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PHAM VAN DONG SPEECH

[Speech by Pham Van Dong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 1-5]

Honorable President Ton Duc Thang and leaders of the party and the DRV, dear compatriots and combatants:

Today, 1 May, International Labor Day, all our Vietnamese people are celebrating the great victory they have just scored in their protracted and hard, yet extremely glorious, resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. This great victory has opened bright prospects and created favorable conditions for all our Vietnamese people to continue the struggle aimed at maintaining and consolidating peace; building socialism in the north; achieving independence and democracy in the south; proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland; building Vietnam into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful country; and contributing to the world peoples' revolutionary undertaking as actively as possible.

On 29 March 1973, the last unit of the U.S. expeditionary army of more than half a million men withdrew from the southern part of our country, putting an end to the occupation of our territory by foreign troops. This is a historic milestone marking the end of a heroic struggle of many generations of Vietnamese for more than a century. In particular, since the founding of our party and the hoisting of the independence banner by President Ho Chi Minh, brilliant pages have been added to the history of this struggle. These include the success of the August revolution that led to the founding of the DRV throughout the entire territory of the Vietnamese people; the Dien Bien Phu victory that marked the downfall of French colonialism; and most strikingly, the resounding and epochal success of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation that heavily defeated the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists.

Through their unyielding fight, our Vietnamese people, who are justly proud, made very important contributions to the struggle for national liberation by the world peoples. Our Vietnamese people's great victory has

been and is strongly encouraging the oppressed peoples to rise up and conduct a heaven- and earth-shaking struggle to defeat imperialism and both old and new style colonialism and achieve independence, freedom, the right to live as well as the right to build their countries in accordance with their aspirations and will.

On this glorious day, our Vietnamese people cordially send their warmest sentiments and deepest gratitude to the peoples in the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and worker movements, the working class, laboring people, and oppressed peoples, the American progressives and all conscientious people throughout the world, who single-mindedly sympathized with, supported, and assisted us during the recent extremely difficult and glorious struggle. We convey to our brothers and friends throughout the world our salutations of solidarity and victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, more than 90 days following the signing of the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, the actual situation proves that the DRV Government and the PRGRSV have always strictly respected and scrupulously implemented the Paris agreement. On the contrary, the United States and the Saigon administration have repeatedly violated in a grave and systematic manner all provisions of the agreement they pledged to implement. They have violated the cease-fire; sabotaged the peace, infringed on the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and violated the provisions concerning peace, national independence, democratic liberties and national concord in South Vietnam. In Laos, although the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national concord has been signed, the U.S. imperialists still continue to support and assist the rightist clique in seriously violating the Vientiane agreement. In Cambodia, the United States intensifies and escalates the war, barbarously strikes the Cambodian liberated areas, and plots to rush Saigon and Bangkok mercenary troops to conduct an aggression against Cambodia. Today, all conscientious people of the world can clearly realize that although the United States has sustained bitter defeats, the U.S. imperialists still refuse to renounce their military involvement in the nations of Indochina. In South Vietnam, they still maintain their design of turning the southern part of our country into a U.S. neocolony and perpetuating the division of Vietnam. They continue to use the Saigon administration, a fascist military clique, as an instrument to carry out this dark scheme. They are striving to support and assist the puppet clique in brazenly sabotaging the main provisions of the Paris agreement and opposing the most cherished aspirations of the South Vietnamese people of all walks of life. More brazenly, they falsely accuse us of violating the Paris agreement, thus displaying their old "thief crying stop thief" trick. Nonetheless, these very obvious tricks can only further expose the stubborn, reactionary and slanderous nature of the U.S. administration. If, in the old days, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen had sustained repeated and ever heavier defeats, today they will certainly sustain even bitterer defeats. The Vietnamese people will certainly be

victorious, because the Vietnamese people's forces in both zones have become stronger than ever. The Vietnamese people will be victorious, because we know how to perseveringly step up our struggle to achieve, at any cost, our basic national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam, and in this struggle we have always closely united with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples. We will triumph because the peoples of the socialist countries and the world people will continue to give us valuable and varied support and assistance. The situation has changed in favor of our people while the U.S. imperialists and Saigon administration are encountering countless difficulties. Our Vietnamese people as well as other Indochinese peoples will surely win final victory.

Our people's struggle remains very tense, hard and complicated, but we are very confident and optimistic because this struggle is consistent with the evolution of history and the trend of development of the era.

The great President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament is encouraging and stimulating us to do our best to safeguard and consolidate our peace, successfully build socialism in the north, achieve independence and democracy in the south and proceed toward peacefully reunifying our beloved fatherland.

Today, in celebrating our victory, we cordially extend our fraternal sentiments, pride and boundless confidence to our compatriots and combatants in the south, the bulwark of the fatherland. Under the leadership of the NFLSV and PRGRSV, the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, the just and heroic struggle of our southern compatriots and combatants will surely be successful. President Ho said: Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. Although the rivers may dry up and the mountains may erode, this truth will never change.

In our nation's history, a period of brilliant development has followed each victory over foreign aggression. Our victory in the resistance against the U.S. has created new favorable conditions for us to rebuild our country, build our socialist North Vietnam, and strengthen each of the forces of the DRV -- the strong rear base of our country's revolution and the impregnable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. Because of our obligation to the countless generations that have struggled self-denyingly for the present victory, because of our duty to the country and the people, and because of our glorious international obligations, let us work with all our enthusiasm for the revolution, with all our abilities and with determination to make the greatest possible contributions to this very beautiful enterprise: building socialism in the north and building a socialist society and socialist men. The immediate requirements to be fulfilled are: Quickly stabilizing the situation, establishing an organized, disciplined and stable life, gradually improving the people's living conditions, and building and developing the economy, culture, science and technology.

We must deeply understand how we must work and carry out production at present. We are now sowing the seeds, and we will reap a successful harvest tomorrow as a result of our present toil. As in the recent wonderful struggle, our hands and our minds can do everything. Our people's faith and great confidence in our party's clearsighted leadership, our northern socialist regime and our nation's brilliant future is the force stimulating us to advance and helping us to quickly accelerate the development of our socialist state-operated economy.

We are always self-reliant. At the same time, we strive to secure assistance in many fields from the USSR, China and other socialist countries. We are ready to cooperate in the economic field with any country desiring to cooperate with us on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each other, of equality and of mutual interests.

Building the socialist north and strengthening the forces of the DRV require that we pay attention to consolidating the nation's defenses, strengthening the armed forces, constantly heightening vigilance, and maintaining combat readiness and fighting well in order to smash all schemes and acts encroaching on our socialist fatherland. Once again, our Vietnamese people reaffirm that no cruel force, no cunning maneuver and no insolent threat can make us waver and stray from our path of struggle and victory.

Dear compatriots and combatants, our Vietnamese people are living and struggling in a very great historic period of our country and the world. The widespread and deep revolutionary developments are quickly changing the balance of forces between imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the revolutionary trend of the world's peoples. Everywhere various peoples are rising up to master their fate. Standing in the unprecedentedly massive ranks of the world revolution, the Vietnamese people are determined to complete most satisfactorily their revolutionary undertaking and at the same time fulfill their obligations to the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples.

The Vietnamese people will surely win!

The Indochinese peoples will surely win!

The world's peoples will surely win in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

Long live the spirit of International Labor Day -- 1 May!

CSO: 3909-F

ORDER OF THE DAY READ BY SEN GEN VO NGUYEN GIAP ON 1 MAY 1973

[Order of the Day; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 6-10]

Cadres and combatants of the various armed services and branches; members of the regular, regional and the people's armed security forces; brother and sister members of the militia and self-defense forces and national defense workers and personnel:

Today, all our armed forces, commemorating International Labor Day, enthusiastically welcome the great victory of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation, the most glorious anti-foreign aggression resistance in the several thousand-year history of the Vietnamese people's stalwart and undying struggle for independence and freedom.

The U.S. imperialists' biggest armed invasion following World War II has been defeated by the Vietnamese people. Although it possessed very modern weapons and equipment, the largest aggressor army of the most powerful imperialist country sustained heavy setbacks and, in the end, was forced to withdraw.

Through 30 years of struggle with matchless heroism, all our armed forces, under the banner of the glorious LDP [Lao Dong Party] and great President Ho Chi Minh and together with all our people, successfully staged the August general uprising and won a victory over the fascist Japanese clique. We then successfully conducted two resistances against the two powerful imperialists: the French and U.S. imperialists. For the first time in more than a century of struggle for national liberation, the victory of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation has put an end to the occupation of our beloved fatherland by foreign aggressor armies. This is a great event in our people's history and in the world peoples' common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The victory of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is a brilliant success of our party's correct and creative political and military lines, of the revolutionary heroism of all our armed forces and people. It is also a success of international support and solidarity.

It is a victory of epochal significance for the people of a small nation who possess a high determination to fight for independence and freedom, who would sacrifice everything rather than lose the country and remain in slavery, and who defeated the war of aggression of an imperialist country that intends to use its military strength to subdue other nations. It is a brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people's war in the Ho Chi Minh era, of the Vietnamese people's tradition of combat solidarity, bravery and intelligence. It is also a victory of Vietnamese military science and art over the military science and art of imperialism.

On this historic festival, all our armed forces and people respectfully remember the great meritorious deeds of venerated Uncle Ho, the master of the Vietnamese revolution, the great leader of our party and people, and the beloved father of our people's armed forces. President Ho lives forever in our people's revolutionary undertaking!

Our fatherland remembers forever the great meritorious deeds of our fallen heroes, comrades and compatriots in the north and south who sacrificed their lives for the fatherland and people. The spirit of our fallen heroes lasts forever!

On behalf of the party Central Committee and government, and on the occasion of this great festival of the entire nation, the high command warmly praises and cites all cadres and combatants of the various armed branches and services of the regular forces, regional forces, people's armed security forces and militia self-defense forces, and all brother and sister national defense workers and personnel who have together with all the people struggled very heroically, twice defeated the barbarous war of destruction by the air and naval forces of the U.S. imperialists, defended the socialist north, the great rear base of the entire country, wholeheartedly provided support and assistance to the vast frontline and achieved great military exploits. Our army is really worthy of being an army that "is loyal to the party, fulfills any task, overcomes any difficulty and defeats any enemy."

We warmly congratulate the fraternal liberation armed forces of South Vietnam which have fought under extremely difficult conditions for scores of years, quickly developed, fought heroically and won repeated victories, thus showing themselves worthy of an army with boundless loyalty, matchless heroism, and glorious victories. Under the banner of the NFLSV and PRGRSV, the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, all cadres and combatants of the heroic PLAF, throughout the various battlefields from Tri-Thien and the central highlands to the zone 5 in Nam Bo, have overcome great challenges and together with the 17 million compatriots of the fatherland's bulwark, gradually defeated all the strategies of the U.S. imperialists, achieved great military exploits, and written brilliant pages of history.

We warmly congratulate our compatriots throughout the country, and express our deep and sincere gratitude to the compatriots who have

wholeheartedly cherished and cared for the troops for national salvation and never ceased encouraging and assisting the troops to advance to annihilate the enemy and achieve great military exploits.

We warmly welcome the great victories of the heroic Lao liberation armed forces and people. We warmly welcome the great victories of the heroic Cambodian liberation armed forces and people. The militant solidarity among the armed forces and peoples of the three Indochinese countries will certainly be increasingly strengthened and developed. We warmly welcome the great achievements of the armed forces and peoples of the USSR, China and other brotherly socialist countries, and express our deep and sincere gratitude for the strong sympathy and support and great assistance of the socialist countries and progressive mankind.

More than 3 months have elapsed since the signing of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. The last soldier of the U.S. expeditionary forces has had to withdraw from our country. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists still maintain their design of continuing to carry out the so-called Nixon doctrine and use the Saigon administration as an instrument to maintain neocolonialism in the southern part of our country and perpetuating the division of our country. The U.S. Government and Saigon administration are seriously violating the various provisions of the Paris agreement on Vietnam. Therefore, in South Vietnam the gunfire has continued to reverberate and our compatriots' blood continues to be shed. Recently, the United States, without justification, suspended the mine sweeping in the territorial waters and inland waterways of our country and continued acts of war by sending reconnaissance aircraft to intrude into the DRV's airspace.

In Laos, the U.S. imperialists have continued to bomb the liberated areas.

In Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists are actively intensifying their war of aggression.

We strongly condemn these acts of continuing the war and sabotaging the agreements and sabotaging peace by the United States and the puppet administrations. Once again we assert that no aggressive design, no war plot, no threatening word or act can shake the iron determination of our people to further strengthen their solidarity and to firmly struggle for the fatherland's independence and freedom.

In the past several decades, the aggressive armies of three imperialist countries, including the U.S. imperialists, have been defeated one after another and forced to withdraw from our country. At the same time, in the current new situation, the balance of forces in Vietnam, Indochina and the world has changed and is changing to the advantage of the revolution. It is certain that no people- and country-selling clique and no reactionary and bellicose force can stop our Vietnamese people's advance on the path of implementing the agreement, consolidating peace, building

socialism in the north, achieving independence and democracy throughout the country and advancing toward peace and national reunification.

All cadres and combatants,

In the face of the new situation and in response to the LDP Central Committee's and government's appeal, let us:

1. Clearly understand the situation and revolutionary duties in the new stage and the glorious functions of the People's Armed Forces, constantly uphold our vigilance and fighting spirit, resolutely struggle to maintain peace, stand ready to smash all schemes of provocation and sabotage and all acts of war against the northern part of our country, and complete most satisfactorily our people's struggle for peace, independence, democracy and national concord in order to advance toward peace and national reunification.

2. Actively and intensively build our ever stronger People's Armed Forces, our regular and modern army, our widespread and strong militia and self-defense forces, and an ever steadier and stronger people's national defense. Our cadres and combatants must heighten patriotism and their love for socialism, firmly grasp advanced military science and technology, observe strict self-discipline, possess excellent fighting ability, firmly protect the fruits of the revolution, defend our beloved fatherland's independence, and fulfill all duties entrusted by the party, the state, and the people.

3. Actively participate in the restoring of the economy, healing the war wounds, and building socialism to make the northern part of our country ever stronger in both the economy and national defense.

Looking back upon the process of glorious fighting and victories of our people on this great festival, we believe all the more deeply in the country's bright future and in our people's and armed forces' invincible strength. Our entire people's just struggle for the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam will surely achieve glorious victory.

Under the ever-victorious banner of our party and great President Ho Chi Minh, let all our cadres and combatants, together with the entire people, valiantly surge forward to win even more glorious victories.

CSO: 3909-F

THE PRESENT DAY SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

[Article by Tran Dai Nghia; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 11-20]

The scientific-technological revolution, which began in the 1950's, is one of the most important events of the age. For approximately 30 years, a revolutionary change has been occurring in the world in the material and technical base, a change which is the result of revolutionary changes in science and technology and the complete system of mankind's knowledge.

This change, which is as rapid as lightning and is called the scientific-technological revolution (also called the second technological revolution), differs from the previous technological revolution (also called the first technological revolution or the industrial revolution) as a result of its extremely large-scale, extremely rapid rate, and deep and comprehensive nature.

The scientific-technological revolution, which has undergone a complex and dialectical process, has particularly influenced the rapid development of the world, particularly the development of production capacity. During the more than 1,800 years between the first year Anno Domini and the 18th century (prior to the first technological revolution), not one country had created a gross social product which increased more than two times per capita, but, in the space of slightly more than the last century, some countries have increased this index 25 times. Let us take another example, one involving the raw materials of a leading industry, petroleum: the world consumed 37 million tons in 1913, 300 million tons in 1940, and 2 billion 334 million tons in 1970. These extraordinary developments were primarily the result of the technological revolution and the scientific-

technological revolution, particularly the present day scientific-technological revolution.

The world scientific-technological revolution is still very feverish, its rate of development is very rapid, and its scale of development is very large.

The Major Special Characteristics of the Scientific-Technological Revolution

The present day scientific-technological revolution has two major special characteristics:

1. In contrast to the industrial revolution during which science and technology developed relatively independently and were only slightly influenced by each other, in the present day scientific-technological revolution, the development of science and technology are intimately interrelated, stimulate each other, and proceed very rapidly. In addition, scientific and technical research are utilizing an immense force of people, equipment, and capital. Today, science has become a direct production force as predicted by Marx.

During the period of the first technological revolution, in which the most typical guideline was mechanization, natural science also experienced a process of revolutionary development. Many very important scientific laws were determined during this period which still provide a basis for modern technologies.

Today, science not only directly answers questions involving production and technology, but also determines, to a large extent, the development of technology and production.

In reviewing the revolutionary changes which have taken place in technology and production, we see that their foundation was the revolution which took place in the natural sciences: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and so forth. In many cases, without research in basic theory, it would have been difficult for many revolutionary changes in technology and production to take place, such as those which took place in atomic energy, electronics, jet power, the chemical industry, and so forth.

It must also be pointed out that more and more fields of science are being put into direct and broad use in production, such as psychology, aesthetics, physiology, social science, and

so forth in order to create a national economy that is much more rich and has many new products, very high labor productivity, low production costs, and high quality. The scientific-technological revolution has made it possible for workers to do less strenuous work and has served consumers better.

In the present day scientific-technological revolution, the number of people engaged in research and development activities has jumped (to more than 5 million people, a 40 fold increase in the last 40 years); investment budgets have become hundreds of times larger; organization and management have been strongly improved in order to delve into reality more rapidly and thoroughly. The very obvious trend is to reduce the time between the discovery of a theory and its application in production.

In the past, the discoveries of phenomena within the natural sciences were only transformed into technology after several decades and, in some cases, hundreds of years passed before they were applied. Today, this time gap has been reduced to an average 4 years (for example, for semi-conductors, lasers, and so forth). And, technology has progressed so rapidly that industrial equipment is generally outmoded in 5 years.

Naturally, when delving into specifics it is necessary to differentiatebetween new industries and long established ones. New industries, such as the atomic power, electronics, jet power, chemicals, petroleum, and other industries, change very rapidly, however, long established industries, such as the classical machinery and metallurgy industry, light industry, change more slowly. A comparison between the aircraft and the automobile between 1939 and 1970 shows that the aircraft has developed more rapidly.

The events mentioned above show the very deep and close organic relationship which exists between the development of science and the progress of technology and clearly show that science has become a direct production force, whereas it used to be, to some extent, nothing more than a luxury. Today, between the two fields of man's activities, intellectual activities (that is, scientific activities) and activities designed to create material wealth (that is, technical activities and production) a close and deep relationship has formed and these two fields stimulate each other and form the foundation of each other's development.

As mentioned above, science not only supports the everyday needs of technology and production, but also determines,

to a large extent, the guidelines for the development of technology and production. The forward movement of science creates favorable conditions for rapid progress by technology and production and is a very important contribution to the development of new equipment, new raw materials, new products, new industrial procedures, and so forth. This process reflects the laws of the scientific-technological revolution and, as the engineer Keldysh , the chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has said: "The effect of the advance of technology upon the development of heavy industry and the effect of the advance of science upon the development of technology have become a law of the scientific-technological revolution."

On the other hand, the relationship between science and technology is a reciprocal process: the advance of technology and production is directly dependent upon the achievements of science and, conversely, revolutionary changes in science are also dependent upon the advance and requirements of production and technology. The achievements of scientific research, the increase in the labor productivity of scientists, and the ability to discover many new natural phenomena have been due, to a large extent, to very modern equipment. This is generally called "scientific industrialization" the development of sciences based on the industrial potential of society. Experience has shown that industrially backward conntries generally encounter very great difficulties in scientific research, particularly those that do not have the necessary scientific equipment and technical means to conduct experiments.

2. The scientific-technological revolution is very broad in scope. It has been and is spreading not only throughout the entire system of science, technology, and production, but has also rapidly permeated the communications and transportation sector, the construction sector, and the liaison and information sector, in general, and the commerce, cultural, public health, education, internal affairs, and public security sectors and everyday life and is having an increasingly great influence upon the way of life and, generally speaking, upon the whole of society.

In the field of science, we see that progress has been made in practically every sector. Science has been divided into many subsectors and, on the other hand, it has formed related sectors. In this process of division and formation of the various scientific sectors, the deep interrelationship among the various scientific sectors has made them richer and very widely and strongly stimulated each other's development.

The rapid development of research methods which can be widely applied, such as mathematics, cybernetics, modulization, and so forth have paralleled the rapid development of the specialized technical equipment of science and technical means which have universal functions, the most typical of which is the computer.

In the field of production, the scientific-technological revolution has brought about major changes in labor tools and labor objectives:

The scope of raw materials has been expanded as a result of the development of man-made materials, such as new compounds, new alloys, and so forth, and classic materials, particularly metals and alloys, have been greatly improved.

Recently discovered natural phenomena and natural forces are in use in technology, the processes of physics and chemistry are in universal use, and new biological processes have been recently developed. Atomic energy is being put in wider and wider use.

Labor tools have been more highly mechanized and are becoming automated; not only production, but management as well are becoming more and more highly automated and are approaching total automation. Automation is one of the decisive factors of the scientific-technological revolution (naturally, it should not be understood that the scientific-technological revolution only involves automation).

Thus, the revolutionary changes in technology have touched upon the raw material base, work tooks, and all processes of use, production, and management. All areas have undergone change. The activities of the present age are expressed in technical activities on a larger scale and of a more complex nature which are generally called major systems, for example: the electric system, the communication system, the water conservancy system, the information system, and so forth. On the other hand, the internal and subordinate relationships among the various technical sectors are increasing more strongly with each passing day. In the future, this will result in a total technical system as a result of which there will be a fundamental change in the system of material and technical bases of society. Naturally, when this system is designed, it will be necessary, in order to achieve high economic efficiency, to focus attention upon the requirements of national defense.

The technological revolution began within industry and has spread to all spheres of society and influenced social life in one way or another. The more it spreads, the deeper its influence becomes.

The Major Guidelines, the Consequences, and the Existing Problems

The major guidelines.

Based on the objective requirements and realities of society (scientific, technological, and economic), the present day world scientific-technological revolution is being carried out in accordance with four major guidelines:

Mechanization and automation. In production as well as every other activity, mechanization and automation have a decisive influence upon labor productivity and, at the same time, upon the reduction of production costs and the improvement of product quality. Experience has shown that, in comparison to manual labor, total mechanization permits a 100 fold, and sometimes a 1,000 fold, increase in productivity and total automation increases productivity thousands, and sometimes tens of thousands, of times. Today, an automobile factory produces from 1,000 to 5,000 cars per day and it takes, on the average, 60 times less worktime to produce one automobile than it did in 1913 (when production was also mechanized) even though today's automobiles are more modern. A totally automated oil refinery with a capacity of 10 million tons per year requires only 12 people. The most modern computer calculates as fast as 1 million people.

Electrification. To rapidly expand mechanization and automation, it is necessary to have an abundant supply of energy, the most effective form of which is electric power. Electrification is the widespread use of electricity as power and the use of electricity in many of the processes of production and everyday life. In the Soviet Union, the output of electricity has increased 450 times since the October Revolution.

The application of chemistry. The application of chemistry plays a very important role in the entire national economy and the life of man. If there were not fertilizer, insecticides, various types of man-made fibers, and so forth when the population of the world increased rapidly, it would have been impossible to support life. Thanks to chemical drugs, the horrible epidemics of the past are no longer dangerous.

The application of chemistry has also created many sources of new raw materials (the newest of which is the "cao phan tu" industry) for practically all production sectors from agriculture and the consumer goods industry to the capital construction, communications, and transportation sectors and such very modern industries as atomic energy, electronics, jet power, and so forth. And, the application of chemistry is also the broad application of chemical processes in many sectors of the national economy. The application of the latest achievements of science and technology, such as atomic energy (for peaceful purposes), electronics, jet power, biology, and the various fields of science dealing with organization, leadership, and management (cybernetics, informational research, operations research, the theory of decision making, forecasting, the theory of large systems, etc.).

Nuclear energy is being used for peaceful purposes in many areas. In the most important area, solving mankind's seemingly perpetual energy problem, a nuclear power plant based on thermo-nuclear reaction which operates on deuterium in sea water has been successfully researched (this plant may be completed at the end of this century or the start of the next).

There are very many uses for electronics in the national economy and everyday life, the most typical of which is computers which are being used more and more widely in research, production, and management in practically every sector.

Jet power is creating a revolution in communications and transportation as well as in space research. This event is helping accelerate the interchange among the various countries of the world and indirectly reducing the size of our planet and shortening the distance between earth and the other planets.

The scientific fields pertaining to leadership, organization, and management in which the primary tool is the computer is and will continue capably supporting leaders and managers in this complex and changing age of the scientific-technological revolution.

In summary, the scientific-technological revolution must be a comprehensive system in order to achieve maximum effectiveness.

However, we absolutely should not propose researching all fields of science and technology before carrying out the

scientific-technological revolution. It is impossible for an agriculturally backward country which has just begun to build its industry, has little capital, does not have a large corps of technical cadres and workers, and so forth to immediately develop all fields of science and technology.

The problem raised here is that of assessing the special characteristics, each aspect, the consequences, and the existing problems of the scientific-technological revolution and knowing how to apply its achievements in a manner suited to one's specific circumstances. It is of utmost importance to have a correct line and policy governing the development of science and technology. Japan was defeated during World War II and had little capital and poor natural resources, however, as a result of knowing how to take advantage of the situation, acquiring the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution by buying them, and utilizing the inventions of the world, it has been able to rapidy move its economy (primarily its industry) to third place in the world.

Social consequences.

Today, on a given scale of production, things which are the most modern are also, in every respect, the things which are the most economical. Consequently, the scientific-technological revolution has created favorable conditions for the very rapid development of the national economy as well as the capability to help overcome the natural deficiencies which many countries are encountering, such as limited land, limited underground resources, and so forth. In order to clearly see the social consequences of the scientific-technological revolution, we can make a number of comparisons between the developing countries and those countries in which the scientific-technological revolution has reached a high level of development.

The realities in a number of countries in which the scientific-technological revolution has reached a high stage of development show:

Social welfare is much more abundant than it used to be, consequently, the material life and cultural knowledge are fuller and richer.

Work time is less because labor productivity is very high; people only work 5 days a week and there is much more time off each year. Workers have much time for relaxation and raising their professional and cultural levels.

As regards the structure of labor, the scientific-technological revolution has created the conditions for steadily and rapidly abolishing the border line between mental labor and manual labor; when there is total automation, the majority of workers are mental laborers (there is a small number of manual laborers to repair machines when they break down). This revolutionary process in manpower has been called the stage of transformation from "blue collars" to "white collars."

The distribution of labor at installations and in society has undergone a basic change. At installations the percentage of indirect personnel has grown with each passing day and, with total automation, practically all personnel are indirect personnel. Within society, labor has been divided into three blocs: mining, processing, and service; the third bloc is comprised of the commerce, sector, the administrative sector, the educational sector, the public health sector, the cultural sector, the scientific sector, and so forth which directly serve man. With very high productivity in production, the third bloc can be allowed to comprise an increasingly large percentage and, in some countries, this manpower bloc comprises more than 50 percent of the total labor force.

The distribution of the urban and rural populations has also undergone a fundamental change. Due to the development of the scientific-technological revolution, people have become concentrated in cities and towns; the number of people working in the countryside has been very greatly reduced and, in some countries, comprises only 5 percent of the total labor force. The difference between the city and the countryside has gradually been narrowed.

In the age of the scientific-technological revolution, technical means and equipment have changed very rapidly and are, on the average, outmoded within 5 years. Therefore, each activity related to production must be carried out well and quickly. The planning of a factory must be modern, inexpensive, and rapid (and include a revolutionary design program and the application of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution) and construction must be inexpensive and rapid (as a result of the industrialization and mechanization of consturction); when the factory is put into production, there must be a ready corps of skilled cadres and workers in order to rapidly achieve design capacity, high product quality, and low production costs. For example, from planning until the time it is put into production, it takes only 1 year to build a large nitrogenous

fertilizer factory with the capacity of 1,000 tons of ammoniac per day; after production starts, only 3 months are needed to achieve design capacity and, thus, all capital is reclaimed in 1.5 years. If attention was not given to time and good preparations were not made, this 1.5 years would not be enough to discuss the plan for the site of the factory not to mention building it and putting it into production.

Carrying out each activity well and rapidly is the primary precondition for the rapid development of the scientific-technological revolution. And, on the other hand, only by carrying out the scientific-technological revolution well is it possible to carry out each activity rapidly and well.

The existing problems.

The large-scale and comprehensive development of the scientific-technological revolution has influenced nature and the whole of society, therefore it is necessary to engage in very detailed research in order to be able to move rapidly and steadily forward. However, in the capitalist countries, because the leading capitalists pursue maximum profits, attention is not given to the interests of the people; therefore, the scientific-technological revolution in these countries causes the following major problems:

1. With the scientific-technological revolution, the modern day world is using energy and raw materials on a very large-scale, a scale which is increasing very rapidly each year. For example, in 1970, 63 times more petroleum was used than in 1913. The earth's ability to supply natural resources in not inexhaustible. The danger of exhausting the sources of raw materials, particularly the sources of various minerals which cannot be reclaimed, is the concern of everyone. According to estimates made by specialists, although there are new methods of exploration which employ modern technology and equipment, petroleum reserves, at the present rate of consumption, will be virtually exhausted by the start of the next century and, in a number of countries, they are beginning to again research coal because coal reserves are dozens of times larger than petroleum reserves. Water is something which we generally think is in very great supply, however, many places are now facing a water shortage in production and everyday life. Actually, fresh water only comprises about 3 percent of the water on the earth and is becoming more polluted with each passing day. Other raw materials, such as copper, tin, and so forth have been scarce for a long time.

The world, as well as every country in it, must adopt a policy for the more effective use and the conservation of natural resources (there is now a United Nations sub-committee on water).

2. In the capitalist countries which seek to earn as much profit as they can, the capitalist groups have applied the scientific-technological revolution in a chaotic manner; they will not invest the money needed to handle the pollutants resulting from the production and mining processes, consequently, their environment is becoming more and more polluted with air pollution, water pollution, etc. In Japan, the third leading industrial country in the world which measures only 380,000 square kilometers in area , workers do not have enough fresh air to breathe, the beaches are so dirty that people cannot go bathing, eating seafood sometimes results in the loss of hair or bone deterioration, and so forth. In the other capitalist countries, a similar situation exists but it has not gotten that bad yet. On their days off, the working people in cities have a pressing need to go to the countryside. Even on the broad oceans which appear clean, there are places which have been polluted by oil and industrial wastes discharged by ocean going vessels. Several years ago, an investigation of the oceans in a report entitled "The Oceans Are Dying" showed: life in the oceans has decreased by 40 percent during the past 20 years and approximately 1,000 species of animal and plant life have been destroyed in the space of 50 years. Moreover, can the concrete containers filled with the impurities of the atomic industry which were dropped on the bottom of the ocean remain intact forever? If one of them breaks open one day, won't there be horrible consequences for mankind? The problem of pollution is an international one: a large river flows through many countries and one country can pollute another. People fishing in the Atlantic Ocean 800 kilometers from the coast of Western Europe have found DDT in the flesh of fish.

The world now has a Sub-Committee Researching the Pollution of the Environment and many countries have established ministries (or commissions) on the enviroment in order to combat pollution and protect nature.

3. The scientific-technological revolution presents many very complex problems. With respect to the natural sciences, not even a collective of researchers can fully realize all of its effects, such as the matters pertaining to the methods of applying chemistry. Moreover, the scientific-technological revolution has spread to all of man's activities and is permeating them more deeply with each passing day,

consequently, it has both direct and indirect influences, links many different levels, and touches upon very complex and different social science problems depending on the country and time which, if not researched and virtually and promptly solved, will control the development of the scientific-technological revolution or create confusion within society.

The Experience of the World and the Conditions of the Scientific-Technological Revolution

Although it has recorded many great achievements, the scientific-technological revolution is still very young, only about 30 years old. Experience is still being recorded. However, we can draw a number of initial and relatively certain and practical experiences regarding the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution for the purpose of answering the question: which conditions must be provided in order to create a broad and highly effective scientific-technological revolution?

At present, there are two types of countries in the world, the first type is comprised of the developing countries which have recently begun to build their industry or whose industries are very young; the second type is comprised of the developed countries which have carried out all or the majority of the technological revolution and are delving rather deeply into the scientific-technological revolution.

The developing countries have the primary drawback of a lack of capital and a lack of a corps of technical cadres and workers; therefore, they must apply the scientific-technological revolution, the technological revolution, and handicraft methods. As regards the scientific-technological revolution, they can only select a number of things which benefit them the most. Consequently, for these countries, the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution are not particularly high.

The developed countries which have already carried out the technological revolution have the necessary capital and a relatively good corps of technical cadres and workers. But, when they enter the scientific-technological revolution, they also encounter many difficulties which are primarily the result of two reasons: first, those people on all levels who carry out the scientific-technological revolution must have higher qualifications than the people who carried out the technological revolution; secondly, to achieve the highest possible efficiency, the scientific-technological

revolution must develop in a comprehensive manner; the word "scientific" does not merely mean the natural sciences, rather, it includes many fields of social science.

Below, we will delve into the reasons, which are also the primary conditions, underlying the scientific-technological revolution.

1. Drawing experience from a number of countries in Western Europe and the U.S., the world has reached the conclusion that in order to carry out an advanced scientific-technological revolution, it is necessary to have good organization, leadership, and management because, without good organization, leadership, and management such a scientific-technological revolution cannot be carried out.

To begin with, leadership agencies must have high ability and a good command staff to accurately and thoroughly research all complex methods and make truly good preparations before a decision is made. The decision must be made accurately and promptly and then quickly put into effect. Once it has been put into effect, it is necessary to have a corps of skilled management cadres, technical cadres, and manual workers who have the ability to closely control the program of information-forecasting-decision making-planning-the organization of implementation-the management of the process of implementation.

This scientific-technological revolution is very much richer and more complex than the previous technological revolution. Countries with complete economies, such as the Soviet Union or the U.S., have approximately 10 million products included in which are several tens of thousands of types of equipment; each year, these products and these pieces of equipment change (in the capitalist countries, one out of every five products and pieces of equipment changes each year). The research-designing-production-distribution-consumption of this volume of products and equipment must be as prompt and economical as possible.

The scientific-technological revolution requires tighter discipline because society has become a unified, complex system which changes in accordance with time and without a high level of discipline society will become chaotic and even disintegrate.

As regards leadership and management and even the field of social science, it is impossible to merely rely upon laws, rather, it is necessary to delve more deeply and specifically

into laws which are accurate but which change during each period of time and in each set of circumstances. For example, if it is necessary to know the psychology of the people or a few strata of people, it is necessary to conduct a careful investigation and have accurate data concerning relevant changes during each period of time. This can now be done because natural science and technological science have provided the theory, methods, and tools needed to coordinate the various social science sectors in research and implementation. Naturally, the level of accuracy in the field of social science cannot be as high as the level of accuracy in the fields of natural science and technological science.

2. The elementary and advanced training of man. The elementary and advanced training of man in the age of scientific-technological revolution is on a higher level and differs from the period of the technological revolution and, in addition, is of strategic significance. Today, science and technology are changing very rapidly, particularly in the new sectors and, within a few years, many new achievements will be recorded. The training of man cannot be limited to specialization in a narrow field, rather, it must provide man with broad knowledge of the basic sciences and basic technology and then delve into one, two, or three trades. In educational and training activities, an effort must be made to make use of modern means, if possible.

The training of man in the age of the scientific-technological revolution cannot only provide him with "ever-lasting" knowledge so that he can always work in a given trade; it must make it possible for him to become and change him into his own teacher so that he has the ability to study on his own, develop his intellectual and creative capacities, and continuously move forward like the scientific-technological revolution. Today, when a person graduates from a school, no matter how high the school may be, receiving his diploma is only the beginning; the most important thing is the school of life in which man matures through production, work, continuous training, and the constant study of natural science, technological science, and social science.

The continuous training of cadres and manual workers is a very detailed and complex job which must be done in a democratic and self-conscious spirit, that is, the cadre or manual worker must make an effort based on his present needs and capabilities, his talents, his future desires, and

so forth and must be of a concentrated nature: it must be organized and planned and comprehensively train the labor force from leadership and management cadres to technical workers in all sectors, on all levels, and, more broadly speaking, all of the people. Naturally, there must be an appropriate focal point at each place and time.

Training which is highly successful gives cadres and manual workers farsightedness and skill and makes it possible for them to rapidly progress in their work and contribute ideas of value to society. In large systems, man is both the objective of management and the manager, therefore, it is necessary to provide him with all necessary knowledge and, in particular, train his scientific mind, his rational mind, and his industrial mind, heighten his level of social awareness, and provide him with the most fundamental conditions so that cadres and manual workers can be the owners of large-scale production, the owners of society, and heighten each of their abilities in the most effective manner possible.

The scientific-technological revolution has caused the rapid and comprehensive development of man's abilities; on the other hand, in order for the scientific-technological revolution to develop strongly and fully serve life, man must constantly improve himself and reach the pinnacles of science and technology.

In conjunction with elementary and advanced training, providing safety for the worker and maintaining and increasing production capacity must be given an appropriate amount of attention. In the age of the scientific-technological revolution, the returns from the investment in man has increased very greatly and, to a certain extent, so does the development of civilization (this is more clearly noticeable in a socialist system); the development of man is the most effective way to increase production forces.

3. For the scientific-technological revolution to reach a high stage of development without creating chaos within society or controlling the development of society, it is necessary to foresee problems which will arise in the field of social science and necessary to carefully research them and adopt measures for solving them. At present, in all countries, when the staff presents the draft of a plan pertaining to the scientific-technological revolution to the leadership level, it must also present a general forecast, included in which is a forecast of social conditions which clearly defines the atmosphere in society during the

process of carrying out the scientific-technological revolution and its direct and indirect consequences on many levels.

The scientific-technological revolution demands, together with appropriately improving each person's ability and imbuing everyone with a new style and energy, a very great change in each structure of society from the scientific-technological-economic structure to the administrative, social, psychological, and theoretical structure. It demands that this change be brought about in accordance with a concise and very detailed plan, however, this change cannot take a long period of time because, the longer it takes, the more complex it will become.

Great Britain, the first industrialized country in the world, foresaw, in 1945, the obstacles posed by old customs and habits which were not suited to the age of the scientific-technological revolution and adopted important measures in the areas of reform, education, and so forth; however, 27 years later, there are still difficulties and not all of the old customs have been eliminated. In Japan, the opposite has taken place; the ruling capitalist groups have used reform to extend the life of feudal customs and habits in coordination with the various tricks of capitalist exploitation in order to serve their own interests, but, how long will this be effective and what will be its consequences? At present, this question cannot be answered.

The scientific-technological revolution is capable of creating a life of happiness for mankind and, at the same time, can create great harm for mankind and the earth, particularly in the capitalist countries.

Man must make use of the scientific-technological revolution for the sake of the progress of mankind.

Under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, the socialist countries, which have an understanding of the laws of development of nature and society and constantly give their attention to the interests of the people, have the ability to make full use of each achievement of the scientific-technological revolution in order to support the material and cultural needs of the people as much as possible on the basis of developing production and raising social labor productivity.

Today, in our country, there is no other way to successfully build socialism and insure that the people are

well fed, well clothed, and happy than by simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions (the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution), the key one being the technological revolution.

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ESTABLISHING AN ADVANCED SYSTEM OF TECHNICAL MANAGEMENT

[Article by Doan Dinh Hoe; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 21-29]

Technology Is Part of Each Social Product

Today, technology and technical management are rather widespread topics of conversation. However, there is still a failure to give attention to technology and technical management. There are some people who maintain that we are now placing too much emphasis upon technology: in ancient times, no one talked about technology but they still built sophisticated projects, didn't they? Some people, who have too much "respect" for technology, contend that it is a matter for scientists and technicians, it is not the job of the ordinary producer and it is even less of a concern for economic managers. There are many reasons why attention has not been given to technology and technical management, however, the main reason has been the failure to clearly realize that technology is a part of each social product without which there can be no finished product. In fact, "man can do nothing more than nature has already done, that is, man can only change the form of materials." Changing the form of materials is designed to achieve forms and structures which are consistent with the needs of production and the consumer needs of society. But, to do this, more than just desire is necessary. In order to develop these forms and structures, the producer must comply with specifications and follow given procedures, whether these

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1. K. Marx: "Capital"; Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 1, Volume 1, p 66.

specifications and procedures are the result of long standing habits or in the form of scientifically based legal documents. According to Marx, this is "the product of an individual productive activity, an activity which has its own goals, methods, objectives, means, and result"(2) and this result, as called by Marx, is use value; labor which produces use value is called specific labor by Marx. Specific labor is technical labor. Because, labor, which is only a source of combined energy, coordinates with man's production technology to create use value and create the individual nature of each material body produced. Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that the labor of man is labor with an objective, a will, and tools. The objective and will of man in labor is to achieve a given use value. Labor specifications, labor tools, and the use value achieved are the fruits of technical labor. According to Marx, "technology shows us the effect man has upon nature and clearly indicates the production process used to maintain the life of man."(3)

Thus, technology is the product of man and is born when man knows how to engage in productive labor. It is not a category special to today nor is it something which will only be developed in the future. Nor is it an idol we should fear or worship.

But, we also know that the society of man develops through the development of production capacity and technological development. As mankind has experienced the periods of ignorance, barbarity, and civilization (there are even many stages in the civilized period), so technology has developed in many stages: the handicraft stage, the mechanized stage, and the automated stage. Each period of history has had a corresponding level of technological development. Marx used the windmill to symbolize the feudal system and the steam engine to symbolize the capitalist system. And, Lenin called socialism the soviet government plus country-wide electrification.

The development of technology has been both orderly and leaping. The world has taken one great leap forward in technology and is now taking another. The first leap was the technological revolution (generally called the industrial revolution) which took place during the past several centuries; the second leap is the scientific-technological revolution which is now taking place in the world.

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2. Ibid., p 64.

3. K. Marx: "Capital"; Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book 1, Volume 2, p 85.

In the past, under the slave and feudal systems, the matter of technology was not raised in an urgent manner primarily because technology had not developed: there was still little social production, the division of labor was simple, production was of a spontaneous nature, and the need to compete technically was not great. This is much different from today when production capacity is highly developed and technology has developed strongly. Each type of product has many different styles and many different levels of quality. Technology is becoming more and more of a pressing matter in this age, a pressing matter for every social system. Under the capitalist system, the capitalist class is concerned with technology for the sake of profits. They make investments in technology and establish and manage technical standards in order to transform technology into a capable tool supporting competition and monopoly. Under the socialist system, because the objective is serving the people, the working class constantly gives its attention to establishing, managing, and developing technology in order to move the national economy forward in a balanced manner, at an increasingly high rate, and with greater productivity and quality. The above shows that, although it is not sacred, technology is not something ordinary. Because, it clearly is the result of a process of creative labor by mankind. Technology was born at a low level, but has developed to a high level. Without it, there would be no social product. It can be said that without technology there would be no society of man.

Today, in order to evaluate the labor of an individual, we examine his labor skills primarily so that we can evaluate him through his present technical level. As regards a product, be it an instrument of production or an instrument of life, we generally examine its degree of sophistication, durability, dependability, and so forth when it is traded or sold primarily so that we can determine the technical value of this product. The same holds true for a society, we only need to examine the technical value of a number of its products in order to have a full understanding of this society's level of development.

Technical Management Is a Science, a Technology

As does every other phenomenon, economic and technical events begin and develop in accordance with certain laws and develop in an orderly and sometimes a leaping manner from the simple to the complex and the rudimentary to the sophisticated. Generally speaking, technology develops within

each country together with the forward momentum of the national economy. It expresses the level of man in production. In the past, technology was the premise for scientific conclusions. It was the standard of truth for scientific experiments. Today, science and technology have become direct production forces and technology is developing more and more with each passing day and having a great effect upon the entirety of social life. A series of technical developments have taken place -- almost immediately after the birth of a new field of science -- and have set off a continuous string of chain reactions.

As the national economy must be managed well, so, too, technology must be managed well; only by managing technology well is it possible to have a good system of technology. In other words, technical management must be considered and treated as a science. Some people may think that by doing this we seek to overemphasize the importance of technical management which was once only considered an administrative activity. This opinion originates in the failure to fully perceive the significance of technical management within modern production and seeks to simplify technical management and make it commonplace. Correctly stated, in a country with a modern system of production, technical management must first be considered a science and a modern science and afterwards considered a technology and an advanced technology. In fact, in order to have good technical management, we must delve deeply into three relationships: the relationship between man and man, the relationship between man and nature, and the relationship between nature and nature in time, space, and specific historic circumstances. These three relationships are bound together and determine the technical, economic, and social properties of a product. These properties reflect the laws of society, the laws of the economy, and the laws of nature. It is very easy to see that the feeling and will of cooperation among men, the understanding and skill of man as regards the objective and tools of his labor, and the inter-related structure of substances are the basic factors in the formation of the quality and quantity of social products. Today, we are able to determine the quantity and quality of these relationships. Whenever a production task is proposed, scientists and technicians have to take three forces into account: social, economic, and technical forces. Each of these forces is comprised of a series of coefficients, parameters, and indices. The social force, in actuality, is a function of many independent factors, such as national peculiarities, consumer preferences and habits, the aesthetic

requirements of the various strata of society, etc. The economic force is also the implicit function of many factors: society's purchasing power, the purchasing power of money, prices, etc. The technical force is the function of the equipment base, machinery, raw materials, building materials, labor skills, etc. The coefficients and parameters of the social force and the economic force are also dependent upon the nature of the social system, the stages of development of society particularly the stage of development of the trade goods economy, etc. These three types of forces do not always change together, rather, there are very many cases in which their stages of change are not parallel, such as when the high technical level of a product is in contradiction to the spendable cash of consumers, when spendable cash is in contradiction to taste, etc. Therefore, when accepting a production task, the production manager as well as the technical manager must calculate and determine how he can hold expenditures to the lowest possible level while still achieving the highest possible quality and quantity. The forces mentioned above have given us a series of production coefficients and parameters which form an ensemble of many different combinations so that when we shift from one ensemble to another by reducing the quantity of a particular factor employed an increase in the quantity of another factor employed is the result. Each such ensemble is the locus of (economically and technically) effective combinations which we can call the surface of efficiency or the orb of efficiency if only two factors are involved. This locus represents the combined force for the production manager and the technical manager. On the other hand, a highly minimized (economic-technical) production expenditures function has been developed which is suited to the combined force mentioned above (and called the economic function or the target function). It is possible to prove that if we take the derived function of the difference of the two functions mentioned above and then cancel the derivative we will have an optimum plan for production. As a result, we can establish minimum and average plans. On the basis of these plans, it is possible to derive a number of coefficients and parameters which are generally comprised of three types: natural-technical, economic-technical, and economic-social. These provide the basis for economic-technical management and for technology as well. Quality control is the management of these parameters.

All of the things mentioned above show that management, in general, and technical management, in particular, are a true science. It becomes technology when it is formulated in accordance with given lines, programs, regulations, rules

procedures, and standards. And, with regard to every matter pertaining to projects or products, we act in accordance with fixed guidelines. This is the source of the skill of the technical manager.

And, we should not merely understand technical management in a passive sense. This not only includes having an understanding of technology and technical requirements and guiding technology in the correct orb. The technical concept also means practicing economy and stepping up production. It means improving product quality and advancing to a technical system with a higher organization. It also means establishing a way of life, labor, and education for each individual and all of society because it is the scientific foundation of each activity in the life of man.

Management science, in general, and technical management science, in particular, as well as technical management, in general, and the technical management technology, in particular, are, naturally, subjects involving many difficulties and complications, however, they can be done if we are determined. Moreover, this is an obligation which must be fulfilled: our state has undertaken the function of managing the economy and managing society and, consequently, must undertake the function of managing technology. However, it must also be realized that in countries with developed economies and developed industry, technical management is easier because working with technology has become a habit and the way of life of man. In economically and technically underdeveloped countries such as ours in which the habits of small-scale production and handicraft industry still predominate and it is necessary to begin the construction of large-scale socialist production without passing through the stage of capitalist development, the establishment of a system of advanced technical management naturally encounters many difficulties. There are difficulties with understanding and thinking, difficulties with regard to habits, difficulties involving knowledge, skill, and so forth. But, under the socialist system, the working people, who are liberated and become the owners of the instruments of production and the natural resources of the country, will, without fail, become the masters of technology and provide good technical management.

Establishing a System of Advanced Technical Management Is an Indispensable Premise of the Technological Revolution

The main material force in the development of production is the production forces in which technology is an essential

factor. In our society today, after the adoption of economic lines, programs, and plans, it must be said that technology is the determining factor. When it is clearly realized that technology is a part of each social product, it is impossible to overlook technical management.

But, some comrades think that we should not raise the matter of technical management because our technological revolution is just beginning and we do not have the technical system to manage. Such is not the case. We do have a rather highly developed system of national handicraft technology. We also have elements of a modern system of technology even though they have not been systematized or unified. All of these bases are providing us with a definite volume of products and a definite use value each day. How can we not provide technical management and still develop the Fatherland and give the people prosperity and happiness?

Technical management is the premise and an indispensable element of the technological revolution. It works for today and prepares for tomorrow in accordance with the laws of the development of technology, production forces, and science and technology. Therefore, we must technically manage each social product, the existing material-technical base, and existing labor skills well in accordance with the programs, guidelines, rules, regulations, and standards which have been established. At the same time, we must immediately begin to research the establishment of a modernized system of technical management for the future whose development parallels or precedes technological forecasts and parallels the gradual modernization of the national economy. This is an increasingly urgent requirement which must be successfully met in all situations. Implementing technical management at this point in time means beginning to establish and consolidate the legal basis of the regulations and standards which have been put forth by the state in order to create a basis for upholding the right of collective ownership of the mass of working people in the field of technology. This also means starting to lay the necessary foundation in the form of knowledge, understanding, ideology, and style in order to create the conditions for the technological revolution to achieve favorable factors and develop with and deeply permeate the national economy.

What is specifically covered under the term technical management?

We all know that each natural substance has two use values: the natural use value and the social use value. The

natural use value results from the substance's natural structure and the social use value results from the technical labor of society. To achieve a high social use value it is necessary to insure that there is a high natural use value first. Therefore, technical management must begin with the use value of a substance in its natural state. This is most clearly expressed within the farming sector (forestry, cereal crops, food product crops, medicinal crops, and so forth) and the animal husbandry sector (livestock, domestic fowl, fish, etc), that is, the biological technical sectors. But, it also applies to every other sector (mining, building materials, chemicals, etc.), However, natural use value must be gradually and ultimately transformed into social use value. The second step requiring management takes place when natural use value is converted into raw materials. The third step requiring management takes place when raw materials are transformed into their ultimate use value by means of labor. The fourth management step is the step of waiting for products to be put on the market. The fifth step is managing the process of storing and circulating products on the market. The sixth step is managing the use of products when they are in the hands of consumers.

As Marx pointed out, the technical management period corresponds with the product production period. This is a general formula for each and every type of use value. In a society with developed production and technology there are countless periods intermixed with one another. One step in one period can be the beginning of another type period and like phenomena can occur within every type of period. Management is based on the development of the period, that is, management proceeds in accordance with the rate of change of production laws. But, there is also a number of differences between the instruments of production and the instruments of consumption. Particularly with regard to various types of machines, tools, and means of production, the period is longer as it extends from the production stage to the time of total physical depreciation which is generally calculated by the formulas 1n, 2n, 3n, etc.(small n=5 years). We can represent this as follows:

1. The instruments of consumption: the natural form-the raw materials form-the process of change-the final form of the product and waiting-the circulated form-the consumed form.

2. The instruments of production: the natural form-the raw materials form-the process of change- the final form of the product-the circulated form-the consumed form (the activity of production)-total physical depreciation (Model A).

The above is the period of each social product. What things must we manage in each stage of the process of formation of a product as well as in the process of consumption (production or life)? Each social product (particularly when the product is a trade good) reflects three relationships in the process of production: the relationship between nature and nature, the relationship between man and nature, and the relationship between man and man. There are three types of parameters which reflect these three relationships: the natural-technical parameter, the economic-technical parameter, and the economic-social parameter. It is these parameters which reflect the level of usefulness of a product and the quality of a product. Technical management is, first of all, management in accordance with these parameters and the management of these parameters. The increase or decrease of these parameters requires the adoption of technical measures, therefore, it is also necessary to manage these measures. In what do these parameters originate and who transforms the material in the natural substance (the former life of the final product)? These parameters are first established by technical experts and engineers after a process of research, design, and testing based on the nature, structure, and natural use value of material substances as well as economic and social needs. Afterwards, technical cadres and manual workers employing their special skills materialize them in products. We must manage this entire process. Thus, technical management not only means the management of products and quality, but also the management of people, the people who have technical skills and put materialized technology into the product. Managing technical cadres and technical workers is a complex, subtle, and very basic matter, however, it still lies within the scope of technical management. We can represent this process as follows: technical experts-technical workers-social product (Model B).

But, in order to provide good management it is necessary to have laws. These are rules, regulations, and standards and the programs, policies, and systems of the state which must be fully implemented in the production process. It is also necessary to manage all of the special units establishing these legal documents. Thus, technical management has become a form of legal management. And, we can represent this as follows: laws-man-product (or: product-man-laws) (Model C).

By coordinating models A, B, and C, we have working models for the many forms and starting points of technical management which easily create confusion in thinking and research.

Who is responsible for managing technology? The failure to clearly define this point will result in a situation in which responsibility is avoided or pushed onto other people. Scientific-technical cadres readily state that it is the fault of economic cadres not to open the door for the entrance of technology. Economic cadres, on the other hand, easily think that it is not their responsibility because they can only perform economic work, not technical work. The mass of working people also easily think that they only know how to produce products and are not responsible for managing technology. Such thinking separates a person from the field in which he bears responsibility, be it direct or indirect.

Legally, all levels of government must manage technology. The state, which is the state of the proletariat and must manage each aspect of society, cannot only manage the economy but not manage technology. Naturally, the responsibility and the specific requirements of the technical management of each level vary depending upon the division of labor and the specific situation. As regards sectors, every sector which participates in material production and the management of material wealth must engage in technical management.

Thus, the industrial sector, the agricultural sector, the capital construction sector, the communications and transportation sector, the commerce sector, the public health sector, the cultural sector, the education sector, all sectors must engage in technical management and the management of their special fields. The various combined sectors, such as the State Planning Commission, the State Scientific and Technical Commission, and so forth have a combined management responsibility in which the State Scientific and Technical Commission bears the largest combined management responsibility.

It must be further understood that because the function of each sector differs, the technical management responsibility of each sector also differs. Each sector which manages material wealth under one, two, or three forms (natural raw materials, inner-sector society, and the sector profession) has the responsibility of providing technical management of the one, two, or three forms. Every sector which manages social wealth in one, two, or three elements of or the entire production period (raw materials, production, circulation, and distribution) has the responsibility of providing technical management of one, two, or three elements or all elements of the production period.

When we speak of combined management we mean management primarily by means of putting forth programs, policies, rules, regulations, standards, systems, etc. We say that the State Scientific and Technical Commission has the largest combined technical management function because it is the primary agency helping the government put forth programs, policies, regulations, systems, rules, and standards needed for the introduction of science and technology into production and the management of science and technology throughout the country.

Thus, technical management is not only the management of quality, but also the management of systems, policies, programs, and lines and the management of people. Therefore, in addition to the primary agencies, such as the Institute of Standards, the Institute of Measurements, and the Quality Control Department, it is necessary to have the participation of many levels, many sectors, and many elements under rich and flexible forms of organization and operation.

The people who directly manage technology are manual workers, engineers, and testing and design experts; manual workers, engineers, and the directors of enterprises working in production; manual workers and shop foremen who directly participate in production; manual workers and engineers in organizations directly supervising and controlling the technology involved in production, maintenance, operation, application, etc. However, none of these people can perform their task well without the necessary supervision and guidance from the leaders of the various levels, sectors, and special departments. In principle, the leader of each level and sector must assume complete responsibility for the technical management (which includes the management of technical cadres and technical workers) of the level or sector of which he is in charge.

What else must we do in order to establish a system of technical management which gradually becomes standardized, systematized, unified, and modernized? First of all, we must clearly realize our strong and weakpoints in this field.

Weakpoints:

We do not have clear or full knowledge and understanding, consequently, a situation can easily develop in which efforts are duplicated or we assign responsibilities to one another.

Our organization and management are inefficient due to the failure to clearly define functions, tasks, and the division of labor, consequently, it is easy for a lack of responsibility and loose management to develop which will create cracks causing many economic-technical losses.

The habits of small-scale production still predominate among cadres on the various levels and in the various sectors, even among technical workers. As a result, the habits of carelessness, convenience, disorganization, conservatism, and procrastination have become obstacles which are not easy to overcome.

Strongpoints:

The Party Central Committee and the government are very much concerned with establishing a modern system of technology and an advanced system of technical management.

We have a rather large corps of scientific and technical cadres who are enthusiastic and have a definite level of knowledge.

Our people want very much and are very interested in helping put science and technology into production and management.

We can make rapid, strong, and steady progress in this field because we can gain experience from those countries which are ahead of us and because we have an independent and autonomous line and seek the assistance of our brothers and friends.

The facts mentioned above allow us to feel confident that we can establish a new system of technology and a new system of technical management and do this well. But, we must proceed along a course which is consistent with our specific process of development and this course must be closely and thoroughly controlled from the very outset. This is the method of proceeding from the bottom to the top in a comprehensive manner with a focal point, a method which encompasses all sectors and trades while concentrating on the fields of material production and the production of the instruments of production, primarily the machine sector and the production of export goods. When we say proceeding from the bottom to the top, we mean that the state must establish general technical management regulations for the

entire country and not merely deal with each matter or job on an individual basis. In addition to stipulating the technical management responsibilities of the various sectors and levels, these regulations should also establish the general concept, the contents, the mode, and the measures of technical management and, at the same time, lay the legal basis of technical management by means of the standards and regulations which have been issued. It is necessary to establish a clear division of labor and establish the reciprocal relationships among the various sectors. At the same time, we should also be clearly aware of the boundaries between the central level, the sector level, the local level, and the installation level in the establishment of technical standards and technical management standards.

In order to insure good technical management, it is absolutely necessary to have an investigative organization comprised of skilled and devoted cadres who are totally independent in terms of material and non-material interests. Each sector and level must have a similar investigative organization operating under the general professional guidance of the State Scientific and Technical Commission.

As regards handicraft economic-technical units, we have given our attention to bringing units with stable operations and broad markets and units supporting exportation within the scope of management. The central or the local level should be assigned the task of managing specific types of products depending on the importance of the types and sectors involved. It must immediately be stated that a rather large difference exists between industry and agriculture. Agriculture is very heavily dependent upon natural and unexpected factors. Technical standards for the season, the quantity and types of fertilizer, the types of farming, the quantity and types of plows, and so forth are difficult and complex matters. We should carefully and gradually establish standards; however, it is necessary to carry out a process of complete research of the classification of soil types, the season, crops, farming techniques, seeds, etc.

It is also necessary to establish the theory of the management of technology as well as science, in general. It has come time for us to establish a school of professional theory, a unit to research the professional theory of the scientific-technical sector which operates under the central guidance of the State Scientific and Technical Commission.

Implementing the things mentioned above will involve an entire process. This process will have two special characteristics: first, there will be comprehensive technical management and technical management within the machine industry will be of central importance; secondly, there will be an advance from handicraft techniques to modern techniques. The modern mode will gradually become perfected when the handicraft element has been virtually eliminated in production, research, and work habits. No matter how this process develops, its roots, that is, the legal documents promulgated by the state, will continue to be effective because they are a general reflection of one of the specific economic laws of socialism: the law of development in a planned, balanced, and proportionate manner.

In the technological revolution, we must train many skilled manual workers and many skilled experts (including manual workers and experts in the handicraft industry). We must standardize them and manage them closely in terms of their labor skills and in the area of science-technology. At present, we are faced with a number of shortcomings and loopholes and cannot easily differentiate whether they are good or not; this can be overcome if we provide good technical management of products, projects, the material-technical base, and raw materials together with providing good management of the labor skills and the scientific-technical level of people.

As is the case with every other profession, the establishment of a system of technical management is a revolutionary undertaking. This is not a bloody revolution, but it is a very difficult one, one which demands that we be both determined and steadfast: we must not abandon this revolution because there are many difficult and confusing problems or many new problems about which we are too lazy to think or are afraid to face. Only by daring to think and act, daring to assume responsibility and patiently study can this undertaking be successful.

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RESEARCH: A FEW THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHEMICAL FIBERS INDUSTRY IN OUR COUNTRY

[Article by Diep Quang Thuc; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 30-44]

Clothing is one of the pressing needs of our people. Since the day North Vietnam was completely liberated, our party and government have gradually solved the clothing problem in a relatively suitable manner. But, to satisfy the people's need for clothing, we must wage a difficult and long struggle.

The average annual increase in North Vietnam's population is rather high. The people's need for clothing is constantly growing. The amount of area our country has under the cultivation of cotton is not much and cotton output is extremely small. In the future, when our country is reunified, the entire country's need for clothing will be very great.

Furthermore, the ready-made clothing industry is not the only industry which consumes raw cotton, cotton cloth, and cotton thread, other industries also consume a very large quantity of these materials. Ordinarily, in the industrially developed countries, the percentage of cotton cloth and thread used in the fishing industry and used for the production of automobile tires, filters, canvas, rope, electric insulation, cloth for parachutes, bandages, and so forth comprises more than 30 percent of the output of cotton cloth and fiber. In recent years, in North Vietnam, although its industry is not very developed, the quantity of cotton cloth and fiber used in a number of industrial sectors has been rather large.

In the resolution passed by the 19th Plenum, the party pointed out the importance of the clothing problem in the coming years. To meet the need for clothing, it is first of all necessary to solve the problem of raw materials for the textile industry.

At present, in practically every country in the world, raw materials for the textile industry come from two sources: natural fibers and chemical fibers.

Natural fibers, such as cotton, jute, hemp, silk, and wool, are materials whose fibrous form is created in a natural manner.

Chemical fibers are created through a complex processing of existing materials. There are two types of chemical fibers: manmade and synthetic. Manmade fibers are types of fibers which were originally in the form of cellulose taken from plant life. For example, there is viscose fiber, acetate fiber, and so forth. Synthetic fibers are those types of fibers which were originally in the form of petroleum, natural gas, and coal. For example, there is polyester fiber and polyamide fiber.

In our textile industry at this time, the primary source of raw materials is natural cotton, the majority of which we must import. Therefore, to step up the development of the textile industry in the future, it is absolutely necessary to use chemical fibers. By proceeding steadily and gradually, we can make chemical fibers the primary source of raw materials for the textile industry in our country.

The matter of producing chemical fibers in our country was raised more than 10 years ago and has also been the subject of feverish debates. As technical cadres researching chemical fibers, we want to express several of our thoughts concerning this matter.

1. The Trend of Development of Chemical Fibers in the World

In 1891, more than 80 years ago, in the city of Besancon in France, the first chemical fiber factory in the world producing nitrocellulose was opened. And, with this, a new sector appeared in the world's industry: the chemical fiber industry.

In 1883, the English scientist Swan was the first person to successfully research in a laboratory the production of manmade fiber from a cellulose base. The French engineer

Hilaire de Chardonnet was the first person to apply Swan's achievement in industry.

By the end of the 19th century, because of the ease of flow and a number of other drawbacks in the process of production, nitrocellulose gave way to other types of fibers of a chemical nature and with better compositions, such as viscose fiber, copper ammoniac cellulose fiber, acetate fiber, and so forth. Of the various types of fibers employing a cellulose base, viscose fiber is the one which has been most strongly developed. After viscose fiber came acetate fiber.

Approximately 45 years after the birth of the chemical fiber industry, only one type of fiber was being produced in the world, manmade fiber. It was not until later, at the end of the 1930's, that synthetic fibers were born. Although they were developed late, synthetic fibers have developed at an extremely strong rate and have very great competitive potential. Since the birth of synthetic fibers, manmade fibers have lost their "exclusive" position on the world market. And, also at this time, sharp competition began between manmade fibers and synthetic fibers.

Due to their superior qualities, such as durability, strength, elasticity, and so forth, synthetic fibers have shown themselves to be superior. The following few figures prove this (units in thousands of tons):

Year	1940	1950	1960	1970
Manmade fibers	1,116	1,559	2,606(1)	3,555(2)
Synthetic fibers	2.5	77	710	4,392

Since 1960, the development of synthetic fibers leaped forward. This leap forward has proven that the momentum of development of the chemical fiber industry in the world is concentrated in synthetic fibers.

During the past 10 years, development has been slowing down within the manmade fiber field. This is because a number

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1. D. Ragovin: "The Chemical Principles and the Production Techniques of Chemical Fibers"; Russian Version, the "Chemistry Publishing House, Moscow, 1964, Volume 1, p 22.

2. Chemical Fibers Journal, (Soviet Union), No 4, 1971.

of capitalist countries with developed chemical fiber industries have concentrated their investments on the production of synthetic fibers and because synthetic fibers have great competitive potential and yield greater profits.

Although the rate of development has been slow, manmade fibers continue to play an important role in the textile industry. The Soviet Union has the greatest manmade fiber output in the entire chemical fiber industry. In 1970, the Soviet Union ranked fourth in the world in chemical fiber output and produced 623,000 tons of manmade fibers.(3)

In 1970, chemical fiber output in the world reached 7.947 million tons and comprised 38.1 percent of total textile raw material output.(4)

There are several reasons for the increasingly high rate of development of chemical fibers in the world:

a) There are not enough natural fibers to meet the rising need for clothing and natural fibers cannot meet technical requirements.

The population of the world is growing constantly and the need for clothing has developed accordingly. The cultivation of cotton and mulberry trees and sheep raising can only be carried out in a number of given regions and are dependent upon soil conditions, climatic conditions, and the technical conditions of farming and livestock production. Moreover, more difficulties are generally encountered in increasing productivity within farming and livestock production than in industry even though the latest achievements of technology are always being applied in these fields. This is not to mention the changes in weather which constantly threaten farming and livestock production. Because of this, many countries which can cultivate cotton, such as the Soviet Union, China, and so forth, have had to actively develop chemical fibers and cultivate cotton at the same time. On the other hand, people not only need warm clothing, but they also need attractive clothing. Natural fibers limit the number of products which can be produced, however, chemical fibers expand the scope of products and satisfy the tastes of people.

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3. Chemical Fibers Journal, (Soviet Union), No 4, 1971.

4. Ibid.

We are living in an age of unprecedented scientific and technological development, an age in which the dreams of a thousand years have become reality. This is the age of space travel and the exploration of the moon. In these brilliant and imposing achievements, chemical fibers have played their small part.

When we talk about space ships landing safely on the moon or a moon station gently touching down on the moon's surface, who would dare to think that the swift, supple hands of the chemical fiber "fairy" were assisting in these efforts? These fibers are not only durable in the atmospheric environment of the earth and space, but they can also withstand the most violent "challenges" of the harsh climates of other planets. No such fibers can be found among the natural fibers.

In addition, industry is demanding more and more types of fibers with special characteristics, such as resistance to heat, resistance to light, resistance to chemicals, resistance to pounding, fibers which will not rot, consistency, etc. Natural fibers have none of these properties. Only chemical fibers can meet these needs of industry.

Nature is very rich and treats man with unusual favors. But, man cannot only enjoy the unusual favors provided him by nature, rather, he must know how to use nature to make things nature cannot provide him.

b) There is an abundant source of raw materials for chemical fibers and the expanded reproduction of chemical fibers can be carried out rapidly.

Our earth is a great botanical garden. It can be said that every country has forests, particularly those countries in the tropical zone. We love our forests not only because they are imposing and because of their endless greenery, but also because they benefit man in his everyday life and in his industry. The forests are the only source of raw materials for the manmade fiber industry. One cubic meter of lumber can provide us with the equivalent of the amount of cotton raised on one-half hectare in one year, the amount of raw silk taken from 920,000 cocoons, or the amount of wool taken from 25 to 30 sheep in 1 year.(5)

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5. A. Averbux: "Chemical Products from Wood"; Russian Version, the Forest Industry Printing House, Moscow, 1964, p 61.

The bowels of the earth are mankind's inexhaustible warehouse. In this warehouse, we can find petroleum, coal, and natural gas. These are the primary sources of raw materials for the synthetic fiber industry. It has been estimated that 1 ton of petroleum provides us with as many chemical products as can 15 tons of coal.(6)

Petroleum, coal, and natural gas cannot be found in every country, however, it is rather easy to import them. Petroleum is considered the "blood" of the chemical industry.

The production of chemical fibers is not heavily dependent upon the climate and soil and is not affected by crops and weather, consequently, it is easy to stabilize this production and it is possible to increase productivity and lower production costs. Because of this, the chemical fiber industry was formed at an early date and has developed in many countries, particularly those countries which do not have favorable natural conditions for the cultivation of cotton or mulberry trees.

The chemical fiber industry is also able to expand its production very rapidly because the capital invested in a factory can be reclaimed very quickly -- in no more than 5 years.(7) Moreover, the possibility for increased productivity within the industry is more favorable than the possibility for expanding the amount of area under cultivation and increasing the yield of cotton and, on this basis, we are able to provide an abundant supply of materials to the textile industry.

In addition, the development of the chemical fiber industry accelerates the development of the basic chemical and the chemical machine industries. At the same time, the chemical fiber industry assembles and trains a large corps of chemical cadres and workers. In the U.S., between 1956 and 1966, the number of people working in the chemical fiber industry increased from 61,300 to 93,400 people and the quantity of products produced per person increased from 11.3 to 17.3 tons.(8)

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6. A. Averbux: "Raw Materials for the Chemicals Industry"; Russian Version, Knowledge Publishing House, Moscow, 1969, p 29.

7. Chemical Fibers Journal, (Soviet Union), No 4, 1971.

8. Ibid.

The development of chemical fibers has increased the female work force. In the Soviet Union, 80 percent of the workers in the chemical fiber factories are women.(9)

c) Chemical fibers also supply many products for consumption and meet technical needs.

The outstanding characteristic of chemical fibers is that they can produce many products which suit the tastes of each individual. It is possible to produce types of chemical fibers with predetermined properties, particularly properties which natural fibers do not have, such as a high degree of durability, much elasticity, wrinkle free, light in weight, easy to wash, retention of shape for a long period of time, consistency, chemical durability, etc. Today, semi-synthetic-semi-manmade fibers are being produced which have two different compositions, namely, hollow fibers and solid fibers. In summary, chemical fibers can satisfy everybody.

In technology, chemical fibers play a very important role. In the technology involved in the manufacture of missiles, supersonic aircraft, space ships, in the air force, and so forth chemical fibers are indispensable. Chemical fibers are widely used in the automobile tire industry, the fishing net industry, the chemical industry, the food products industry, medicine, and so forth. In everyday life as well as in technology, chemical fibers have become an indispensable need.

d) Chemical fibers yield high economic returns.

According to calculations made by the All-Soviet Union Institute for the Research of Manmade Fibers, the labor needed to produce 1 ton of various types of fibers is as follows:

Cotton fiber:	190-230 mandays.
Wool fiber :	more than 400 mandays.
Short viscose fiber (stapel):	50 mandays.

Because of the rich supply of raw materials and the very rapid development of production technology, the majority of chemical fibers are less expensive than natural fibers.

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9. Data from the All-Soviet Union Institute for the Research of Manmade Fibers.

Of the chemical fibers, synthetic fibers yield the highest economic returns. This is because synthetic fibers are presently considered the spearhead of the development of the chemical fiber industry. In particular, during the past 10 years, synthetic fibers have developed at an unprecedented rate. The world output of synthetic fibers increased as follows between 1959 and 1969 (unit: 1,000 tons):

Year	1950	1969
Polyamide (nylon)	347.9	1,812.1
Polyester	87.1	1,356.2
Polyacrylonitrile	89.8	852.3
Polyolefin	N/A	231.8(10)

In the rate of development of synthetic fibers, polyester fibers have undergone the strongest development in the past 10 years. In 1959, only 87,100 tons of polyester fibers were produced, but, in 1969, 1,356,200 tons were produced, a more than 15-fold increase. After polyester fibers, polyacrylonitrile fiber has developed the most in the past 10 years, increasing nearly 10-fold. In addition, between 1959 and 1969, a few new types of synthetic fibers were put into industrial production such as the group of polyolefin fibers.

Meanwhile, polyamide fiber, the first synthetic fiber to be developed, has developed at a slow rate. However, its output still leads the synthetic fibers (1,812,100 tons in 1969).

During the same period of time, the rate of development of manmade fibers has slowed and their output has not increased very much. Despite this however, of the various chemical fibers supporting the textile industry, manmade fibers continue to play an important role.

During the past several years, acetate fibers have developed rather rapidly, particularly triacetate.

At present, within the field of manmade fibers, attention is being concentrated upon two types of fiber: high wet modulus fiber(HWM) and polynose fiber. These two types of fibers

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10. The Chemical Fibers Journal,(Soviet Union), No 4, 1971.

have many superior properties. Therefore, the prospects for their future development are very good.

To date, there are approximately 50 countries producing chemical fibers, but the output of the capitalist countries, the U.S., Japan, West Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy, comprises an important percentage of the total output of chemical fibers in the world. In 1959, these countries produced 68.5 percent of the world's chemical fiber output and 70.1 percent in 1969. The output of chemical fibers per capita of these countries has also been very high. This can be seen in the following statistical charts (kilograms per person):

	1959 (amount of synthetic fibers)		1969 (amount of synthetic fiber	
USA	4.56	(1.62)	11.27	(7.76)
Japan	5.00	(0.87)	12.78	(7.91)
West Germany	5.52	(0.73)	11.98	(7.71)
Great Britain	4.47	(0.74)	9.92	(5.40)
Italy	3.68	(0.50)	8.08	(4.35)
France	3.15	(0.73)	5.64	(3.07)
Soviet Union	0.85	(0.07)	2.41	(0.59) (11)

The above comparative charts show that, in the space of the last 10 years, chemical fibers have constantly met the clothing needs of man and, at the same time, prove that synthetic fibers are occupying more and more of a commanding position in the field of chemical fibers in support of the textile industry.

In 1969, the ratio between manmade and synthetic fibers was 44/56.(12)

The majority of the chemical fibers used in support of the textile industry are short fibers (stapels). In 1970, the world's output of chemical fibers was 7,947,000 tons, of which 4,260,200 tons, or 53.6 percent, were short fibers.

Short fibers are being produced in large quantities because they are cheaper than long fibers (filament). Below are the production costs of a number of types of fibers (dollars per kilogram).

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11. The Chemical Fibers Journal, (Soviet Union), No 4, 1971.

12. The Chemical Fibers Journal, (Soviet Union), No 1, 1968.

	Short Fibers	Long Fibers
Viscose	0.68	1.98 -- 2.99
Acetate	0.70	1.69 -- 2.20
Polyacrylonitrile	2.75 -- 2.85	5.00 -- 5.85
Polyamide	2.86 -- 3.20	3.74 -- 4.95
Polyester	2.96 -- 3.08	4.70 -- 5.40(13)

Synthetic fibers have developed rapidly as a result of the several following reasons:

The source of raw materials for synthetic fibers does not change as a result of natural conditions. The mining and the petroleum and natural gas processing industries have continuously developed, thereby creating the conditions for rapidly lowering production costs.

The nature of synthetic fibers is better than that of manmade fibers. Synthetic fibers have constantly met technical needs but manmade fibers have little or no ability to meet these needs.

The expanded reproduction of synthetic fibers is faster than that of manmade fibers because of the stable source of raw materials.

In addition, the production of synthetic fibers accelerates the development of the basic organic chemical industry and creates conditions for the favorable development of the plastics industry, the dye industry, the pharmaceutical industry, and so forth and the mutual support of these industries.

Although their rate of development has been slow, manmade fibers presently comprise an important percentage of chemical fibers. On the other hand, in their struggle to survive, manmade fibers have constantly improved their quality and more and more manmade fibers are being developed. In addition, manmade fibers are the least expensive of the chemical fibers and the ready-made clothing made from them is sanitary (their rate of moisture absorption is equal to that of natural cotton).

Because they are produced from different natural resources, manmade and synthetic fibers have different properties.

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13. B. Petukov: "Polyester Fibers"; Scientific and Technical Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p 65.

Although sharp competition is taking place between these two types of fibers, it is not designed to eliminate one type of fiber or the other, rather, each type of fiber is moving closer to its pinnacle of development in order to meet the daily rising needs of everyday life as well as technology.

2. The Prospects for the Development of Chemical Fibers into the Primary Source of Raw Materials for the Textile Industry in Our Country

In the future, in order to meet the clothing needs of the people of the entire country, which includes the need for warm clothing, as well as the need for fibers for the various industrial sectors, we must, in addition to actively stepping up and expanding the area under cultivation of cotton, jute, hemp, and mulberries, produce chemical fibers and gradually and steadily elevate them to the primary position among the textile raw materials in our country. This is necessary because:

1. In the future, the need for various types of fibers will be very great.

Due to difficulties encountered with textile raw materials, the clothing standard of our people is still very limited. But, the need for clothing will greatly increase in the future; and, to meet this need, we must solve the problem of raw materials for the textile industry.

At present, although our industry is still young and has been ravaged by war, the need for cotton cloth and fiber is not great; however, this need will be very great in thc future. A number of industries consume very large quantities of cotton cloth and fiber, such as the automobile tire production industry, the fishing net production industry, those industries which produce filters for chemicals, cloth electric insulators, canvas, and so forth. In summary, industrial needs consume 20 to 25 percent of the total volume of cotton cloth and fiber.

Thus, our country's need for cotton cloth and fiber will be very great in the future.

2. The ability to produce natural fibers in our country is not great.

Until this time, the primary source of textile raw materials in our country has been cotton. But, the cultivation

of cotton in our country generally encounters numerous difficulties: limited farmland, unfavorable weather, and very low yields. In comparison to Bac Bo and Nam Bo, Trung Bo has much more area under the cultivation of cotton, however, this area is very small in comparison to needs and the potential for intensive cultivation, increased yields, and the expansion of the amount of area under the cultivation of cotton is not significant. Trung Bo is smaller than both Bac Bo and Nam Bo, consequently, the potential for expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of cotton is not appreciable.

On the other hand, our cotton has short fibers and does not permit the production of good products. It would require much time and effort for us to hybridize good cotton on a nationwide scale.

In the past, during the period of French domination, the majority of the cotton used in our country's textile industry was imported from India, the U.S., and Brazil. During World War II, because cotton could not be imported, the rulers sought ways to develop the production of cotton in our country, but the yields were very low. In 1944, our country produced 3,020 tons of cotton (460 tons were produced by Bac Ky, 2,020 tons by Trung Ky, and 540 tons by Nam Ky) and the need for cotton of the countries in Indochina was 22,000 tons.(14)

During the war of resistance against the French, a number of cotton regions, such as the Free Interzone 5 region, met some of the needs for clothing within the region. The majority of the other regions in the country primarily used imported cloth.

After the victorious war of resistance against the French colonialists, the party and government in North Vietnam paid attention to encouraging the cultivation of cotton and to soil conditions, fertilizer, and manpower and established a relatively satisfactory price for the purchase of cotton, consequently, annual output gradually rose. However, the quantity of cotton produced domestically continued to be small, even less cotton was purchased, and the majority of the cotton purchased was used to make blankets, wadded jacket linings, and public health bandages or mixed with domestic cotton so that thread could be made. Meanwhile, the need

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14. Data collected by the College of Economics-Planning concerning the textile industry.

for cotton in North Vietnam increased very greatly each year and the majority of cotton had to be imported. The importation of cotton involved more than a few difficulties.

Raw silk is one of our country's valuable special products and we have stepped up the cultivation of mulberry trees, however, to this date, raw silk output is not very high. In the future, we can develop the production of raw silk in the entire country, however, there are definite limits to this development.

The production of the various types of jute, hemp, and rushes in North Vietnam has developed and noteworthy quantities have been produced, however, it is necessary to further step up this production; these fibers can only be used to weave gunnysacks, mats, and fishing nets.

As regards wool, we have conducted experiments in sheep raising, but the quantity of fleece collected has not been appreciable and its quality has not been good.

In summary, the sources of natural fibers in our country are not sufficient to meet the needs of the textile industry.

3. The sources of raw materials for the production of chemical fibers in our country are relatively abundant.

While the conditions for the production of natural fibers are limited, the sources of materials for the production of chemical fibers in our country are rather rich. North Vietnam has a very large amount of area comprised of natural forests (approximately 7.9 million hectares including 4.5 million hectares of lumber-bearing forests) and there is a great number of lumber-bearing trees in our forests (more than 200).(15) The majority of our timber has a high alpha-cellulose content which is favorable to the production of cellulose for manmade fibers.

Since the day North Vietnam was liberated, our party and government have been very concerned with protecting our forests and carrying out afforestation as the first step in putting the forestry trade under industrial planning.

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15. Hoang Huu Binh: The Chemical Journal, (published by the State Scientific and Technical Commission), No 1, 1962.

Our country lies in the tropical zone, therefore, there are very favorable conditions for afforestation, trees grow rapidly, and the period between felling and rebirth is relatively short. This is a favorable special characteristic of the tropical climate in our country, one which we must thoroughly employ.

South Vietnam has a very large area in forests: the Truong Son and Tay Nguyen forests in Trung Bo, the D combat zone forest, the U Minh forest, and the Dong Thap Muoi reed forest in Nam Bo. These are rich raw materials for the manmade fiber industry.

Both North and South Vietnam may have petroleum and natural gas. These are sources of raw materials for the synthetic fiber industry. The process of exploring for, drilling for, and processing petroleum is a complex process which demands much energy, money, and time. At present, the world's petroleum exploration and processing industry has developed very strongly. We can import technology, cooperate with other countries, and skip over the initial stage of groping to develop the petroleum exploration and processing industry in the shortest possible amount of time. Only in this way can we put the "blood" of the chemical industry into its entire structure and make it healthier and stronger with each passing day.

Developing the chemical fiber industry is the inevitable course which must be followed to meet the clothing needs of our people and meet the needs for fiber and cloth of a number of our country's industries. In the development of the chemical fiber industry, we will encounter more than a few difficulties, because:

The sources of raw materials for chemical fibers in our country are rather abundant, however, the investigation and exploration of the volume and the reserves of these raw materials has been minimal and not extensive enough to lay a foundation for establishing guidelines within the industry.

Afforestation based on industrial planning has only begun.

Petroleum and natural gas in our country are in the stage of exploration and investigation.

The chemical industry in our country is still very young and there are practically no basic chemicals for chemical fibers.

The corps of cadres and manual workers for the chemical fiber industry in our country has not been formed and there is no system of research and project planning. The number of technical cadres involved with chemical fibers is still very small, they are located in many places, and they have not delved into their special fields.

The construction of the chemical fiber industry requires a very large volume of capital, but our ability to accumulate capital is limited.

4. Chemical fibers enrich export goods.

The textile industry, on the one hand, meets the need for clothing within the country and, on the other hand, supplies a volume of products for exportation. Our handicraft ready-made clothing and weaving trades have a long tradition of producing products liked by foreign customers. But, the export goods produced from natural fibers are limited (primarily poplin cloth, gabardine, wool, and raw silk) and their volume is not very great; on the other hand, chemical fibers have constantly expanded the scope of export goods. It is precisely because chemical fibers have great competitive potential on the market that they have not only many properties which are superior to natural fibers, but also suit customer tastes.

At present, the majority of the textile products in the world are chemical fibers in the pure form or mixed with natural fibers. As a result of the mixture of chemical and natural fibers, the quality of natural fiber products is improved. This mixture is capable of eliminating some of the organic shortcomings of each type fiber (natural fibers absorb moisture well, however, they are less durable and chemical fibers are highly durable, but they have a lower rate of moisture absorption). The percentage of the mixture of natural fibers and chemical fibers changes on the basis of qualitative and aesthetic requirements. A few of these mixed products not only have good quality, but are attractive as well (for example, poplin mixed with nylon and fine cloth mixed with nylon).

As regards export goods, the resolution passed by the 3rd Party Congress pointed out: "...we must make every effort to develop light industry and insure the production of practically all of the consumer items of the people and the production of high quality export goods."(16)

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16. Congress Documents, published by the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1960, volume 1, p 183.

For the textile industry to expand the production of high quality export goods it is necessary to have chemical fibers.

3. A Few Thoughts Concerning the Guidelines for the Development of the Chemical Fiber Industry in Our Country

To develop the production of manmade or synthetic fibers, we must rely on the following several special characteristics: the initial source of raw materials, economic and technical matters, and the potential for future development. The scope of the matter is very broad and requires the participation and contributions of many sectors and the concentrated intelligence of many people in order to be researched and resolved. On the basis of our own research, we would like to express a few thoughts concerning this matter.

To begin with, it is necessary to consider present or future raw material capabilities in order to determine which fibers we can produce and what the properties and use of these fibers will be. Following this, we will compare various areas in order to analyze the development of a particular fiber and determine the initial stage of development.

1. Manmade fibers.

Manmade fibers were the first type of fibers for which production conditions existed in our country. Their primary material is cellulose. Cellulose is a natural compound which grows and develops in the process of the growth of vegetation. Every type of vegetation contains cellulose; in a tropical zone country such as ours, the sources of cellulose are very abundant. Because there are different species of vegetation, the structure and properties of cellulose also differs. This difference is dependent upon the species in question and soil conditions as well as upon the conditions surrounding the growth of the species and the age of the vegetation. Therefore, each type of vegetation provides us with a given type of cellulose, each of which has its own special chemical composition and its own special physical properties. The quality of cellulose has a decisive effect upon the nature of the fibers produced and, at the same time, influences the process of the production of fibers. Within the manmade fiber field, cellulose is of particular importance primarily because within industry the production of cellulose is exclusively for the purpose of producing manmade fibers. To produce manmade

fibers, cellulose must have an alpha-cellulose content of 90 percent or more. Therefore, it is necessary to plan afforestation in order to standardize the raw materials for manmade fibers.

In our country, there are many forests, however, they are a mixture of many different types of trees; consequently, it is necessary to select appropriate trees in order to support the production of manmade fibers. These suitable trees must meet the following requirements: they must have a high percentage and content of cellulose, be easy to plant, be able to be felled in a relatively short period of time, be suited to tropical conditions, and lend themselves to afforestation planning without influencing agricultural areas. Through surveys and experiments, we have found that the most suitable tree in our country is the linden tree.

The linden tree is a tree with broad leaves which is suited to the tropical climate and grows relatively quickly in the mountain and hill regions of Tuyen Quang Province, Yen Bai Province, and Lao Cai Province in the Viet Bac autonomous region. The alpha-cellulose content of linden trees is very high, 95-96 percent.(17) The quality of the cellulose of linden trees meets the technical requirements of the production of manmade fibers (with the exception of the expansion coefficient). One of the outstanding features of the cellulose derived from linden trees is that the quantity of short fibers is very low, approximately 2-4 percent. In evaluating the quality of the cellulose from our linden trees, the experts at the All Union [Soviet] Institute for the Research of Pulp and Paper have observed: it is a type of cellulose with high quality.

However, wood from linden trees also has a number of drawbacks, such as a relatively low density.

With regard to raw materials for manmade fibers, we suggest using linden trees as the primary tree and, at the same time, comprehensively and appropriately developing the production of other trees, such as beefwood, "mo," white sandalwood, pine, and so forth where soil conditions permit.

At the very outset, the standardization of materials for our manmade fibers will encounter very large difficulties, therefore, we must, for a given period of time, make combined use of many different types of wood in the production of

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17. Results of tests conducted in the GDR in 1969-1970 and the USSR in 1972.

manmade fibers. In order to eventually standardize these materials, the forestry sector must immediately take a step forward in its preparation of materials for manmade fibers.

Of the various manmade fibers, viscose fiber is the type which has been most strongly developed. Viscose fibers are primarily used for ready-made clothing and acetate fibers are used for weaving. The viscose fibers for weaving are divided into the following several types: viscose fibers with an average wet modulus, viscose fibers with a high wet modulus (HWM), and viscose fibers with a very high wet modulus (polynose). These types of fibers can be used in their pure state or mixed in a given ratio with natural cotton or synthetic fibers for use in the textile industry. We can mix viscose fibers with an average wet modulus with low-grade cotton and viscose fibers with a high wet modulus and a very high wet modulus can be mixed with high-grade cotton or synthetic fibers.

In our country, we first of all need an ample supply of warm clothing and we need to create sources of ready-made clothing for exportation, therefore, in our opinion, our first manmade fiber factory should primarily produce ordinary short viscose fibers to be mixed with low-grade cotton in order to meet domestic clothing needs and produce some HWM fibers to be mixed with high-grade cotton or synthetic fibers in order to support exportation.

Ordinary viscose fibers were developed more than 70 years ago, consequently, they are called classic viscose and their production technology has been stabilized. In our camp, the Soviet Union, a country with a developed manmade fiber industry, can help us with production equipment and technology.

HWM, on the other hand, is a new type fiber which has recently undergone strong development and its production technology is still a secret. If we produce HWM fibers, it will be necessary to import technology from foreign countries.

At present, some people think that our first manmade fiber factory should produce either HWM or polynose fibers instead of classic viscose fibers because HWM and polynose are the pinnacle of development in the field of manmade fibers and classic viscose is outmoded.

Speaking from the point of view of technical progress, this opinion is somewhat consistent, however, from the point

of view of raw materials and finished products, it is not, in some respects, very correct. Raw materials for HWM and polynose fibers require a high degree of standardization at a time when we are not even able to standardize the raw materials for the initial stage of development. As regards finished products, HWM fibers are primarily mixed with synthetic fibers and polynose fibers are primarily mixed with high-grade cotton. The majority of the cotton we produce or import is low-grade cotton which, if mixed with HWM or polynose, would obviously be a waste and only a small portion of it can be mixed with high-grade cotton or synthetic fibers.

In addition, although the technology involved in the production of ordinary viscose fibers is difficult, the production technology for HWM and polynose fibers is even more difficult. No one denies that we can import technology and study the experiences of advanced countries, however, it is not easy to apply advanced technology to production. Moreover, since this is the first time our country has built a chemical fiber industry, an initial stage of development is necessary in order to accumulate experience.

Thus, in our opinion, our first manmade fiber factory should have a capacity of about 20,000 tons per year, three-quarters of which should be comprised of ordinary short viscose fibers and one-quarter HWM fibers. In this manner, we will have both the "classic" and the "modern" on the basis of which we will be able to train our own corps of cadres and workers for our industry and, at the same time, more rapidly and steadily move forward to learn the new.

In order to have chemicals to supply to the manmade fiber factory mentioned above, we must immediately begin building factories to produce sulphuric acid, soda, carbon sulphate, and a number of other chemicals. This preparatory step is of extreme importance to the manmade fiber factory in the future.

2. Synthetic fibers.

As regards synthetic fibers, people used to think that we should produce final fibers (polyvinyl alcohol) in our country from coal and limestone. There are available coal and limestone in our country, however, the technical process of producing vinyl from coal and limestone is very complex and consumes a very great quantity of electric power, consequently, the production costs of vinyl are rather high.

At present, the quantity of vinyl fibers being produced is not significant and there are not very many countries producing it. In 1962, 35,000 tons of vinyl fibers were produced in the world, primarily by Japan.

In the past, vinyl was produced from coal and limestone, but today it is being produced from petroleum and natural gas. This is the only course by which production costs can be reduced.

On the other hand, vinyl fiber is a secondary type of fiber and is not being strongly developed among the various synthetic fibers. Because of this, the argument that we should produce vinyl fibers in our country is no longer a strong argument.

At present, of the various synthetic fibers, the three following types are being most strongly developed: the polyamides, the polyesters, and the polyacrylonitriles. Of these three types, the polyesters are considered the spearhead and the pulse of the development of synthetic fibers; the basic raw materials used in the production of polyester fibers are terephtalic acid and ethylene glycol, both of which are petroleum products.

The properties of the polyesters and the polyamides are nearly the same, however, the polyesters have a few properties which are superior to the polyamides, such as high resistance to sunlight, high resistance to heat, and a high ability to retain their shape. The resistance to sunlight of the polyesters is only exceeded by that of the polyacrylonitriles. (The resistance to sunlight of the polyacrylonitriles is considered the best of all the chemical fibers). Therefore, the polyester fibers are more suited to tropical conditions than are the polyamide fibers. The production costs of polyesters and polyamides are relatively the same. Polyester fibers are used primarily to support the textile industry in the pure form or mixed with cotton or manmade fibers, primarily HWM.

When the problem of producing HWM fibers in our country was raised, it was primarily for the purpose of mixing HWM fibers with polyesters and vice versa.

The production of polyester fibers in our country would not only meet the raw material requirements of the textile industry, but also would follow the course of development of the chemical fiber industry in the world. And, this is the reason why we suggest that our synthetic fiber factory produce polyester fibers.

A comparison of polyester fibers and polyamide fibers in the textile industry as well as in technology shows that polyester fibers have constantly developed upon their strongpoints even though the production of polyamides continues to rank first among the synthetic fibers. But, in the near future, polyester fibers will take the lead. Within the textile industry, polyester fibers are the primary fibers used in the mixture of natural and manmade fibers with synthetic fibers. In numerous technical sectors, polyester fibers are constantly "encroaching upon" the polyamide fibers as, for example, in the automobile tire industry.

The polyamide fibers were the first type of synthetic fibers to be developed and have many very valuable properties, such as a very high resistance to wear and very high washability; if the washability of the polyamides is taken as 100 percent, that of cotton is 10 percent, wool 5 percent, and ordinary short viscose fiber 2 percent.(18)

In order to make use of these properties, polyamide fibers are used to weave socks and make parachutes for national defense purposes.

Although the rate of development of polyamide fibers has recently slowed, polyamide fibers continue to show the strongest trend of development and, in the "competition" between polyesters and polyamides, people have constantly developed upon the existing strongpoints of polyamides and made every effort to correct their drawbacks in order to improve them more with each passing day. The fact that the petroleum products used to make polyamide fibers are in greater abundance than those used for the polyesters is deserving of attention.

In the future, we will have a synthetic fiber factory producing primarily polyesters, however, an appropriate amount of its capacity must be set aside for the production of polyamide fibers. The processes of producing these two types of fibers are relatively the same -- the formation of fibers by the melting of polymers. If our future synthetic fiber factory has a capacity of 20,000 tons per year, 15,000 tons should be polyesters and the rest should be polyamides.

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18. D. Ragovin: "The Chemical Principles and the Production Techniques of Chemical Fibers"; Russian Version, the "Chemistry" Publishing House, Moscow, 1964, Volume 2, p 92.

Although it was mentioned above that the production processes of these two types of fibers are nearly the same, each type requires special equipment and techniques which we must research and study so that we can apply them under our country's actual circumstances.

The production of chemical fibers in our country will start on a small-scale and every effort will be made to make preparations for advancing to large-scale production in the future; in our opinion, this is the essential course of development, a course which is consistent with the economic circumstances and the technical conditions in our country. With respect to this matter, the resolution passed by the 3rd Party Congress has charted our course: "...the production of manmade cotton fiber must be on a small-scale and preparations must actively be made for advancing to the large-scale production of manmade cotton fiber".(19)

The production of chemical fibers in our country is designed to meet the needs for cloth and thread for general ready-made clothing, not our need for wool or leather, consequently, we have not raised the problem of producing polyacrylonitrile fiber or polyolefin fiber in the near future.

Recently, some people have maintained that we should, in the field of synthetic fibers, delve into polyvinyl chloride (PVC) fiber because we have PVC powder -- a by-product of the soda factory.

PVC fiber, which is a very secondary fiber among the synthetic fibers and is produced in unappreciable quantities by only a number of countries in the world, is used to support public health work and the chemicals industry. Its basic drawback is a very low melting point of 70-80 degrees which is not suitable for ready-made clothing. Therefore, it is impossible to produce PVC fiber for the textile industry.

The largest difficulty presently faced when raising the matter of the production of synthetic fibers in our country is the initial source of raw materials -- the fiber creating monomers. The processing and refining of petroleum and the processing of petroleum products to produce fiber creating monomers is an extremely complex process and requires time. The time required will be at least 5 to 7 years after we build our first refinery.

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19. Congress Documents, published by the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1960, volume 3, p 46.

Using domestic materials to support our industry is the proper course for each sector, including the chemical fibers sector. But, if the synthetic fiber industry in our country waits until there is a full supply of primary materials, a rather great deal of time will be wasted. And, the gap between manmade fibers and synthetic fibers will be rather great. This gap will have a far-reaching influence upon the chemical fibers industry, in general, and the textile industry, in particular. The Soviet Union is a country in which this gap is relatively large and has markedly influenced ready-made clothing, in addition to which the percentage of synthetic fibers per capita is very low.

The amount of capital which has to be invested in the construction of a chemical fiber factory is very large and our economic circumstances are limited, therefore, it is impossible to build a manmade fiber factory and a synthetic fiber factory at the same time and a certain gap is unavoidable. But, in our opinion, this gap will not be very large (5 years at the most).

In order to shorten this necessary time difference, we must import primary materials for synthetic fibers and, at the same time, make active preparations and develop the petroleum processing industry to support the chemical fiber industry. This is a positive measure and the essential course to be followed in the chemical fiber industry.

4. A Number of Suggestions Concerning Methods of Organization and Implementation

A. The training of cadres and manual workers

Chemical fibers are the pinnacle of the chemical industry, therefore, it is necessary to have a corps of technical cadres and workers who not only have a command of scientific knowledge, but have also accumulated a definite amount of experience in research and production.

At present, the number of cadres and manual workers in our chemical fiber industry is small, they are decentralized, they have not delved deeply into their specialty, and a number have even changed trades.

In the face of this situation, in order to rapidly build the chemical fiber industry in the future, we must immediately give an appropriate amount of attention to the training of cadres and manual workers. We must not only

train cadres with a college education and higher and skilled technical workers, but we must also train specialists who are skilled in this sector. Only in this way can we rapidly form the corps of cadres and manual workers of the chemical fiber industry in the future.

In the space of 10 years, we have sent a number of students and trainees to study and engage in practical training in the fraternal socialist countries, however, these students and trainees have primarily studied the formation of fibers. The formation of fibers is only one part of the factory's production line. For the other parts, such as the handling of noxious gas, the handling of discharged water, the reclamation of chemicals, equipment for the fiber industry, mechanization, automation, and so forth we do not have cadres or manual workers studying or engaged in practical training.

The training of our cadres and manual workers has been minimal and imbalanced. Within the industry, this imbalance will create immeasurable economic harm.

In order to eliminate this imbalance, we suggest the training be conducted in accordance with a system -- that is, each of our jobs, units, and shops must have people studying and participating in practical training. With such a system, we will be able to rapidly put our production on a regular basis once we have a chemical fiber factory.

The training of cadres and manual workers for the chemical fiber industry is a job of extreme necessity and is related to many sectors, therefore, we must cooperate on a wide basis and adopt strong plans for immediate as well as long range training.

B. The organization of scientific research:

There is no chemical fiber research installation in our country with a task officially assigned by the state. We have few cadres, those that we do have are decentralized, and scientific research activities are of an instable and passive nature. There is hardly any equipment at all and a number of places that are called research installations have manufactured or patched together their own equipment. With such an organization and function, these installations cannot carry out research activities in a systematic and serious manner. Scientific research must pave the way and act as the command staff for industry. We feel it must be said that this matter is being raised very late because the production of chemical fibers began more than 10 years ago.

In the immediate future, we suggest that the cadres now studying chemical fibers be assembled and that a relatively complete research installation under unified supervision be established. As regards equipment, we suggest that a system of testing equipment for manmade fibers and a system of testing equipment for synthetic fibers be purchased. If possible, we should construct an experimental viscose fiber production plant with a capacity of about 5,000 tons per year.

The construction and improvement of a research installation to conduct serious research and lay the technical foundation for the chemical fiber industry in the future is a matter of very much importance.

The subjects of our research are very rich: raw materials and the influence of tropical climatic conditions upon production and the nature of fibers. Research on the adaptation of chemical fibers, particularly synthetic fibers, to tropical climatic conditions is not only of domestic significance, but of international significance as well. Research within the country is of utmost importance, however, we must also cooperate internationally.

With respect to research activities, there are, even within the ranks of technical cadres specializing in chemical fibers, different opinions. Some people maintain that the technology for the production of chemical fibers in the world has been stabilized and all we need to do is import this technology. Naturally, by importing technology we can produce fibers, but what the quality of these fibers will be is a matter deserving of thought. The raw material, technical, and climatic conditions of each country vary and what one country does cannot be mechanically applied in another. Research must be conducted in order to resolve this problem.

5. Conclusion

In order to meet the need for clothing for the people as well as the needs of technology, it is absolutely necessary that we develop a chemical fiber industry. In order to build our chemical fiber industry, we must exploit and develop the sources of its raw materials; however, at the same time, we must, during our initial stage, construct a number of relatively small capacity factories and actively make preparations for constructing factories with larger capacities. Due to economic circumstances, the development

of the chemical fiber industry will be marked by a gap between manmade fibers and synthetic fibers, however, this gap will not be too great.

In order to prepare the technical base for the chemical fiber industry, we must immediately give an appropriate amount of attention to the training of cadres and workers and, at the same time, intensify research activities.

Supervision and management must be unified. The chemical fiber industry is part of the heavy industrial system and absolutely must be managed by heavy industry.

Recently, chemical fibers have received the attention of the party and state and we feel that, in the coming years, it will be given even more appropriate attention.

As technical cadres specializing in chemical fibers, we have only one dream and that is to have a fully equipped research installation in the immediate future so that we can do better work.

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INVESTIGATION -- FROM THE SYSTEM OF ON-CONTRACT PRODUCTION FOR STATE-OPERATED COMMERCE TO THE SYSTEM OF STATE-OPERATED COMMERCE SELLING RAW MATERIALS AND BUYING FINISHED PRODUCTS

[Article by Chu Ung; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 45-50]

Ha Hai Handicraft Cooperative is a Hanoi cooperative specialized in making leather articles. From early 1960 to the end of 1969 it did work on contract for the state-operated commerce. Early in 1970 it switched to the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, and for over 3 years under the new system, its production and enterprise were being quickly developed. Let us compare 1969, the year the cooperative did on-contract production work for the state-operated commerce in the most stable way, with the subsequent years (1970, 1971, and 1972) when it was under the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system:

Norms	Unit used	1969	1970	1971	1972
- Total income	dong	88,000	115,000	126,000	145,920
- Income tax	-	10,000	15,000	18,000	20,659
- Expenses paid	-	900	1,200	1,300	1,457
- Profit put in accumulation fund	-	5,100	7,900	9,000	12,570
- Profit put in public-interests fund	-	7,800	13,500	19,000	21,742
- Members' average wages	dong/month	47.30	52.90	56.50	66.20
- Distribution of excess income to members at year's end	months' pay		2	1.5	1

The above statistical table shows that as compared with 1969, 1972 had the following increases: 64 percent in the cooperative's income, 107 percent in income tax, 146.5 percent in profit put into the accumulation fund, 178.7

percent in profit put into the public interests fund, and 39.9 percent in average wages of the cooperative's members. At the time the cooperative switched to the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system (April 1970), there were only 4,000 and 5,000 dong in its accumulation and public interests funds, respectively. But at the end of 1972, those figures were increased to 35,213 and 33,917 dong, respectively. For all the 10 years of on-contract work for the state-operated commerce, the public interests fund of the cooperative was able to cover only three items: rewards for progressive labor, expenses for conferences, and payment of wages to cover the cooperative members' 6-day annual leave. Since 1970, because of the new system, its income has increased and, as the size of its public interests fund has grown, the cooperative is now able to grant children's and pension allowances, to increase to 15 the number of paid days off and holidays, to pay for medication and hospitalization of its members who are sick and need medical examination or hospitalization, to offer wedding gifts to members who marry, and to pay wages and diaper costs to those who have new babies and burial expenses for those who die. Disbursements from the public interests fund increased from 3,500 dong in 1969 to 11,285 and 13,045 dong in 1970 and 1972, respectively.

As its production was stabilized and the accumulation fund increased, the cooperative was capable of getting more technical equipment, raising labor productivity, and expanding production. It has been equipped with machines that polish the sides of shoes and is now planning the installation of vacuum cleaners. It has ordered eight sewing machines and plans to spend 10,000 dong to open a shoe store, where measurement of customers' feet is taken.

It is obvious that the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system is much more progressive than the on-contract production system. It brings about more economic results for the cooperative and the state.

Before, under the old system, its members did not have work to do until the commercial sector delivered merchandise, the lack of which would mean no job for anyone. Adding up all those times of idleness would amount to a loss of 15 days per quarter. That did not include the time right after Tet (New Year), which normally was the end of the "merchandise season," with its members working on an irregular basis from March to June. The cooperative called it the "season of cicadas," or a time of difficulty for the shoe-making cooperatives. Because of unstable production, the cooperative's income dropped, its members' wages remained low, the money put into its funds was little, and the cooperative was not in a position to expand production and to improve its members' living standard.

After switching to the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, Ha Hai Cooperative has been able to become relatively self-sufficient in materials, to assure regular work for its members, to increase their income, and to make their life more secure.

As a result, the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system has the effect of making everybody raise his

sense of responsibility, develop his professional capacity, make full use of raw materials, and raise the quality of merchandise.

According to the contract signed by the cooperative and the state-operated commerce for the purchase of raw materials and sale of children's sandals, the state-operated commerce would sell 0.23 bia (unit of measure for tanned leather equivalent to 30 centimeters by 30 centimeters) of leather to the cooperative in order to get from the latter a pair of sandals size 27 x 30. Some of the many parts of sandals could be made of scrap leather. The cooperative took the initiative of buying scrap leather from the exported leather shoe enterprise and even from the state-operated commerce to make sandal straps. For every pair of straps made of scrap leather the cooperative made a profit of 0.295 dong because, while it cost 0.025 dong to make, it would sell the straps to the state-operated commerce at the price of 0.32 a pair. In the last 3 years, the cooperative used scrap leather to make 30,000 pairs of children's sandal straps and thus saved a lot of full-piece leather. Thanks to this saving of raw materials, Ha Hai Cooperative reduced by 0.26 dong per pair the price of children's sandals sold to the state-operated commerce; with 20,000 pairs sold to the latter, the cooperative thus saved the state and the people over 5,000 dong. Ha Hai Cooperative was making many lines of merchandise. But only by using scrap leather to make children's sandal straps it succeeded in bringing about many advantages: full use of scrap leather, saving of full-piece leather for the making of other lines of merchandise, reduction of costs, and guarantee of quality of merchandise. Thus the state, the cooperative, and its members all benefited from it.

The full use of discarded materials became a considerable source of income of the cooperative. By strictly saving raw materials and using substitutes to make the parts that could tolerate the latter Ha Hai Cooperative in 1972 was able to lower the norm of leather consumption per pair of labor-protection shoes from 3.2 bia (according to regulation of the state-operated commerce) to 3.05 bia for a quantity of 8,000 pairs.

In the 3 years it operated under the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, Ha Hai Cooperative succeeded in saving 9,400 bia of leather of different kinds and 500 kilograms of sole leather for the state, i.e., it sold to the state-operated commerce a quantity of shoes and sandals equivalent to those quantities of leather, but the state-operated commerce did not have to sell to it those quantities of leather. To use raw materials in an economical way and to make full use of discarded materials in order to manufacture more lines of merchandise with guaranteed quality and low costs -- that is the principal advantage of the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system over the on-contract production system.

The "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system has the effect of pushing the cooperative's leading cadres toward ceaselessly raising organizational and economic managerial capacities, developing the cooperative members' spirit of collective ownership, and improving the quality of merchandise. The cooperative spends money to buy materials. The size of income of the cooperative and its members to an

important degree depends on how well these materials are used. If the cadres do not make careful calculations and neglect production organization and management, a situation leading to waste of materials, poor merchandise quality, and low selling prices, the cooperative will lose money and everybody will suffer as all income will be reduced. But this situation seldom occurred in Ha Hai Cooperative. After it had switched to the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, all of its people, from the management and technical and accounting cadres to members, were thinking about making calculations for good use of materials, saving every piece of scrap leather, and working hard; as a result, the merchandise they produced was no longer as poor in quality as it had been under the on-contract production system. Moreover, the cooperative was employing technical workers to study new lines of merchandise that would suit better the people's tastes. Recently it produced 25 additional new lines of merchandise, which the customers liked.

The "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system was beneficial not only to the cooperative but also to the state-operated commerce. Under the on-contract production system, the latter provided the cooperative with raw materials in the form of semi-finished products, i.e., parts of shoes and sandals had been mass produced by the state agency. It had to maintain a department to study merchandise samples, its own workshop and a number of workers to handle the materials, and many accountants to keep track of and to settle contracts. Making a pair of shoes would require not only leather but also 20 other secondary materials. Consequently, the job of keeping track of and settling contracts was to be quite complicated, with the need for a large number of cadres, hence a pretty bulky machinery to run the contract-awarding agency, which would not justify the unbecoming economic results. The state-operated commercial agency would normally use up raw materials more quickly than the cooperative and fail to make full use of discarded products. Once a leather goods contract-awarding agency had to bury a few tons of scrap leather. Contracts would pile up, with very few being totally settled. Some contracts remained pending 2-3 years after their signing. Some handicraft cooperatives were dissolved, and yet their contracts had not been totally settled and had to be done away with. Now under the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, the machinery for cadres' organization could be much less bulky and the commercial agency would be in a position to concentrate on studying the work more suitable for its function.

The following conclusion can be drawn from the results obtained by Ha Hai Handicraft Cooperative as it operated under the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system: to help the artisan industry and handicrafts to develop quickly so as to satisfy the present need of the task of restoring and developing the economy, it is necessary to properly solve the relationship between the state-operated commerce and the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives by applying the system of selling raw materials and buying finished products.

The on-contract production system had played its important and active

role in the early period of socialist reforms toward artisan industry and handicrafts, led the latter to the road of collective work, and at the same time helped to tightly manage the cooperatives' supplies of merchandise from the state-operated commerce. But when artisan industry and handicrafts have been organized into cooperatives, when the socialist production relationships have been established in these sectors and their production and operation have followed the line of the state plan and have gradually gone from small-scale production to socialist large-scale production, to continue to apply the on-contract production system would no longer be appropriate.

In reality, to continue to apply the on-contract production system is creating many obstacles to expansion of production in the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives. Because of the fluctuations in production, the cooperatives' income basically depends on the commercial sector's need and contract-awarding plan. When it needs merchandise, the commercial sector lets out work on contract; when it finds that a certain merchandise is hard to sell, it either limits or stops entirely the awarding of contract for production of that merchandise, and then turns to other lines of merchandise to let out on contract. This situation of dependent and passive production has in reality created much difficulty for the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives in their production and operation plans, and has adversely affected their efforts to speed up technical improvements and to raise labor productivity and their members' living standard. Under the on-contract production system, the commercial agency controls and makes decisions about all of the cooperatives' economic activities, from the lines of merchandise, quality, and specifications to norms for use of manpower, consumption of raw materials and materials, costs of products, etc. This prevents the cooperatives from taking initiative and being creative in their production and operation, and there often exists a situation in which they fight with the contract-awarding commercial agency, thus creating negative phenomena in the cooperatives.

The on-contract production system also makes the cooperatives depend on the commercial agency. They do not need to strengthen economic and financial management, nor to have auditing, because such activities as production, operation, and distribution have basically been determined by the contract-awarding commercial agency. Under the circumstances, their management has become the contractor for the commercial agency and their members pieceworkers for the latter. In the making of a pair of shoes, whoever works harder has a higher income. Apprentices may earn more than instructors. Technical workers (those who can make a pair of shoes all by themselves) are not utilized. They would feel they have been forsaken and leave the cooperatives to work in an individualistic capacity or to switch to another occupation. At the time of its establishment Ha Hai Cooperative had 60 skilled shoemakers, but now it has only 34. In 1962 Hoan Kiem Ward had more than 800 skilled shoemakers, but now there are only 300 of them. The weakness of the on-contract production system has prevented the cooperatives from raising the level of their organization and management, and further developing their members' sense of responsibility and spirit of collective ownership in the task of consolidating and building the cooperatives.

To implement the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and

buying finished products" system is much more complicated than the on-contract production system. The change does not solely consist of new procedures for supply of raw materials and collection and purchase of products, but also involves the change in the managerial system that the state applies to the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives in order to promote their fast development. It requires specific conditions on the part of the cooperatives. These conditions are: the party chapter must be good; members must have a good level of understanding of socialism and a sense of collective ownership; the management must be politically sound, and very competent in economic and technical management; and there must be technical workers and a material and technical base capable of assuring their production and operation.

To help the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives to acquire the above-mentioned conditions, the state economic agencies having direct relations with them, as well as the Federation of Artisan Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives, must actively assist and guide them toward doing serious business and quickly moving forward to achieve those conditions.

It is obvious that switching from the on-contract production system to the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system actually is a change of the management and managerial organization system adopted by the state for the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives, and the application of an important economic measure to improve the relationship between the state-operated commerce and the artisan industry and handicrafts. It is hoped that the Federation of Artisan Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives, as well as the responsible agencies in the commercial sector, pay attention to studying the experience of Ha Hai Cooperative and draw the necessary conclusions from it in order to expand the application of the "state-operated commerce selling raw materials and buying finished products" system, thus creating favorable conditions for faster and steadier progress of the artisan industry and handicraft sector in the years to come.

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THE GROWTH OF THE ANTIAIRCRAFT-AIR FORCE TROOPS IN THE RECENT GREAT CHALLENGE

[Article by Hoang Phuong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 51-56]

In the great strategic air offensive against the North in December 1972, Nixon used all of the B-52 strategic force in Southeast Asia and thousands of the aircraft of the U.S. tactical air force. In 12 days and nights, the number of sorties flown was about 5,000.

To hold absolute superiority and freedom of action in the air, before the bombings of B-52's, U.S. reconnaissance aircraft made repeated flights aimed at destroying our antiaircraft network -- airfields, rocket sites, and antiaircraft guns of all sizes. The B-52's were covered by a thick blanket of interference, layer after layer of metal particles and electronic signals emitted from jamming equipment aboard the aircraft. These air pirates were also protected by groups and groups of jet fighters specialized in coordinated assaults. Using many shrewd maneuvers, they tried to destroy our missiles and to paralyze our air force. They attacked continually: at night with B-52's from many directions and in many waves, and combined with jet aircraft; during the day with different kinds of jets, particularly F-111's or the most modern U.S. jet aircraft. Coordinated with waves of high-altitude bombings were sudden low-altitude attacks coming from many directions, which constantly changed -- each day and in each battle. As to the quantities of bombs, in only 12 days and nights, they dropped about 100,000 tons of bombs over the North, 60,000-70,000 tons over Hanoi and its surrounding areas alone.

To cope with that strategic offensive, we had to pit our energy and talent against the most developed air technology and the most modern military sciences -- combat, tactical, and operational -- of America. As they normally were subjective and underestimated their enemy, the American aggressors thought that our antiaircraft force could not resist their offensive and our people could never stand it. Conscientious people around the world also worried about us as we had to take this unjust challenge. But finally we won.

The December victory was a very lofty and fine development of our

people's resistance against America, a victory which was military and at the same time political and moral. We knocked down the American strategic air force in terms of its operational theory, tactics, and technology. The B-52, the great trump that the Americans played in the last card game, no longer had the power it had had before. Our people, particularly the people of the capital, withstood the rains of B-52 bombs and continued the fight and other normal activities, without fear and any signs of panic; the communications arteries linking with the front were never cut; the strategic offensive and uprising of our compatriots in the South still received sufficient support. The "decisive" blow that Nixon intended to deal at us turned out to be a decisive blow for them. In only 12 days and nights our army and people downed 81 modern jet fighters, including 34 B-52's and five F-111's, and killed and captured hundreds of pilots.

The big surprise for Nixon was the world opinion, including the American opinion, angrily condemning him, a condemnation that was unprecedentedly strong, harsh, and concentrated. For Nixon had used the most savage means and maneuvers to hope to defeat a people that was resolutely fighting for independence and freedom. Along with the collapse of the B-52 "idol," the so-called absolute power of the U.S. imperialists has collapsed in the eyes of the people of the world.

In the recent fight against the American imperialists' strategic air offensive, our antiaircraft-air force troops fulfilled the hard-core task and made appropriate contributions to the common victory of our army and people.

Our antiaircraft-air force arm, born and growing up in the course of the struggle for national liberation and socialism, had been continuously educated and trained by our party in the political and military lines, the revolutionary offensive spirit, and the military art. It had been tested in the fight against America for national salvation and had acquired experience in winning the Americans' first war of destruction. Therefore, the antiaircraft-air force troops entered the recent decisive fight from an extremely strong position and with high combat determination and plenty of combat readiness. They always remained vigilant. After the U.S. reversed its position by refusing to sign the agreement to end the war and to restore peace in Vietnam as it had agreed to with the delegation of our government, our army and people were staying even more vigilant, actively preparing themselves in terms of ideological understanding and organization, and being ready to fight to achieve merit and to thwart any new adventure of U.S. imperialism. Consequently, right in the first night of the contest, the arm as a whole was ready to beat the enemy and to destroy on the spot the American "idols." It displayed a high degree of revolutionary heroism, overcame any difficulties, resolutely mastered weapons and techniques, improved equipment, and developed good fighting methods.

Our radar troops refused to yield to the difficulties that had seemed insurmountable, were determined to develop to the highest degree the effectiveness of their technical means, patiently studied the enemy's jamming techniques, and quickly drew experience from it and improved their own techniques; as a result, they succeeded in properly resisting the enemy and hiding

themselves. Consequently, with first-class electronic means, the enemy was unable to uncover us and failed even more to impose any control over us. On our side, we uncovered the enemy in time, gave accurate alert orders, and created favorable conditions for dealing thunderous sudden blows at the enemy, who had not had time enough to act.

The heroic missile troops, very intelligent and talented, full of desire to train themselves continually to raise their capabilities, and determined to master the modern weapons and techniques, skillfully used their weapons and techniques. They learned with great enthusiasm, always drew experience from every battle, and used this experience to provide further training for cadres and troops and to improve the combat plan. With revolutionary offensive spirit, unsatisfied with the progress that they had made, they patiently continued studies, creatively improved techniques, and were able to strike deadly blows at the B-52 pirates and to score outstanding victories, which earned the "heroic arm" citation from the National Assembly and government.

Our young but extremely heroic air force troops, with wise and daring fighting method to take a few to oppose a large number, shot the American B-52's into pieces. The American pilots were very afraid of the might of our air force. Our pilots had grown up quickly. Receiving the party's leadership and education, they had been patiently training themselves and learning from the experience of one another, one class coaching the next and one class learning from the preceding one. They had been carrying out properly this slogan: fight when the enemy shows up, gain time to train yourself when the enemy is gone, and train yourself even in combat. As a result, they mastered techniques, fought intelligently and bravely, achieved successive merit for every class of pilots, and dealt sudden serious blows at the enemy air force.

The antiaircraft artillery troops sprang a low-, medium-, and high-altitude fire net to beat the enemy wherever he was, to shoot down whatever type of aircraft, including the F-111's or the most modern aircraft of the U.S. air force, and to make appropriate contributions along with the friendly arms to achieving proud merit.

The recent feat of war of the antiaircraft-air force troops was the result of an adherence to the function and characteristics of a modern arm of our army. This adherence was keenly and totally reflected in the action of all levels, from the command to the troops, from the leadership of the arm's Lao Dong Party Committee to every party chapter.

The antiaircraft-air force troops are an element in the make-up of our revolutionary armed force. Like other elements of the latter, this arm must fully understand the party's view on people's war and political and military lines, and adhere to its own characteristics. Here politics is closely linked with science-technology; both are closely combined in every unit and every individual. For the party and for the nation, every person tries to train himself into a fighter fully "loyal to the country, pious to the people" and determined to acquire modern techniques and to master modern weapons in order to defeat the enemy.

In war, the most decisive factor is man; for the antiaircraft-air force troops, it is the men who hold modern weapons. With this concept, these troops consider the modern weapons they have at their disposal the tools that the party gives them to fulfill properly their task of defeating an enemy having modern weapons -- U.S. imperialism. They must use the modern weapons well, with a high revolutionary spirit and a great creative will. Under the actual conditions of our country, with limited technical equipment and with our scientific and technological capabilities still being not high, and with the pressure for progress imposed by the revolution, to master quickly modern science and technology is the only way to beat the enemy. And it must be completed within a short time -- to do in 3 and 6 months the jobs that normally need 3, 5, or more years to do. Whether the revolutionary spirit is total and the understanding of class is high must be clearly indicated by whether the task is carried out fully or not. Our soldiers and cadres had to learn day and night, to learn continuously, and both to learn and to think in order to apply with creativity.

To go into modern technology requires that we not only understand it, use it, but also know how to maintain it and keep it. This is a difficult and complicated job requiring industry and meticulosity, and at the same time intelligence and creativity, particularly under the conditions of our country's weather and terrain, and our situation of mobile combat. Maintenance of a large volume of very modern technical weapons is the technical work of a very large collective of loyal and devoted soldiers who understand that everything they do cannot lack in a feat of war that sometimes is achieved in only a brief moment. An opportunity to achieve merit can be missed because of a very small mistake of a careless mechanic during maintenance. A sense of appreciation of modern equipment and weapons must be imbedded in the mind of every soldier who directly maintains them. It must be indicated by actual meticulous work and a disregard for time if the work is not yet finished, or if the task of preparing for combat still demands it.

In combat, every soldier is required to know how to use weapons in the most effective way to fulfill brilliantly the task he has been assigned. The same weapons put at the disposal of men who understand, have ideals, and are capable as our soldiers can be used to the highest degree of effectiveness. Having acquired the party's education and training, our soldiers recently displayed the effectiveness of all kinds of weapons. We correctly evaluate the effects of every kind of weapon in the people's war. The troops equipped with modern weapons perform their function well and can aid other arms to develop their capabilities; conversely speaking, other arms also create favorable conditions for the troops equipped with modern weapons to achieve merit. On the other hand, the use of weapons must be appropriate for the Vietnamese battlefields, i.e., we must know what necessary weapons to use, to use them within the necessary limits, in order to attain specific goals. As our modern weapons are in limited quantities, we cannot use them freely. Moreover, as we fight an imperialist having great industrial and technical potentialities as the U.S., we must always think hard so as to improve techniques and to find appropriate fighting methods. Creativity is extremely necessary to obtain high combat effectiveness.

Operating in an army equipped with modern technology, the party organizations from the popular to the primary level must have appropriate work content and formula: to promote sufficient understanding of the party, to develop collective intelligence, and to adopt the system of giving assignments to individuals. In the course of recent combat preparations, the party organization echelons displayed a high sense of collective action and collective discussion method, determined in a very realistic way combat guidelines and method, and achieved very clear and definite distribution of work and responsibilities. As a result, in actual combat and when collective discussion was impossible, everybody having an assignment would perform his function fully, dare to make decision and to make decision on the basis of accurate calculation, and bear responsibility for his decision.

For the antiaircraft-air force troops, the party's leadership does not solely consist of teaching combat determination, but also includes education aimed at creating favorable conditions for everybody to go into technology, to dare think and do, to be creative in order to overcome difficulties, and to raise his knowledge and energy in order to fulfill his task properly. The party organization promotes democracy to let everybody offer his own ideas about improving techniques and overcoming difficulties, and at the same time to gather ideas and to organize the application of precious initiatives. It also has plans for raising everybody's scientific and technological capacities. That is the reason why we have had a body of able technical cadres responsible for valuable improvements and great contributions to the recent great victory.

To train men in the sense of organization and discipline is a first need for any revolutionary army, particularly for a technical arm like the antiaircraft-air force arm. Our troops love very much the country and socialism and are ready to sacrifice for the great cause, but some of them sometimes do not attach importance to the regulations and systems that have been adopted, nor do they pay attention to all details and take meticulous care of weapons and resources. This is also a remnant of the small-scale production. Liberalism, lack of order, and small errors sometimes lead to great damages. A flight can be fruitless because there has been no careful engine check as required before take-off. A convoy can have an accident or encounter great obstacles because it does not maintain the distance and speed set for it. Therefore, the antiaircraft-air force troops as a collective must submit themselves to discipline and educate one another to carry out properly the regulations and systems that have been adopted.

Knowing very well the enemy's plot and activities was an important reason behind the recent victory. The enemy is very ruthless and shrewd. He was using every maneuver to lull us to sleep and to deceive us, thus creating a situation of unexpectancy before dealing a strong blow at our capital. But we had known very well his nature and basic plot. We had educated our troops so that they were fully aware that the war of destruction was a part of the Americans' aggressive war in the South. As long as the American aggressors still waged the aggressive war in the South, there would still be a danger of the war of destruction being conducted in the North. As the struggle on the military, political, and diplomatic front became complicated and the enemy

waged the psychological war and claimed his "good will" for peace, we would have to elevate our spirit of vigilance, to stay ready to fight the enemy, and to successfully fulfill our task.

Our analysis and study of the strategic aspect helped us to foretell the next enemy scheme, and even the means and force that he could use in his last venture. We had guessed that Nixon would rely on his B-52 trump card to destroy us. We had organized our fighting in accordance with that plan. And the reality has proven that our guess was right.

However, as to the tactical aspect, we had only some previous combat experience with which to guess the enemy's attacking maneuver in the next phase. The U.S. imperialists would certainly apply a new maneuver. We are far from satisfied with what knowledge we have acquired. Consequently, everybody has been prepared to be responsive to the new, to seize it in time. The reason why our troops fought very intelligently in the recent battle was that they had patiently tried to know the enemy and to uncover his operational rules. Getting to know the enemy is a process requiring a lot of study, and we have come to the conclusion that we must turn our keeping track of and analyzing enemy activities into a permanent job at all levels, in all units, and among cadres and soldiers, who must everyday draw experience and, on the basis of this, can uncover in time new enemy plots, maneuvers, strength, and weakness in order to find a suitable and effective method to fight the enemy. The recent effective combat plans proved the absolute revolutionary spirit and also the wisdom and talent of our troops.

The organization of good passive defense was a guarantee for our recent very great victory. The American imperialists sent strategic aircraft to our heavily populated areas and economic installations to carry out carpet bombings. They thought they could create losses to the extent that we could not get up. They thought they could inflict great damages upon our people, prevent the combat activities of our antiaircraft-air force troops, and shake the will to fight of our army and people.

In addition to taking part in organizing the people's passive defense, the antiaircraft-air force units also have to organize properly their own passive defense. We properly organize combat alert, recreation for units after periods of combat, and treatment for the wounded and sick soldiers. For the antiaircraft-air force troops, a part of the passive defense is to properly camouflage weapons and resources. On the basis of the experience drawn from the organization of the people's passive defense, our troops properly organize a system of fortifications for men and weapons and thus satisfy in time our immediate and long-term combat needs.

The antiaircraft-air force troops also have the responsibility to warn about the arrival of enemy aircraft and about enemy plot, maneuvers, and activities to help the local authorities to inform and to explain to the people, and to organize in time evacuation of the people and hiding of the properties of the state, collectives, and people. At the same time, the rear service units also carry out their own evacuation.

Passive defense is a way of protecting our own force to destroy the enemy better. The people involved in production can quickly switch to combat, combat service, or the effort to repair damages inflicted by the enemy. We had simultaneously organized evacuation, passive defense, combat, and combat service everywhere. As a result, our aircraft were able to take off and to shoot down enemy B-52's on the spot. As the enemy attacked our missile and antiaircraft gun sites, our militia force immediately repaired the old sites and built new ones. Although our field of action was limited and our means of transportation rudimentary, the hearts and strength of tens of millions of people who love their country and socialism, who are brave and intelligent, formed an immense base and created favorable conditions for our antiaircraft-air force troops to defeat the enemy anywhere in our land.

Those are a few lessons that we have drawn from the recent fight. Being the soldiers of our party in the modern technical army, we will try to make a more complete review of the experience in the recent fight and to make the arm as a whole enter science and technology in a more steadfast way in order to fulfill properly the task that the party has given us.

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ELEMENTARY AND ADVANCED TRAINING OF FEMALE CADRES IN DONG HUNG DISTRICT

[Article by Dam Mai; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 57-63]

In 1963 Dong Hung District* in Thai Binh Province began to pay attention to building up its corps of female cadres, but at that time it did not yet have much experience and lacked truly positive measures. Therefore, the results it achieved were not yet considerable. As of 1965, only 15 percent of the members of the Party committee echelons were female. The number of women occupying key positions at the base level was small. The number of women who were scientific-technical cadres was also still small. After the American bandits launched their war of destruction against the North of our country the need to send cadres to serve the battlefield and other tasks became increasingly greater. As was the case in many other localities, in Dong Hung women became an important force in production, as well as in fighting and serving the fighting. The "three responsibilities" movement gave rise to many outstanding women and created favorable conditions for creating a large, strong corps of female cadres from the district level down to the base level.

Firmly grasping the Party's guidelines regarding female cadres, the Dong Hung District Lao Dong Party Committee has paid attention to giving elementary and advanced training to female cadres, and has regarded that as the key element in the creating of a corps of female cadres. Dong Hung's corps of female cadres is beset with the widespread weakness of the educational, scientific, and technical levels, and managerial capabilities, not yet meeting the present requirements of the work. During the past several years the number of female cadres promoted at the various echelons and in the various sectors has been relatively large. Most of the women are still young, so they have limitations with regard

* At that time the two districts of Dong Quan and Tien Hung had not yet been merged into Dong Hung District.

to work experience as well as to their knowledge of politics and society. Most of the experienced female cadres have high political levels and have experience in proselyting among the masses, are old, are in declining health, have low educational levels, are weak with regard to specialization and professional matters, are slow in assimilating science and technology, and have not been given adequate advanced training. Therefore, raising the women's levels in all aspects is an important matter. It is also a basic, long-term mission of the work regarding female cadres. The District Lao Dong Party Committee has paid attention to raising the women's levels in all respects by simultaneously equipping them with basic knowledge (by means of the provincial and district advanced training schools) and helping them to steel themselves in actual work. Dong Hung District has positively sent female cadres to study at provincial and central-level elementary and advanced training schools. At the same time, Dong Hung District has gone all-out to hold training classes at the district level, such as an elementary Party school, a cultural supplementation school, and a school to give elementary-level training to managerial and technical cadres. These supplementary classes are held at appropriate times, so that all cadres in the townships can be able to attend them. The District Lao Dong Party Committee has paid attention to requesting the township Lao Dong Party committees not only to assure that the people sent to study meet the standards and are of correct class origin, and that the number of female cadres is appropriate, but has also joined with the Women's Association in mobilizing the women and assisting them to resolve their difficulties and overcome their "fear-of-study disease," so that they can study regularly. Therefore, since 1967 the number of female cadres attending the classes has increased every year. Nearly all of the female cadres from the base level to the district level have attended the classes. It was arranged for some women to study for two or three consecutive sessions, because of the long-range requirements of their jobs. The leaders of 47 township Women's Associations completed courses at the provincial Party school. Below are data regarding the number of township cadres studying at schools and classes over the course of several years:

The number of female cadres studying at the provincial Party school:

In 1968 there were 137 women, which amounted to 52.89 percent of the total number of students in the district.

In 1969 there were 191 women, equal to 51.4 percent of the total number of students in the district.

In 1970 there were 182 women, 57.77 percent of the total number of students in the district.

The number of women studying at schools for training technical and managerial cadres:

At the elementary-level cadre-training school there were 108 women in 1968. In 1969 there were 118 women.

At the middle-level cadre-training school, from 1964 to 1971, 211 female technical cadres were trained, which amounted to 51.3 percent of the total number of people trained in the district.

The number of women studying at concentrated supplementary education schools:

In 1968 there were 185 women, 57.6 percent of the total number of students in the district.

In 1969 there were 218 women, 63 percent of the total number of students in the district.

Although the above-mentioned strengthening classes are still beset with limitations (such as those regarding the contents of the study curricula and those regarding time), but the classroom study and listening to model reports, visiting advanced places, etc., have helped the women expand their horizons, gradually raise their level of understanding, and clearly understand their strengths and weaknesses, so that they can have correct directions of struggle. In addition to positively selecting people to study at the provincial-level and central-level training classes, and the opening of training schools and classes at the district level, the Dong Hung District Lao Dong Party Committee has paid its utmost attention to strengthening female cadres in actual work.

The elementary and advanced training of cadres at the base level consists essentially of advising, assisting, and guiding one another in their daily work. This is a task which requires a good deal of effort. Therefore, there must be a strong sense of responsibility and a spirit of comradeship and ardent mutual love and assistance. Most of the female cadres of Dong Hung are still young, and have only recently been promoted during the period in which Resolution No 153 was implemented, so whenever they take on responsibility for any given task they lack experience in leadership and guidance, and in mass activation. And a rather large number of women who have long work experience and who are given a new assignment or are appointed to a new position are confused in many respects. Because they firmly grasp those special characteristics, when promoting a female cadre the Party committee echelons ordinarily assign someone to work closely with that person, in order to give truly specific assistance, while also obtaining the real support of the entire Party organization for that comrade. The

base-level Party organizations in Dong Hung all pay attention to strengthening the women, in both small matters and large ones, from specific matters to matters of a general nature, principally by means of the mass work and productive labor. The people assigned to assist and advise the women are usually comrades who have served in the Party committee echelons for many years and have experience in the work the women are undertaking, or have served in the same sector. In reviewing the female cadres of Dong Hung, we see that the women who are cooperative management cadres have, generally speaking, served as production unit leaders of deputy leaders, or have served as production unit secretaries for long periods. The women who are now serving as chairmen or deputy chairmen have done youth work or women's work, have participated in the Party committee echelons for many years, etc.

In the work of female cadres, the district Lao Dong Party committees follow the policy that the women must be boldly utilized and promoted, and also continually reminds the various sectors and the base-level Lao Dong Party committees that they must assure the standards and avoid impetuous, forced promoting, running after quality, and lacking careful strengthening and firm foundations. The Party organization of Dong Hoang township is an outstanding example in Dong Hung with regard to the elementary and advanced training of female cadres. For many years now Dong Hoang has maintained a rather large and stable corps of female cadres. At present there are in Dong Hoang 9 female Party committee members out of a total of 17 committee members. Of those women, one deputy secretary has been in charge of organization since 1967, and another deputy secretary has been a township chairman since 1967. Of 23 members of a cooperative management committee, 8 are women, of whom two are directors of an agricultural cooperative and a handicraft cooperative; three are deputy directors in charge of planning; and one is a deputy director in charge of finance. Of 27 production unit leaders, 9 are women, all of whom have long work experience. In the Thanh Long cooperative (which has been a good cooperative in the township for many years), the Party chapter secretary, the cooperative director, the deputy director in charge of plans, and the chief accountant are all women. This is so because the Dong Hoang Party organization has created a profound, sincere spirit of mutual love and assistance between the old cadres and the new cadres, between old comrades and new comrades. In addition to assigning people to advise and assist one another with regard to specialized and professional matters in the Party committee echelons and in each sector, the Party organization also requests retired comrades to continually give the women the benefit of their experience in Party work and mass work. Mrs. Vinh was previously the secretary of a production unit and was a Ho Chi Minh Lao Dong Youth Group detachment leader. In 1967 the Party organization assigned her to study at the provincial middle-level economic management school. After returning from her studies she became

the leader of a weak production in the cooperative, and assisted the management committee in the planning work. During that winter-spring season the management committee assigned her to plan the production of 8 production units and to assist those 8 units to fulfill the plans that had been drafted. She closely observed each unit, closely inspected each task, and strictly reminded the units to fulfill their plans. The result was that the winter-spring harvests of those eight units were very good, and that her unit became one of the cooperative's good units. On the basis of those actual experiences, the masses had a great deal of confidence. After the winter-spring season the cooperative members unanimously elected her to the cooperative management committee. Since 1968 she has been a deputy director in charge of planning, and has continually participated in the Party committee work. Mrs. Hai, who began as a positive member of the masses, strove to build a "10-ton" production unit in 1968, and became a respected cadre of the People's Council (she is now a member of the central committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front). Mrs. Khang, who began as a youth cadre, was strengthened by the Party organization and became a deputy secretary of the township Lao Dong Party Committee, has been in charge of organization since 1967, etc.

The Dong Hung Lao Dong Party Committee also pays much attention to organizing sessions for the exchange of experiences, work recapitulations, technical training, and visits to advanced places. The District Lao Dong Party Committee not only joins the departments and sectors in the district in organizing such matters on a district-wide level, but also recommends that the townships also positively carry out this work, and regard those tasks as important training forms which bring about many real results. The isolating of experience in the female cadre work is carried out by the Dong Hung District Lao Dong Party Committee during yearly work recapitulation sessions. The District Lao Dong Party Committee also joins the departments and sectors in holding experience-exchanging sessions among female cadres, such as meetings of female township chairmen, of female cooperative directors, of female Party chapter secretaries, etc. In these meetings, the women hold discussions and isolate good experiences, while also speaking of their difficulties. By such means the District Lao Dong Party Committee is able to learn of the difficulties and advantages in the women's work, and to have clear understanding of the sentiments and aspirations of each type of cadre and of each individual cadre. Many women were discouraged because they had encountered difficulties, but due to analysis by the district and the exchange of ideas among the women, they regained their confidence and performed their work enthusiastically.

In order to create conditions for the good performance of the elementary and advanced training of female cadres, the district also paid attention to strengthening the mass organizations, and

considered them as a force for mutual assistance and for campaigning for the women to perform well the tasks assigned to them. For the female cadres, no matter what their position or task, mature in the course of mass movements and by being close to the masses, especially the female masses. The District Lao Dong Party Committee and the base-level Party committees arranged for the organizations to study the resolutions regarding the female proselyting work and those regarding the female cadre work, and helped everyone realize the need to have an increasingly large corps of female cadres. The District Lao Dong Party Committee caused the various organizations, especially the Women's Association, to clearly realize their responsibility to assist and support the female cadres in their work. The various sectors and echelons cooperated with the Women's Association in giving elementary and advanced training to female cadres. Every time a female cadre was promoted or replaced, the various Party committees solicited the opinions of the Women's Association. And vice versa, the Women's Association goes all-out to do its best, to positively encourage and assist the women. All of the female cadres at the base level participate in the activities of the Association. The Association closely observes the women and reports to the Party committees regarding the ideological state of the female cadres, so that they may be given timely assistance.

Because there are such positive methods for giving elementary and advanced training to female cadres, during the past several years Dong Hung District has created a corps of female cadres which has developed rather rapidly, has gradually matured, and has assumed responsibility for the work assigned to it in a stable manner. Since 1965 Dong Hung has scored many accomplishments in production, combat, and serving combat, as well as in aiding the front. In the district's great maturization step the women's movement and the corps of female cadres, from the district level down to the base level, contributed notably, and the women themselves were steeled, and rapidly matured, in the common movement. The women participated in the various aspects of the district's work, from the Party's leadership work, the work of the mass organizations, the governmental work, and the economic management work, to the scientific and technical work, etc. Many women have performed the tasks assigned them well, and have advanced their units from a "weak" status to a "fair" or "good" status.

In the evaluation and judging of cadres done in order to carry out the sub-plan regarding cadres in the district in 1972, all of the various echelons and sectors acknowledged that most of the female cadres were able and were capable of leading the various aspects of the work. That is manifested in the following aspects:

1. Participation in governmental administration leadership:

	1967		1969-70		1972	
	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
Township Chairman	5	10.6%	11	23.4%	10	21.2%
Township Vice-Chairman	48	51%	45	47.8%	43	45.7%

The number of women participating in governmental administration work is rather large, and many women have performed their jobs well. Most of those women have firmly maintained their roles since being promoted. The proportion of women has changed very little in the course of the various elections. Of the 10 women who are serving as township chairmen, 3 have served as chairmen from 5 to 6 years, 6 have served from 2 to 4 years, and 1 has served for only one session. And of the 10 female chairmen, 6 have been classified as Class-A (Class-A is the classification of cadres who have leadership ability and are capable of performing immediate and long-range tasks), 3 women have been classified as Class-B, and one woman has only recently begun to participate in the work, and therefore has not been classified. In the course of their study and work the women have, generally speaking, firmly grasped the legal and professional matters. The women have increasingly gained the confidence of the people. Mrs. Lien (chairman of Dong Hoang township), Mrs. Soi (chairman of Dong Xa township), and Mrs. Xa (chairman of Trong Quan township), are women who have been placed in the district's "fair" category. The women who serve as township vice-chairmen have also shown that they are capable, and most of them have fulfilled the missions assigned them well.

2. Participation in Party work:

	1967		1969		1970		1972	
	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio
Secretary of Township Lao Dong Party Committee	2	4.2%	4	8.5%	3	6.3%	3	6.3%
Deputy Secretary in charge of organization	11	23.4%	12	25.5%	13	27.6%	9	19.1%
Party chapter Secretary	14	10.3%	19	14.7%	15	11.6%	24	12.7%

The actualities of Dong Hung District prove that women engaged in Party work encounter more difficulties than those engaged in other tasks. There are many reasons for that, including the fact that most of those women are still new at their jobs, are still young, do not yet have deep knowledge of the Party, and do not yet have much experience in the work of Party building. Despite that, the maintenance of an appropriate ratio of women engaged in Party work during the recent period reflects the all-out efforts of the District Lao Dong Party Committee of Dong Hung and the capabilities of the women with regard to that work. All 3 of the women serving as Party committee members have participated in Party work from 2 to 5 years. Of the 9 women who are deputy secretaries, 2 have from 2 to 3 years' experience and 7 have worked from 3 to 5 years. And many women have performed their work well. Mrs. Thai, the secretary of the Song Lan Party chapter in Dong Tan township worked with the Party chapter committee in struggling to transform the chapter from a weak, deficient status into a chapter that is stable and strong. She has gained the confidence of the Party members and of the masses.

The number of women participating in the Party committee echelons has increased every year. In 1966 the proportion of women in base-level Lao Dong Party committees was 20.3 percent, and 21 percent of the Party chapter committee members were women. In 1972 the proportion of women in base-level Party committees was 31.5 percent, and 28.6 percent of the Party chapter committee members were women. Most of the heads of township-level Women's Associations are members of Party committees. In 1972, of 47 heads of Women's Associations, 45 were Party committee members and one was a Party chapter committee member. This was possible because of the attention given by the Party committee echelons and, most important, because the women's ability became increasingly more evident.

3. Participation in cooperative management:

	1967		1969		1970		1972	
	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio	No.	Ratio
Cooperative Directors	5	4%	17	15.2%	19	17.1%	16	14.6%
Cooperative Accountants	13	10.4%	45	38.4%	48	43.2%	59*	54.1%
Production Unit Leaders	284		147		145		134	

*1971 data

The actualities in Dong Hung show that women are capable of performing economic management tasks well (in cooperatives and production units). These cadres have the good points of having democratic relationships with the cooperative members, giving profound and close leadership, seldom having a "do as you please" attitude, and seldom being corrupt. Therefore, they have the confidence and support of cooperative members. Of the 16 women who serve as cooperative directors, 2 have served in that capacity for from 6 to 8 years. With regard to leadership ability, 9 women are regarded as being among the district's more capable directors. Mrs. Mui (director of the Ky Con cooperative), Mrs. Lien (director of the Gia Le cooperative), Mrs. Nguay (director of the Co Dung cooperative), etc., are directors with managerial ability.

Among the cooperative cadres, the number of women doing financial and accounting work has increased every year:

Year	Finance	Accounting
1965	11	13
1966	32	41
1967	41	42
1968	45	43
1970	49	48
1971	56	59

At present, most of the production unit cadres in the cooperatives are women, and nearly all of the unit secretaries are women. In general, those women have performed well the tasks assigned them. In 1972, there were in the Dong Hoang cooperative 9 women who served as production leaders (out of a total of 27 unit leaders). Of the 9 production units led by women, 6 were awarded the title "Socialist Labor Unit" (out of a total of 11 units winning the "Socialist Labor Unit" designation).

4. Participation in scientific and technical work:

	1965	1969	1971
Scientific-technical cadres	192	232	237

Most of the women engaged in scientific and technical work were trained at district and provincial technical schools. The women all worked directly at the cooperatives and were active in campaigning for cooperatives and cooperative members to apply scientific and technical methods to cultivation and animal husbandry, as well in bringing new strains of rice into production, raising duckweed, applying straight-row manual transplanting, improving fields and paddies, raising crossbred commercial hogs, etc.

Dong Hung increased its rice production from more than 5 tons per hectare in 1969 to more than 7 tons per hectare in 1972, and increased the production of meat from 900 tons in 1970 to 2,000 tons in 1971. The female scientific and technical cadres contributed importantly to those accomplishments.

During the past several years, while at many places in the North many female cadres have been "dropped," and while at places the ratio of female cadres had practically returned to the old levels before the resolutions regarding female cadres, Dong Hung has firmly maintained its corps of female cadres and has strengthened and built that corps of cadres so that it has continually developed and has become increasingly stronger. That is a noteworthy effort on the part of the Dong Hung District Lao Dong Party Committee. However, under the conditions of the district striving to build large-scale socialist production, the corps of female cadres in Dong Hung has not yet met the needs. The women's principal limitation is leadership ability, and their economic management capability is still weak and their scientific-technical levels are still not high. The situation of female cadres being "dropped" over the years is also not absent there. That situation is the result of many reasons, one of which is that the female cadres' ability has not yet met the requirements of the work. Clearly realizing the weaknesses of the corps of female cadres, as well as the weaknesses of all the district's cadres, in its 10-year cadre plan the Dong Hung District Lao Dong Party Committee has brought forth many positive measures for raising the cadres' levels in all respects. In the common advance of the district's cadres, the female cadres have become increasingly mature, and are contributing positively to building a Dong Hung District that is stable and strong in all regards.

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PEACE AND NATIONAL CONCORD ARE PRESSING DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH AT THE PRESENT TIME

[Article by Thanh Ve; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 64-72]

Love of peace and national unity against foreign aggression have long been traditions of our people.

Our people's resistance war against America for national salvation, which lasted for more than 10 long years, had as its ultimate goal ending America's war of aggression, restoring peace with independence and freedom, and creating conditions for all Vietnamese in both parts to participate in building the Fatherland.

After the "Americanized" war was defeated the Nixon administration plotted to continue the war in accordance with the formula of "Vietnamization" and "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese," the people in the South of our country held even higher the slogan "Peace and national concord."

Today, after the Treaty to "end the war and restore peace in Vietnam" has been signed, the slogans "maintain the peace" and "achieve national concord" have become the greatest personal benefit and the most profound aspiration of all classes of people in the South, so that the national democratic revolution in South Vietnam can be gradually completed.

Not only do the revolutionaries in the South now fully understand the above-mentioned slogans, but nearly all of our compatriots in the South -- including most of the soldiers of the Saigon army and the officials of the Saigon administration -- sincerely desire the restoration and maintenance of peace and the achievement of national concord.

It is very clear that today the words and actions of anyone who would create impediments for peace and national concord will be condemned by our people. All true Vietnamese of good will in the South are seeking ways to expand unity and achieve concord, and struggle against plots to sabotage peace and national concord.

Brought forth under the conditions and historical background of the resistance war against America for national salvation in Vietnam, the slogan "Peace and National Concord" has a specific revolutionary content and a real, profound significance. It is an urgent demand of the society of the South of our country at the present time, and opens a path of future advance for our country's revolution.

Peace Is the Most Ardent Aspiration of the People of South Vietnam

In all, our country as a whole has experienced more than 30 years of destructive warfare. The Geneva Treaty of 1954 was a treaty to "restore peace," but because the American imperialists intervened and committed aggression in the South of our country, that treaty was sabotaged. Therefore, in the South of our country there has been not one day of peace since the Geneva Treaty of 1954. The South is still in a situation of boiling water and burning fire, and the sound of gunfire has never ceased. Tens of thousands of our compatriots have been slaughtered. Hundreds of thousands of people have been arrested and imprisoned. That situation led to the simultaneous uprising of 1959-1960 by the people of the South and the coup d'etat of October 1960 by officers in the armed forces of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration.

The simultaneous uprising of the people of the South shattered a large segment of the administration of the Americans and their puppets and imperilled the Ngo Dinh Diem regime. Not willing to concede defeat, the American imperialists implemented a whole series of measures intended to continue their policy of aggression in South Vietnam: the Johnson-Diem Treaty of May 1961, the Staley plan of July 1961, the Taylor plan of October 1961, the Nolting-Diem agreement of December 1962, the landing of American troops at Saigon in December 1961, the establishment of the American Military Assistance Command in February 1962, etc. Our South entered the stage of actual war between the American aggressors and the people of the South. For more than 10 straight years after that the American imperialists prolonged their war of aggression against our people. By means of their "special war," "limited war," "war of destruction," and "Vietnamized war" strategies the American imperialists committed heinous crimes all over our country, sabotaged our independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity, and violated the basic national rights of our people, prevented the people of the South from fulfilling

their right of self-determination, inflicted losses in life and property on our compatriots, and damaged the culture and virtue of our country.

In addition to the destructive war of aggression were the dictatorial, fascist policies of the Saigon regime, which barbarously terrorized and suppressed the people, and arrested, incarcerated, and killed patriots and those who struggled for peace and democracy. For a decade our compatriots had to suffer incalculable suffering, mourning, and shame because of the American imperialists' war of aggression. Unwilling to allow that dirty, cruel, and senseless war of aggression to continue, our people arose and waged a patriotic war, a revolutionary war, against the American imperialists' war of aggression.

The goal of peace was established as soon as America began its war of aggression. In January 1962 the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam held a congress and brought forth an urgent action program which clearly stated: "The American imperialists must end all acts of armed aggression, withdraw all American weapons, military advisers, and troops from South Vietnam, and abandon the blood-stained Staley, Taylor, and Nolting plans. Peace must be restored immediately in South Vietnam, the war against the people must come to an immediate end, there must be an end to suppression and terror and to the arresting and killing of the people, and security and order must be assured." (Resolution of the First Congress of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, Janaury 1962).

The diligent and heroic anti-America resistance war for national salvation had as its goal the achievement of peace on the basis of the American imperialists ending their war of aggression, withdrawing all American troops from our country, and recognizing our people's basic national rights. Our people, as well as the people of the world, desire peace very ardently, for peace is very necessary for the enterprise of building up our nation so that the people can be well-off and happy. President Ho pointed out many times that "It is because we love independence and peace that we resolutely fight the American aggressors. He appealed to us as follows: "For the sake of the Fatherland, for independence and peace, our entire people must heroically advance!" (Appeal of 20 July 1965).

Today, after waging armed aggression for more than 20 years, the American imperialists, after utilizing, and being defeated in, four war strategies, have encountered unforseeable difficulties, and have had to agree to enter into real discussions and sign with us a Treaty to "end the war and restore peace in Vietnam."

The process of negotiation that led to the signing of the treaty to restore peace was an extremely fierce struggle process against war-loving forces that deliberately impeded the restoration of peace. In that process, many events occured which proved that the forces of aggression and war would not voluntarily end the war. During the final phase of that process they still brazenly dropped mines and bombs on the routes leading to peace. Although they had to follow the course of signing the treaty to restore peace, the American imperialists continued to attempt to win time to establish an airlift to feverishly transport means of war to the South; and when the treaty was signed the Saigon administration, with the sympathy and support of America, rudely violated the provisions of the treaty. They were not willing to carry out the cease-fire. The Saigon army continually launched operations to suppress our compatriots and to encroach upon the liberated area, continually started armed clashes, and maintained a tense situation in all localities. They were also unwilling to assure the democratic freedoms of the people. They were unwilling to return all of the military personnel. They have as yet returned not one civilian. For America's part, it also has not strictly observed the provisions regarding the ending of their military involvement, has not completely destroyed the American military bases in the South, and is dragging its feet in the disarming of mines off the seacoast and in the rivers of the North of our country. It has even illegally brought in weapons from the outside and turned them over to the Saigon administration, and has many times sent observation planes to violate the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is clear that America has not yet abandoned its scheme of transforming South Vietnam into a new-style colony which is within the orbit of America's neo-colonialism. It is going all-out to assist the militaristic, war-loving forces in the Saigon administration, and is using those forces as tools with which to continue the "Vietnamization" policy. The path to implementing the treaty to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam is not a level, straight path full of roses. It is a complicated and difficult struggle that requires that we be resolute and have an iron will. If peace is to be maintained we must struggle to demand that the opposition strictly implement the treaty, and must also increase our vigilance and be prepared to cope with the worst situations that can be created by the war-loving forces. In that struggle, the revolutionaries of the South are holding high the flag of peace and fully and profoundly understand its content and significance.

The peace that must be achieved in South Vietnam is not a "Cessation of hostilities" or a "temporary cease-fire," but is the ending of the war of aggression in all its forms and under all its formulas. It is a real, long-range peace that resists all plots to renew the war by the reactionary, war-loving forces. It is the most ardent aspiration of all classes of people in the

South. During nearly 30 years of war and more than 10 years of coping with the extremely cruel war of aggression waged by the American imperialists, the people of the South have lived under an extremely barbarous and cruel regime. Now they do not want to sit and witness forever scenes of their country suffering destruction, death, and misery. They do not want their husbands, children, and younger brothers to always be forced to take up arms and serve as mercenaries for imperialists who kill their relatives. If peace is restored, the peasants of the South cannot be resigned to continually being incarcerated in jails in the form of "concentration camps," where they die a slow death. They must smash them so that they can return to their former villages and earn a living. The various classes of people in the cities cannot live suffocating under the fascist laws of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique. They demand the right to free speech, the right to have a livelihood. The intellectuals in the South, who have always had pride in their nation, cannot forever bear the situation of their nation being lost, their families being broken up, and their children being ruined because of the decadent culture of neo-colonialism and an economy entirely dependent on foreign countries.

Peace is an integral part of independence and freedom. Chairman Ho clearly pointed out that "Only with real independence and freedom can there be true peace." With regard to a people resisting imperialist aggression, restoring peace and ending the war of aggression on the basis of assuring their basic national rights represents a great victory. That victory opens the way for the people of the South to win freedom and democracy, improve their standard of living, return to ordinary life, and labor to build up the home area and advance the South to new social progress. Restoring peace is a very beneficial starting point from which the revolution in the South can advance and creates the prospect for the peaceful unification of the Fatherland.

With the above-mentioned contents, the slogan of "Peace" is a slogan with an offensive revolutionary significance. That slogan of "Peace" is far from "pacifism"; it is not an agreement with the imperialists, but, on the contrary, is a stroke of political offensive which strikes at the lair of the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. The struggle is a difficult, unrelenting struggle against the war-loving aggressor forces.

The present peace slogan is held high in the situation of the comparison of forces in the South having changed in favor of our people and to the disfavor of the imperialists and their lackeys. The people of the South are now in a position of strength, victory, and advance; the reactionary, war-loving forces are in a position of weakness, defeat, and decline. In that situation the people of the South are strengthening their spirit of

vigilance, are strengthening their unity, are promoting political struggle, and are capable of repelling the plot to wage war on the part of the reactionary, militaristic, fascist forces which are dependent on foreign countries, achieve peace, and consolidate peace.

The capability to achieve peace and maintain peace in the South and in our entire nation lies in the over-all tendency of the world today. Today, all over the world as well as in our country the revolutionary forces are superior to the counter-revolutionary forces; and the peace forces are superior to the war forces. The revolutionary and peace forces are on the offensive. The counter-revolutionary and war forces are on the retreat and are in a stagnant defensive position. Under those conditions, the revolutionary and peace forces can simultaneously defeat the imperialists' war of aggression, regain and consolidate peace, and advance the revolution.

The struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle are integrally related to each other and are closely united with each other. If there is to be peace, and if peace is to be maintained and consolidated, the struggle for peace must be united with the revolutionary struggle. And for that reason, under the present conditions of the South the struggle for peace and the consolidation of peace is an important part of the resistance to neo-colonialism, the fulfillment of independence, the achievement of democracy, the improvement of the people's living standards, and the achievement of the revolution in the South.

We revolutionaries have paid more profound attention than anyone else to the benefit, lives, aspirations, and will of the people. We are very ardent with regard to peace and are very devoted to the lines and policies intended to regain peace for the Fatherland. Because we want to achieve a true, real, and lasting peace on the basis of national independence, we Vietnamese revolutionaries have joined the entire population in resolutely fighting for more than a quarter of a century in order to completely sweep the war-causing aggressors beyond the borders of our country. President Ho said that "We always advocate peace. But we know that only if the protracted and difficult resistance war is victorious can peace be won. Only with unity and true independence can there be peace." As long as the enemy's war of aggression is prolonged we will be resolute, and will wage a people's war until the war of aggression is brought to an end. When peace has been restored we will also resolutely struggle to maintain, protect, and consolidate the peace. Our goal is always the same: to "unite in struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and strong Vietnam, and contribute worthily to the world revolution.

National Concord Is a Basic and Permanent Policy on the Path of Building a Peaceful, Independent, Democratic, Well-Off, and Happy Vietnam

The traditional policy of colonial imperialism has always been "divide and rule." The imperialists not only take advantage of the existing contradictions among our people, but also use the "anti-communist" label, take advantage of religious differences, take advantage of local characteristics, create artificial contradictions, and create opposition between "nationalism" and "communism," among religious sects, and among the localities. Colonial imperialism's policy of division is first of all intended to cause the people of the nation against which aggression is being committed and who are being oppressed to now clearly realize who their principal enemy is, so that the people will not point the sharp point of struggle in its direction. That policy is tended to obfuscate the fierce contradiction between the people being aggressed against and oppressed on the one hand, and imperialism on the other hand, while at the same time deepening the existing contradictions and creating artificial contradictions within the ranks of our people. That policy of division is intended to weaken the national forces being oppressed, weaken their ability to resist aggression, and destroy their struggle against the colonial imperialist rule.

Opposing that division, and having as their aim defeating the aggressive scheme of imperialism, we Vietnamese revolutionaries always hold high the flag of national unity, carry out a policy of continually developing the anti-imperialist national forces, and complete the enterprise of saving the nation, defending the nation, and building the nation.

With regard to us, before the revolution succeedes as well as after the revolution is victorious, in armed struggle as well as in political struggle, national unity is always a basic policy and the strength with which to defeat the enemy. President Ho pointed out that "The unity of all the people is a force that is certain to win. Because of the unity of all the people the revolution has been victorious and the resistance war (against French colonialism) has succeeded. Now, we must again achieve the unity of all the people; when we do, we are certain to be victorious." (Letter sent to the people of the entire country on 6 July 1956).

Immediately after the American imperialists began their armed aggression against our country the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam clearly brought out its policy of national concord in its Declaration of 20 July 1962, which was that, in order to defeat the aggression of the American imperialists and save the nation from boiling water and burning fire, the Front "is prepared to cooperate on a basis of equality with all

forces, political parties, religious sects, groups, or individuals," no matter "what political persuasion they belong to, whether or not they approve of the National Front's program of uniting South Vietnam, and no matter whether they are in South Vietnam or abroad, or have ever worked for the Americans at any level," even if they were "political, cultural, religious, or professional organizations, or members of armed units, that have opposed the revolution in the South or are now in the Saigon administration and army."

Loyal to that policy, when bringing forth policies and principal contents for an over-all solution to end the war, the NFLSV also clearly stated that it was necessary to "achieve national concord and the broad unity of all classes of people, all political forces, all ethnic groups, all religions, and all individuals, without regard to their political persuasion or past, provided that they approve of peace, independence, and neutrality." (8 May 1969).

Now more than ever, the people of the South demand that true "national concord" be achieved. That is a demand that has its origins in the actual situation of the society of the South of our country after a long period of being the victim of aggression, and also has its origins in the demands of the revolution that there be a permanent cessation of the war of aggression, the consolidation of peace, and the creation of a powerful force for national construction.

As long as the imperialists' war of aggression continues, national concord will give us a strength with which to defeat that war. When the imperialists' war of aggression ends, national concord will be a strength which serves to prevent war and maintain the peace. Especially in the situation of the imperialists plotting to continue the war by means of "Vietnamization" and "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese," national concord is a path along which our people must travel in order to defeat that wicked plot and advance to completely defeating the "Vietnamization" policy.

In a society that has been deeply divided by the imperialists, all people of good will have the responsibility of healing that division. The society of the South of our country has, during the years of being under the neo-colonial regime, been divided politically, religiously, and with regard to factions. The American imperialists have erected a dictatorial, fascist administration which oppresses the people and kills patriots. They have created a mercenary army of a million men and coerced and persuaded those people to fire on their own relatives, parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. The aggressors have put up money to organize one group to oppose another group, one sect to oppose another sect. Furthermore, the American imperialists have brought into

the South a decadent culture and an American-style, decadent way of life, in hopes of destroying our people's beautiful traditions. The dollar has been placed in a supreme position -- "with money even angels can be bought" -- and has destroyed countless families and created innumerable instances of children deceiving fathers, friend turning against friend, betrayal, and ingratitude. The relationships between person and person, among compatriots and colleagues, and between father and son and husband and wife have been determined by the power of influence, armed force, and money.

Enveloping those divisions is the "anti-communist" policy, which has as its goal the creation of the so-called "both-cannot-exist enmity" between "nationalism" and "communism." The psychological warfare scheme of the Americans and their puppets in the South is to continually distort communism, in hopes of creating division among patriots and among national forces.

Unwilling to accept a rotten, decadent society, the people of the South have struggled against aggression and against neo-colonialism, in order to build a healthy, united society that is replete with virtue, love, and mutual confidence among the people. The path of national concord will return everyone to the national community, so that they can develop their ability and intelligence in social construction.

If there is to be national concord, the old mistakes must be erased and the people who committed mistakes must not return to them. New mistakes should not be committed for the sake of old mistakes, so that our people will not have to shed more unnecessary blood. Everyone must have a broadminded attitude and have correct knowledge of the evils of the past, that they were principally caused by the imperialists and colonialists. The people who committed errors were victims of the policies of the colonial regime, and are anguished. Families with sons who serve as mercenary soldiers are anguished families. The absolute majority of those anguished people , those anguished families, are of ordinary working-class stock, and are our blood brothers. Of course, people who have committed transgressions against the Fatherland and the people are in part personally responsible, but first of all and essentially, their actions were the result of the policy of aggression and of the neo-colonial regime. As revolutionaries, we clearly understand, and profoundly sympathize with, this anguish on the part of some of our compatriots.

Our beloved President Ho delineated 25 years ago the generous tolerance necessary for bringing everyone into national concord as follows: "I urge the people to unite closely and broadly. Of the five figures of the hand, some are short and some are long. But both the long fingers and the short fingers join together in the hand. Of the millions of our people, some

are one way and others are other ways, but no matter what they are all descendants of our ancestors. So we must have generous tolerance. We must acknowledge the fact that because everyone is a descendant of Lac and Hong, everyone has more or less patriotism. With regard to those of our compatriots who have gone astray, we must use affection to transform them. Only thereby can there be unity, and only with the unity of all the people can it be certain that the future will be glorious." (Letter sent to the people of Nam Bo on 31 May 1948).

"I ardently appeal for those of you who for some reason have gone astray to quickly return to the Fatherland. No matter what, you are also our blood brothers. I believe that you cannot continue to assist the enemy to cause your Vietnamese compatriots to be miserable. I am very sad when I see domestic strife and fratricide...I promise that the Fatherland and the Government will always be forgiving. When you return to the Fatherland you will be widely welcomed, like prodigal sons who have just returned." (Letter sent to the people and soldiers of Nam Bo and southern Trung Bo on 23 September 1947).

And it was in the above-mentioned spirit of unity and national concord that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam brought forth 10 policies toward the liberated area which were intended to eliminate the old enmity and create conditions for everyone to participate in the enterprise of defending and building the liberated area. Those 10 policies are imbued with compatriotism and encourage everyone to observe the ancient tradition of our people: "as red crepe covers the mirror stand, the people in a country must love one another to the end."

In the specific situation of the South at the present time, the policy of national concord "meets the demands and aspirations of all classes of people in the South, who ardently desire peace, independence, well-being, and happiness. It is a basic and long-range policy intended to erase enmity, oppose favoritism in treatment, and stimulate unity and mutual love, so that everyone can join together in healing the wounds of war and rebuilding the nation."*

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* Answer by Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium and Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, in an interview with the Australian reporter W. Burchett. (Nhan Dan, 25 March 1973).

Only with national concord and conciliation can the existence of the family and of the home villages be maintained, in a manner according to national traditions.

Only with national concord and conciliation can the broad masses of people be united around the most pressing matters, for the benefit of everyone, and isolate the obstinate people who oppose peace, independence, and democracy.

We know that the path to national concord is not a level, easy path. After a long period of being divided by imperialism and being upset by a war of aggression, the society of the South is full of complicated contradictions and is torn by enmity, suspicion, and pessimism, and cannot achieve national concord in a day. A resolute struggle is necessary to rebuild mutual confidence and love, and a spirit of unity, with regard to the victims of the old regime, if that goal is to be reached.

Continually Maintain Vigilance and Resolutely Struggle Against the Forces That Would Sabotage Peace and National Concord

Peace and national concord is an urgent demand of the society of the South. It is the aspiration, the will, and the struggle goal of the people of the South. Whoever approves of peace and national concord is a just person, a revolutionary. Whoever sabotages peace and national concord is unjust, anti-popular, and anti-revolutionary. The NFLSV and the PRG of the RSVN are always loyal to their lines and policies, are holding high the flag of peace and national concord, and are devoting their whole strength to struggling for a peaceful, independent, democratic South and to advancing to the peaceful unification of the Fatherland.

The Vietnamese revolutionaries clearly understand that the policy of maintaining peace and achieving national concord is not a temporary tactic, but is a basic, long-range policy. The restoration of peace and the achievement of national concord will not only meet the demands and aspirations of our compatriots in the South, but are also a basis on which to wage an absolute struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They represent a basis from which to advance to the building of democracy and social progress in a peaceful, independent South, and a basis from which to gradually advance to the peaceful unification of the homeland.

The revolutionaries of the South clearly understand the urgent demands of the people of the South and of the revolution in the South, and are going all out in devoting their efforts to the struggle to achieving the above-mentioned basic policy, while

continually combining that goal with the goals of national independence, democracy, and social progress. Only by closely uniting those goals can the imperialist plots be defeated, a new society be built, and the revolution be enabled to advance unceasingly.

But the struggle for peace and for the achievement of national concord is not easy. It is clear that the forces that would sabotage peace and national concord have not resigned themselves to defeat: the American imperialists still nourish the illusion of continuing their "Vietnamization" policy, in hopes of keeping the South of our country under their neo-colonial rule. The Saigon administration is continuing to launch military operations to encroach upon the liberated areas, and are continuing to slaughter and kill patriots. It is continuing its cruel "pacification" policy and is suppressing, arresting, and terrorizing the people. It is continuing to stifle freedom and democratic rights.

Therefore, the struggle for peace and national concord will first of all be a struggle to smash all nefarious plots of the imperialists and the war-loving militaristic forces in the South, and will force them to strictly implement all provisions of the Paris Treaty on Vietnam. The struggle for peace and national concord is a struggle to force the Saigon administration to implement "such broad democratic freedoms as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom to form political parties and organizations, freedom to demonstrate, etc., and to free people who have been arrested for political reasons, and end all acts of terrorism, vengeance, prejudicial treatment toward people who have been arrested for political reasons, etc.

To struggle for peace and national concord is not going to be east, but is a very difficult revolutionary struggle.

That struggle demands that we constantly maintain our vigilance, continually tighten and strengthen our ranks, and be prepared to smash all nefarious plots of the forces that would sabotage peace and national concord.

The important matter is the correct, full implementation of the 10 articles of the liberation policy, which have been promulgated by the PRG of the RSVN, for that policy concretely manifests the spirit of national concord and the consolidation of peace.

We are certain that with the position of strength, victory, and advance of the revolution in the South of our country, with the spirit of vigilance, with united struggle, with the powerful force of the masses, and with the correct lines and policies, the people of the South are certain to fulfill their revolutionary undertaking.

5616
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ON NATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND ACCORD

/Article by Dinh Gia Khanh; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 73-79/

Our country has a 4,000-year history. These 4,000 years have been a process of courageous and intelligent struggle. These 4,000 years have an extremely rich theme and have left many fine traditions. One of these fine traditions is that of great national solidarity.

For countless ages, our people have had an extremely clear concept on their national origin. For countless ages, our people annually observe the death anniversary of founder Hung Vuong.

"Although one is sailing against the wind,
Remember to observe the death anniversary of the founder on the 10th day of the third month."

Historical science has now confirmed the Van Lang period of the Hung emperors although the specific history of these emperors is still not clearly understood. One thing must be emphasized, that all Vietnamese from past to present consider them as their first ancestors. "Ancestors, the children of dragons," "Lac, the children of Hong," these sounds resound, indicating the pride in our ancestors and the warm mutual feeling between all of us. Vietnamese when recalling the legend of Lac Long-Au Co hatching a hundred eggs do not simply consider this a fine story with fine impressions but first of all feels pride in the Fatherland feels they are closely connected with the Vietnamese collective which has for countless ages cleared, constructed, and protected this nation. When all of us call each other "compatriots," we wish to think that we all originate from a common stem in the heart of mother Vietnam and from a hundred eggs.

The concept of closeness with each other in a firm collective originated early from the Lac Viet period, a strength preventing thousands of years of rule by foreign aggressors from ever subduing our people. The Van Lang nation period of the Hung emperors left behind profound memories in our people and created a concept of a common source and Fatherland. This fact has been proven by history. After Emperor An Duong lost the nation of Au Lac, reincarnation of Van Lang, the Vietnamese people had to constantly rise to resist those plundering the nation. With the two Trung sisters, our people for the first time overthrew the ruling yoke of foreign aggression. According to ancient history, when the two sisters rebelled, 65 cities immediately and

uniformly responded and consequently, the aggressors were rapidly swept from the country. Why was there such a hundred replies to the call? The only answer is because for a long time, the Vietnamese had a concept of a common Fatherland created by the Hung emperors. Therefore, when the Trung sisters, children of the Hung emperors, waved the flag of justice, Vietnamese everywhere rose and advanced to follow their appeal to save the nation and their homes. Later, the two sisters died in unequal combat with the foe but their national salvation banner spread, passing through the hands of many generations, represented by national heroes such as Ba Trieu, Ly Bon, Trieu Quang Phuc, Mai Thuc Loan, and Phung Hung, setting a higher example, and increasingly assembling the Vietnamese people in a more firm manner.

In 939, after liberating the entire nation, Ngo Quyen declared himself emperor and established the capital at Co Loa, the national capital of the ancient Au Lac. By this action, Ngo Quyen wished to state that a united Vietnamese nation had been established since the nation acquired independence in the past, and reflected the pride of our people in the glorious origin of the nation. In 968, Dinh Bo Linh answered the hopes of the people, ended the reign of 12 ambassadors, and converted the land into one beginning, waved the national unity banner, and expressed the pride of the nation with the name of the country Dai Co Viet.

Since then, national independence and unity has not only been the highest hope of the people throughout the nation but also the requirement of history. Without independence and unity, our nation cannot exist. Independence and unity are the indispensable requirements of the nation and the premise for determining social development. Ever since then, external or internal dark forces desiring to destroy the national independence and united beginning of our nation have always been crushed by the wheel of history.

The concept of independence of our nation and of national unity has negated the self-massacre fraternal situation of the feudal groups, especially the Trinh and Nguyen groups, created throughout three centuries, from the 16th to the 18th century. During this period, when the people unceasingly struggled against a feudal civil war, the concept of one Fatherland was maintained and of a united nation was elevated. Faced with the united will of the people, the Trinh and Nguyen feudal groups, although having cut the nation in two at the Gianh River, would never dare to call the portion of the country under their rule a nation. Intellectual levels call the portion of the country of the Trinh family in the north Bac Ha and the portion of the Nguyen family in the south as Nam Ha while the people commonly called them Dang Ngoai and Dang Trong.

The concept of one single collective of the Vietnamese people has been closely connected with the people's hope of national unity. This was the primary power leading to the widespread Tay Son peasant movement at the end of the 18th century. Under the skillful command of national hero Nguyen Hue, our people not only overthrew the corrupt Trinh-Nguyen feudal groups but also smashed the Xiem invading army ushered into Vietnam by Nguyen Anh as well as the Thanh invasion army brought into the north by Le Chieu Thong, advancing toward basic achievement of the hope for independence and unity.

By the 19th century, the concept of one independent and united Fatherland was additionally raised in the struggle against the invading French imperialists. While the Nguyen Dynasty progressed from feebleness to surrender, all classes of the people and patriotic scholars resolutely fought to protect the Fatherland. When three provinces in the east followed by three in the west of Nam Ky were one after another delivered to the French colonialists by Tu Duc, the patriotic scholars and compatriots of the northern and central areas organized voluntary military units to assist the resistance war of the six province compatriots. However, this intention could not be realized because there was no court support and also due to the indirect or direct obstruction of the people's national salvation movement. Nevertheless, the collective concept of the Vietnamese people, and the spirit of "whole leaves wrapped torn leaves," "pink scarves cover the dressing table," and "south and north one mind" have been expressed through an extremely large number of noble actions. Expressing the thought of the compatriots of the north regarding the south, Nguyen Tu Gian, a man from the banks of the Nhi River, sent Nam Bo patriot Nguyen Thong the fervent poem:

"When the Ben Nghe is clear,
The current of the Nhi River resounds with a song of victory."

When the south was occupied and bullied by aggressors, the Ben Nghe was impure due to the fishy odor of pythons. When the pythons were all driven out, the Ben Nghe was clear once again and the current of the Nhi River was happy and busy once again. Only when the compatriots of the south escaped the yoke of aggression and returned to a life of independence could those of the north feel peace of mind.

From north to south, our valuable mountains and rivers are truly multi-faceted but from north to south, the rich soul of our people always has one tone. This is the heroic melody resounding in the hoofbeats of Thanh Giong and in the statement of Ba Trieu, "Determined to level the furious waves and behead the whales in the South China Sea" and the "determined to fight" cry of the Dien Hong conference. It is also the tolerant and merciful melody expressed in the proverb, "Love people like feeling sorry for oneself," "strike those being pursued as they leave, not as they return," or in the folk song, "Oh God, take the reins, although of different classes, under the same roof." This is also the clear and dignified melody in the great notice of Nguyen Trai, "Use a great cause to defeat cruelty, great generosity to replace ruthlessness," and in the fervent poem of Nguyen Dinh Chieu, "Countless ship units are unsuitable, pierce the culprits, not the devil." In conjunction with the collective concept, the foundation of the national united spirit, the heroic bearing coordinated with merciful goodheartedness are oustanding features in the capacity of our people.

The blood and sweat of countless generations has flowed to protect and exploit an entire rich Fatherland from the north to the south with golden forests, silver seas, and fertile fields. This is the extremely precious heritage left by our ancestors. However, even more precious is the heroic bearing and merciful kindheartedness, the collective concept, and the united spirit forged in us by 4,000 years of history. These are the primary factors creating the capabilities of the Vietnamese people. Foreign aggressors were

able to occupy our country many times during the centuries, were able to smash our nation, and were even able to annihilate the life medium over wide areas but all kinds of foreign aggression could never destroy the fundamental capabilities of our nation. On the contrary, these fundamental capabilities are increasingly forged and become more resolute after each confrontation with a furious aggressor. History has proven this truth. In the struggle of our people at the present time to protect the independence and unity of the Fatherland, this truth is increasingly expressed in a clearer manner.

As in the past, in the struggle to protect the independence and unity of the Vietnamese people at the present time, one of the factors deciding victory is to bankrupt the enemy's division plot.

"Divide and rule" has been the first policy of all foreign aggressors invading our nation. All foreign feudalists in the past acted in this manner. The imperialists at this time have an even more insidious and subtle stratagem. The history of the past hundred years has proven this fact.

When the French imperialists invaded our nation, they began with the division stratagem. The peddlers and spies disguised as priests infiltrated all levels of society and sought means to divide: to divide the national elements between religions, between feudal elements in power, etc. After firmly grasping the internal situation being corrupted by the feudal system, the French colonialists carried out the invasion. They conducted this task gradually, chewing up each part of our country's territory and promoting division. Then on the basis of promoting division, they continued to invade and occupy additional new areas. In this manner, they finally occupied our entire nation.

Naturally, although they had occupied our entire nation, the colonialists could never calm the ruled area. They were constantly worried and uneasy due to the resistance movement of our people which at times smouldered and at times exploded. They were constantly as if sitting on the brink of a volcano. In order to cope with the patriotic movements of our people, in conjunction with brutal military methods and barbarous terrorist actions, they used subtle and insidious stratagems of division. They divided our country into three parts with three different systems of rule. They divided the ethnic Vietnamese from the minorities, divided the ethnic minorities from others, divided the Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, etc. In order to divide the public servants in their ruling apparatus, they established lists of salaries lower than the west although levels and standards were similar. In the army, different colors were paid differently: the pay for red scarves was higher than that for blue, gold, green, etc. scarves. It is truly impossible to relate all the stratagems and methods which the colonialist nations used to create injustice and inequality, from this creating discrimination and confrontation between one class and another and between one individual and another in the area in which they lived. This was also conducted to cause the patriotic movements of various levels to differ and the areas to differ, making it difficult to unite into a high tide to overthrow the invasion yoke. The policy of dividing to rule has created many difficulties for the national salvation undertaking of our people. The patriots and revolutionary leaders have recognized this fact. The activity of Phan Boi Chau at the beginning of

this century was a representative example of revolutionaries striving to seek means of uniting the people in order to attain the strength to pursue the aggressors and save the nation. The policy of great national unity which President Ho Chi Minh manifested was an extremely important factor leading to the victory of the 1945 August Revolution and of the 1954 resistance war against France.

However, when the French imperialists withdrew, the American imperialists leaped in to invade our country. The American imperialists are twice as brutal as the French. The neocolonialist system is twice as cunning as the old colonialist system. Their "divide to rule" stratagems are also much more subtle and dangerous. The great division crime of the U.S. imperialists was to first of all seek means of dividing our country. They destroyed the 1954 Geneva Convention, resisted organization of a general election during 1956 to reunite our nation, and relied on nation selling lackeys to achieve neocolonialism in South Vietnam to prepare for invasion of North Vietnam.

In order to annihilate the patriots, the U.S. led lackeys have conducted a renounce communism campaign. From this, they have initiated a one-sided war against the patriots. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys with many deceitful and threatening stratagems have propelled many individuals and classes of people into slaughtering each other in carrying deep hatred for each other. They have sought means to divide the ethnic Vietnamese, Montagnards, the urban people, rural people, etc. They seek means to create discrimination between Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, etc. When Diem was overthrown, discrimination between the Catholics and the Buddhists was still nurtured under many complex forms by the U.S. imperialists. In the division of religions, the U.S. imperialists went much further than the French in seeking means of division right in the internal part of each religion, even within each denomination.

However, the division which the U.S. imperialists has created in South Vietnam at the present time is twice as harmful as that of the previous French imperialists in that it joins with spies, psychological warfare personnel, and tyrants to infiltrate each street, village and hamlet, each family line, and even each family. The Americans and puppets wish each family to have division: brothers and sisters cannot look each other in the face, husbands and wives become enemies, etc.

The "divide and rule" policy of the U.S. imperialists is closely connected with the stratagem of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, war to nurture war" increasingly intensified with the "Vietnamization of the war" plot. The U.S. imperialists desire to destroy South Vietnamese society from the national structure which our people took countless generations to build. They wish to destroy South Vietnamese society even from each cell of society. They wish to destroy the soul of each individual, preventing him from differentiating between which position to support the Fatherland and which betrays the Fatherland, causing friends and foes to be mixed and left and right to be turned upside down. They wish neighbors to kill each other and brothers and sisters to destroy each other. They wish to create resentment between the Vietnamese, more and more resentment piling up to hatred.

The plot of the U.S. imperialists is insidious. Their stratagems are brutal. However, our people are courageous, intelligent, do not fear fierce aggressors, and are not caught by stratagems.

The U.S. imperialists have been forced to end the war but the peace is not yet strong. Although the U.S. imperialists have been forced to pledge their respect for the independence, unity, and territorial integrity of our nation, they have still not abandoned their plot of maintaining a neocolonialist system in South Vietnam. The struggle of our people is still extremely arduous and difficult. The antinationalist forces -- product and tool of neocolonialism -- have interests closely connected with those of the U.S. imperialists and are seeking means to destroy the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

In order to achieve their dark plot, they are continuing to seek means of dividing the nation. If division of the nation was the stratagem of the U.S. imperialists to wage a war before, this stratagem is still that of the U.S. imperialists to destroy the newly established peace.

In our country as in others, there are different divisions of classes and social elements. Consequently, dissensions in society naturally arise. These dissensions must be resolved during each period of history in accordance with the national requirements of unceasing advancement. The invading imperialists have sought means of deeply aggravating these dissensions aimed at dividing our people and achieving their invasion plot.

In order to maintain peace, mend the material and spiritual wounds caused by the war, sweep out neocolonialism, strengthen independence, achieve democracy in South Vietnam, and create the conditions for national reunification, our people are determinedly eliminating division and erasing the hatred caused by the imperialists. National mediation and accord is the best method to achieve these noble objectives. Only with national mediation and accord can the division created by the enemy be erased from the heart of the nation.

It is possible that some people although recognizing the need for national accord still doubt the ability to achieve this national accord. Can we eliminate the division and erase the hatred created by the Americans or is this a dream?

In order to accurately answer this question, we must recognize that the problem of national mediation and accord is the hope of the majority of the masses and the will and feeling of each citizen. Our nation has traditions of national unity, mediation, and accord. History has proven then fact. Through many previous challenges against foreign aggression, we have many times bound up the wounds after repelling the aggressors. Of these wounds, we must mention the internal division and cracks caused by the invaders. It was the same during the Ly, Tran, and Le periods. Faced with a foe which constantly seeks every insidious stratagem to divide our people, our ancestors constantly carried out careful precautions. History has recorded the fine actions of Tran Quoc Tuan. A feud had long existed between Tran Quoc Tuan and Emperor Tran and between Tran Quoc Tuan and Grand Tutor Tran Quang Khai. However, in the face of foreign aggression, he took the initiative to erase every doubt and

feud to join in an accord, causing the national leaders at that time to form a strong bloc. History has also recorded the noble actions of Dang Dung and Nguyen Canh Di. The fathers of these two men had both been murdered by Tran Gian Dinh. However, they both erased their hatred to assemble the forces of Tran Gian Dinh and Tran Trung Quang to "strike the aggressors and save the nation." History has also recorded the great brilliant policy of Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, and Nguyen Hue concerning those who had been hoodwinked by the aggressors and had crimes against the Fatherland and the people. Also thanks to this policy and attitude, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, and Nguyen Hue were able to reach national accord, defeat the foreign aggressors, and rebuild the nation.

The tradition of national accord has now been developed to a higher level by our people. Answering the hope of the people throughout the nation, President Ho Chi Minh constantly waved the banner of great national solidarity. Concerning the internal national disagreements and differences, he presented one image, "There are short and long fingers but all meet in the palm." He emphasized, "All Vietnamese have the same Lac Hong blood line and if anyone loses his way, explanation and persuasion is necessary for them to return to the heart of the people." The great solidarity policy of President Ho Chi Minh was one of the foundations of the invincible strength of our people in the previous war of resistance against France. This fact has been proven by history. This great solidarity policy has also been effectively developed in the recent resistance against America war for national salvation. This policy has penetrated and hourly struggle of the people of South Vietnam aimed at resisting every stratagem of terrorism and division of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. This stratagem has also been absorbed in the ranks of public servants, officers, and soldiers of the Saigon administration, causing many to return to the national cause. During 1971, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam promulgated a ten-point policy concerning the suffering families with sons forced into the war machine of the U.S. imperialists. This policy expressed a spirit of national mediation and accord and has been achieved in the attitude, statements, and actions of many individuals and social classes in the liberated areas as well as in the areas ruled by the Saigon administration. National mediation and accord has begun to be achieved even in the still not yet concluded war.

At the present time, this achievement has a possibility of becoming much greater than before when the public servants, officers, soldiers, and police of the Saigon administration with still some national spirit have the additional legal foundation and open encouragement of public opinion within and outside the nation to reject the mistaken actions contrary to the legitimate interests of the nation and themselves. This achievement presently has the possibility of becoming much greater than before when the factions and individuals with some national spirit who previously would not coordinate with the National Liberation Front or the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces but now have the legal conditions to act for patriotic objectives in coordinated action with the front, alliance, and other patriotic organizations.

National mediation and accord, the fervent hope of tens of millions of the masses, have and are becoming a reality and a strength which nothing can block.

"Ninety-nine children follow their mother with one mind,
One lives by himself in the west."

This song is specifically illustrated by 99 large and small hills like the 99 elephants assembled around the Hung palace of the Lam Thao, Viet Tri, and Phu Ninh jurisdictions of Vinh Phu Province and one hill -- called the disloyal elephant -- living completely separated.

The legend relates that Emperor Hung established the nation of Van Lang, established the capital at Phong Chau, and placed a palace on Nghia Linh Mountain with 100 elephants gathered from everywhere in the nation to celebrate. The entire elephant herd prostrated itself around Nghia Linh Mountain like children circling their mother. However, suddenly one animal turned tail and faced in a different direction. The emperor became angry, called the Princess Bau, handed over the treasury sword, and ordered that the disloyal elephant be beheaded.

National solidarity and accord is a long-term tradition of our nation. The road of national solidarity and accord is one of life. The road of resistance to national solidarity and accord is one of death. History eternally condemns those betraying the nation and people, and the masses will severely punish them as Emperor Hung in the past punished the disloyal elephant.

7300
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DOLLAR DEVALUATED SECOND TIME

/Article by Dao Viet Doan; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1973, pp 80-89/

From Devaluation I to Devaluation II

On 12 February 1973, the Nixon administration devaluated the U.S. dollar by 10 percent, raising the official price of gold from 38 to 42.22 dollars an ounce (31.1035 grams). This was the second time in 14 months in which the dollar was devaluated. This devaluation of the dollar had many new characteristics differing from the devaluation during December 1971. The point to which everyone gave attention and was unable to avoid surprise was first of all that this time, the level of devaluation was fairly high (the previous time was only 7.89 percent) and that the devaluation decision was easy and rapid. We still recall only 1 year ago when the U.S. president was stubbornly unwilling to devaluate the dollar, a stubborness at that time which was considered as an expression of U.S. strength. Devaluation of the U.S. dollar this time proved that the U.S. financial situation has seriously weakened and the strength of the United States in the capitalist world economy has frightfully declined. The previous vassal allies of the United States, Japan and the nations of western Europe, have matured and become dangerous adverseries of the United States and are standing shoulder to shoulder to dispute with the United States in every aspect. The balance of forces between the United States and Russia and western Europe has changed and is no longer favorable to the United States. Solution of the dollar crisis during 1971 and this time clearly indicate this fact. During 1971, the dollar crisis exploded at the very moment in which the United States and other western nations were in an acute economic crisis dealing with serious inflation. The economic methods of Nixon, placing a surtax on imports of 10 percent and halting the exchange of dollars for gold, increasingly cause the currency and commerce dissensions between the United States and other capitalist nations to become extremely severe. A great danger is appearing, that the monetary war will explode into a trade war while the economy of socialist nations is still in a recession, this situation pushing the capitalist world to the chasm of a frightful and total crisis. Faced with this terrible danger, the western nations and Japan were forced to reach an agreement in the United States at a Washington conference during December 1971: trade competitors of the United States in western Europe and Japan

agreed to raise the value of their currencies in order that the United States could partially devalue the U.S. dollar.

The dollar crisis this time occurred at a time in which the economy of the United States and other capitalist nations was beginning a period of restoration and instability in which it was necessary to maintain and nurture the economic development rate and each nation was seeking every means to protect its own economic interests in a manner harmful to the interests of other nations. The policy of trade protection, seeking every means to promote export, to contend with the consumer market in foreign nations in order to maintain internal economic development, to resolve the unemployment problem, and to promote difficulties in other countries has become the "national policy" of the United States and the other capitalist countries. For this very reason, during the first few days of February 1973, when the dollar was first seriously devaluated, Nixon had to send three special delegations to Japan and the nations of western Europe to negotiate, persuade, and intimidate, forcing this nations to compromise in trade with the United States and to raise the value of their currency, first of all the Japanese yen and the West German marc, in order for the dollar to avoid devaluation while U.S. goods were still easily imported into the markets of these countries. However, these countries stubbornly refused to be subdued by the U.S. intentions. Finally, Nixon had to unilaterally devaluate the dollar while the other nations resolutely tried to keep from raising the value of their own currency. Immediately after the dollar was devaluated, the 14 February 1973 issue of the French paper Le Monde observed, "In 1971, the Americans only agreed to half of the devaluation route in order to force West Germany and many other nations into revaluation. However, the Americans this time did not allow many requests to further reduce the prestige of the dollar. In these rapid actions of the United States, the decline of the financial strength of the United States can be seen."

The characteristics noted above indicate the severe and decisive nature of the monetary crisis this time in that it occurred all at once and become a competent tool in the trade war between the three great powers of the capitalist nations, the United States, Japan, and western Europe, in the war in which the United States is increasingly becoming submissive compared with two opponents who are becoming steadily stronger.

The second characteristic of the dollar crisis this time which cannot be ignored is that the dollar is being simultaneously attacked on two fronts, both the monetary and the gold markets. During previous periods of crisis, especially during the 1971 crisis, the dollar lost value only compared with other capitalist currencies or with gold. During 1971 when the dollar was impetuously thrown on the monetary market to level the currencies of Europe and Japan and was severely devaluated compared with these currencies, the price of gold generally did not rise. Throughout the period of monetary crisis from May to December 1971, the price of gold on the London market only increased from 40 to 43.4 dollars an ounce, that is only an increase of 3.4 dollars an ounce.

In the crisis this time, the U.S. dollar has been thrown out to purchase other capitalist currencies with a much greater volume than during other periods of crisis. According to statistics of the western press, during the period of only 10 days before the dollar was devaluated, up to 9 billion dollars were poured into western Europe and 3 billion dollars into Japan. During the previous time after the dollar was devaluated, the situation was immediately and temporarily stabilized; this time, immediately after the dollar was devaluated at a greater level, the situation of throwing dollars on the monetary market continued and was more furious than before the devaluation. During only the day of 2 March 1973, up to 3 billion dollars were poured into the market of West Germany, nearly 1 billion dollars flooded the Paris market only 1 hour after it opened, and hundreds of millions of other dollars inundated the markets of Belgium, Holland, Japan, and even Spain! This situation caused the central banks of nearly all nations throughout the world to hurriedly close the market once again to avoid continued dollar purchases. After devaluation, the dollar continued to decrease in value.

Meanwhile on the world gold markets, the distribution of dollars to level gold also occurred in an fanatical manner. The price of gold rose at an unprecedented rate. During the first part of February 1973, the price of gold on the free market in London was still at a level of 67.50 dollars an ounce but immediately after the dollar was devaluated (the official price of gold had been raised to 43.22 dollars an ounce) on 16 February 1973, the free world market value of gold rose rapidly to 74.25 dollars and on 22 February rose to a record level unprecedented in history of 88.5 dollars an ounce, double the official value or in other words, after devaluation, the U.S. dollar continued to decrease in value compared with gold at a level of nearly 110 percent. This was an unprecedented occurrence in the capitalist monetary history.

The simultaneous loss in value on both the monetary and gold markets created an extremely harmful resonant and psychological effect on the United States, causing the U.S. dollar to increasingly decline in value at a more rapid and serious rate. Consequently, the effect of the recent dollar devaluation immediately became meaningless and its impromptu equilibrium was immediately destroyed. This occurrence has exposed the truth that for a long time, fraudulently concealed, the purchasing power of the dollar has truly declined in a frightful manner, and during both recent devaluations (of nearly 20 percent), only an extremely insignificant portion was achieved (approximately one-fifth) of the total actual devaluation of the U.S. dollar. If continued to be devaluated at the present rate (10 percent), many more devaluations will be necessary before the dollar becomes consistent with its actual gold content (represented by the value of gold on the world market at the present time)!

On one hand, the characteristics above indicate why the recent two devaluations have still not stabilized the dollar and other capitalist currencies, even temporarily. On the other hand, it also clearly proves the truth that for a long time, despite the serious overdraft in the U.S. balance of payments, the U.S. dollar has frightfully declined in value compared with gold and other currencies but the U.S. authorities still try to maintain the

value of their currencies at a fraudulently high level in order to purchase the raw materials, factories, and labor of other nations.

Sowing the Wind, One Must Undoubtedly Reap the Whirlwind

In order to defend the disastrous loss in value of the dollar during the past few years, U.S. President Nixon and a number of U.S. economists usually state that the reason why the U.S. balance of payments has a serious overdraft and that the dollar is thrown on the market to level the gold and the currencies of other capitalist nations is because the United States has been too "generous," issued too much capital to assist allied nations, etc. the U.S. dollar must sacrifice as an internation means of payment for the "free" world, etc.

Since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have tried to pursue the ambition of ruling the world by force. In order to achieve this ambition, the U.S. imperialists have carried out a bellicose, reactionary, and armed race policy. This policy has been especially promoted since the war of aggression in Korea. It has created serious harm to the U.S. economy and currency which has always had serious dissensions. Since the U.S. imperialists plunged into the war of aggression in Vietnam and Indochina, the U.S. economic and monetary situation has increasingly encountered many more difficulties. Since 1950, the U.S. economic development rate has been the lowest in the capitalist world; moreover, the United States has been forced to experience many economic crises, including two which have occurred during the period in which the United States has been waging the war in Vietnam (1967 and the years from 1969 to 1971).

Development Rate in Industrial Development
of the United States and Capitalist Countries
(Annual Average Percentage)

Capitalist Nations	1951-1960	1961-1970	1970	1971	1972
Total Capitalist World	5.5	5.7	2.7	2.6	5
United States	4.5	4.8	-4.1	0	6
West Germany	7.5	5.8	7.0	1.9	3
Japan	14.6	13.9	16.2	4.6	10
Great Britain	2.9	2.7	0.8	0.8	2
France	5.4	5.7	7.0	5.3	6
Italy	8.3	6.9	7.1	-3.0	2

During the middle of 1964 when the U.S. escalated war began in Vietnam until 1966, this war temporarily created a wartime prosperity for the U.S. economy. During the 2 years of 1965 and 1966, U.S. industrial output leaped forward;during 1965 with an increase of 8.4 percent and 1966 with an increase of 9 percent (compared to the two previous years): 1963 with an increase of 5 percent and 1964 with an increase of 6.4 percent.

Capital invested in industry also greatly increased: 1964 by 14.6 percent
1965 by 15.7 percent
1966 by 16.6 percent.

Machinery and equipment capability was used by more than 90 percent, a high level rarely seen during the period of World War II.

Corporation profit also increased: during 1964, 66.8 billion dollars, 1965 by 76.6 billion dollars, and during 1966, a great increase to 83.8 billion dollars, especially the war industry corporations with conditions of becoming rich during the war. However, the war of aggression in Vietnam created many difficulties and adverse effects on the U.S. economy and finance. One of the greatest and most persistent consequences was the increasingly more serious inflation.

The western press, especially that of the United States, has many times proven that the war in Vietnam has caused serious turmoil in the U.S. economy and especially has kindled inflationary pressure. Recession in conjunction with economic recession occurred for the first time in the United States like a symptom of cancer, originating from an economic culture "polluted" and disturbed by the Vietnam war; and from the United States, this disease spread over nearly all the other capitalist nations.

The fundamental cause of this dangerous disease in the United States was the great increase in military expenditures of the United States of America coordinated with the expenditures for the war in Vietnam, both causing a serious overdraft in the U.S. budget. Each year, the U.S. government must expend from 20 to 30 billion dollars for the war of aggression in Vietnam. The U.S. press recently has presented the expenditure figures for the war in Vietnam as 135.5 billion dollars. However, if all the indirect expenditure amounts are calculated, the total amount expended for the war in Vietnam is much greater. Since 1970, U.S. Senator Hatfield has said that if all the indirect expenditure amounts are calculated, the war in Vietnam has cost the United States up to 280 billion dollars. In the April 1970 issue of the U.S. magazine Playboy, U.S. journalist Clayton presented a series of indirect expenditures which the U.S. government had to pay for the war in Vietnam, including aid to veterans of the Vietnam war approaching 220 billion dollars, interest on the puppet debt borrowed by the government during the Vietnam war which must be paid back by 1990 reaching 35 billion dollars, and inflationary expenditures created by the Vietnam war which by 1980 will total at least 30 billion dollars. If all of these indirect expenditures are added to the direct expenditures noted above (135.5 billion dollars), the total expenditures for the Vietnam war have reached the figure of more than 420 billion U.S. dollars. It is clear that the Vietnam war has dealt an increasingly more painful blow to the economic and monetary structure of the United States which the U.S. ruled capitalist group cannot immediately resolve (see the statistical chart below).

Statistics on Overdraft U.S. Budget and
U.S. Military Expenditures[2]
(Billions of Dollars)

Fiscal Year	Military Budget	Budget Overdraft
1964-65	49.5	-1.6
1965-66	56.7	-3.8
1966-67	70.1	-8.7
1967-68	80.5	-25.2
1968-69	81.2	+3.2
1969-70	79.4	+1.5
1970-71	75.0	-23.04
1971-72	78.3	-23.2
1972-73	76.4	-35
1973-74	81.1	

In order to compensate for the great deficits in the budget, the U.S. administration has used the primary method of increasing taxes, increasing the public debt, and issuing bank notes.

Inflation and especially inflationary psychology in conjunction with the tight money policy to resist inflation has created a tense situation on the monetary and financial markets, and from this, caused turmoil in the U.S. economy and further increasing the dissension between production and consumption, leading to economic crisis.

The inflation caused prices throughout the United States to rise, caused the competitive ability of U.S. products to decline, and from this, the U.S. foreign market changed from an export surplus to an import surplus. After nearly 100 years, 1971 was the first year in which the United States had an import surplus. This import surplus increasingly caused the U.S. balance of payments to increase the overdraft and the foreign purchasing power of the U.S. dollar steadily declined.

The weakness of the U.S. dollar noted above indicates that the United States, after scores of years of plunging into the arms race, pursuing the hope to become ruler of the world, and especially in waging the military adventure in Vietnam and Indochina, has now began the most difficult economic period in history. A western economist has called the United States at the present time a "kingdom of the setting sun."

Another side of the attack on the U.S. dollar which should be examined is the ambition of U.S. monopolistic capital to expand its capital to the entire world with finally, the U.S. capital itself in foreign countries causing the prestige of the United States to pay an expensive price. Through several score years, U.S. monopolistic capital has invested capital in foreign nations. According to the paper AGEFI[3], the United States by 1970 had invested an extremely large amount of money in foreign countries, a total of 166 billion dollars, and had collected more than 100 billion dollars in interest. The reason why U.S. capital pursues foreign countries so much is that on one hand, capital in the United States does not yield as much profit as in foreign countries, especially in the location with raw materials and cheap labor. On the

other hand, capital investment in foreign countries is one method to surpass the tariff fence, especially the areas of highest tariff in the common market. Especially before the national liberation revolutionary movement increasingly and strongly developed, the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, after winning political independence, made efforts to establish and strengthen an independent and self-governing economy, and U.S. monopolistic capital increasingly promoted investment under the labels of "development cooperation," "economic aid," "technical aid," etc., infiltrating the economy of these nations in an effort to maintain this economy within the U.S. orbit to support the U.S. neocolonalist intentions.

U.S. Investments in Foreign Countries
(Billions of dollars at end of the year)[4]

	1939	1950	1960	1968	1969	1970[5]
Total	11.4	31.5	66.2	131.1	138.5	166
Private Investment	11.4	19.0	49.3	102.5	107.7	104
National Investment	0	12.5	16.9	28.6	30.7	62

With such a high rate of investment exported to foreign countries on such a large scale, U.S. monopolistic capital actually established a "vast industrial materialism" outside the United States. U.S. industrial corporation, commercial, and banking branches in foreign countries sprang up like mushrooms. Yearly, the total output of these U.S. "refugee" capitalist forces reached approximately 130 billion dollars, a large portion of the products sold on the spot, and annually presenting U.S. monopolistic capital with 10 to 12 million collars in profit, of which a portion was sent back to the United States and a portion invested on the spot.

They made their bed and must lie in it. This very ambition to expand the U.S. economy, capital, and dollars throughout the world finally caused the U.S. economic power to be seriously weakened. Due to the business situation in the United States with its little profit return, increasingly smaller amounts of profit collected by the U.S. corporations in foreign countries returned to the United States but was re-invested on the spot. Because inflation in the United States caused prices to rise, the U.S. corporations in foreign countries bought steadily less U.S. equipment, sold increasingly more products to the United States, and steadily competed with enterprises in the United States on the world markets. Finally, this "exiled U.S. imperialism" did not assist in improving the U.S. trade balance and balance of payments but on the contrary, increasingly caused the foreign debt of the United States to rise and the purchasing power of the U.S. dollar to seriously decline.

U.S. foreign investments steadily increased in conjunction with the military expenditures in foreign countries of the U.S. government, especially the expenditures for the war of aggression in Vietnam which caused the U.S. international balance of payments to develop a steadily more serious overdraft. With the basic shortcomings of the capitalist monetary system at the present

time, the more the U.S. balance of payments develops an overdraft, the more dollars are sent to other capitalist nations. As the number of U.S. dollars in the hands of foreign nations -- called the "European dollars" -- increasingly rises (at the present time up to 80 billion dollars), confidence in the U.S. dollar steadily declines and the dollar steadily drops in value compared with gold and other foreign currencies as noted above.

A New Trade War

One day after the second deveLuation of the U.S. dollar, Nixon announced, "The 10 percent deveLuation of the dollar is only the first step in advancing toward more competition in the export of U.S. products" (Reuters, 13 February 1973).

Nixon wished to use this deveLuation of the dollar to establish the value beforehand in demanding that the nations of western Europe and Japan revaluate their currency and give in further to the United States in negotiations on coming trade conditions to make it easier for the United States in promoting exports to other nations in an attempt to improve the U.S. trade balance overdraft. Although the currency adjustment during December 1971 (the U.S. dollar was devaluated by 7.89 percent while the Japanese yen was raised in value by 16.88 percent and the West German mark increased by 13.58 percent compared with the U.S. dollar) was extremely favorable to the United States, during 1972 the United States still had an import surplus of 6.5 billion dollars while Japan had an export value of 9 billion dollars and West Germany of 8 billion dollars.

In the trade relations between the United States and Japan and western Europe, the competitive ability of U.S. products steadily decline not only on the international market but even on the U.S. market. The competitive strength of U.S. products declined due to the excessively high costs of U.S. products and U.S. labor productivity which although higher than other nations, increased in an extremely slow fashion: the cost per ton of steel in Japan was 22.7 dollars, in West Germany 39.40 dollars, and in the United States up to 63.6 dollars.[6] The annual hourly output level from 1965 to 1970 in the United States increased by 2.1 percent while increasing by 19.2 percent in Japan and 5.3 percent in West Germany.[7]

During the present trade war, Japan is the most dangerous adversary of the United States. Before 1964, the U.S. annually had an export surplus to Japan of from 200 to 700 million dollars. Since 1965, the export surplus of the United States has yielded to a rapidly increasing import surplus.

Trade Situation Between United States and Japan from 1960 to 1972[8]
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)

Year	U.S. Imports from Japan	U.S. Exports to Japan	Difference
1960	1,149	1,452	+ 303
1961	1,055	1,841	+ 786

1962	1,358	1,574	+ 216
1963	1,498	1,846	+ 348
1964	1,768	2,018	+ 250
1965	2,414	2,084	- 330
1966	2,963	2,370	- 593
1967	2,999	2,699	- 300
1968	4,054	2,954	-1,100
1969	4,888	3,490	-1,398
1970	5,875	4,652	-1,223
1971	7,261	4,055	-3,206
1972			-4,111*

* Reuters, 11 February 1973

The trade relationship between the United States and western Europe has nothing brighter for the United States. Throughout the past 30 years, the United States has regularly had an export surplus to western Europe and during 1971, the United States continued with an export surplus of 750 million dollars but beginning 1971, the United States for the first time had an import surplus with western Europe of 750 million U.S. dollars (AGEFI, 26 January 1973). Of the nations of western Europe, the most formidable adversary of the United States is West Germany. Although in the exchange adjustment during December 1971 the United States pressured West Germany into raising the value of the mark by 13.58 percent compared with the dollar to reduce the competitive strength of West German products exported to the United States, during only the first 11 months of 1972, West Germany has an export surplus with the United States of 893 million dollars, eight times that of the first 11 months of 1971 (in which West Germany had only an export surplus of 180 million dollars).

It is clear that the U.S. devaluation of the dollar at the beginning of December 1971 at a level of 7.89 percent in conjunction with U.S. pressure on Japan and West Germany to raise the value of their currencies has not produced the results Nixon desired in the trade competition with these nations. The import surplus situation of the United States has not only not declined a bit but has become more serious. The competitive ability of Japanese and West German products not only has not declined but has continued to increase and the products of these nations steadily and violently compete with those of the United States. For this very reason, Nixon during the past year on one hand had to run from one place to another to seek additional consumer markets while on the other hand, to strive in creating pressure to demand that other capitalist countries, first of all Japan and West Germany, either give in with trade conditions, raise the value of their currency compared with the dollar, or accomplish both of these things at one time. The objective of Washington at the present time is for the sale of U.S. products to foreign countries to be easier and to create many difficulties for the import of foreign products to the United States in the hope of regaining the previous trade surplus (beginning in the 1960's, an annual average of 5 billion dollars).

It is clear that the direct cause of the U.S. devaluation of the dollar this time is that the United States seeks to further strengthen the

competitive ability of U.S. products compared with foreign products in the hope of maintaining the U.S. development rate which is beginning a period of restoration and reducation of unemployment in the United States. The period in which the U.S. dollar could lord it over the capitalist monetary market has passed. The 13 February 1973 issue of the French newspaper Le Monde observed, "In order to fully maintain the jobs in their own country, each capitalist nation is seeking means to reduce overdrafts or to maintain and further increase their trade balance overdraft... each nation desires to sell much more than it purchases."

To What Extent Will the U.S. Dollar and Capitalist Currency Crisis Reach?

To what extent will the U.S. dollar and capitalist currency crisis this time develop? This is an important question posed to the capitalist world not only during these stormy days but also in the long-term future.

First of all, although the dollar has been forced to devaluate once again, its crisis is still not ended. The chaotic situation on the monetary and gold markets during the days immediately following the dollar devaluation indicate this fact.

In the long-term sense, the Nixon administration and capitalist nation authorities are still awkwardly seeking a way out for the dollar as well as for the entire capitalist monetary system. However, the fundamental factor creating the capitalist monetary crisis and further aggravating the dissension in the monetary relationship between the United States and Japan and West Germany is still intact. It is clear that however the U.S. balance of payments situation is improved, the U.S. dollar will continue to pursue other capitalist nations and further supplement the ranks of "European dollars" which have presently reached 80 million -- an increasingly more powerful but also incurable secret mercenary army in the hands of the speculation forces which are presently creating turmoil on the gold and monetary markets of the capitalist nations while simultaneously decreasing the value of the U.S. dollar itself. No matter how the capitalist nations continue to accept the increasingly lower value "floating dollar" in their reserves for material things: factories, products, and true labor results which have been lost to the hands of the industrial corporations, banks, and branches of the United States in foreign countries, the capitalist monetary crisis danger will continue to exist and become steadily more severe.

Moreover, when the monetary crisis explodes at one time and becomes a tool of the trade war, the capability for resolving these two crises becomes extremely difficult and complex, and its harm to the economic, monetary and financial, and even the political relationship medium will become extremely large and prolonged. The monetary crisis during 1971 lit the fuse for a trade war to explode; further solution of the monetary crisis at that time and the chaos of the capitalist monetary system after the dollar was devaluated in December 1971 increasingly caused the trade war to become more severe and the loss of trade balance between the nations of the United States, Japan, and western Europe to become increasingly more severe during 1972, and from this, caused further acute dissensions and many additional conditions for the dollar crisis this time to explode. However, the U.S. solution of the dollar crisis this time further kindled the flame of a trade war.

Experience in the two recent dollar devaluations indicates that it is impossible to solve the trade competition problem by the method of exchange adjustment. As we have noted above, the dollar was devaluated during December 1971 but during 1972, the United States had a much greater trade overdraft. The Japanese yen and West German mark were increased in value but the trade surplus of these two nations increased (the trade surplus of Japan was 9 billion dollars compared with 7.9 billion dollars during 1971, and the trade surplus of West Germany was 8 billion dollars compared with 6.4 billion dollars during 1971). Here is an occurrence called the "reverse effect" of devaluation and revaluation by western economists. For example, when the currency of one nation is devaluated, the export products of that nation will decline and the cost of import products will increase. However, if after currency devaluation the volume of export products of that nation do not increase and the import products decline as in the case of the United States, the immediate result of devaluation is clearly a steady increase in the import surplus of that nation and a loss of trade balance. The U.S. trade balance has not been improved although the United States has been forced to devaluate the dollar, primarily because through the past few score years, the U.S. authorities have blindly pursued a reactionary bellicose policy and the arms race, and especially have been mired in the war of aggression in Vietnam. Consequently, the direction of the U.S. economy has excessively entered the over-perfected spearheads of technical sectors but has not produced true economic benefits such as the atomic, nuclear, conquering of space, etc. sectors, while the traditional industrial sectors of the United States (metallurgy, shipbuilding, etc.) have been abandoned and cannot keep pace with their Japanese and western European adversaries.

The 1 February 1973 issue of Le Monde observed, "The previous challenge of the United States is now virtually nonexistent. It is only necessary to compare the contents of the 'export baskets' from nations of the common market sent to the United States and of the United States to the common market with products much better than the U.S. basket. The 'Toyota' automobile and other products of Japan flooding the U.S. market indicate that the competition mystery has changed places."

Unable to resolve the fundamental internal difficulties to improve the trade balance and balance of payments, Nixon has become familiar in the use of the "shift a heavy load to the shoulders of other nations" and "negotiations from a position of strength" policies. Continuing to follow the same old rut, the devaluation of the U.S. dollar this time will surely not further improve the U.S. trade balance but on the contrary, will only cause the prestige of the U.S. dollar and economy to further weaken and the trade and monetary war between the United States and Japan and western Europe to become increasingly more severe. This is an extremely strict and inevitable pattern in the capitalist trade and monetary relations at the present time.

FOOTNOTES

1. Soviet magazine Novaya Zhizn', No 1, 1973: Material of the Economic Research Institute.

2. Hearing of the U.S. Senate Foreign Policy Committee
- Economic Report, 1 January 1972.
- U.S. News and World Report, 13 January 1972 and 5 February 1973.
- Playboy, April 1970.

3. U.S. News and World Report, 4 October 1971.

4. Le Monde, 12 October 1971.

5. U.S. News and World Report, 11 September 1972.

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