

## **May 25, 1956**

# **Telegram on Record of April 1956 Conversation with Nguen Zui Chin**

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### **Summary:**

Record of Nguen Zui Chin's discussion with USSR Ambassador M. V. Zimyanin and Sokolov about the meeting of the IXth CC PTV Plenum, whose goal was to review resolutions of the USSR XXth CPSU Congress. The Plenum discussed a range of topics including American involvement in South Vietnam, the cult of personality and propaganda, foreign policy, the sixth five-year plan of the USSR, economic and cultural development, strengthening the Party, peoples' assemblies, and Party leadership. Chin also detailed streamlining party organizations.

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### **Contents:**

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FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF  
USSR AMBASSADOR TO DRV  
M. V. ZIMYANIN

RECORD OF CONVERSATION  
WITH MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT  
OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKERS PARTY  
cde. NGUEN ZUI CHIN

27 April 1956

Embassy advisor Sokolov and I visited cde. Nguen Zui Chin [sic], who had been assigned by the CC PTV [Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party] to inform us about the efforts of the IXth augmented CC Plenum of the Vietnamese Workers Party, which took place on 19-24 April of this year.

Cde. Nguen Zui Chin said that the IXth CC PTV Plenum discussed the outcomes of the XXth Congress of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], as well as the issues facing Vietnamese workers. The main materials of the Plenum - resolutions and the CC General Secretary cde. Chiong Tinh's report - are being published in the press (the Plenum resolution was published in "Nian Zan" on April 27, and cde. Chiong Tinh's report - on April 28 - M.Z.).

Nguen Zui Chin has been commissioned to inform us of the gist of the Plenum's work.

During the 10 days prior to the opening of the Plenum, the CC PTV gave orders to local party organizers to collect and send to the CC questions that were raised by both party members and non-members after studying the materials of the XXth Congress of the CPSU. These questions were collected and summarized for the CC PTV. These questions can be separated into 3 categories: the first category consists of questions from comrades who would like to deepen their knowledge of the decisions of the XXth CPSU Congress in order to explain them to the party masses. The second category consists of questions from comrades who do not have sufficient preparation and, in connection with the XXth CPSU Congress' criticism of various mistakes in party work, began to discover their own mistakes and would like to receive help in this matter. The third category consists of questions from many comrades who are not politically educated and are disconcerted by the criticism of the cult of personality and do not understand this criticism. As far as the non-party masses are concerned, many non-party members have spoken openly that working under the party leadership they deeply respected Stalin and do not understand how to regard him and believe that the party will explain this to them.

In addition to this, one must take notice of the propaganda of hostile elements, which are trying to trick the masses through slanderous arguments that communists are fickle people - saying one thing today, another tomorrow - and thus cannot be trusted.

The CC PTV needed to take all this into consideration.

During the preparations for the Plenum, it was decided to discuss the results of the XXth Congress of the CPSU in total, without singling out the cult of personality. This was put into practice in the following manner: at the augmented CC Plenum cde. Chiong Tinh spoke of the results of the Congress, reported on the general characteristics of the criticism of Stalin's errors, while the members of the CC PTV read cde. N. S. Khrushchev's report "On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences."

The Plenum's work can be divided into two parts: part one was devoted to the examination of the international situation in light of the resolutions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU and related principal issues in the foreign and domestic policy of the DRV. At the same time, the Plenum studied the directives concerning the sixth five-year plan issued by the XXth CPSU Congress. The second part of the Plenum was devoted to the discussion of questions pertaining to the party work of the Vietnamese Workers Party on the basis of the decisions of the XXth Congress, the CC CPSU summary report and cde. Khrushchev's report "On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences."

The CC PTV Politburo came out with an additional report on the practical experience in collective leadership in the Vietnamese Workers Party. This report was read by cde. Chiong Tinh. The report analyzed the work of the CC PTV and raised the question of whether there is any practice of the cult of personality in the Workers Party.

The Plenum unanimously and with great joy noted the important historical achievements of the USSR both in its internal and foreign policies that are ensuring the continuing strengthening of the Socialist camp and reinforcement of international security. Studying cde. Khrushchev's summary report, the Plenum at the same time discussed the documents of the Workers Party CC that are being sent by the CC PTV to the CC CPSU and CC CPC [Communist Party of China]. The Plenum unanimously noted that the general line in the Vietnamese people's struggle to strengthen the DRV and unite Vietnam through peaceful means, as expressed in the program of the National Front, is the correct line. The Plenum attached particular significance to the implementation of the efforts in strengthening North Vietnam and strengthening peace in Vietnam. Noting the increase of American influence in South Vietnam, the Plenum emphasized the importance of increasing vigilance against American conspiracies.

The Plenum analyzed the foreign policy of the country and determined that this policy is in essence correct, but does not include the necessary initiative and activity. Noting this, the Plenum arrived at the conclusion that, while building on friendship and cooperation with countries of the socialist system, the DRV must also improve relations with other countries. This pertains particularly to France, Cambodia and Laos, and the participant countries of the Bandung Conference. The DRV maintains as its task to assist in widening the territory of peace in Southeast Asia. Such is the foreign policy direction of the DRV.

With respect to the segment of the Plenum that was devoted to studying the directives for the sixth five-year plan for the development of the USSR's national economy, the Plenum unanimously and happily noted the achievements reached by the USSR in the areas of economic and cultural development, pointing out that USSR's terrific prospects for transitioning from socialism to communism facilitates the successful development of socialism in all countries within our camp. Analyzing the situation in Vietnam in this context, the Plenum noted that it is necessary to increase the focus of attention on the development of agricultural economy and those economic areas that produce goods of essential importance to the population, as well as increase competition toward fulfilling the 1956 plan. The Plenum resolved that ideological and organizing efforts of the party must be closely tied with the fulfillment

of the targets set for the country's economic and cultural development. With respect to the draft directives on the prospective plan for the DRV's economic development (1957-59), this matter will be examined during the Xth CC PTV Plenum, which will take place in the near future. The Plenum was informed of the advice given by the CC CPSU and CC CPC during cde. Chiong Tinh's visits to Moscow and Beijing. The Plenum was also informed of the advice and observations made by cdes. Mikoyan and Chen Yun in the CC PTV Politburo. The Plenum unanimously endorsed all of these suggestions and observations.

During the second half of the Plenum, devoted to the life of the party, the Plenum discussed the state of ideological and theoretical work, questions of democratic development in the party and the governmental apparatus, work in the area of culture and art, as well as questions concerning the collective leadership of the party. The Plenum noted that the level of theoretical work in the Workers Party is very low, since it had not been given sufficient attention. The shortcomings in ideological and theoretical work are reflected in the Plenum's resolutions. It is important to note that many questions of historical importance, above all, the Workers Party's experience in adapting Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese environment and the contributions made by the Workers Party to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism have yet to be researched. There is no textbook on party history or a survey of the experience of waging the victory-crowned war of independence. The Plenum pointed out that efforts must be made to correct these inadequacies.

In discussing the question of ideological work, the Plenum emphasized Vietnam's special features as a former colony and an under-developed country. Only North Vietnam has achieved independence, and the task of liberating South Vietnam still remains. Even if significant work in party cadre instruction were to be undertaken in North Vietnam, this would not provide a basis for lowering one's vigilance. The Workers Party, being the ruling party, must not allow its members to fall victim to subjective emotions, overestimate their success and distance themselves from the masses. This was pointed out by cde. Ho Chi Minh during his speech.

Examining the questions of party work, the Plenum emphasized the importance of strengthening collective leadership and decided to inspect the state of organizational work to strengthen the Party. Why was this question raised? The CC PTV, having familiarized itself with the materials of the XXth CPSU Congress and with cde. Khrushchev's remarks on the unacceptableness of indiscriminate repressions, found it necessary to look into whether the repressions carried out in the course of agrarian reform were correct. Earlier, it was decided to repress enemy elements, including those who used deception to gain entrance into the Party. However, the percentage of members expelled from the Party is very high, and this was acknowledged as abnormal. Even before CC PTV familiarized itself with cde. KHRUSHCHEV's report, it had been decided to examine the question of streamlining and structuring party work in provinces and zones. CC representatives traveled on location. A conference was called on this matter, which resolved that there had been mistakes and excesses committed in the course of the struggle against hostile elements. For example, recently there was a publication of a literary collection titled "Zai Pham." The authors of the collection committed certain ideological errors. Rather than discuss these errors and explain them to the authors, the latter were illegally arrested. During the course of establishing structure and guidelines for party organizations, many party members have exhibited fear in the face of such incidents. This is especially characteristic of a certain segment of party members who have committed various errors in the course of their work. They were allowed to remain in the party conditionally, but were regarded with distrust, and these people are working in fear. Even some of the repressed party members need to be rehabilitated because they were charged with unfounded accusations. During the 4th and 5th stages of land reform, there were cases of party organization secretaries being repressed. One of them was executed as a result of a slanderous accusation. Even though these events are not numerous, they pertain to leading party cadres, and accordingly the CC believes it necessary to quickly correct such violations in party policy.

Also noted was the importance of strengthening the democratic systems in the state apparatus. For 10 years there had been no elections to the National Assembly. The question of elections to the National Assembly is complex, since the country is divided into two parts, while the National Assembly had been in its time elected by the entire country. This question requires special attention. But even now it is necessary to increase the role of the National Assembly. For example, as far as laws are concerned, the country does not have a complete legal code. Many decrees had been issued, but these were not ratified as laws.

Along with party members, the DRV leadership includes non-party members, persons who are devoted to the people's interests, but the practice of the government is such that no steps are taken to develop their initiatives, and their opinions are ignored. They approve the government leaders' actions without making any comments.

The role of peoples' assemblies in the provinces and communes is also underappreciated. During the war of independence, these assemblies were convened regularly and reelected to succeeding terms. Since the implementation of agrarian reform, when it was demonstrated that the peoples' assemblies had been infiltrated by landowners, the peoples' assemblies have been essentially disbanded. During the Plenum it was agreed to assign the Politburo to prepare the question of normalizing the activities of the peoples' assemblies. While examining the results of agrarian reform, it may also be possible to concurrently carry out new elections to the peoples' assemblies, beginning with communes and later with provinces. The Plenum devoted serious attention to strengthening the rule of law within the state, improving the effectiveness of security organs, the prosecution and the courts. It was established that, while the state security organs have improved their effectiveness, the courts and prosecution are functioning inadequately. For example, special people's courts were established, but not under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, but under the Committee on Agrarian Reform. Officials of the state organs allowed the abuse of power in the repressions of reactionary elements. It is of course difficult to restructure all functions to insure a democratic rule of law in a short period of time, but the Plenum emphasized that this must be done, and under no circumstances can we cite the country's unique circumstances and ignore the development and strengthening of democratic order within the DRV.

The Plenum emphasized the importance of increasing attention toward questions of culture and art, which have an important educational role. In light of the decisions of the XXth CPSU Congress, the value of enlightenment and science and the strengthening of their ties to people's lives has become even clearer to the CC PTV. Attention must also be increased on the comprehensive broadening of the school network and the establishment of scientific research institutions, for example in the fields of agriculture and natural and social sciences, for the purpose of which the necessary measures will be adopted.

The Plenum devoted particular attention to the questions of strengthening the role of the collective in leadership and to the struggle against the cult of personality.

The Plenum demonstrated an understanding of the fact that, in discussing the party work of the CPSU, its XXth Congress thoroughly analyzed this question and attached great importance to it. The Congress decreed that the principle of collective leadership is the most important principle of party life. Our party must learn from the experience of the CPSU, and from the positions put forth during the XXth Congress of the CPSU. From here arose the importance of examining the state of this matter in the Vietnamese Workers Party and determine the correctness of the Party's relationship to our leaders.

The Plenum noted that since the IIInd PTV Congress, i.e. since 1951, the Party

leadership has been implementing the principle of collective leadership. It is true that the convening of the PTV Congress has already been delayed for a year from the schedule set by the Charter. However this is explained by the fact that there is a great deal of organizational work being carried out in the PTV designed to strengthen the Party, and thus the CC has been unable to convene the Congress. However, the Congress will be convened in the near future, possibly in 1957. Meetings of the CC PTV Politburo and the CC Plenums are being convened regularly. For example, according to the PTV Charter, CC Plenums must be convened once every 6 months. That is indeed how often they are being convened. Only rarely do the intervals between Plenums consist of 8 months. CC Plenums were convened regularly even during the war of independence. The Politburo is also working on a regular basis.

All essential, important questions concerning Party policies are discussed in the Politburo and during the CC PTV Plenums; thus, we believe that the principles of collective leadership are being followed by our Party's leadership.

However, upon deeper examination of this question, the Plenum determined that in this matter certain shortcomings have been allowed by us as well. These shortcomings are discussed in the Plenum's resolutions. With respect to the question of the party, party and non-party members' relationship to the leaders, specifically, toward cde. Ho Chi Minh, we were faced by the question: what constitutes this relationship - respect for the leader or a cult of personality?

The Plenum unanimously noted that cde. Ho Chi Minh is the leader of our Party and our people, that cde. Ho Chi Minh is acting correctly as the leader of the Party and the people; cde. Ho Chi Minh is an experienced old fighter for the Party and devotes his life to the Party and the people. He founded and educated our Party both in the past (Communist Party of Indo-China), as well as in the present. During difficult moments in the life of the Party and the people, cde. Ho Chi Minh carries himself in the correct manner. Within the Central Committee, cde. Ho Chi Minh always respects the collective's opinion. Cde. Ho Chi Minh cares about the life of the people, attaches great importance to the opinion of the masses and educates communists to heed the voice of the people. Cde. Ho Chi Minh is a very humble person. In support of this, one can cite numerous examples. In daily life, cde. Ho Chi Minh is personally very humble, and his conduct sets an example for others. To sum up, it can be said that in the Party's relationship toward cde. Ho Chi Minh there is no place for a cult of personality, and that cde. Ho Chi Minh does not allow self-praise and self-elevation.

However, the Plenum determined that, as a result of respect of the leader, there have been instances of a personality cult surfacing in the DRV, though they did not carry with them any type of serious or systemic qualities. For example, in propaganda we always glorify cde. Ho Chi Minh's role and believe this to be correct, though at the same time we do not sufficiently emphasize the role of the Party and the masses. In the process of agrarian reform, the peasants frequently say that they are receiving land thanks to uncle Ho, not realizing that this is being done thanks to their own efforts and their own struggle. Certain personnel sometimes use cde. Ho Chi Minh's name inappropriately, abusing his name. There are occurrences in literature where cde. Ho Chi Minh is portrayed as a holy person. There are poems which state that wherever cde. Ho orders us, there we will go. If cde. Ho Chi Minh says that we will win, then that will be so. There is a song "Glory to the Leader," which speaks of cde. Ho Chi Minh having been born as a "leading light" - like the sun. Now we are having to fix this. In village ceremonies they frequently carry cde. Ho Chi Minh's portraits as portraits of a god; during official receptions attention is focused exclusively on cde. Ho Chi Minh.

The Plenum determined that such occurrences of the cult of personality are more widespread among the masses as a result of our agitation work, especially in South Vietnam. Accordingly, the Plenum established the existence of cult of personality phenomena and decided to correct these phenomena. Otherwise the role of the

Party and the masses will not be emphasized to the necessary extent, and in a critical moment (the leader's incapacitation) the people will not have faith in the Party's collective leadership, which is absolutely unacceptable. In correcting these incorrect phenomena, it must be stressed that cde. Ho Chi Minh is the leader, and his role in the Party must not be denied; rather, one must concurrently stress the role of the Party and the people in the attainment of our victories, as well as educate in the right understanding of a person's role in history. We must ensure the increase of collective action within all leadership duties of the Party and guarantee that the Party and people distinguish respect for the leader from a cult of personality. With respect to specific measures on this matter, these are included in the Plenum's resolutions.

Further Nguen Zui Chin stated that the Plenum focused considerable attention on the question of the attitude toward Stalin. Prior to the Plenum there were certain articles published, for example the articles in "Pravda" and "Zhenminzhibao." Members of the Central Committee carefully studied cde. Khrushchev's report, and following deliberation the Plenum noted the following: Stalin is one of the most distinguished marxists who has made great achievements in the building of socialism in the USSR and has done great service to the international communist movement. However, in actual practice, Stalin permitted self-praise and his own personality cult, which led to the development of a personality cult within the Party. Stalin departed from the highest Party principle - the principle of collective leadership. Stalin put himself above the government and above the communist party, having created the conditions under which Beria and his minions were able to get into the party leadership and into the government in order to carry out their subversive activities. During the last years of his life, Stalin cut himself off from the party masses, from reality, and allowed a number of substantial errors both in theoretical matters and in practice. In the Plenum's view, Stalin committed particularly grave errors in his treatment of party and government cadres, especially during the period 1934-37, when unfounded mass repressions against party and Soviet officials were carried out. Information about Stalin's tyranny has caused extreme disappointment among the members of the CC PTV. Stalin allowed the decline of vigilance in USSR's defense, both prior to Germany's invasion of the USSR, as well as during the course of the invasion. Also noted were Stalin's errors in the area of foreign policy, particularly in relations with Yugoslavia. As a result of Stalin's mistakes, relations between the CPSU and the Communist Union of Yugoslavia and between USSR and Yugoslavia have developed in the wrong way. Although Tito also allowed a number of errors, these could have been corrected. As a result of Stalin's incorrect decisions and Beria's provocational role, the friendly relations between the countries and the parties will be damaged for a long time. Stalin allowed serious errors in the management of the country's economy, especially in the agricultural sector. Stalin ignored the importance of balance in the country's economic development and did not demonstrate the necessary concern for the life of the people. Aside from these mistakes, we also noted errors with respect to domestic policy. During the Plenum's deliberations on the question of Stalin's errors, many facts were cited that were available to the CC PTV, including those cited in cde. Khrushchev's speech, as well as in information provided by cde. Mikoyan to the members of the CC PTV Politburo.

With respect to Stalin's theoretical errors, the CC PTV does not yet have sufficient material on these errors. It was said during the Plenum that Stalin allowed a number of theoretical errors and that the CC PTV will inform the Party about these later, after receiving the necessary materials.

Based on the above, we reached the conclusion that the decisions of the XXth CPSU Congress are very instructive for the PTV, and our Party must examine itself whether we have not committed the same errors. Of great importance is the ideological instruction that leading Party cadres are receiving from the criticism of Stalin's errors, for example the principle espoused by Stalin that, during the development of socialism, class struggle does not decrease but actually intensifies.

In the course of discussing Stalin's errors, some comrades raised the question of how to approach Stalin - as a person who has achieved more accomplishments or committed more errors? The Plenum came to the conclusion that one cannot approach Stalin's errors in so mechanical a manner. One must objectively note his accomplishments and his errors. In studying Stalin's work, it is imperative to employ a critical approach.

During the Plenum's deliberations, another question was raised - how could such a situation arise in which the greatest leader in the first socialist country could commit such errors for 20 years? The explanation offered during the Plenum was that in the face of Stalin's great achievements, he won over the sympathy of the Party and the people and employed these sympathies in order to create an atmosphere of a cult of personality and self-praise. As a result, great errors were allowed to be committed. On the other hand it was pointed out that there was no collective leadership in the CC CPSU, and Stalin created the atmosphere of repressions, as a result of which no one could point to Stalin's mistakes. Only after Stalin's death and the routing of Beria's hostile band did this become possible. In the beginning, in 1953 the CC CPSU had to examine this and prepare to discuss the matter seriously. Thus, after Stalin's death the CC CPSU implemented collective leadership, on the basis of which it reached great achievements and victories. After preparing the matter, the CC CPSU reported its findings to the Party Congress. We believe that this was done in a timely and correct manner. Of course it would have been desirable to have had this done earlier, but of course that is only a subjective wish, which could not have been realized earlier due to the absence of the necessary objective conditions. The CC PTV Plenum determined that in such a situation when the USSR had achieved great accomplishments both in its internal and foreign policies, the CC CPSU introduced this matter during the Congress, and that is a good example of criticism and self-criticism, which serves the interests of not only the CPSU, but all brotherly communist parties. We believe that the results of discussing this matter serve not only as a victory for the CPSU, but also as a victory for the entire international communist movement.

In the course of discussing this question, the CC PTV Plenum also took into consideration enemy propaganda, which has been trying to distort the entire matter and will continue to try to distort reality in the future. The Plenum unanimously came to the conclusion that only we communists can carry out such criticism and self-criticism. The enemy cannot do so. The over-lording exploitative classes commit more errors and never allow themselves real criticism and self-criticism. We see the resolution of this matter by the XXth CPSU Congress as a victory for communists and a defeat of our enemies. The enemies are trying hard to stop the brother parties and peoples from believing in the CPSU. They would like to weaken the international communist and worker movements, while strengthening the lording of exploitators. However, it is well known that any time when communist parties undertake criticism and self-criticism, and the enemies try to take advantage of this, the enemies always suffer defeat. They are being defeated this time as well.

That is how this matter is regarded by the PTV Central Committee. This needs to be explained to the masses.

That is briefly the agenda of our Plenum.

The Plenum unanimously and warmly endorsed the resolutions of the XXth CPSU Congress. All decisions of the Plenum were reached unanimously. It was decided to convene a conference of Party activists after the close of the Plenum, first in Hanoi, and then in the zones and provinces, and also to explain the Plenum's resolutions to the non-party masses. The Plenum adopted a decision to draft a study plan of the materials of the XXth CPSU Congress for Party members and leading officials.

We thanked cde. Nguen Zui Chin for the information.



In connection with his statement in the course of discussion regarding the streamlining of party organizations, we asked him to speak in more detail about with this task. Cde. Nguen Zui Chin stated the following:

The process of streamlining party organizations was begun in 1951 and is continuing to this day. It can be divided into three stages.

The first stage provided for the theoretical preparation of cadre workers and party members to ensure that they could distinguish between friends and enemies and correctly guide the masses; these measures were carried out from late 1951 to the end of 1954, and we see them as the preparatory stage for regulating and bringing uniformity to party organizations. This stage can be characterized as the stage of bringing ideological uniformity to the party. During this stage, the administrative party committees were investigated and organizationally regulated. But the most important feature was the implementation of ideological uniformity.

The second stage consists of bringing organizational uniformity to the party. The method of carrying out this streamlining consists of raising the political awareness of party members and improving their work. This stage, in turn, is divisible into three steps. First step - to separate communists from the hostile elements that have infiltrated the party. Under the appellation hostile elements we include agents of imperialism and bourgeoisie, landowners and other pro-imperialist elements.

The second step is to separate communists from the exploiting class elements. The most important task in this step is to expel from the party the exploiting class elements that in their actions are not standing in support of the interests of the working class, but are supporting the exploiting classes.

Step three has not yet been commenced. Its goal is to separate communists from the regressive (though not hostile) elements that are uninterested in seriously learning and working.

In practical terms, the streamlining work is being carried out in the following manner: first we are streamlining the ground-level organizations responsible for agrarian reform, cleaning out the party organizations of hostile elements. During the implementation of agrarian reform, it was determined that the enemy had infiltrated not only the ground-level party organizations, but also the administrative organs - the zonal and provincial committees. As a result, organizational streamlining is being spread to the appropriate party committees. This work will be completed after the completion of agrarian reform. Consequently, at the present time streamlining is being carried out in ground-level party organizations, and the district and provincial committees where agrarian reform is being completed. The Vietnamese comrades assess this work as being carried out correctly, being guided by the actions and experience of the Chinese Communist Party, though in certain instances mistakes are being made. These mistakes were revealed during local party committee conferences.

When Chiong Tinh visited China, the Chinese comrades told him that the percentage of party members who had been repressed (expulsion from the party, trial) did not exceed 5%. Here in Vietnam that percentage is significantly higher. According to the advice of comrade Mikoyan, who brought this to our attention, we decided to exercise greater caution in party expulsions. The CC Plenum assigned the Politburo to prepare measures for the investigation of this work and for correction of mistakes, examining at the same time whether fairness had been observed in the implementation of agrarian reform. These two questions - the streamlining of party organizations and the investigation of the implementation of agrarian reform - are included in the resolutions of the CC PTV Plenum.

Since cde. Nguen Zui Chin informed us of the organizational streamlining of party organizations in only the broadest of terms, given that a number of questions remained unclear to us, we asked him to tell us about this important work in greater detail in the future. Cde. Nguen Zui Chin promised to fulfill this request.

We also asked for consent to report to Moscow about the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party. Cde. Nguen Zui Chinh replied in the affirmative.

The meeting lasted 3 hours.

USSR AMBASSADOR [signature]  
TO THE DRV /M. ZIMYANIN/

5-mz/ap

1- to cde. Molotov

2- to cde. Kuznetsov

3- to cde. Volkov

4- to cde. Tugarinov

5- to file

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