world. The newly unified Vietnam had to face a crucial ordeal: The Chinese reactionaries and their lackeys launched a war of aggression against our country, using a pincers attack from the south upward and from the north downward. Upholding their vigilance, our people and troops courageously fought to defend their country.

Our people's victories in the two aggressive wars waged by Chinese expansionism and hegemonism are new pages in the history of our nation's glorious struggle against foreign aggression. These victories prove that our people have adequate moral and physical strength to defend firmly their socialist fatherland. No matter how cruel and dangerous is the enemy and no matter how big is its country -- with the largest population in the world -- adjacent to our country, our people still have the force to defeat it. If ever it recklessly launched another war of aggression against us, it will be defeated even more shamefully.



Our people's victories in the past two wars for national defense not only have defeated the Chinese reactionaries' plot to annex our country but also have checked the advance of Chinese hegemony and expansion to the Indochina Peninsula and Southeast Asia. With these victories, our people have fulfilled their international obligations to the fraternal Kampuchean and Lao peoples, strengthened the militant alliance and formed a firm system for mutual support of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries.

In the past 5 years, our people have scored many achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country. Noteworthy achievements have been scored on the economic front. We have made great efforts to overcome the consequences of war. The agricultural, industrial and transportation and communications installations which were destroyed during the wars, have basically been restored. Production has developed in some respects. The cultivated area through the country has increased to nearly 2 million hectares owing to our efforts in reclaiming virgin and fallow land and in multicropping. Industrial production capacity has also increased. Many projects under construction will be commissioned in the near future. Thousands of kilometers of railways and roads have been repaired and built. Socialist production relations have been consolidated a step further in the north. Initial results have been obtained in the socialist transformation of the south. The comprador bourgeois class has been eliminated. Capitalist industry and trade have been gradually transformed. Handicrafts and small merchants are being reorganized. Most of the peasants in the southern Trung Bo have been collectivized. In Nam Bo, some peasants have joined production collectives.

We have also recorded many achievements on the cultural front. Illiteracy in our country has been basically eliminated. Nearly 16 million people -- almost one-third of the population -- have attended school. A new culture is gradually being built throughout the country. The reactionary, backward and decadent culture left behind by the old regime is being eliminated. Literary, artistic, public health, sports and physical training activities have developed. All the scientific and technical sectors have developed to support national construction and defense better. In the process of the socialist revolution to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland, new Socialist Vietnamese men have been formed, trained and enhanced.

With respect to the foreign affairs in the past 5 years, we have strengthened the relations of militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, reinforced our militant alliance with the two fraternal Lao and Kampuchean countries joined the CEMA and expanded our cooperation with other socialist countries. The position of our country in the international arena has been enhanced.

Our people's achievements in the past 5 years are really great. Looking back at the difficulties and ordeals we have gone through will make us treasure all the more dearly all that we have achieved. In assessing our achievements in the past 5 years, some people have stressed only the political, military and diplomatic achievements, and have belittled our successes in socialist construction. Some people have gone so far as to deny our economic achievements. This is a one-sided and mechanical assessment which separates fields of activities from one another and negates the dialectical relations among the various fields of activities in society. In fact, the military victories have intrinsically implied some economic achievements. If we had achieved no economic successes, how could our troops have enough food to eat and defeat the Chinese aggressors? Our successful national unification also has per se included our achievements on the economic, cultural and ideological fronts. Some people allege that we have suffered economic setbacks because we have not fulfilled the economic development norms prescribed by the fourth party congress. These people do not understand that our second 5-year plan was established during the peacetime. In case of war, any other country would have to put aside its peacetime economic development plan to concentrate its forces on winning victory

in war. In fact, when the Chinese reactionaries' plot of aggression against our country was exposed, our party and state then advocated the policy of shifting the economic tasks to national defense in order to cope with the Chinese aggression. Since then, our country has practically adopted the annual economic development plan. Such an economic shift was a clear-sighted policy aimed at guaranteeing victory for our people and troops in their two wars of national defense.

The achievements in the economic and cultural as well as other fields are the results of our people's greatest efforts. They have shed blood and sweat in exchange for these achievements. We may not evaluate them casually but must treasure all that our people have achieved in socialist construction.

Our country is advancing from small-scale production to socialism. Already heavily damaged by war, it had to cope with a new aggressive war. In such a situation, it was not easy to score economic and cultural achievements. We must have specific knowledge of history to evaluate properly the comprehensive achievements of our people in the past 5 years.

These achievements were cited at the fifth party congress. The congress attributed these achievements to the consistent leadership of our party, the fine qualities of our people and their armed forces, the comprehensive cooperation with and the active assistance of the Soviet Union, the special solidarity with Laos and Kampuchea, the wholehearted support of other socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the forces of revolution and peace in the world.

While asserting our achievements strongly, the fifth party congress also pointed out the difficulties that we are now encountering in the economy of life. There are still serious imbalances in our national economy. Production has developed slowly while the population is increasing quickly. National revenue does not match social demands for consumption. The gap between financial receipts and expenditures, between the flow of goods and money, and between exports and imports are still large. Large numbers of workers remain unemployed. The market and prices have not been stabilized. The laboring people still encounter many difficulties in their life.

These difficulties stem primarily from the fact that small-scale production still prevails in our economy, an economy that has been heavily destroyed by a long and fierce war. And now we have to face a multifaceted war of sabotage by Chinese expansionism and hegemony.

Apart from the root objective causes of our present difficulties, there are some subjective causes. They are our mistakes and shortcomings in leadership and economic and social management.

In the spirit of scrupulous self-criticism, the party congress clearly indicated our mistakes in grasping the real situation, implementing party lines and organizing and guiding the implementation of planning and management operations. The congress severely criticized the shortcomings and mistakes caused by subjectivism, impatience, haste, conservatism and sluggishness, and weaknesses in other fields of operation. Pledges were made during the congress to conduct thorough criticism and self-criticism after the congress within party and state agencies in order to set forth effective measures to correct these shortcomings and mistakes.

When analyzing the present difficulties, some comrades hold subjectivism as the main cause. As a matter of fact, from a certain standpoint, our shortcomings and mistakes were the main causes of our economic and social difficulties in the past years.

Nevertheless, we must understand clearly that our difficulties stem originally from a backward and poor economy dominated by small-scale production which colonialism (old and new) bequeathed to us. At present, in order to fulfill the requirements of our production and life, we need a large amount of fuel, raw and other materials and commodities of various kinds not available in our country. (Footnote: Before liberation, the south had to import annually 2 million tons of mineral oil, 1 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 1 million tons of cement, nearly 1 million tons of rice, corn and wheat flour; 362,000 tons of sugar, 45,000 tons of milk, 25,000 tons of cooking oil, 28,800 tons of textile materials, 21,700 tons of yarns, 70,000 tons of paper pulp and 50,000 tons of plastic raw materials. During the 10-year period from 1965 to April 1975, the south had to import \$7.459 billion worth of commodities (excluding military imports) while exporting only \$393.1 million worth of commodities.) Even if had had no shortcomings and had made no mistakes, we would not be able to overcome all the difficulties in our economy and life within a short period of time. If we commit no more mistakes and shortcomings and if we know how to work better, we will be able to alleviate our difficulties in some given fields and to a certain extent.

While pointing out the root causes of our difficulties, the congress not only emphasized the serious damage resulting from our shortcomings and errors but also wanted to make the cadres and party members clearly understand the harsh and enduring nature of these difficulties. This is aimed at enabling them to enhance their fighting will and to try their best to overcome all difficulties while preventing some people from possibly thinking that difficulties can be overcome easily in just a short period of time but when things do not turn out the way they want, they will become pessimistic and confused or even suspicious of the correctness of the party's lines.

On the basis of reviewing the actual situation of the Vietnamese revolution in recent years, the fifth party congress affirmed that the socialist revolutionary line laid down by the fourth party congress is correct. That line reflects the revolutionary law advancing our country from small-scale production to socialism without having to go through the period of capitalist development. Meanwhile, the congress also pointed out our shortcomings and errors in implementing the party's lines.

Our party's socialist revolutionary line -- originated from the political program formulated by the founders of scientific socialism, from the review of the achievements recorded in the 20-year struggle to build socialism in the north, and from the consultation of experience with various fraternal socialist countries -- has been proven to be correct by realities and has further developed its effectiveness in our country's revolutionary undertaking. Successfully determining a correct revolutionary line which can effect the entire revolutionary undertaking is the most important task. After completing the people's national democratic revolution in the entire country, our party promptly determined a correct line for our revolution in the new stage. That is the basic success of the party. Thanks to that correct revolutionary line, we have been able to avoid deviations at a time when our revolution was being shifted to a new stage.

That socialist revolutionary line has been defined by our party for implementation throughout the country during the period of transition to socialism -- which means for several decades. It is hasty to think that all objectives of that revolutionary line can be achieved in just a short period of time and without errors. Moreover, the party's general line can only provide the basic features as guidelines for the struggle of our entire party and people for a relatively long period of time. If we want to transform that general line into reality, it is necessary for us to concretize it into certain objectives and tasks for each specific stage. At the same time, we must adopt suitable organizational systems and policies to ensure the implementation of that general line. This, however, is a very difficult matter which can only be solved satisfactorily with good knowledge and the ability to grasp the objective law and the actual situation in the country during the period of transition to socialism.

Lenin said: "No new class can emerge in the historical arena in its capacity as leader of a society without having to go through a desperately 'unstable' and stormy period of upheaval and struggle, as well as a period of uncertainty, experimentation and hesitation in choosing the new methods to meet the new objective situation." (Footnote: V.I. Lenin, "Collection of Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol 2, Part I, p 422) Therefore, the existence of "instability" and "uncertainty" in our country at a time when the revolution was being shifted to a new state is easily understood and not surprising.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction is a new undertaking. In such a new undertaking we can hardly say that we have not committed any mistakes and everything has run smoothly. Lenin once said: "In such a new, difficult and great undertaking, shortcomings and mistakes are inevitable. He who is afraid of difficulties in socialist construction and who is frightened by these difficulties into desperation and despondency, is not a socialist man." (Footnote: Ibid., Part 2, p 313) Mistakes are unavoidable in such a new undertaking. The problem comes in having the courage to admit mistakes and correct them in order to advance. Lenin said: "We are not afraid of admitting mistakes. We will look at mistakes in a clear-sighted manner in order to seek ways to correct them." (Footnote: Ibid., Part 2, p 355) Lenin also said: "The attitude of a political party toward its mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria for assessing whether this party is scrupulously and really fulfilling its obligations to its own class and the laboring masses." (Footnote: Ibid., Part 2, p 352) As a Leninist party, our party has publicly admitted its mistakes, analyzed the causes of these mistakes and carefully studied the measures to correct them in order to advance continually.

Our primary mistakes in the implementation of lines have shown that the level of our economic and social management is still low. To correct mistakes, we must strenuously study to increase the level of our knowledge and ability on a par with the new tasks. With a view to implementing the tasks set forth by the fifth party congress, we must conduct criticism and self-criticism scrupulously, carefully review our performances in the past years to derive useful lessons, increase the level of our comprehensive knowledge and outline the correct guidelines, policies and measures to advance the revolution.

The past 5 years have been of special significance. In only a few years of entering the new revolutionary stage, our party has accumulated useful experiences. We have realized more clearly the specific problems of the socialist revolution and national defense. Our party cadres and members have matured a step further. All of us must reflect on and analyze profoundly what we have done in the past 5 years -- both successes and setbacks -- in order to derive necessary lessons for improving our tasks. This way we will certainly fulfill our duties better in the future.

We are in a rather complicated situation rife with difficulties but also full of advantages. Our biggest difficulty is coping with the Chinese reactionaries -- condoned and supported by the U.S. imperialists -- who are waging a subversive war against our country in the military, political, economic and cultural fields by using various forces and cruel tricks. Although our country is at peace, we are facing a multifaceted war of sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we must always be ready to cope with a large-scale war of aggression likely to be waged by the enemy. The recent party congress clearly pointed out the two strategic tasks of our people: One is to build socialism successfully, the other is to maintain combat preparedness to firmly defend the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland. These two tasks are closely related. Our people must simultaneously fulfill these two tasks well. The party congress also adopted the slogan: "All for the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness." This slogan manifests concisely the lofty task to be assumed by every Vietnamese in the new stage. By implementing this slogan through practical acts, we will make the most contributions to national construction and defense.



Since it was founded, our party has devoted most of its time and effort to achieving national liberation. The party's present historic mission is to lead the people in the building of a prosperous country and in the defense of the country. If national liberation was once the motive for all the Vietnamese people to fight and sacrifice, drive the imperialists out and regain the independence of the country, national construction and defense should now be the lofty ideal burning in the hearts of all Vietnamese people, urging them to devote all their mind and ability to building socialism successfully and firmly defending the Socialist Vietnam fatherland. National construction and defense is the sublime and sacred duty of the Vietnamese people of all generations.

Despite difficulties, we have secured basic advantages in national construction and defense. We have enjoyed the leadership of a party founded and trained by President Ho, a party with a revolutionary line which is correct and boundlessly loyal to the liberation of nations, the working class and mankind. We have a body of party cadres and members tempered through a long revolutionary struggle full of ordeals. These cadres and party members are properly militant and have gained some initial experiences in conducting the socialist revolution and construction. They are determined to implement the party's revolutionary line. Our socialist system is superior. Our people are traditional stalwart, indomitable, highly patriotic and diligent in productive labor. Our armed forces are always vigilant and ready to fight and defeat all aggressors. Our country has abounded in manpower and natural resources, and its material and technical bases are increasing every day. We have secured comprehensive cooperation with and great assistance from the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries. The world progressives are sympathizing with and supporting our cause. With these advantages, our people will certainly overcome all difficulties to successfully build socialism and firmly defend their country.

In his speech to conclude the fifth party congress, General Secretary Le Duan clearly indicated: "Although our continuing struggle is fierce and complicated, the historic resolutions of the party congress are breathing new vitality into all our party, people and troops. We are determined to fulfill great President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament. No obstacles can check our advance."

By realizing properly the revolutionary situation in our country and by grasping firmly the spirit of the fifth party congress resolutions, all our party, people and troops will strengthen solidarity and strenuously struggle to build socialism successfully and defend firmly our socialist fatherland.

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## PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH, THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW STYLE STATE IN VIETNAM

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[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] In the field of founding the new style state in the two countries the Soviet Union and Vietnam, L. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, closely associated the name of President Ho Chi Minh with the name of the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin:

"The great leaders of the revolution, who founded our states, the decisive forces for our development and set forth our line were V.I. Lenin in Soviet Russia and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. We can say with pride that we are correctly following this line."(1)

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 92nd anniversary of the birth of Uncle Ho and to celebrate the success of the 5th Congress of the Party, we would like to express several thoughts concerning this matter.

### The Style of Revolution Determines the Style of the State

When Uncle Ho decided to go in search of the path of national salvation, he saw that there were very many styles of revolution in the world. In our region of the world, there were Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, there was the Japanese revolution of the Minh against the emperor of Japan. Farther away, there was the revolution in France, the country that was ruling our country at that time. And even farther away was the American revolution.

With extraordinary insight, Nguyen Ai Quoc, although he was still very young, maintained that all of these styles of revolution were not "thorough revolutions" (the words used by him in his work "The Revolutionary Road").

They were not "thorough revolutions" because "workers and peasants were still suffering," "workers and peasants had not been liberated from the yoke of

oppression" and "did not enjoy happiness." He always closely linked the independence of the country to the happiness of the people. This was his thinking throughout his revolutionary life.

The vision of epochal stature, the vision that helped him find the genuine style of revolution laid therein.

Finally, he arrived at the Russian October Revolution, at Lenin as "a thirsty traveller encountering a stream, a person seeing the moon and stars on a dark night."

He evaluated the Russian Revolution as follows: "In the world today, only the Russian Revolution has achieved success and its success has been sweeping, that is, the masses enjoy true happiness, freedom and equality, not the fake freedom and equality that the French imperialists boast that they have established in Vietnam...

The Russian Revolution teaches us that the success of the revolution depends upon the masses (workers and peasants) being its base, having a strong, solid party, being courageous, making sacrifices and being united. In summary, we must adhere to Marxism and Leninism."(2)

Imbued with Marxism-Leninism, he found the path of national salvation for Vietnam. He wrote: "Only by liberating the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; both of these liberations can only be the undertaking of communism and the world revolution."(3)

Thus, he placed the Vietnam revolution within the orb of the world proletarian revolution. His vision that went beyond that of all contemporary Vietnamese patriots laid therein. The tremendous strength of the Vietnam revolution and the cause of its victory laid therein.

Following and guiding the people along the path of the proletarian revolution, the leaders to whom historic circumstances entrusted the mission of ushering in new eras for their countries thought along the same lines. In the past, Lenin thought at great length about the style of the state in Russia: "I maintain that defining the characteristics of the new style state must occupy a vital position in our new platform."(4) Because, the basic issue of every revolution is the matter of state government. And, in the issue of the state, the most important aspect is its class nature.

Nguyen Ai Quoc also gave very much thought to the style of state that would be established in Vietnam. He clearly saw the nature of the Vietnam feudal state that had existed for thousands of years. When he was a small child, he witnessed the debilitated king and mandarins' system of the House of Nguyen. When a bourgeois state was established, despite the slogans "liberty, equality,



fraternity," he saw its deceptive, cruel nature firsthand. In the article entitled "The Bankruptcy of the French Colonialist System," he wrote: "The French colonialist system only benefits a group of profiteers, dishonest and incompetent politicians in the mother country, liquor and opium dealers, shameless merchants and decadent financiers."(5)

With the Russian October Revolution, a new style state emerged. Although the reactionary bourgeoisie made every effort to slander, distort and discredit this state, Uncle Ho, with keen insight, saw that it was a style of state filled with vitality, filled with prospects that could bring happiness back to the people. Within this state, workers, farmers and the other laborers are the masters, there is no exploitation of man by man, everyone is equal, everyone works and builds for the sake of everyone's life. It was the new style state that he wanted to establish in Vietnam.

Imbued with the thinking that, the proletariat must become the ruling class by following the path of revolution," he appealed to our people to arise and carry out a revolution and presented the thinking of "using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence, seizing political power, protecting political power"(6) and building a new style state in Vietnam.

#### The New Style State Is Born in Vietnam and Continuously Develops

After the victory of the August Revolution, in the historic Declaration of Independence, President Ho declared to his compatriots and the entire world the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam state. The declaration read: "Our people have thrown off the chains of nearly 100 years of colonialism to establish the independent country of Vietnam. Our people also toppled the monarchy that lasted for several decades to establish a democratic republic." President Ho was the founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the first president of that state.

On 3 September 1945, 1 day after delivering the Declaration of Independence and during the first session of the government, President Ho suggested:

"In the past, we were ruled by the monarchial dictatorship and then by the colonial regime, which was no less of a dictatorship, consequently, our state has no constitution. Our people do not enjoy democratic freedoms. We must have a democratic constitution. I propose that the government hold a general election with universal suffrage, the earlier the better. All male and female citizens 18 years of age and older have the right to be a candidate for office and vote whether they be rich or poor and without regard for their religion, race, etc."(7)

The wise proposals made by President Ho were accepted. Thus, only 4 months after President Ho delivered the Declaration of Independence, a truly democratic general election was held throughout the country so that the citizens of Vietnam could, for the first time, elect their representatives to serve them in the

highest agencies of the state. And, only 10 months later, the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was ratified by our National Assembly. These were two milestones in the tremendous initial achievements of our state. A new style state, a democratic republic, a people's democratic national state, had been established in Vietnam. It was also the first people's democracy in Southeast Asia. It was completely different from the feudal and colonial states of bygone years and different from the bourgeois states. It was based on the alliance of workers and farmers and led by the party of the working class.

Once slaves, our people had become the masters of the country. All power within the country belongs to the people. Each citizen has the same rights and obligations and each is equal under the law.

During the stage in which the North was advancing to socialism and the South was still under the temporary domination of the imperialists and the lackey puppet government, our state, which was a people's democracy based on the alliance of workers and farmers and led by the working class, performed the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The system and nature of our state were clearly stipulated in the 1959 Constitution, the constitution of the period of transition to socialism in one-half of the country. In the liberated areas of the South, due to the development of the revolution and under the leadership of the party, a people's democratic national state was born in 1969. Following the total liberation of the South, the reunification of the country was carried out quickly and well. The nationwide general election was a success. The National Assembly elected in this general election decided to change the name of our country to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and ratified the 1980 new Constitution, the first constitution of the entire country building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland. This was a new development in the new style state in our country. The new Constitution states: "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state"(Article 2). In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people. The collective masters are the working people, who include the working class, the class of collective farmers, the stratum of socialist intellectuals and other laborers, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class. The historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat state in our country is to implement the right of collective ownership of the laboring people; mobilize and organize the people in simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific and technological revolution; abolish the exploitation of man by man; crush all opposition by domestic counter-revolutionaries and every act of aggression and sabotage by foreign enemies; successfully build socialism and advance to communism, thereby helping to strengthen peace and accelerate the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the world. Our party is the only force leading the state in the completion of this historic mission.

The establish of such a state in the stage of the entire country advancing to socialism was the result of inheriting and developing upon President Ho's thinking regarding the new style state.

His thinking regarding this field is very profoundly evident in many areas. However, it can be said that the backbone of this thinking is the nature of the new style state in our country. This is creative and very important thinking, thinking that permeates the entire issue of the new style state, the salient point of which is: our state is a state of, by and for the people under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class. Today, this thinking has been generalized in the principle: the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages. With this thinking, the nature, the organization and the purposes of the new style state in our country are very clearly defined. They differ completely from those of the old style states. To begin with, our new style state must be led by the party of the working class. Only with the leadership of the party can the state move in the correct direction. The historic circumstances of Vietnam prove this. The relationship between the state and the people, which is the most essential relationship of the state, determines the existence and development of our state. Therefore, immediately after the success of the August Revolution and while our state administration was still in its infancy, President Ho, for the first time in the history of our country, set forth fundamental, revolutionary viewpoints concerning this relationship. These viewpoints are impregnated with the thinking of Marxism-Leninism and consistent with the circumstances of our country. In a letter sent in October, 1945 to the people's committees of the regions, provinces, districts and villages, President Ho wrote: "We must understand that the agencies of the government, from the national level to the villages, are the servants of the people, that is, their purpose is to perform public work for the people, not to suppress the people as was the case during the period of French and Japanese domination." (8) He always reminded everyone of this so that attention was given to this relationship when building the apparatus of our state, from the central to the village levels, so that the responsibility of our state to its people was clearly defined and so that our cadres and party members always forge themselves to become the truly loyal servants of the people while teaching the people in order to heighten their consciousness with regard to building their government. In each stage of development of the revolution, when our state faced new requirements, President Ho gave his attention to teaching everyone about this relationship. After the North was totally liberated, our state shifted to a new task. He said: "Our system is the democratic system. The people are the masters, the government is the servant of the people. The people have the right to supervise and criticize the government. Everything that the government does has the purpose of serving the interests of the people. Therefore, the people also have the task of helping the government, complying with the discipline of the government and complying with the policies of the government so that it can fulfill the duty entrusted to it by the people." (9) The highest responsibility of the agencies of the state is their responsibility to the people. We must make

every possible effort to do that which benefits the people and avoid that which harms the people. From such minor matters as salted fish and fish sauce to such major matters as socialist construction and defending the socialist fatherland, if the party and government do not fulfill their responsibility to the people, they must assume the blame. To fulfill this glorious responsibility, the government and the people must unite in a bloc. "Without the people, we do not have adequate forces; without the government, we have no one to lead the way." (10) The policy of the party and government must reflect full concern for the lives of the people. The cadres of the party and government, from the upper echelon to the lower echelon, must fully concern themselves with the lives of the people. This thinking was crystallized in the Testament of President Ho: the party must have a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people. Because, as he taught: "If the country is independent, but the people do not enjoy happiness or freedom, independence is meaningless." (11) Today, imbued with this thinking, our party and state have appealed to the entire party and all our people to act in accordance with the slogan: everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people. The national policy whereby the new style state brings back happiness to the people, a policy about which President Ho frequently spoke, is accelerating the increase in production in a manner closely linked to practicing economy while struggling to eradicate the maladies with which a state becomes afflicted, especially misappropriation, waste and bureaucracy. He said: "To achieve success in increasing production and practicing economy...we must eradicate misappropriation, waste and bureaucracy." (12) These maladies are "quite dangerous enemies. Because, although they do not carry swords or guns, they lie within our organizations and ruin our work." (13)

He especially concerned himself with the corps of cadres and personnel within the state apparatus. Because, whether or not the new style state manifests its nature as a state of, by and for the people and fulfills its tasks and duties is determined by whether or not its corps of cadres and personnel has a firm grasp of the viewpoint of the state. President Ho considered ethics to be the foundation and considered the highest ethic of the cadres and personnel of the new style state to be wholeheartedly serving the people as the most loyal servants of the people. This thinking was most brilliantly manifested when he served as leader of our state. President Ho said: "I absolutely do not desire position or fame of any kind. Having assumed the burden of president because my compatriots entrusted it to me, I must now try to fulfill it as a soldier being ordered by his nation into battle... I have only one desire, one ultimate desire, namely, to make our country independent, to bring total freedom to our people and to insure that every compatriot is well fed and well clothed, that everyone is educated." (14) Wholeheartedly serving the people as the most loyal servant of the people became an ultimate desire. Here, revolutionary reasoning and sentiment were united as one and became the strongest, purest moving force of a cadre, a party member in serving the revolution, serving the people. He attached importance to teaching the cadres and personnel of our state to not take



advantage of the power and authority granted by the people, to not become decadent, wasteful, use public property for private purposes or forget to be honest, to not form factions, create divisions or cause a lack of unity among the people and to not think of themselves within state agencies as gods, have contempt for the people and always present themselves as "revolutionary officials." He sternly reminded us: "Anyone who makes these mistakes must do everything possible to rectify them; if he does not, the government will not be lenient." (15) He also attached very much importance to the selection of state cadres and personnel, who must be persons who can perform work, not persons who ruin work. Thus, they must be trained. As the revolution develops and increasingly high requirements are faced, cadres and party members can only fulfill their increasingly difficult tasks by, as Lenin taught, studying, studying some more, always studying, that is, using every form of learning to raise their political, cultural, scientific, technological and professional levels.

The masses generally view our state through the work of state cadres and personnel. For this reason, because, it is a very important living expression of our state and "cadres are the foundation of each job." (16)

President Ho also concerned himself with establishing the work procedures and methods of the state apparatus. This apparatus must be scientific and effective, must be close to reality, close to production and work installations and must conduct investigations and research; when a resolution is issued, a plan must be adopted for implementing it, determined steps must be taken to implement this plan and there must be close inspections from top to bottom and bottom to top; the apparatus must avoid holding many meetings, avoid placing heavy emphasis upon ostentatiousness and formalism, avoid doing as one sees fit and being general, bureaucratic, undemocratic and undisciplined, avoid performing work in a one-sided, lax manner lacking inspections and control...

The process of the formation and development of the new style state in Vietnam has been a continuous, consistent process, one rare in history. From having lost the country and possessing no political power to using revolutionary violence to seize political power, from the democratic republic state and then a democratic republic state that had the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one-half of the country to a dictatorship of the proletariat state on a nationwide scale, the Vietnamese state has developed from a low to a high level, always within the same orb, the orb of the proletarian revolution, and has advanced to victory after victory. The formation and development of the new style state in our country has been closely linked to the name of President Ho Chi Minh, the person who founded and forged our party, the person who gave birth to the new style state in our country, the person who was president of the country from the time our new style state was born (1945) until he died (1969).

Our new style state, which was born of the August Revolution, has become increasingly strong. It experienced the people's national democratic revolution and is experiencing the socialist revolution. It waged two victorious, sacred wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists and recently won victory over two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

In each stage of the revolution, our state has undergone certain stages of development. In the present stage, our dictatorship of the proletariat state must carry out the weighty tasks of firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people in order to gradually build socialism and firmly protect the socialist fatherland. Imbued with the thinking of President Ho Chi Minh concerning the new style state, we are concerned with improving the state apparatus so that it is suited to its tremendous tasks as this time, especially in the fields of organizing and managing the economy, strengthening the national defense and security systems of the fatherland, increasing the effectiveness of the state apparatus and reorganizing and improving the quality of the corps of state cadres and personnel, with importance attached to delving into the science of state management, revising the unscientific work procedures and methods of the state apparatus and so forth. These are beautiful manifestations of the fact that we have inherited and are developing upon the valuable thinking of President Ho concerning the state.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpted by S.N. A-pho-nhin and E.V. Ka-be-lep [Vietnamese phonetics] from the work "Ho Chi Minh," Russian version, Moscow Publishing House, 1980, p 11.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume 2, pp 206-207.
3. Ibid., p 162.
4. V.I..Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 65.
5. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Len an chu nghia thuc dan" [Colonialization on Trial], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p 106.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 302.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 356.
8. Ibid., p 370.

9. Ho Chi Minh: "Trach nhien cua nhan dan va can bo doi voi chinh quyen cach mang" [The Responsibility of the People and Cadres to the Revolutionary Government], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 16.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 369.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p 511.
13. Ibid., p 514.
14. Ibid., p 381.
15. Ibid., p 371.
16. "X.Y.Z.: Sua doi loi lam viec" [X.Y.Z.: Revising Work Methods], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1954, p 51.

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## A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF NGUYEN AI QUOC AND THE FOUNDING OF OUR PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 79-84

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] In past years, books and newspapers of our country and a number of other countries in the world have spoken at great length about the tremendous role played by Nguyen Ai Quoc in the founding of our party. For this reason, in this article, we have supplied some additional information in order to help further clarify the tremendous service performed by Uncle Ho as regards our party and our nation.

As we know, the birth of the Vietnam Communist Party in early 1930 was an historic inevitability determined by the ripened conditions of our country and the world at that time; at the same time, it was the result of an entire process of very thorough preparations by Nguyen Ai Quoc.

Immediately after he discovered the light of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of our times, Nguyen Ai Quoc raised the issue of spreading Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, considering this to be a method of making political and ideological preparations for the birth of a communist party. Nguyen Ai Quoc spread Marxism-Leninism to our country not by means of translating and bringing the classical works of Marxism-Leninism to our country, but by creatively applying this doctrine to the specific conditions of Vietnam, adopting a correct revolutionary line and method and transmitting them to our working class and people by means of books and newspapers and through political training classes. His very simple, pure and easily understood writings and speeches quickly aroused the patriotism of manual workers, peasants and the petty bourgeois intellectuals of our country so that they readily accepted the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

While promoting preparations for the founding of the party, Nguyen Ai Quoc attached very much importance to teaching revolutionary ethics to the first corps of cadres trained by him because it was an important prerequisite to accepting the thoroughly revolutionary line based on Marxism-Leninism and was

a way to prepare revolutionary cadres with the spirit needed to wage an arduous fight and make sacrifices. Practically all of the persons selected and trained by Nguyen Ai Quoc at that time came from the background of petty bourgeois intellectuals and students filled with patriotic zeal. This was consistent with the universal experience in many countries of using revolutionary intellectual elements to spread scientific socialism to the working class and laboring people. It was also the experience of Nguyen Ai Quoc himself who, as a patriotic youth, became a genuine communist fighter. This experience was confirmed by the 6th Congress of the Communist International (1928): "Experience has shown that in the majority of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a large number, if not the majority, of communist cadres at first came from the petty bourgeoisie and especially from among revolutionary intellectuals, usually students."(1)

Nguyen Ai Quoc did not organize a trade union, a form of organization of the working class, to serve as the basis for founding the party, as many other countries did; rather, he established the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth (2), which was a precursor of the party and had as its leadership nucleus the communist group, to rally petty bourgeois and patriotic intellectuals, teach them Marxism-Leninism and the line for national salvation and then, through these persons, spread them to the working class and laboring people of our country. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was the first revolutionary organization of Vietnam with communist tendencies and was very tightly organized. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was organized on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, all of its leadership levels were elected by congresses of delegates, the lower levels had to absolutely obey the upper levels and so forth. The statutes of the association clearly stipulated that the various levels hold periodic activities and attached importance to the unity of will and action within the association: "Factionalism within the association is to be utterly despised, unity of thought is utterly necessary." The members of the association were required to be absolutely loyal to it. "Criticizing one another is the task of association members. Every member has the task of humbly accepting the criticism of his comrades and rectifying his mistakes in order to become a pure revolutionary." The statutes of the association also stipulated: "Every association member must attend all meetings, must mix among the masses in order to agitate them, must perform work that benefits the people..." The association adopted Nguyen Ai Quoc's book "The Revolutionary Road" as its political platform. Between 1925 and 1927, the general headquarters of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, by means of holding political training classes, trained 300 cadres sent from Vietnam. In 1928, the association had 300 members, 150 from 11 provinces in Nam Ky, 80 from 5 provinces in Trung Ky and 70 from 6 provinces in Bac Ky. In 1929, through the "proletarianization" movement of cadres and the struggle of the masses, the number of association members soared to 1,750, 750 of whom were from Bac Ky, 500 of whom were from Trung Ky and 500 of whom were from Nam Ky. At first, 90 percent of the association's members came from the background of the petty bourgeoisie and only 10 percent came from

the background of the working class and peasantry. Beginning in 1929, especially after the establishment of the workers' association and the peasants' association, the percentage of association members from the background of manual workers and peasants increased markedly. And, from that time onward, the struggle of workers became increasingly strong, as seen in the strikes by the workers of the Avia Automobile Repair Plant in Hanoi, the Glass Enterprise and Cement Plant in Haiphong and the Nam Dinh Textile Mill and a number of other struggles at the Hon Gai and Cam Pha Coal Mines, etc.

Not all of the members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth became communist party members. Although they were persons who possessed a patriotic spirit and communist tendencies and were taught Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Vietnamese revolution, they had to be selected and challenged as regards their sense of organization and discipline, their practice of criticism and self-criticism in accordance with the organizational principles of the association and forged in the "proletarianization" movement and in the crucible of the mass struggle. "Not including the members of the overseas party chapter and the Indochina Communist Union, the total number of members of the Indochina Communist Party and the Annam Communist Party is 146 (when these communist organizations were unified). This figure only equalled 8 percent of the total number of members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in 1929." (3)

The establishment of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, which laid the groundwork for preparing for the founding of our party, was a creative act by Nguyen Ai Quoc, one that was consistent with universal experience and consistent with the nature and characteristics of society and class relationships in our country at that time. This act did not retard, rather, it accelerated the birth of the party. When talking about the historic significance and role of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth following the founding of the party, Nguyen Ai Quoc observed: "In the thinking of the persons who organized it, this association had the purpose of laying the foundation for a larger party and the future proved this." (4)

By firmly grasping the nature and the characteristics of Vietnamese society and the times, developing upon the patriotic tradition of our nation, incorporating the proletarian international spirit of the international workers' movement and creatively applying the party building principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, Nguyen Ai Quoc perfectly combined Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement in our country to found the party.

As a result of the complete political, ideological and organizational preparations made by Nguyen Ai Quoc and on the basis of the fact that the worker movement and patriotic movement of our people coalesced and surged, the conditions needed to found the party emerged in 1929. The birth of the first communist party chapter in Hanoi (March 1929), which was a major victory for

the entire process of struggle by the responsible comrades within the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Bac Ky, irrevocably confirmed the leadership role of the working class in the Vietnamese revolution. This victory inspired the Bac Ky delegation to take an historic action: they resolutely demanded the immediate establishment of a communist party at the National Congress of Delegates of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Hong Kong (May 1929). And, immediately after that congress, one communist organization after another was born in Vietnam: the Indochina Communist Party (June 1929), the Annam Communist Party (August 1929)(5) and the Indochina Communist Union (January 1930). All three of these organizations consisted of genuine communists who followed the line of the Communist International and the line of the Vietnamese revolution proposed by Nguyen Ai Quoc. All of these organizations wanted to be merged into one communist party recognized by the Communist International. However, due to differing opinions concerning the method of unification and observations and criticisms concerning one another, until they were unified, these organizations verbally attacked one another and competed for influence among the masses. In the face of this situation, the unification of the communist organizations into one genuine party of the Vietnamese working class became a pressing requirement in order to promptly meet the requirements of the task of unifying and leading the revolutionary movement throughout the country. At that time, only Nguyen Ai Quoc, on behalf of the Communist International, had the prestige and ability to complete this historic mission.

The conference to found the party (6), which was conducted under the chairmanship of Nguyen Ai Quoc, had the following as the main item on its agenda: "Debating the opinions of the Communist International delegates concerning: a) unifying the various communist organization and establishing a new, genuine communist party; b) the plan for establishing this organization."(7)

The conferees debated this matter at great length, with the debate becoming rather heated at times. At that time, it was impossible to propose the dissolution of the existing communist organizations because they were in agreement concerning the basic line of the Vietnamese revolution and had not made any mistakes as regards the stand and viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism or the principles of the party organization; the antagonisms among these organizations were primarily the result of personal prejudices. Under the guidance of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the delegates attending the conference criticized their shortcomings and the shortcomings of each other and all promised to set aside old prejudices. On the basis of the summary platform, the summary strategy, the summary statutes of the party and so forth, which were drafted by Nguyen Ai Quoc and unanimously adopted by the conference, the delegates, upon returning home, promoted the idea of unifying the various communist organizations in accordance with the principles, methods and plan stipulated by the conference. The result was: "...Reorganizations took place within the country. At the enterprises and mines, in the countryside and at the plantations, new party chapters were introduced



and organized... The work of the party chapters was carried out more seriously and systematically." (8) When the three communist organizations within the country became one new communist party, the number of party members was only slightly more than 300 (including both party members at home and overseas). (9) The unification of the communist organizations was carried out in a cautious manner on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles regarding party building; it was not the haphazard merger of one communist organization with another nor was it the mere addition of one communist organization to another to obtain a sum total. This was very clear in everything from the establishment of organizational principles to the political platform and the specific plans for implementing the platform.

As regards the appointment of the provisional central committee, in Bac Ky, three committee members of the Indochina Communist Party were appointed; in Nam Ky, one committee member of the Indochina Communist Party and one committee member of the Annam Communist Party were appointed; in Trung Ky, one committee member of the Indochina Communist Party and one committee member of the Indochina Communist Union were appointed. The total number of committee members was seven, five of whom were from the Indochina Communist Party, one of whom was from the Annam Communist Party and one of whom was from the Indochina Communist Union. Of these seven committee members, three came from worker backgrounds as stipulated by Nguyen Ai Quoc.

The conference to found the party also debated the name of the party considerably. At first, the delegates of all the communist organizations wanted the name of their organization to be the name of the party. Not seeking a compromise among the differing opinions of the delegates, Nguyen Ai Quoc, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of Vietnam, gave the party the name the Vietnam Communist Party. He explained this action as follows: "The term 'Indochina' is very broad and, in accordance with the principles of Leninism, the nationality issue is a very serious one and we cannot force the other nations to join the party as this would violate the principles of Leninism. The term 'Annam' is narrow because Annam is only the central region of Vietnam and our country has three regions: Bac Ky, Trung Ky and Nam Ky. As a result, the term 'Vietnam' is suited to all three regions and not contrary to the principles of Leninism regarding the nationality issue." (10)

As a result of the leadership provided by the Communist International and the complete, concrete preparations made by Nguyen Ai Quoc, our party, immediately after it was born, had a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics and a correct line and principles regarding building the party in keeping with the spirit of the party building principles of Marxism-Leninism. Having become tightly unified within an organization that had a correct line, genuine communists became an invincible force.

The important documents of historic significance that were adopted at the conference to found the party, such as the summary platform, the summary strategy,

the summary statutes and the appeal on the occasion of the founding of the party reflected the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam. These documents were the embodiment of the thinking, the viewpoints and the line of the Vietnamese revolution about which Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote and spoke in the process of preparing to found our party.

With the summary platform and the summary strategy, our party, as soon as it was born, launched the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement, built a strong alliance of workers and farmers and established soviet governments at many places in the two provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh; this was the first heroic epic of the Vietnamese revolution as well as the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia, which, at that time, was led by the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International, of which Nguyen Ai Quoc was a standing committee member.

On 11 April 1931, during its 25th session, the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist International, realizing that our party had adopted the correct revolutionary line at the very outset and had recorded brilliant achievements in its struggle, decided to recognize our party as an independent chapter of the Communist International.

Later, when talking about the significance and importance of the founding of the party, President Ho Chi Minh wrote: "The founding of the party was an extremely important turning point in the history of our Vietnamese revolution. It proved that our proletariat had matured and was fully capable of leading the revolution."(11)

The birth of our party ushered in a new era in the history of Vietnam, the era of independence, freedom and socialism in our country.

The birth of our party was also "considered by the Communist International to be a major historic event in the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia."(12)

The service and work performed by President Ho Chi Minh for the Vietnamese revolution were truly immense but his greatest service was founding and forging our party. The more grateful to him, the more we must try to build a strong and solid party and always insure that our party is "truly pure," "worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people" and the organizer of each victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from "The Platform for Revolution in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries" of the 6th Congress of the Communist International (1928).
2. This is the name it was frequently called. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the 1st Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth (1929), this organization had two names: one name was used internally, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades and the other name was used in public, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. According to a document entitled "The Persons in the Vanguard of the Communist Party," the association had three different names. To the League of Oppressed

Nations in Asia, it was the Vietnam Revolutionary Party; to the permanent members of the association, it was the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. This was level I, which was used to organize new association members of the party. The name, Vietnam Revolutionary Group was the name of level II, which was used to organize the most dedicated and reliable association members of the party.

3. Hong The Cong: "Draft of the History of the Communist Movement in Indochina(written in 1933)." On file at the Office of the Party Central Committee.
4. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "The Revolutionary Movement in Vietnam"(written on 5 March 1930). On file at the Office of the Party Central Committee.
5. According to the document "The Persons in the Vanguard of the Communist Party--the Period of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth"(on file at the Institute of Party History Research of the Marx-Lenin Institute), the Annam Communist Party was established in August, 1929 (not in October, 1929, as stated in a number of books).
6. This conference was held from 3 to 7 February 1930 in the small apartment of a worker in Kowloon near Hong Kong (China). Before and during the conference, Nguyen Ai Quoc met with each delegate at the soccer field in Hong Kong to exchange opinions. This soccer field was not the site of the conference as stated in a number of other books. Attending this conference were five official delegates: Nguyen Ai Quoc, the representative of the Communist International; two delegates from the Indochina Communist Party, Trinh Dinh Cuu and Nguyen Duc Canh; two delegates from the Annam Communist Party, Chau Van Liem and Nguyen Nghia (the Indochina Communist Union was recently established in January, 1930, and did not have a delegate attending the conference). In addition, there were two alternate delegates, Ho Tung Mau and Le Hong Son (these two comrades were not the two overseas delegates as stated in a number of other books).
7. Excerpt from the agenda of the conference to unify the communist organizations... (on file at the Institute of Party History Research of the Marx-Lenin Institute).
8. Excerpt from "The Persons in the Vanguard of the Communist Party--the Period of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth"(on file at the Institute of Party History Research of the Marx-Lenin Institute).
9. Statistically:
  - The Indochina Communist Party had 85 members
  - The Annam Communist Party had 61 members
  - The Indochina Communist Union had 119 members



- The Communist Party Chapter in Siam had 40 members
- The Communist Party Chapter in China had 14 members
- Total 319 members

According to statistics compiled by Hong The Cong in the "Draft of the History of the Communist Movement in Indochina"(written in French in 1933).  
On file at the Office of the Party Central Committee.

10. See: "The Matter of Unifying the Communist Organizations"(on file at the Institute of Party History Research of the Marx-Lenin Institute).
11. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi,"[For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 210.
12. E.P. Gla-du-nop[Vietnamese phonetics]: "Ho Chi Minh," from the JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION HISTORY, No 5, 1970, p 96.

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## THE WORLD SITUATION AND OUR PARTY AND STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 85-93

[Article by Vu Tien; capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] In the 1970's -- and particularly since 1975 -- there have been swift and profound changes in the world situation. The world revolution has vigorously developed its strategic offensive stance and has won extremely important victories. The balance of power has clearly shifted to the advantage of the revolutionary and peace forces. Imperialism and reactionary forces have suffered repeated setbacks and retreated step by step. The emergence of the counterrevolutionary assault force -- the Beijing reactionary clique -- has not been able to reverse the balance of power, even though it has caused difficulties to the world revolution. Nevertheless, the "who will triumph over whom" struggle in the world is still going on in a difficult and violent manner.

### THE OFFENSIVE STANCE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Mankind is now at a stage where no force can prevent the uprising of nations. A genuine revolution is apt to be successful and stand firm even if it occurs on a small island. Over the past years, *THE NATIONAL LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT HAS DEVELOPED WITH A NEW STRENGTH AND A NEW DIMENSION AND WITH INCREASINGLY PROFOUND SOCIAL CHANGES.* The last positions of colonialism are being wiped out, while neocolonialism has been dealt heavy blows. During the past 5 or 6 years, an additional 20 countries have gained their independence. The formation of a bloc of socialist countries in the Indochinese Peninsula is of utmost importance. It is a solid southern vanguard post of the socialist system and a factor for ensuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The successful revolution in Afghanistan is an important breakthrough in southwestern Asia. The Islamic revolution in Iran is a special phenomenon, reflecting a new victory of the struggle for national liberation. Portuguese colonies in Africa have been liberated, leading to the emergence of revolutionary and progressive states. Zimbabwe has basically ended the rule of the apartheid regime. Namibia is on the threshold of national independence. The scope of the liberation struggle in the republic of South Africa has been widened. In the Middle East, the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys has developed unprecedentedly strongly. Progressive Arab countries such as Syria, Libya, Algeria and the PLO hold high the banner against the Camp David agreement and the U.S. policy of sowing dissension among the Arab countries. In Latin America, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have been dealt a heavy blow in Nicaragua. The guerrilla war in El Salvador is developing with every passing day and winning victories. The protests against the dictatorial militarist regimes in Guatemala and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean Area are growing. India's role in the struggle for peace against imperialism in the Nonaligned Movement has been enhanced.

Noteworthy is the fact that many countries, after having gained their independence, have chosen the socialist path and embarked on many broad and profound economic, cultural and social transformations and are united closely with the socialist countries on the diplomatic front. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE LINKED TO SOCIALISM IS AN OUTSTANDING AND EVER GROWING TREND IN THE PRESENT ERA.

The developing countries, especially the nonaligned, play an increasingly important role in international relations and in the struggle for peace, security and disarmament against colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and Zionism. The developing countries represent more than two-thirds of the UN members and have an important voice in solving world issues. As vital sources of raw materials, fuel and energy for the capitalist countries, they are struggling fiercely to regain the right to mastership over their natural resources, to win the right to equality in trade relations with the capitalist countries and to establish a new world economic order.

In the capitalist countries, THE STRUGGLE MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER LABORING PEOPLE HAS DEVELOPED DEEPLY, BROADLY, SEETHINGLY AND CONTINUOUSLY IN DIVERSIFIED FORM. Over the past 10 years, the total number of people who have taken part in work strikes has been 250 million. There are new characteristics of the movement in these countries: The struggle is no longer limited to economic problems as in the past, but has switched its focus to conflicts with the monopolistic capitalist states; the scope of struggle is no longer within an enterprise or a corporation, but now covers each production sector, each economic field or an entire country; and the social forces participating in the struggle are becoming ever larger. The "spring offensive" in Japan, the "hot autumn" in Italy and work strikes in many provinces of Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany and throughout the United States, England and elsewhere are lively manifestations of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. The acute social conflict in northern European countries, once considered the "fortress of class peace," is a new phenomenon. Strong factors in the movement are the national and international campaigns against war and for peace in West Europe and the United States, with the participation of numerous circles of different tendencies and of parliamentarians and national activists. In many capitalist countries, the communist parties have been able to develop a great influence. The takeover of power by the leftists in France was a new and significant phenomenon.

IN THE GENERAL OFFENSIVE STANCE OF THE THREE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS IN THE WORLD, the decisive role belongs to world socialism which is the center that attracts all other revolutionary forces. Realistic socialism has over the past years won new successes. The socialist countries have increased their strength rapidly in all respects; developed production forces, including scientific and technological forces, on a larger scale and with a better quality; and constantly improved socialist production relations and the people's material and cultural life. The superiority of socialism is clearly reflected in the stabilization and development of the economy and the relatively high rate of development. In particular, the average annual rate of development in industrial production has increased more than twofold over the capitalist countries. With a population accounting for 10 percent of the world population, the CEMA member countries in 1950 achieved only 18 percent of world industrial output; by 1978 this percentage had increased to one-third. Over the past 10 years, the Soviet Union alone more than doubled its fixed assets over the previous 10 years, while its production forces have now reached standards for quality. The gap in economic development between the Soviet Union and the United States has diminished: In 1950 Soviet industrial output represented only 30 percent of U.S. industrial output; in 1978 it rose to 80 percent. In 1980 the Soviet Union surpassed the United States and ranked first in the world in the production of mineral oil, natural gas, steel, fertilizer and cement.

Particularly important is the fact that the socialist countries have strengthened their national defense forces and achieved a balance of military power between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Warsaw and NATO blocs. This is a firm guarantee of the security of fraternal and friendly countries and of world peace.

With ever deeper economic cooperation and with close coordination in the political ideological and diplomatic fields, the socialist countries have constantly developed the strength of each country as well as the strength of the entire community. The area and influence of socialism has been unceasingly consolidated and expanded throughout the world. As analyzed in the political report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade Le Duan at the fifth party congress, "despite certain difficulties in the process of advance and the betrayal of the Chinese leadership, the socialist system has created a combined strength greater than that of the imperialist and reactionary forces. With the Soviet Union as the pillar, the socialist system is ever more vigorously developing its role as a factor deciding the developmental trends of society, a firm bastion of peace and a reliable support for the revolutionary struggle of the world peoples." Today, only by holding fast to the stand of socialism can we correctly analyze the world situation, recognize the fundamental trends and features of the era, and understand that the most important strength of the world proletariat lies in the forces of the socialist countries of which THE SOVIET UNION IS THE PILLAR. All contentions that renounce socialist realism and negate or belittle the role of the Soviet Union are erroneous.

#### OVERALL DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

While socialism and the revolutionary forces are rapidly growing bigger and stronger, WORLD CAPITALISM FALLS EVER DEEPER INTO AN OVERALL DECLINE. Following two consecutive economic crises in the 1970's (1974-75 and 1979-80), the capitalist economy, after a period of recuperation, again entered a recession in mid-1981.

One of the most noticeable features of the current stage of the general crisis facing capitalism is that all of the problems facing capitalism and all of its intrinsic contradictions have come violently to the fore. The result of three cyclic economic crises that have broken out since the 1970's is that inflation and unemployment have grown at an unprecedented rate and the whole system of domestic and international economic relations of capitalism has become increasingly unstable. The measures taken by the monopoly capitalist state to readjust the economy have had very little effect. When applying anti-inflation measures, the bourgeois governments only worsen the slump in production and aggravate unemployment; and when trying to check economic recession, they only end up with increasing inflation. Therefore, the rate of economic development of the key capitalist countries is tending to slow down.

In the last decade, the average annual growth rate of the gross national product of these countries dropped to one-fourth of that in the 1960's; and that of industrial production dropped to almost one-third. An important indication of economic crisis is that in the 1974-80 period the average annual rate of increase in labor productivity of all the developing capitalist countries put together dropped 200 percent as compared with 13 years earlier. In the early 1980's, labor productivity of all nonagricultural sectors of the United States decreased by approximately 2 percent over 1978. According to an assessment by UNCTAD, the average annual growth rate of gross national product of the developing capitalist countries in the 1980's will drop to one-fourth as compared with the 1970's and one-half as compared with the 1960's. THIS TREND IS, TO A GREAT DEGREE, THE RESULT OF A CYCLIC RECESSION PATTERN -- especially the 1974-75 crisis, the greatest since World War II -- AND AT THE SAME TIME, OF THE INCREASING EMERGENCE OF NONCYCLIC CONTRADICTIONS.

Most important of all are the rapid surge of inflation and sectoral and structural crises (concerning energy, raw materials, finances and money, grain and so forth), the rising struggle movement for economic independence of peoples of liberated countries (directed against the rear base of capitalism), and the growing competition among imperialist countries for old and new sources of raw material and for investment areas. All these factors are closely related to the cyclic development of capitalist production.

Inflation is one of the noncyclical factors that has heavy socio-economic consequences. Economic recession coupled with soaring prices -- the phenomenon of "stagflation" -- is a new feature of the capitalist economy. It has developed widely since the 1970's. Formerly, inflation tended normally to increase only in the stages of restoration and prosperity of various economic cycles. As for periods of crisis when demands and the people's standard of living fell, prices did not increase or increased slowly. Now, inflation soars quickly in all the evolutionary cycles of the capitalist economy. From 1973 to 1980, the average annual rate of price increase in the developed capitalist countries was 10 percent. During the 1980-81 period, the general price index for products and commodities in the private economic sector increased by approximately one-fourth. As a result, the real income of workers decreased, while the income of capitalist groups rapidly increased. In 1981, the officially registered unemployment rate of developed capitalist countries exceeded 25 million people (more than 7 percent of the total number of working-age people).

The rapid development of "stagflation" has led to CHANGES IN THE BALANCE OF PRODUCTION POTENTIALS AND VIOLENT CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE MAJOR CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. Nowadays, competition among the capitalist countries is no longer aimed at accelerating economic development but at strenuously preventing the economy from declining further and at avoiding the effects of galloping inflation. In this competition, those countries whose economy has been heavily burdened by the costs of the arms race, are losing the most because of increases in prices and recession in production cycles. During the 1970's and the early years of the 1980's, the rating of the United States and the United Kingdom in the gross industrial product of the major capitalist countries decreased, while the positions of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany were enhanced.

An extremely fierce trade and currency war is taking place among the United States, Western Europe and Japan, which is threatening to become a political contradiction. In 1980, Japan had a surplus in \$15 billion in exports to the United States (\$20 billion in 1982). One-fourth of the cars sold in the United States came from Japan. Japanese competition in the United States has expanded to areas considered "inviolable" such as electronics and precision equipment. To cope with this situation, the United States has increased the interest rate, devaluing and draining Western European currencies and aggravating the economic recession in Western Europe. In 1981, the French franc fell by 33 percent against the dollar and 6 billion francs were moved abroad. Within 19 months prior to July 1981, 27 billion German marks had left the FRG.

The economic difficulties and the trade and currency war have led to THE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE AND BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN over some issues related to the socialist and national independent countries, especially those countries abounding in raw materials and fuel.

The United States wants to destroy East-West detente, but its European allies cannot reject the great benefits which detente brought them during the 1970's. The United States wants to impose "economic sanctions" on the Soviet Union, but the Western Europe countries have found in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries a wide market and a stable and abundant source of raw materials and fuel which have helped them get out of the economic crises. (At present, the Soviet Union is meeting 30 percent of Western Europe's demand for uranium for nuclear reactors. According to the November 1981 agreement, from 1985 to the end of the century, the Soviet Union will provide these countries with 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas, or 25 percent of the total requirement of Western Europe for gas.)



The United States has pressured the West European countries into expanding NATOS' scope of activities toward the Persian Gulf, having their armed forces cooperate with the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force" and increasing their military budgets. It has also pressed for the deployment of its medium-range nuclear weapons and neutron bombs in Western Europe. But the European countries are resisting this pressure. They realize that Europe now has the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons and that should war break out, Europe will become a major battlefield.

The United States has also pressured Japan into increasing its military budget and readjusting its balance of trade with the United States. But it is not easy to compel Japan to surrender to the U.S. will.

With regard to the developing countries, the United States is inclined toward using military force against various movements fighting for national independence, while U.S. allies want to use political, economic and diplomatic pressure rather than create a direct confrontation.

However, wicked by nature, all the imperialist countries have adopted the same view of opposing socialism and various revolutionary movements. Moreover, the United States' economic and military strengths now serve as a guarantee for it to exert pressure on various capitalist countries which are U.S. allies.

#### THE COUNTEROFFENSIVE OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND REACTIONARIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The imperialists and reactionaries are frenziedly launching a counteroffensive to avoid an economic crisis and to cope with the international movement. Due to the current balance of forces and with the impossibility of constant direct confrontation. THEIR COUNTER-OFFENSIVE HAS TAKEN PLACE UNDER MANY FORMS. They have waged "proxy" wars and counter-revolutionaries after arming them with weapons. They have engineered coups d'etat in many countries. They have employed the "peaceful process" to interfere in the internal affairs of our countries as in the case of Poland. They have advocated the use of military pressure, economic blockade and "economic sanctions." They have stepped up psychological warfare, promoted an "anticommunist doctrine" and "anti-Soviet doctrine", and used bourgeois doctrine and reactionary culture as a means to undermine our ideology and religion as a means to control the masses. In other words, they have resorted to every sophisticated and cunning trick to sabotage and sow dissension among us, to prevent revolutionary developments and to counter the influence of socialism in the world.

It is especially noted that the U.S. imperialists are launching a GLOBAL COUNTEROFFENSIVE IN ORDER TO MATERIALIZE THEIR AMBITION TO REGAIN MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND LOST POSITIONS, TO CHECK THE WORLD'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND TO REESTABLISH U.S. CONTROL OVER THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM. In collusion with Beijing, the U.S. imperialists have readjusted their global counterrevolutionary strategy by directing the spearhead toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Since mid-1978, the U.S. imperialists have stepped up the arms race at an unprecedented rate, trying to develop all sorts of mass-killing weapons including neutron bombs and biological weapons, to bring medium-range nuclear missiles to Europe, to brazenly spread propaganda on "limited nuclear war", to rekindle the "cold war" and to sabotage detente. They have openly used force to attack the national liberation movement which they have slandered as "international terrorism." They have expanded and strengthened their system of military bases everywhere, formed a "Rapid Deployment Force," conducted many sabre-rattling military exercises and intensively provided arms to many dictatorial and reactionary regimes in various areas to fan the flames of arms conflicts and create new hotbeds of tension.

The United States and the reactionaries have interfered in the internal affairs of Poland in an attempt to overthrow the socialist administration there and sabotage the socialist system from within. In Southeast Asia, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists have, in collusion with the imperialists, carried out multifaceted sabotage activities against the Indochinese countries and have rallied various counterrevolutionary forces to sabotage the peace and security of the many countries in the region.

THE ADVENTUROUS MILITARY POLICY OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND REACTIONARIES IS AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. However, the present balance of forces does not permit them to implement this policy easily. The integrated strength of the socialist system, of which the Soviet Union is the mainstay, is superior to the imperialist strength. Socialism, which is a little inferior to imperialism from the economic viewpoint, possesses not only political superiority but also a military force equivalent to that of imperialism. Considering the strength of the three revolutionary currents, we can say that this is the great strength capable of frustrating all of the imperialist and reactionary plots. Another factor is that it is not easy for the imperialists to muster their forces to wage war. The tendencies to internationalize socio-economic life in the world and to trade in a manner beneficial to both sides are developing their effects. Moreover, the arms race is no longer an effective means for the capitalist countries to extricate themselves from economic crises. It does not stimulate the entire imperialist economy but only stimulates a small component of modern military industries. While during the 1950's and 1960's, West Europe sided with the United States to wage a "cold war" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, during the 1970's the tendency toward detente was increasingly taking deep root in West European societies.

As for the value of the "Chinese card," it is not as great as expected by the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese card cannot help the United States create a position of strength over the Soviet Union, reverse the trend of detente and the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan and other places, or cause a confrontation between ASEAN and the Indochinese countries. Consequently, THE CAPABILITY OF PRESERVING PEACE EXISTS PRACTICALLY.

The characteristics of imperialists and reactionaries are to wage war and conduct military adventures. The imperialist countries still have the economic and military potential to wage war. If ever a nuclear war occurs, their existing colossal depots of nuclear weapons will bring disaster to the world and, obviously, to the country waging the war itself. Consequently, THE STRUGGLE TO PROTECT PEACE, prevent a nuclear war and maintain readiness to cope with a conventional war likely to be waged by the imperialists and reactionaries, IS AT PRESENT THE PRIMARY DUTY OF STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE. It is very important to maintain peace so that the revolutionary forces in the world can continue to win more victories without incurring any losses in war. Under the conditions of detente, there is even more possibility to mobilize the masses to struggle and check imperialist intervention. To maintain peace, the world peoples must resolutely carry out the revolutionary struggle to oppose the arms race, which causes a tense situation, and to prevent the U.S. imperialists from breaking the general balance of military forces which has come into shape.

Progressive mankind is therefore warmly welcoming the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. These initiatives correctly reflect the world peoples' aspiration for peace and uphold the peaceful good will of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our people resolutely support these initiatives. By peacefully working to build their country and by struggling stalwartly against the immediate and dangerous enemy -- Beijing expansionism and hegemonism -- and the main and long-standing enemy -- imperialism headed by the United States -- our people will make positive contributions to the common struggle for peace and revolution in the world.

## OUR PARTY AND STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY

Over the past years, we have scored great achievements in implementing the party's principled foreign policy, the two most outstanding of which have been the strengthening of the militant alliance of the three Indochinese countries and the very diversified and splendid development of the all-round cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. These achievements have strengthened the stature and strength of our people in their fight to defend the fatherland and have created further conditions for socialist construction in our country. In spite of the enemy's schemes and tricks aimed at encircling and isolating our country, the SRV's role and position have been constantly enhanced in the world arena.

As the party Central Committee political report at the fifth party congress pointed out, in the period to come our diplomatic work must be aimed at striving to take advantage of favorable international conditions and seeking to obtain great and multifaceted international assistance for our national construction and defense undertaking, thereby contributing to ensuring the successful fulfillment of the historic tasks set forth by the congress. In particular, our diplomatic work must become an active and positive front in the struggle to frustrate the policy of the big-power Chinese hegemonist expansionists which, in collusion with the bellicose U.S. power, is trying to weaken and annex our country. In the immediate future, we must strive to defeat the multifaceted war of sabotage they are waging. We must prevent the realization of their scheme of rekindling the war of aggression and consolidate peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Loyal to their international obligations, our people are uniting with the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world and vigorously supporting the resolute struggle of the peoples in the world against the bellicose and aggressive policy of U.S.-led imperialism for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

SOLIDARITY AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR PARTY AND STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY. This is also a principle, a strategy and a manifestation of revolutionary sentiments. It originates in the Soviet role and position in the socialist system and the world revolution and in the revolutionary nature of the two Marxist-Leninist parties and the two socialist states. It also originates in the demand of a binding character -- which is that national independence must be linked to socialism and independence and sovereignty to the alliance and comprehensive cooperation between the socialist countries. Solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union are a firm guarantee for the success of our people's cause of national defense and socialist construction as well as for the consolidation of national independence and the establishment of socialism on the Indochinese Peninsula. This is also an active contribution to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system and the strengthening of the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

THE SPECIAL VIETNAM-LAOS-KAMPUCHEA RELATIONSHIP IS AN EVOLUTIONARY LAW OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE THREE COUNTRIES. It is a matter of survival for the destiny of the three nations. This view was pointed out by the Lao and Kampuchean leaders in their speeches welcoming our fifth party congress. Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane upheld the special solidarity, militant alliance and comprehensive cooperation between Laos and Vietnam as a law of existence and development of the two countries. And Comrade Heng Samrin spoke of the profound Kampuchean-Vietnamese love and attachment and affirmed: "...solidarity and all-round cooperation with Vietnam and Laos is the strategic thought of the party (the KPRP), the objective and necessary demand of history, a determinant factor for Kampuchea's destiny, the pure revolutionary sentiments and the consistent stand of the Kampuchean people in the new epoch..."

Our people are determined to maintain the pure friendship and the tradition of solidarity among the three nations, to foil all enemy schemes and acts of sabotage and division and foster the special relationship between the three countries so that it will be fruitful and last forever.

THE MILITANT SOLIDARITY AND FRATERNAL COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY has taken a new step of development and brought about satisfactory results. Our people are determined to do their best to foster their friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries and contribute to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Being a nation once oppressed by imperialism and having long struggled against the forces of aggression, our people totally SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF AFRICAN, ASIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES to eliminate all forms of imperialism in the world, gain and protect national independence and build a new world economic order. We advocate developing the cooperation between Vietnam and other members of the Nonaligned Movement and contribute to developing the active role of this movement in the struggle against imperialism to protect world peace and the independence and sovereignty of all nations.

With deep sympathy our people are pleased with the achievements of the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the developed capitalist countries. We are DETERMINED TO SUPPORT THAT MOVEMENT and are convinced that it will win even greater victories in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

With regard to the ASEAN states, we advocate ESTABLISHING GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS, and are always ready, together with these countries, to build Southeast Asia into a region of peace and stability.

Our people are resolved to struggle to frustrate all schemes of aggression and annexation which are concocted by the Chinese authorities against our country. Nevertheless, we will ALWAYS PRESERVE INTACT OUR FRIENDLY SENTIMENTS FOR AND MAINTAIN THE POLICY OF GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE. We advocate the policy of restoring normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and settlement of contentious matters through negotiations.

We advocate the policy of ESTABLISHING AND EXPANDING THE NORMAL RELATIONS ON THE STATE LEVEL AND IN THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL FIELDS WITH ALL COUNTRIES regardless of their political and social regimes and on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefits.

With these guidelines, the foreign policy of our party and state will certainly be an important factor for the successful implementation of the tasks set forth by the fifth party congress.

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## THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF JOBS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 82 pp 94-96

[Article by Phuong Son]

[Text] The party distributes jobs to its members on the basis of the requirements of the revolution and the capabilities of each person. When joining the party, each party member voluntarily agrees to comply with the discipline of the party, voluntarily agrees with the distribution of jobs by the party organization. Whenever a revolutionary job is assigned by the party, the completion of that job is glorious; there are no illustrious jobs or mundane jobs. President Ho said: "Every occupation that benefits the country, the people and the class is glorious. The cook, the street cleaner and the president of the country, all must work; anything done for the benefit of the country and the people is glorious."(1)

The communist party member has serving the fatherland, serving the people as the purpose of his life. The foremost task of the party member, as stated in the Party Statutes is: "Making sacrifices and struggling throughout his life for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism and communism." President Ho said: "My entire life has but one purpose, to struggle for the interests of the fatherland and the happiness of the people."(2) He also said: "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, namely, to bring independence to our country and total freedom to our people, to insure that all compatriots are well fed and well clothed, that everyone is well educated."(3) This desire of President Ho is also the desire of Vietnamese communists. For the sake of winning independence for the fatherland and securing happiness for the people, countless Vietnamese communist fighters have bravely given their lives.

Our party is organized on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. In keeping with this principle, all of the executive committees on the various levels of the party are elected by congresses of delegates on the various levels. The executive committees concentrate the intelligence of the party organization, symbolize the tradition of solidarity of the party and insure the leadership of the party. The persons selected for election to the executive committees are persons who meet the following standards: they are loyal to the revolutionary line of the party, have the ability to implement the revolutionary line of the party, possess revolutionary ethics and have the trust of the masses. The structure



of the executive committees must insure the comprehensive leadership of the party and reflect continuity in the organizational structure of the executive committee. The election of persons to the executive committees by the party organization congresses on the various levels is also a way that the party distributes work to party members.

When the revolution was successful and state power was put into the hands of the working class and laboring people, the party became the party in power; the party appoints a number of party members to work within the state apparatus. This is another way that the party distributes work to its members.

Being elected to an executive committee or appointed to a job within the state apparatus are not a matter of "climbing the ladder of officialdom," rather, they involve accepting a revolutionary task assigned by the party for the purpose of serving the fatherland, serving the people. "We must understand that the agencies of the government, from the national level to the villages, are the servants of the people, that is, their purpose is to perform public work for the people, not to suppress the people as was the case during the period of French and Japanese domination."(4)

The genuine communist does not desire fame or riches. In early 1946, in response to journalists, President Ho said: "I absolutely do not desire position or fame of any kind. Having assumed the burden of president because my compatriots entrusted it to me, I must now try to fulfill it as a soldier being ordered by his nation into battle."(5) He also said: "Whenever my compatriots tell me to step down, I shall do so very willingly." After expressing the desire that the country be independent and that all compatriots be well fed and well clothed, that everyone be educated, he said: "As for myself, give me a cottage somewhere where there is green bamboo and sparkling water so that I can fish, raise vegetables and make friends with the old men gathering firewood and the children tending buffalo from sunup to sunset without anything to do with fame or wealth."(6)

These words reflected the noble qualities of President Ho. They also represented his philosophy of life. Vietnamese communists have the same philosophy of life.

Over the past several decades, following the example of the revered President Ho, countless comrades and compatriots of ours have struggled and sacrificed their lives for the independence of the nation and the happiness of the people. Many communist party members have displayed a high spirit of fairness and unselfishness. At the recent 5th National Congress, many comrades who had been active for many years in the revolution voluntarily stepped down from important positions on the Central Committee in order to make way for younger comrades to succeed them. A number of other comrades voluntarily stepped down from the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. Following the congress, many comrades voluntarily stepped down from the Council of Ministers. In many sectors and localities, many comrades that were active in the revolution for many years have also voluntarily stepped

down to allow younger persons to replace them. These are bright examples of the noble spirit of communism.

Our party and people have a very high evaluation of the tremendous contributions made by the comrades who have been active in the revolution for many years. They are comrades who were thrown into prison, who charged forth in the face of perils and struggled with no regard for themselves for the liberation of the fatherland and the happiness of the people. Today, having grown old and frail, they are voluntarily stepping down so that younger persons can succeed them. This is a beautiful manifestation of the spirit of fairness and unselfishness of genuine communists.

On the occasion of a number of our comrades stepping down from important positions within the agencies of the party and state, the imperialists and international reactionaries are looking for ways to distort the situation and sow divisions in a vain attempt to shake our people's iron will to protect the fatherland and build socialism. However, they are wasting their time. Our party has a fine tradition of internal unity. Our people have a tenacious revolutionary will to struggle. No clever trick of the enemy can divide our party or shake our people's iron will. "Nothing will stand in our way." Despite the psychological warfare tricks of the enemy, our party and our people will continue to march steadily down the path of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

The nation of Vietnam has a beautiful tradition: "Sprouts grow from old bamboo" and "it is good fortune for a family for the son to be better than his father." Wave after wave of young, energetic cadres and party members filled with talent are appearing and assuming important responsibilities in the agencies of the party and state. This is an expression of the strong vitality of our party and nation. Continuing the work of those who went before them, our young cadres and party members will surely excellently complete the tasks assigned to them by the party and the people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 51.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 238.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 381.
4. Ibid., p 370.
5. Ibid., p 381.
6. Ibid.

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