also of each region in order to promote a powerful development of production in many places and on various scales. Not only should we make the most of the superior features of socialism to set up large-scale modern economic bases to serve as the backbone of our national economy, but we should also know how to build appropriate economic organizations at regional level so as to turn to account all possibilities of the people and make them participate in the construction of the economy, development of production and organization of daily life.

We start from a backward economy and a low standard of living. Yet the consumption needs of our country and our people are becoming more and more complex. The central authorities can and must only see to basic consumer needs of national import while the various regions must satisfy secondary ones in an adequate and timely way. Close coordination and clear apportionment of responsibilities between the central and regional administrations is the best way to satisfy the people's consumer needs in accordance not only with the level of development of the whole country but also with the possibilities and peculiarities of each region. For this reason the problem of balance between production and consumption must be posed and solved not only on a national scale but also for each region. Either of these two sorts of equilibrium has its own importance; they support and complement each other. Once the major problems of balance between production and consumption are solved by the central administration, the various regional administrations are in a position to give better solutions to similar problems arising in each region. Conversely, once local problems
of balance are solved, conditions are created for the central administration to settle in a better way major problems of balance with a national import.

Within each region, an equipoise between production and consumption will cause the economy to make greater headway, the standard of living to rise, and greater contributions to be made to the national economy. Since each region must and can develop to the highest degree its latent possibilities and emulate the others in expanding its economy according to its potentialities and requirements, production and consumption alike will grow more diversified and the people's living conditions will be bettered. To be sure, fundamental unified standards must be set for consumption in the whole country, for this is a principle of socialism and an imperative requirement of the socialist regime of collective ownership.

The advance from small handicraft production to large-scale modern production necessarily calls for a re-division of labour. A given technical level necessarily begets a corresponding division of labour. At present, when productive forces have grown beyond national boundaries, social labour should be distributed not only within the framework of individual nations but also to a certain extent on an international scale. In our country, the agricultural labour force, with a very low productivity, still makes up three-fourths of the total social labour force. Hence, a new division of labour means first and foremost a re-division of agricultural labour. To transfer part of food-producing labour to industrial-crop growing, livestock breeding, fishing, and forestry; to turn part of agricultural labour over to industry, transport
and communications; to convert unskilled labour into skilled labour; to raise low-productivity labour to a highly productive level—such are the urgent requirements of economic building, such is the essential aim of labour management in the present stage. Those steps in the re-division of labour, if timely and rational, will quicken the pace of the technical revolution and the birth of a large-scale system of production. We must be deeply aware of the fact that both primitive accumulation and the improvement of the people’s living standards can only be achieved on the basis of a re-division of social labour, a re-division of labour among the various branches of the economy, and not by maintaining the present state of agricultural labour.

In the stage immediately ahead, the new division of labour should essentially start from the various production bases and regions. No doubt the vigorous growth of centrally-run economic branches will attract a certain number of rural workers, impart to labour a wholly new quality, and transform its structure in the upward direction of large-scale production. However, if we rely solely on the development of those branches the re-division of labour will proceed very slowly for, each year, they can absorb only a relatively small proportion of the labour force and raise the productivity of only a part of social labour, while the major part of the workforce remaining in the various regions urgently calls for rational distribution and utilization. How to increase labour productivity and free part of the agricultural labour force from its old occupations? How to use this freed labour in the most advantageous way? Such problems, which crop
up every day, can only be grasped and solved in time by individual co-operatives and localities. The setting up of small rural mechanical workshops have freed millions of workdays; yet, in many places, these have not been channelled into new occupations. New wealth has not been created for society and the productivity of agricultural labour has not been raised. If these shortcomings in economic management are not overcome in time, the introduction of science and technique into agriculture will be hampered, the new division of labour hindered, and the building of the new economy slowed down.

This law of development of the division of labour in our country, which is progressing from small production to large-scale production, requires from us the greatest efforts not only to promote the growth of the centrally-run branches of the economy but also to build the various regional economies in a rational way. Only on the basis of a re-division of labour in each region coupled with the building of regional economies can we proceed to a re-division of labour for the whole of society. Conversely, the expansion of the national economy and of centrally-run economic branches will act upon the economic and labour situation in the various regions and quicken the re-division of labour there.

Two phenomena usually appear in the relationship between town and countryside: separation of town from countryside on the one hand, and urbanization of the latter, on the other. These two processes are by no means independent and separate, but are closely linked with the development of the economy, especially industry. The separation of town from countryside means in fact that of industry from agriculture, and
the urbanization of the countryside is in effect the industrialization of agriculture, the implantation of industry in the rural areas, and the close coordination of industry and agriculture. To build a centrally-run economy while concurrently developing the various regional economies is the best way to associate town and countryside and quickly do away with differences between the two. By constructing centrally-run industrial bases at appropriate sites and expanding the regional economies, which include agriculture and regional industry, we shall be able to develop both town and countryside. Towns will appear in many places in close association with rural areas. Besides some relatively big cities which will serve as political, economic, and cultural centres for the whole country, we shall, on the strength of our economic development, build a large number of small and medium-sized towns in various places, so as to bring their influence to bear upon rural areas and help the latter progress at a fast pace in the economic, cultural and social fields. We shall have then put a new face on every region, in the highlands as well as in the lowlands, and provide all citizens, wherever they may live, with material welfare and a rich and wholesome cultural life.

The simultaneous building of the central and regional economies also creates a firm economic basis for the people's national defence. The strength of people's war in our country lies in the power displayed by the entire people standing up to oppose the enemy. This power is organized into political and military forces using appropriate tactics in all three strategic areas: hill-forest, plain and urban. Each province is a strategic unit, both for operations and for logistics, for
combat and for production. Hence we must not only see to the building of a modern heavy industry but also strive to construct solid regional economies; not only bring into existence great productive forces but also know how to distribute them geographically, in conformity with our military strategy. By doing so, we shall be able, in any kind of war and under any circumstances, to maintain and expand our potential in both combat and production and foster the people's strength with a view to a protracted struggle.

The above-mentioned law of economic development in our country is fashioning many relationships between the central and regional economies and raising many new problems in economic management.

The more the regional economies expand, the heavier our managerial duties, while the tasks of centralized management by the central administration grows also more complex. As our economy develops, many regional problems will assume national import. Many questions of balanced proportion and field of production of a regional character will take on national dimensions. Thus, the central economy will be strengthened step by step thanks to the blossoming of regional possibilities and innovations. However, the tasks of regional management will also grow more complex as the economy develops. While questions of balanced proportion and field of production that have gone beyond the bounds of regional management are turned over to the central administration, a whole series of new problems relating to those matters will arise from local economic life. Thus an ever-changing, ever-developing content is supplied by economic life to the management of both the central and the regional administrations.
One should not fear that by extending to the various regions the centrally-run economy may weaken, nor that centralization may check the growth of the regional economies. Previously we had taken steps to apportion economic responsibilities between the central and provincial administrations, but this was not clearly set forth. We had not yet taken full account of this reality, and grasped this law: our socialist economy must of necessity comprise both a centrally-run economy and regional economies. The distribution of managerial responsibilities to the various regions aims at creating conditions for the latter to expand agriculture and regional industry and carry out a new division of labour. On that basis, they can make a greater contribution to the development of the central economy as well as give timely solutions to problems raised by the life of the local people, in accordance with the line and policies laid down by the central authorities.

Owing to this apportionment of managerial responsibilities in all fields, there will be, within our unified economic structure, a centrally-run economy and regional economies, a centrally-run industry and regional industries, a national plan and regional plans, a national budget and regional budgets.

To regionalize economic management and to strive to develop the regional economies are by no means tantamount to turning each region into an independent economic unit. The central administration takes in hand the unified and concentrated leadership of the whole economic system through the national plan comprising the main balances and indices, through the establishment of major policies and basic standards for both production and consumption, and
through the allocation of resources and capital. The central economy includes the most important branches and acts as a leading force and a lever in regard to the whole of the national economy. Basing itself on the line, policies, and common orientation and plan laid down by the central administration, each region will build and manage its own economy. A component part of the national economy, each regional economy is at the same time a rational and balanced structure within its own area. While following the common orientation, plan and policies worked out by the central administration, it reflects the innovations and creativeness of that region, its traits and peculiarities.

The relationships between the various regions are those of socialist cooperation between the various parts of a nationwide system of division of social labour. They take on many aspects: exchange and assistance as regards technique, raw material, and consumption; cooperative efforts for economic and cultural projects of common interests, etc. These relationships are placed under the guidance of the central authorities. They should not run counter to the State plan; on the contrary, they should complement and enrich it.

For the provinces to have all necessary conditions for developing their economies, we must, besides delegating to them managerial responsibilities in the economic, cultural, and educational fields, ensure for them adequate manpower, resources, finances, and a market, so as to meet their requirements for economic development and a large-scale re-division of labour. Naturally, the optimum dimensions to be given each region are not a hard-and-fast, immutable frame that is identical for all provinces. While delimiting a province,
we should carefully weigh all factors: territory, population, industrial and agricultural resources, means of transport and communications, etc. so as to achieve a harmony conducive to a balanced expansion of that regional economy.

The relationship between the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies is a multi-sided and complex one, which should be embodied in a whole series of regulations and practical measures, for instance on planning, revenue and expenditure, allocation of resources and products, etc. In order to carry into effect the line and policies on economic development laid down by the Party and the State, we should not be content with a number of general principles and slogans. On the contrary, we should make a thorough study of organizational problems, rules and regulations and effect a clear apportionment of work and responsibilities so as to avoid both unnecessary duplications and the absence of specific responsibilities, both bureaucratic centralization and anarchistic dispersal.

E. IMPROVED ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Once the line and orientation for economic development has been laid down, the setting up of an appropriate management system assumes tremendous importance, for it may decide the success or failure of the line itself. Our present system and machinery of economic management still present many inadequacies and are not yet equal to our tasks of economic building, thereby affecting the implementation of the Party’s line and policies and somewhat slowing down the
pace of economic transformation and construction. Yet, many of our comrades are not fully aware of our shortcomings in this field. They have not fully realized the importance of economic management, and have not seriously tackled the work of economic organization.

To manage the economy is to regulate a living organism which develops according to objective laws. A management system can only be considered appropriate if it fully reflects the laws governing the evolution of the economy as a whole and also its peculiar manifestations in each region, each sector, each unit, and in each period. Born of objective reality and varying with the economic juncture, it tolerates neither waywardness, schematism nor bureaucratism. It requires leaders of all branches and at all levels to be thoroughly acquainted with economic conditions and alive to the emergence of new factors. The strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat comes precisely from its ability to comprehend the law of development of things and advocate measures that meet the exigencies of this evolution.

At present in the North, as the development of production and the re-division of labour are in their initial stage, the regime of economic management must show extreme flexibility and conform to both the universal economic laws of socialism and the laws which govern the advance from small to large-scale production. It must reflect to the greatest extent both the unified central leadership and the collective master-hood of the various regions and basic units. We must step up planning work while judiciously utilizing market relations and making a wider application of cost accounting.
Material incentives must be brought into play while political and ideological education should be intensified and the socialist consciousness of the masses heightened.

In socialist economic management, prominence should be given to planning work, that especial advantage of the socialist economic system. To neglect planning work and make light of the law of planned economic development is to divorce oneself from the essence of the socialist economy and to abolish the role of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat as organizer and manager of the economy. However, the problem facing us at present is: how, in our planned economy, can we and should we effect planning work? To what extent should we utilize market relations and such levers as credit, prices, wages and profit? There lies one of the fundamental questions of economic management in our country at present.

Because we start from small-scale production, we are faced with economic problems of both national and regional import. And so comprehensive plans should be worked out at three levels: central, regional and basic. This is an objective necessity which accords with the present level of development of our economy and the essential tasks of the initial stage of economic expansion and accumulation. Planning authorities at each level are entrusted with tasks and powers aimed at enabling them to solve their own specific economic problems while contributing to the greatest extent to the development of the national economy. The central plan sets the orientation for the whole national economy, determines the pace and rate of growth of the key branches,
defines the major balances and stages in economic develop­ment, and sets the major tasks and indices for the whole country. Under the general leadership and operational guidance of the central planning authorities, each region and basic unit will work out its own plan of development for fulfilling the tasks and indices set by the central plan. At the same time it must show the greatest initiative and imagination in turning to account all potentialities, fulfilling all tasks and solving all problems arising at the regional or basic level. Each planning echelon is a unit for production and cost accounting, as well as for accumulation and enlarged reproduction. Besides economic and technical indices fixed for the whole country, it can and must have its own indices. Although entrusted with different tasks and functions, the three planning echelons form an organic whole in which the leading role is played by the central planning authorities.

Our national economy is going through a process of fast revolutionary change. In both production and consumption, there constantly appear new requirements, potentialities and balances, which we can comprehend only through actual practice. Hence, we must on the one hand hold firm to the long-term plan which outlines the development of the national economy over a relatively long period and contains major projects for the building and expansion of large-scale production, and on the other, pay the greatest attention to short-term plans, which are concrete operational plans for achieving a specific target, settling specific questions, and giving timely solutions to problems arising in the process of implementation of the plan.
Without a long-term plan, ranging over five to ten years for instance, one cannot visualize the development of the whole of the economy and carry out all necessary preparations such as accumulation of capital, training of cadres and workers, scientific and technical research, fundamental investigations and geological surveys, delimitation of economic zones and planning of production, etc. But in our present economic conditions, we must attach the greatest importance to our short-term, yearly, plans and see to their monthly, even daily, implementation, for these practical activities bear tangible fruits. To follow closely the development of the economy, to get a thorough grasp of the situation in the basic units, to discover new factors and correct all defects in good time — this must be the regular style of work of all economic services. In that sense, the direction of the economy and of production may be likened to commanding a war operation.

At present, an important part of our socialist economy still consists of dispersed handicrafts. Many requirements of social life, especially daily necessities, are too numerous and diverse for our State to fully foresee and satisfy. This situation demands that our State, while directing the economy, should skillfully combine the plan with the market and supplement the former with the latter. We can and must not only regulate — through the State Plan, which may be considered the second programme of the Party and is a law enacted by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat — the fundamental economic relationships and essential balances, but also utilize the mechanism of the market with a view to controlling economic indices and adjusting certain economic activities of secondary importance not included in the reckonings of
the Plan. We must not only devote the greatest attention to planning work and to the indices of the Plan, but also strictly control the activity of the market so as to promote its positive role while checking its negative influence on planned economic management.

The practice of economic building in the other socialist countries as well as in our own proves that in economic management, we must correctly utilize such levers as prices, wages, profit and credit, and fully enforce the regime of cost accounting and the socialist mode of doing business. The commodity-money relationship is a product of history which is closely bound up with a given level of development of production. When developing on the basis of private ownership, it goes with class differentiation and accelerates the division of society into rich and poor. But once the levers of the economy are in the hands of the proletarian State, once the exploiting classes have been abolished and the small producers have taken the road of collective work, then a judicious and rational development of the commodity-money relationship coupled with a re-division of labour and the technical revolution will become a positive factor in promoting the growth of production and organizing a new life. Therefore, to bring into play the law of value, practise cost accounting and use the levers of prices, profit, wages and credit, are extremely important economic problems. The law of value and the practice of cost accounting make it possible to gauge the economic effectiveness of economic and technical measures, assess the quality of work in each enterprise, region, branch, and at each level, mobilize all latent economic possibilities and encourage innovations, thrift and industriousness
in the interest of the State and the nation. The work of economic building in such a country as ours, which is still poor and where labour productivity is low and financial resources limited, demands that still greater attention be paid to business efficiency if we are to satisfy our immediate needs while effecting enlarged reproduction. We must, not only on a national scale but even within each branch, at each level and in each basic economic unit, accumulate profits for enlarged reproduction, and all branches, levels and units must show definite progress after each cycle of production. However, we should not view profits and losses with the petty mind of the small individual producer. In our present conditions, the greatest profit lies in expanding production, multiplying branches and trades, increasing the quantity of products, and raising labour productivity in each branch and in the whole of our national economy. Only on that basis can we speak of profits and reconcile profit-making with the socialist nature of our economy. On the one hand, we must in so far as is possible make profits in each branch and each period; on the other, we should take the development of the whole of our economy over a long period into consideration in order to examine the question of profits and losses in a comprehensive way.

As we advance from small to large-scale production and from a natural to a commodity economy, the problem of circulation and distribution assumes all the more importance vis-à-vis the process of social reproduction. Circulation is an intermediate link between the various sectors of production and between production and consumption. It binds the various economic branches and sectors into a unified organism.
and joins our independent national economy to those of other countries. With its many branches it must actively serve production, expand economic exchanges, reinforce the policy of prices, improve buying and selling, and reduce circulation costs. Only in this way can we stimulate the new division of labour and the process of enlarged reproduction, contribute to accumulation and better satisfy the people's needs. The cadres of the trade services are not “vulgar merchants”; they must be considered the “housewives” of society, the “commissaries” of the people, who look after the economic interests of all members of society and ensure their right to be masters.

Being the hub for the distribution of national income, the clearing centre and the “nerve centre” of the whole of our national economy, the financial and banking services must not only collect capital but also create conditions for its quicker accumulation and concentration. They must effect a judicious distribution of national income and bring about a rational relationship between accumulation and consumption in agreement with the special characteristics and requirements of each stage of economic development.

Our country is still poor, labour productivity very low. To establish a correct relationship between primitive accumulation and immediate consumption is a very arduous task. Without the former, there can never be a qualitative leap in economic expansion, a heavy industry and a large-scale production system which will serve as a basis for a prosperous economy and a life of abundance. Hence, to “tighten our belts”, reduce all expenditures that are not really indispensable, and resolutely reserve funds for accumulation is an
imperative necessity and bears witness to our people’s high political consciousness in building socialism. However, the very nature of the socialist economy and the necessity of raising labour productivity and expanding production demand that we should pay great care and attention to the people’s welfare, meet all their basic needs, and be determined to put an end to all unnecessary shortages and complications in their daily life.

Besides, the financial and banking services must through their activities strengthen their control and supervision over the various branches, regions and production units. They must urge all branches, and echelons to perfect their economic planning and production orientation, drastically save labour resources and money, and resolutely combat embezzlement and waste. These two evils should be looked upon as unpardonable offences, for they not only drain us of our material wealth but also impair the new production relations and affect the thoughts and feelings of the new, socialist man.

To fulfil those tasks, economic cadres of all branches and echelons, especially those of the trade, financial and banking services, should study hard so as to gain a thorough understanding of the economic line and policies of the Party and the State. They must acquire fundamental knowledge of circulation, distribution and credit, fully grasp the importance of this system of levers, and strive to expand and strengthen it for use in economic direction and management.

An outstanding feature of economic management in our country at present is the following: on the one hand, we must manage a socialist economy progressing from small to
large-scale production, from dispersal to concentration; on the other, we have to run modern, strictly organized, and highly concentrated enterprises. Hence, besides a common management regime for the whole of our national economy, we must work out an appropriate management system for enterprises, which rests on the following basic principles: to fulfil the political tasks of the enterprise, thoroughly master technique and create conditions for its improvement, observe production discipline in all respects—planning, materials and equipment, finances, labour—and ensure the workers' right to collective masterhood and to adequate living conditions. Those fundamental principles of management express the concentrated and unified character of modern industry and the collective masterhood of the workers' masses. They stimulate and ceaselessly raise labour productivity, and help improve the living standards of the working people. Such are the purposes of the management of enterprises.

To shoulder our tasks of economic management, development of production, and organization of social life, we must build a powerful machinery which can meet the requirements of economic management and adapt itself to the peculiarities of each branch and each region. It must be systematically oriented towards the base and thoroughly acquainted with every economic and technical problem. We must guard against modelling it after an administrative service, which will divorce it from its economic tasks and prevent it from meeting the exigencies of productive techniques; otherwise there may arise important problems without anyone being empowered to settle them, while in other cases there may be duplication of responsibilities.
and powers. There may be a glut of desk personnel coupled with a dearth of managers, controllers and supervisors, which will result in impaired managerial efficiency. Between the operative parts of this machinery, there must be established working relationships and correct rules and regulations aimed at clearly delimiting powers and responsibilities and ensuring respect for the masterhood of each branch and level, subject to the overall sovereignty of the State. They must guarantee the various management echelons—on the basis of general economic and technical standards and within the framework of the State plan—the right to allocate labour, money and resources with a view to fully exploiting all potentialities and successfully accomplishing all production tasks.

In the relationships between the various branches and echelons, great attention must be paid to control work: economic control, technical control and personnel control. Control work and the regime of economic contracts should be made a management routine, which will allow us to correct in time all errors and shortcomings in our practical managerial work.

An important task of economic organization is to correctly determine the relationships between the Party, the State and the masses in economic management. Being the leader and the general staff of the army of economic builders, the Party must work out the fundamental line and policies, establish major principles and measures, mobilize the masses for a powerful offensive on the economic front, and control all activities of the State organs. The Party's leadership is a historical necessity. It ensures a correct orientation to our economy,
safeguards the interests of the various strata of the people, and ceaselessly strengthens the role of the latter as masters. Both in the revolution in general and in economic construction in particular, our Party has no axe to grind. The whole of the national economy as well as each factory and field is the property of the people in different forms of collective ownership and different economic and technical conditions. This objective reality requires that our Party should work out different methods of leadership fitted for each area (industry, agriculture, factories, cooperatives, etc.) so as to firmly maintain the leadership of the Party, uphold the managerial functions of the administration, while ensuring the direct exercise by the masses of their right to be the masters.

Symbol of the people's sovereignty, the State is the organ of power which manages the national economy in their name. Hence, for the Party's economic line and policies to be carried into effect, one must bring into play the managerial and organizational functions of the State. Basing themselves on laws, statutes, rules, and through the medium of their specialized, technical, and professional agencies, the various echelons of State power directly manage the economy, give guidance to production and distribution, and harmonize the material interests of the various social strata in accordance with the line laid down by the Party. To build a strong State apparatus, respect the managerial functions of its various echelons and their role as "organs of power", and ensure to them every condition and adequate powers for managing the economy—such is the responsibility of the Party organs at all levels. Our Party's success in economic direction lies not only in its having charted a correct course and mobilized its
ranks to tackle economic and technical work seriously, but also in its having created a strong administrative system capable of shouldering its managerial tasks and translating the Party’s line and policies into practical deeds of the masses.

In the last analysis, both the Party’s leadership and the administration’s managerial role aim at ensuring the right of the people to be the collective masters in all spheres of social life. However, in order to muster the strength of the entire people for economic construction, and to prevent all manifestations of bureaucratism and abuse of power, we must devise adequate forms of direct mass participation in economic management and in the control of the activities of Party and State organs.

Being the “school of communism”, the school of economic management, the school for the education of the working masses, the trade-unions must drive home to the workers the political tasks of their enterprises and the positions and importance of the latter in the system of production, the people’s life, and the destiny and future of the country. They must ceaselessly raise the workers’ consciousness and capability of being the masters and urge them to effectively participate in all productive activities and in the life of their enterprises. The organs of economic management must pay due regard to the opinion of the trade-unions, for this means that they are listening to the voice of a mass political organization and respecting the right of the masses to be the collective masters. An important task of the trade-unions is to mobilize and guide the workers to participate fully in the emulation movement so as to invest it with a genuine mass character and show that the workers are the real masters in
their enterprises. Socialist emulation, a product of the collective economic system and the new democratic regime, embraces a rich content—political and moral, economic and technical. It is an appropriate way to mobilize and educate the masses, and a powerful motive power for stimulating production, improving technique, and increasing labour productivity. It judiciously reconciles the interests of the State with those of each collective and individual.

The Working Youth Union, the shock brigade on the front of production, science and technique, must hold a place worthy of its role in the managerial machinery, especially at the basic level. Party and State organs must rely on it to fulfil their new and heavy economic duties and solve complex scientific and technical problems. In the course of those seething social activities, our young people are tempered and educated and turned into true collective masters of society, both in production and in daily life.

Thus, in the whole of the national economy as well as in each economic unit, there must be constant and close coordination between the Party, the State and the people. Only on that basis can the people’s sovereignty be safeguarded fully and lastingly and the socialist regime be truly consolidated.

To advance to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is the shortest way to freedom and happiness for the working people. However, we shall have to face many difficulties and hardships, for we are starting from scratch, having inherited very little from the old society. Besides, this is a new road in history.

This revolutionary road is beset with difficulties. But in the light of Marxism-Leninism, thanks to the rich experience
gained in the brotherly countries as well as in our own, our Party has gradually got a full grasp of the law of revolutionary development and perfected its line and policies. Moreover, after ten-odd years of socialist revolution in varying circumstances, we have accumulated precious experience in the building of the economy and the transformation of society. Our cadres, both managerial and technical, have visibly matured, and their ranks have expanded. The new production relations occupy a dominant position in society and are playing a highly positive role in economic development and in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. Our people's industrious labour has laid a number of material bases for future progress. Lastly, we have received substantial assistance from the brother socialist countries and benefited by their experience in all fields: economic, technical, etc. Those are fundamental advantages which will enable us to advance with firm steps. In the period ahead, without a shadow of doubt, we shall achieve even greater successes in socialist revolution. We will increase even further the economic potential of the North so as to improve the people's standard of living and, together with our 14 million fellow-countrymen in the South, carry out our iron resolve: to win complete victory over the American aggressors.

Our generation feels boundless pride for having not only defeated "two big imperialisms — the French and the American," but also opened the way for the building on Vietnamese soil of a socialist fatherland, strong and beautiful, independent and free, where democracy and happiness reign, thus fulfilling the wishes of Uncle Ho and of our entire people.
PART THREE

THE PARTY

CHAPTER SIX

VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM CREATIVELY APPLIED TO THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY

Forty years is but a very short period in our national history of more than 4,000 years. Yet it is during these last forty years that our people have recorded their greatest and proudest achievements. It is in this period that, integrated into the general stream of progressive mankind, they have surged forward, driven by the powerful vitality of the new era, the glorious traditions of their nation, and full consciousness of their destiny and their future.

Our country is not very large, nor is its population very numerous. Our society stagnated in feudalism for a long time then was enslaved by imperialism for nearly one hundred years, in which even the name of Viet Nam was erased from the map. Yet within the space of a quarter century, our people have risen up and carried out an uninterrupted series of revolutionary processes: the August Revolution, the war of resistance against French colonialism, the socialist revolution in the North and the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation. By their nature and scope, and by their historic importance not only from the national but also the international point of view, these revolutionary performances have elevated our country and our people to the
level of the new times, which have seen the triumph of lofty ideals: national independence, democracy and socialism.

The primary and essential factor which determined all those historic successes was the founding of our Party and its leadership of the revolution. Our Party is a new-type proletarian party holding firm the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism; a proletarian party which faithfully and fully represents the vital interests and legitimate aspirations of the working class, the toiling people, and the entire nation; a Marxist-Leninist party with a close-knit organization, a tradition of unity and oneness of mind, and intimate ties with the masses.

Armed with the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and heir to over a hundred years of precious experience of the world proletariat, our Party has led the Vietnamese revolution along the right path. It has thoroughly fulfilled the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the North and moved it forward to the stage of the socialist revolution, while striving to complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country.

Our Party's glorious successes in the people's national democratic revolution are due to the judicious and creative manner in which it has solved a series of very basic problems of strategy and tactics:

— To establish and unceasingly consolidate the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party.

— To correctly combine two strategic tasks: fighting against imperialism and combating feudalism, the latter task
being carried out step by step in close co-ordination with
the former and serving it efficiently;

- To rally the large forces of the peasantry, successfully
build a firm *worker-peasant alliance*, the mainstay of the re-
volution and the key guarantee of the exclusive leadership
exercised by the party of the working class;

- On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, to set up
a broad *National United Front*, which brings together all
patriotic and progressive forces and directs the spearhead of
the revolution against the common enemy of the nation;

- To *make skilful use of the enemy's internal contradic-
tions* to divide his ranks, neutralize all forces that could be
neutralized, isolate the most dangerous foe, and create more
favourable conditions for the progress of the revolution;

To make a flexible and accurate application of revolution-
ary methods, to utilize all forms of organization and struggle
suited to each period, *to consider it a fundamental task to
build the political forces of the masses and, on that basis, to
set up revolutionary armed forces*. Whenever a revolutionary
situation has prevailed, the Party has used both political and
armed forces combined military with political struggle,
attacked the enemy in both the rural and urban areas, and
advanced step by step to complete victory;

- To consolidate and strengthen *the people's democratic
power*, the great achievement of the revolution, and use it as
an efficient instrument for waging the war of resistance and
building the new society;

- To strengthen *international unity* on the basis of
Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.
Over the past ten-odd years, while struggling side by side with our Southern fellow-countrymen in order to complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, we in the North have invested the people's democratic State with the historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to move the North forward to a transition to socialism through the simultaneous accomplishment of a triple revolution: revolution in production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, with the technical revolution as the keystone. Socialist revolution is still quite a novelty to us, but the facts of the past ten-odd years allow us to affirm that the basic orientation for socialist construction in the North, as advocated by our Party, is a wholly correct one.

The great wealth of experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years is due to the successful application of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country. The history of our Party over that period highlights the creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and growing up in a society with a majority of peasants, our Party has drawn into its ranks a large number of members of the peasantry. Yet it has constantly and wholly preserved its character as a revolutionary party of the working class, first and foremost because it is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and shows absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and because its political and organizational line is a Marxist-Leninist one, that of the working class. Like a beacon, Marxism-Leninism, the most radically revolutionary doctrine and the only one that is scientific, has shown our Party how
to solve all problems of the Vietnamese revolution and work out correct revolutionary lines and methods. We were thus able to defeat the reformism of the bourgeoisie and the narrowly nationalistic tendency of the petty bourgeoisie as well as its claim to "stand above classes;" foil the provocations and sabotage attempts of the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary elements, overcome political waverings and Right and "Left" deviations within the Party, and successfully perform all revolutionary tasks in all periods.

Our Party attaches great importance to the study of the revolutionary experience of the fraternal countries and parties, considering it an absolute necessity for a proletarian party wishing to discharge its responsibilities. But it always regards the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution and the living realities of Vietnamese society with its original features — historical, sociological, and economic factors, national traditions, etc. — as a starting-point in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the universal laws, and the experience of the fraternal countries concerning both the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The tremendous victories reaped by the Vietnamese revolution are precisely due to the independent and creative manner in which its lines and methods have been elaborated.

A. STRENGTHENING OF PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE NEW STAGE

Compared with our past revolutionary tasks, our present ones are much heavier and more complex. On the one hand the Party must exert the greatest efforts to complete the national democratic revolution in the whole country and lead
the struggle of our entire people against American aggression to total victory, with many hardships and sacrifices lying ahead. On the other, it must give a strong impetus to socialist revolution and construction in the North, an almost wholly new undertaking. For this tremendous work, we can rely on fundamental advantages accruing from our achievements over the past ten-odd years. Yet this is only an initial step. A Communist always squarely faces reality, and knows how to look into the future. Obviously, at present in the North, handicraft labour still makes up a major part of social labour. And so we are still a long way from our ideal and from the people's aspirations for socialism. To bring into existence a modern industry and agriculture and an advanced culture and science, our Party and our people will have to exert the most extraordinary efforts and overcome countless difficulties.

The leadership of the Party is the factor that determines all successes. Hence, to fulfil our present revolutionary tasks, the key question is to strive to reinforce this leadership.

Our Party is a party in power. The historical responsibility of such a party, far from becoming any lighter, grows, on the contrary, all the heavier. As everybody knows, the fundamental problem of all revolutions is that of power. However, in the revolutionary undertaking of the Party, in the class struggle waged by the proletariat viewed in its entirety, the conquest of power is not the final objective. The seizure of power does not mean the end, but only the beginning, of the revolution.

The absolute necessity for the proletariat to seize power is due to the fact that, without overthrowing the ruling class and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat, the latter
will not be able to see the class struggle through. This means to abolish not only the exploiting classes but even the sources of exploitation, not only class antagonisms but even class differences. It means not only to eradicate the causes of poverty and destitution but also create a life of abundance and happiness for the people; in short, to build a wholly new society — communist society — a classless society, in which material welfare and a rich spiritual life are enjoyed by all.

All through this period of social transformation of great scope and depth, in which organized and planned changes take place in agreement with the law of objective development of history, the role of the party of the working class as the force leading society assumes ever greater importance. The Party is the most active element of society, the best organized and most ideologically and politically conscious one. It has a clear view of the trend of the time, and of the prospect and objectives of the struggle. It alone can organize and rouse the masses, concentrate, co-ordinate, stimulate all activities and efforts of all component parts of the social apparatus and focus them on the completion of the historic task of building a new society.

In order to strengthen its leadership in the present stage, the Party must continue to carry out thorough studies in order to develop and perfect its political line and make it more concrete.

Determined at the Third Congress of the Party and developed by subsequent Central Committee plenums, this political line remains our fundamental orientation. Practice proves that our Party has followed the right course. However,
dialectical materialism teaches us never to rest content with our present grasp of things. Society and life never stop changing and developing, especially now that we are in the initial stage of a period of transition. And so, we must carry out a constant and profound investigation of the facts. On the strength of actual socio-economic processes, of the experience gained by the masses, and of an examination of our own achievements and deficiencies, we must effect deep analyses, sum up our experience and make theoretical generalizations so as to ceaselessly supplement and develop the Party's line and policies and make them more concrete.

The objective laws of social development must always remain the starting-point for the Party's line. The Party's correct course in the national democratic revolution and in war is due to its thorough grasp of the laws of revolution and those of people's war. In socialist revolution and the building of socialism, it is even less permissible to make light of objective laws. Engels advised us "constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science."¹ The dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary fervour of the people are extremely important motive forces without which one can never talk of building socialism. But it would be a very serious blunder to think that they are enough for building socialism without having to take any account of objective laws and economic facts, which are sometimes very "obstinate and intractable." While emphatically stressing the role played

by subjective factors — man, the vanguard party, the masses — Lenin repeatedly reminded the Communist parties never to base their policies on wishful thinking, never to take their sentiments as a starting-point for revolutionary strategy and tactics. His entire political activity affords us a shining example in this connexion. One well-known instance is when he advocated a transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy. In the elaboration of this policy and its implementation, he took great pains to persuade Communists full of revolutionary zeal but ignorant of economic laws that, far from meaning a restoration of capitalism, it was the only policy that would enable Russia to defeat capitalism and embark on the transitional stage to socialism.

Our Party has attained a mature comprehension of the laws of the national democratic revolution and those of people's war, but it has made only the initial steps in grasping those of socialist revolution and socialist building. Only by exerting extraordinary efforts and achieving exceptionally rapid maturity in this respect will it be able to discharge its responsibilities as leader of society. The triumph of the revolution and revolutionary creativeness always result from a judicious combination of the general and the particular in the application of objective laws. Because our country, where small-scale production is predominant, is advancing direct to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, we are bound to face a whole series of entirely new problems. To hold fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry out the triple revolution in close co-ordination, with the technical revolution as the keystone — such is the basic orientation for socialist revolution and socialist
construction in our country. But how will the laws of the technical revolution, of socialist industrialization, of the revolution in production relations, and of the ideological and cultural revolution, as well as those governing whole series of economic relationships, operate in conditions prevailing in our country? Our Party must carefully ponder over those problems. We must study even more fully and thoroughly the principles of scientific socialism, seek to get a good grasp of the realities of the Vietnamese revolution and learn from the experience gained in the brother socialist countries. In particular, we must sum up the experience of the years of socialist revolution and building so as to raise the Party’s theoretical level, throw light on practical problems and, on that basis, further develop and perfect the Party’s line and policies and impart to them an ever more scientific character, thereby making them even more effective.

To raise the Party’s and the State machinery’s ability for practical organization is at present a crucial and urgent problem in our endeavour to increase the Party’s fighting capacity and strengthen its leadership of society.

To chart a correct course is of decisive importance, but it is not enough. We must, besides, engage in a vast organizational work to muster and fully utilize all social forces and all material and moral potentialities for the fulfilment of concrete tasks.

In the people’s national democratic revolution, our Party has not only followed the right course but also evinced great organizational abilities. In both clandestine and legal action, armed and political struggle, normal situations and times of crisis, both before and after the appearance of revolutionary
situations, our Party has carried out organizational work of, one may say, a scientific character. It has mobilized, marshalled, and brought into full play all latent possibilities among the masses and all revolutionary potentialities, big and small. It has devised and skilfully combined the most varied forms of propaganda, organization, and struggle, in keeping with the relation of forces between us and the enemy in each period.

In the past decade, our people have had to concentrate on fulfilling their duties to the great fighting front. In the last few years, they have had, besides, to cope with a savage war of destruction which has to a certain extent upset our social life. But under the leadership of the Party, they have none the less recorded important achievements in socialist building, economic and cultural development, and the organization of daily life. This proves that our Party not only has followed a correct line but has also, on the plane of practical organization, begun to show its maturity in the new stage of the revolution. However, in view of the exigencies of socialist building, shortcomings and flaws still remain in both our knowledge and organizational abilities. Whereas economic construction calls for diligence, accuracy, planning, co-ordination, synchronization, efficiency, and so on, signs of embarrassment, slackness, sluggishness and inefficiency in many parts of our machinery for managing the economy and production and meeting the people’s needs have revealed our weaknesses in practical organization.

To advance direct to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means that we have not
gone through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This is the main reason for the weaknesses shown by our Party and our State in organization and management.

With its dispersed, scattered, diffuse, wayward and anarchistic character, small production has left us nothing but harmful working styles and habits which clash with the organizational requirements of a large-scale socialist system of production. Since we start from small production, we face a choice not only between two lines of economic development—the capitalist and the socialist—but also between two methods of organization: that of handicrafts and that of large-scale industry. An erroneous line would cause the orientation of the revolution to deviate and lead to the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But neither can there be socialism, genuine socialism with a large-scale mechanized system of production, if we commit mistakes in organization and management, and introduce into our organizational and managerial activities small-producer conceptions and methods to which we have been accustomed for many generations.

We are possessed of fundamental advantages: a correct political line, the incisive strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a firm worker-peasant alliance, a broad national union, the immense power of the new production relations, the people's revolutionary fervour, abundant natural resources, the devoted help of the brother socialist countries. Then what do we lack most? Knowledge in economics, science and technique, and organizational and managerial abilities.

For dozens of years, in the national democratic revolution and in war, we have been schooled in courage, daring perseverance and dauntlessness. This is an immense advantage.
a very precious asset, but it cannot make up for what we are lacking badly, namely the ability to organize the building and expansion of the economy, the development of culture, and services working for the betterment of the people's living conditions—the basic tasks incumbent upon a party in power, upon the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, many of our comrades at all levels, from the central administration down to the basic units—factories, State farms, co-operatives—and in both Party and State organs, are insufficiently aware of the importance of organization. They divorce politico-ideological work from organizational activities. They substitute politico-ideological generalities—even "desk work" in the case of some comrades—for organization. This is painstaking work which calls for great efforts, thorough study and investigation, much pondering and experimentation in the search for the right methods. It requires one to get down to brass tacks, closely watch the execution of assignments, redress defects in time and solve new problems arising from changes in the situation, etc.—in short tasks and activities beset with hardships and difficulties.

Lenin said, "We must fully realize that in order to administer successfully, besides being able to convince people, besides being able to win a civil war, we must be able to do practical organizational work. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most gratifying task, because only after it has been fulfilled (in the principal and
main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic.”

In the revolution led by the bourgeoisie, the only task performed by the toiling masses was to overthrow the feudal regime. The organization of the new society was in the hands of a minority of exploiters, the bourgeoisie. Indeed, this undertaking did not demand much effort from them, for the capitalist society and economy took shape in a spontaneous, disorderly, anarchistic way, at the cost of untold sufferings for the labouring people.

On the other hand, in the socialist revolution, following the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of power, the working class and the labouring people, led by the Party, face a task of grandiose creation: to organize, to build a new society, a society without exploitation of man by man, a society which develops in a vigorous and balanced way in all aspects of economic and cultural life. Socialism and communism is a system of production and distribution which is extremely scientific, complex, elaborate, and grows ever more rational. It ensures an increasingly powerful growth of production and labour productivity on the basis of a constant renovation of technique and a continuous improvement of production relations. It is the best-organized society, the highest social organization in history. That is why the triumph of our cause depends a great deal on the organizational ability of the working class, represented by our Party, and of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main instrument for the building of the new society.

The resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, and the socialist revolution are setting our people and our Party many great and urgent tasks. Our entire Party must make rapid progress in order to overcome the contradiction which has developed in our present advance between, on the one hand, the necessity of vigorously pushing our revolutionary work forward and carrying out ever larger and more complex construction, and, on the other, the still inadequate organizational ability of our Party and managerial capacity of our State. It is high time a revolutionary change was brought to our conception of the role of organization, and a vigorous improvement to the Party's organizational work and the State's managerial style, in all departments and branches and at all levels.

The Party's leadership of the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of principle, one that assumes decisive significance regarding the very fate of that dictatorship. For this reason, we must ceaselessly strengthen the leading role of the Party in all fields, and raise the quality of its guidance work. The Party gives leadership to the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat by working out a correct line in all fields, by promoting the role of State organs and mass organizations and controlling their activities, by conducting political and ideological work within the Party and among the masses, and by urging Party members to show exemplary zeal in implementing the Party's line and policies and carrying into effect decisions taken by the State and the mass organizations.
The strengthening of the Party's leadership cannot be separated from the reinforcement of the role and efficiency of the administration in managing the economy, the State, and all facets of social life. That the Party is in power means that it has become the real leader of the whole of society. It has at its disposal the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an extremely powerful instrument for, on the one hand, suppressing all opposition from hostile forces, and on the other — and this is a most important aspect — mobilizing and organizing the people for socialist construction and participation in the management of all spheres of social life. The Party cannot exercise its leadership over society without using the State machinery. Hence, one should not think there is any contradiction between reinforcing the Party's leadership and raising the role and efficiency of the State apparatus. Indeed, the strength and fighting capacity of a party in power lies in the efficiency and vigour of the State apparatus under its leadership. Being the brains of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party cannot slacken its leadership over government organs, but neither can it charge itself with government work. Either to downgrade or relax the leadership of the Party is to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to burden the Party with governmental jobs is to saddle it with work that is alien to its function. Far from strengthening its leadership, this will weaken it. To do things in place of the various government departments and prevent them from fully playing their organizational and managerial role will directly impair the leadership of the Party. To increase the Party's organizational ability, one must first of all raise its capacity to lead and utilize the machinery of the
State with all its specialized, professional and technical agencies for directing economic and cultural construction and meeting the people's needs in conformity with the Party's line and policies.

Our economy is rapidly advancing from small to large-scale production. This requires that the leaders should, on the one hand, have a thorough grasp of economic laws, and on the other keep an eye on the various economic processes and watch out for any new happenings in economic life so as to make all necessary changes and improvements in organization and management likely to communicate the maximum speed to economic expansion. The best organizer, one with a mastery of the science and art of organization, is one who goes about his organizational work in a flexible way and responds to new happenings with timely changes in his own system of organization and mode of action.

To ceaselessly develop socialist democracy is the most important condition for strengthening and consolidating State power. This is also the most effective way to tighten the ties between the Party and the masses when the former is in power.

Because of the seizure of power by the Party, there has happened a qualitative change in its relationship with the masses. The State, the people's organ of power, has now become the broadest mass organization through which the Party maintains direct and permanent contact with the people (as Lenin said in regard to the Soviets) concerning the most fundamental tasks, and the most important and most vital aspects of their life. Either in the overthrow of the
old regime or the building of the new, revolution is always the work of the masses. Under the leadership of the Party, the working class and the labouring people are the masters of society. They undertake the building of a new society through the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the State is the most powerful and effective instrument. Hence to make light of the role of the State is to downgrade that of the masses and encroach on their sovereignty. To uphold it means to exalt the part played by the masses in the management of the country and society, to make them participate in the building of a new society in the best organized way, and bind the Party and the masses together through the broadest organization. There is and there must be no antagonism between the sovereignty of the masses and that of the organs of State power. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only master of society is the people, the toiling masses, who include the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia. State power is the instrument, the organization, through which the people exercise their right as masters of society. The strength of the proletarian party in power—that of the dictatorship of the proletariat in both the repression of hostile forces and the building of the new society—lies first and foremost in the fact that, through an ever fuller development of socialist democracy, the Party and the State organs are closely bound to the masses in all facets of social life and ensure their ever broader participation in the shaping of the new society.

It is to be regretted that a number of comrades have not grown fully aware of the true nature of the relationships
between the Party, the State and the masses. In some places, unwarrantable acts have damaged relationships between the Party and the masses, the State and the people, and the Party and the State. These shortcomings must be redressed speedily and resolutely. One must fully understand that for a party in power, the greatest danger to avoid is not only to adopt an erroneous line but also to indulge in bureaucratism, commandism, and arbitrariness, which divorces the Party from the masses and weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strength of the Party lies in its close ties with the masses. State power is strong because it truly belongs to the people and is exercised by the people and for the people. The stronger the State, the more labouring people it enlists in the management of the country, and the stronger the Party grows as leader of society. With a fully-developed socialist democracy resting upon a socialist economy having a solid material and technical basis, our socialist regime will stand as firm and unshakable as a rock. Such are the orientation and objectives of our Party.

B. CEASELESS CONSOLIDATION AND GROWTH OF THE PARTY

To increase the Party's fighting capacity and strengthen its leadership in all fields of social activity, we must ceaselessly consolidate it and build it up so as to make it ever stronger. The Party must have an even firmer grasp of its theoretical weapon, Marxism-Leninism, master even more thoroughly the law of development of socialist society, and grow ever more mature in applying this knowledge to realities so as to
work out its line and policies in a judicious and imaginative way. The Party must be strong in the whole of its structure, from top to bottom, in its committees at all levels and in all its specialized departments. Its entire body must be vigorous, from the nerve centres to every component cell, in order to ensure that its line and policies are thoroughly grasped at every echelon, both by the leading centres and the various branches, both by Party members and mass organizations and the people at large. The entire Party must make the greatest efforts, every cadre and member must exert himself to the utmost so as to fulfil brilliantly ever greater and heavier tasks.

In this work of strengthening and building up the Party, the raising of the quality of the cells and basic organizations assumes particular importance. The cell is the Party's basic organization, the tie between the Party and the masses, through which its line and policies are implemented and in which its militants and cadres are trained. The bonds between the life of the Party and that of society in all fields are made ever closer thanks to the presence of cells everywhere: factories, construction sites, State farms, co-operatives, government services, State stores, research institutes, schools and colleges, hospitals, army units, etc. The Party's ceaseless growth keeps pace with the uninterrupted development of society and the rising revolutionary tide of the masses. This is reflected in the cells and basic organizations. In their present social life, whenever a problem of some importance arises, the people always ask for the Party's advice and listen to its voice. It is through the cells and basic
organizations that the Party maintains direct and daily contact with the masses. It has become an indispensable factor not only in their revolutionary and creative work but also in their daily life. It is present in their thoughts, feelings, and most sacred aspirations. Whether a cell is strong or not, whether some particular action by a cell or one of its members is good or bad, right or wrong, has a direct and immediate effect on the people's material and moral life.

Therefore, in building up the Party, we must concentrate our efforts on consolidating the cells and basic organizations so as to reinforce their leading role and fighting capacity in all fields. The whole fighting strength of the Party is in the last analysis embodied in the ability of the cells to translate its line and policies into actions by the masses aimed at successfully fulfilling practical revolutionary tasks. To this end, these last few years we have given a vigorous impulse to the movement for building "four-good" cells and basic organizations. This work is based on the political tasks of each period and is bound up with their execution. A cell cannot be recognized as a good one if within its domain, production is not progressing, labour productivity not increasing, the people's democratic rights are restricted, obligations towards the State are not fulfilled, and the people's life is not stabilized and gradually bettered in every respect.

We must improve all the cell's activities in order to render its leadership more effective. Its meeting should have a

1. — good fulfilment of production tasks;
   — good implementation of laws and political directives issued by the Party and the Government;
   — good study of Marxism-Leninism;
   — good mass work. (Translator's note)

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concrete and rich political content, and should debate the Party's line and policies, the tasks incumbent upon the region or unit which is its domain, the way in which these tasks should be accomplished, the production work and daily life of the people, the apportionment of work and responsibilities among the Party members and cadres, control over the execution of decisions taken by the cell and the part played by each member, etc. The mode of activity of the cells and basic organizations should be amended so as to fully utilize and develop the power and capabilities of administrative and specialized bodies and of mass organizations for the fulfilment of concrete tasks in agreement with the Party's line and policies.

The Party and the cell can only be strong if each member is a good Communist. The Party should be composed of the best and most enlightened elements of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. They are representative of the development and progress of society, show absolute loyalty to the cause of the working class and the Party and are closely bound to the masses. They fight selflessly, perseveringly, and untiringly for the interests of the working class, the labouring people and the nation, and for the triumph of the socialist and communist ideal. Every member should strive for the effective implementation of the Party line, policies and resolutions, and be exemplary in combat and production. In carrying into effect the Party's policies and the cell's decisions, he must ceaselessly temper his political stand, ideology, morals, and style of life, and study hard to raise his professional and technical standards. He must see to the people's material and moral well-being
and respect their right as collective masters. He should not arrogate to himself any privilege or prerogative vis-à-vis the masses. He must evince total devotion to the public interest and complete selflessness, and be at the same time the leader and the servant of the people, as recommended by President Ho Chi Minh.

We must, through the mass movement, discover, educate, foster and admit to membership in the Party new forces, especially the best elements among the young people, who are full of revolutionary zeal, ready to devote themselves to the ideal of the Party, and capable of creative initiative. In token of our gratitude to the founder and great teacher of our Party, the Central Committee has decided that the members to be admitted this year will be named "the Ho Chi Minh batch." With the admission of young members beside their experienced elders, the Party will continue to be a symbol of our people's ever-rising revolutionary tide, and the strength of the cells — the bastions of the Party — will be equal to the new political tasks. While admitting new, truly excellent forces, we must resolutely expel from the Party retrograde and degenerate elements, detested by the masses and unworthy of being members of a vanguard revolutionary party. There are not many such elements, but if they are not driven out of the Party, its fighting capacity will be impaired and its relationships with the masses damaged.

To consolidate and strengthen its close ties with the masses is the law governing the existence and development of the party of the working class. This must be done directly and daily through the cells and basic organizations. Each cell and all its members must remain in constant touch with the
masses, thoroughly understand their thoughts, feelings, and aspirations, educate, unite, and organize them, give them guidance and make them participate in the effort to achieve the Party's objectives. We must strive to consolidate and strengthen the trade-unions, so as to make them truly representative of the wishes, fighting potential and creative power of the working masses and cause them to participate effectively in the management of the State, society, and the economy. We must see to the introduction of young elite workers of both sexes into the leading bodies of the trade-unions. The latter must exert every effort to educate, mobilize and organize the working masses, and give a strong impulse to the socialist emulation movement, so as to boost labour productivity, enhance the workers' collective masterhood in the management of their enterprises, and improve their material welfare.

To educate the young, and to expand and consolidate the Working Youth Union, which now bears the glorious name of President Ho Chi Minh, are extremely important tasks of the Party. The Working Youth Union must constantly remain the worthy “right hand” of the Party and the inexhaustible source replenishing its ranks. It is the deserving continuator of the revolutionary work of the Party and the people. Great store should be set by the role and the force of the women. Their contribution to the revolution and to our present society has been truly immense. The Party, the cells and the basic organizations must spare no effort in educating and uniting them and helping them to fully participate in political and social life and in the building of the new society.
In order to weld the Party and the masses into a single whole, another important measure is for the cells and basic organizations to hold periodical meetings in suitable forms, in the course of which the Party will perform self-criticism before the masses and listen to their criticisms and suggestions. Criticism of the cells by the masses is very important and very necessary for the consolidation and building up of the Party. The cells and Party committees at all levels should give encouragement and guidance to the masses for voicing their candid opinion of the Party. For the admission of new members, the appointment of members of Party committees at the level of the cell and basic organization, etc., we must ask the masses for their views to help make our choices and decisions thoroughly well-grounded.

Once a correct line and judicious policies have been worked out, the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution is the organizational work aimed at their implementation. The key question is the possession of an army of cadres displaying staunchness and ability in every respect.

The resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism confront us with ever greater and heavier tasks. Hence the Party must have at its disposal a host of good cadres, capable of representing the political line of the Party in the new stage, and in sufficient numbers to meet not only immediate, but also long-range, needs. This army must include cadres of all branches and specialities so as to satisfy the requirements of the revolution in all fields.

The quality of the cadres is shown in the results they obtain in performing Party task in any period of the revolution.
Whether they have fulfilled their revolutionary duties, whether they have correctly and thoroughly carried into effect the Party's line and policies, is the yardstick measuring their quality and competence. Every cadre who wishes to discharge his responsibilities must have a high revolutionary mettle and adequate revolutionary knowledge. Being a revolutionary fighter of the proletariat, the cadre must first of all be absolutely loyal to the Party, to its revolutionary line, to the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation, to the communist ideal. Inspired by pure revolutionary fervour and deep attachment to the masses, he must fear neither hardships nor sacrifices and must exert the most courageous efforts to overcome all difficulties and fulfil all tasks. Without these revolutionary virtues, he can neither have a correct grasp of Marxism-Leninism, nor comprehend the essence of the Party's line and policies, nor show any creativeness in executing his revolutionary tasks. The army of cadres of our Party has taken shape and developed in the course of the people's protracted revolutionary struggle. As a whole, forged in the two great wars of resistance and in the socialist revolution, it has evinced fine revolutionary virtues. In the present stage of the revolution, our Party must continue to foster these fundamental merits while combating and preventing in time all manifestations of degeneration and regression which might appear among cadres of a party in power.

However, in order to fulfil the tasks of the revolution, a revolutionary spirit is not enough. Revolution is conscious action and requires that the cadre should possess revolutionary knowledge and understand the objective laws of social
development. Socialist revolution is the most radical revolution in the history of mankind; it does not confine itself to the destruction of the old social order but means also the organization and building up of a new society in all its complexity, especially its economic life. In order to be able to fulfill their duties, the cadres of the Party should definitely show thorough proficiency in many fields of knowledge—politics, economics, culture, science and technique—as well as organizational and managerial abilities. Otherwise, they will be groping and improvising, and will be unable to perform their tasks speedily and successfully and to avoid errors and shortcomings harmful to the cause of the revolution. Therefore, whatever his assignment, a cadre must be armed with the necessary knowledge. He must seek to gain proficiency in his trade, and strive to master science and technique. Only then can he discharge his responsibilities, lead the masses and impel the revolution vigorously forward.

In the socialist revolution, the Party's fundamental political task is to firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out the three revolutions, the keystone being the technical revolution. The Party's fighting capacity, and the fine qualities and competence of its members and cadres should find expression in the successful accomplishment of those duties. The Party's army of cadres should definitely include those capable of organizing the masses, giving them guidance, and making them participate in the daily and hourly struggle to realize the ideals of socialism. In this work they should display the highest resolve, the greatest spirit of self-sacrifice, and all necessary knowledge for the completion of their assignments.