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# Southeast Asia Report

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Tap Chi Cong San

No. 9, September 1982

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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

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## BUILD AND DEFEND THE COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82, pp 1-4 BK

[Editorial]

[Text] The date 2 September 1945 has gone down in Vietnam's history as one of the most glorious days of the nation. On that day, in the capital of Hanoi President Ho Chi Minh read the /Declaration of Independence/ [slantlines denote boldface as published]. Representing the Vietnamese people, he solemnly declared to the world: "All nations in the world were born equal; any nation has the right to live, the right to seek happiness and the right to be free.... The country of Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence; it has become a free and independent country. The Vietnamese nation, as a whole, is determined to devote its spirit, its forces and its human and material resources to defending firmly its right to freedom and independence."

The Vietnamese revolutionary state was founded on that day.

The founding of the state of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam--marked a new era in the age-old history of development of the Vietnamese nation. Under the leadership of the communist party led by President Ho Chi Minh, our people revolted and toppled the colonialist regime of nearly 100 years, eliminated the monarchy of scores of centuries and established the people's power throughout the country.

Winning power is a basic requirement of the revolution. Having won power, the Vietnamese people successfully ended a stage of extremely arduous struggle against imperialism and its lackey--the feudal forces--to liberate themselves. The Vietnamese revolutionary state was the offspring of the victorious August revolution (1945). This was the result of scores of years of extremely glorious fighting and sacrifices of the Vietnamese working class and people under the glorious communist party's leadership.

The victory of the August revolution and the birth of the Vietnamese revolutionary state marked an extremely great change in the Vietnamese nation's history. From being an enslaved people, the Vietnamese people became masters of their country; and as masters, they fought to defend their country and worked to rebuild it.

The victorious August revolution and the birth of the Vietnamese revolutionary state were a heavy blow to imperialism and its colonialist system. The U.S.-led imperialist forces colluded with each other in resolutely annihilating the nascent Vietnamese revolutionary state. Covered by the British imperialists and assisted by the U.S. imperialists, the French colonialists waged a war of aggression in an attempt to reimpose the colonialist ruling yoke on the Vietnamese people. After the French imperialists had been defeated, the U.S. imperialists took their place and launched an extremely ruthless war of aggression in order to stand in the way of the Vietnamese revolution.

Why were the imperialists so intent on opposing and destroying the Vietnamese revolution? Because Vietnam was the first colony to achieve success in carrying out the revolution along the Marxist-Leninist line, according to which the revolutionary power was placed under the leadership of the communist party and the leader of the communist party became the head of the revolutionary state. The fact that a Vietnam was liberated from the colonialist yoke and followed the socialist path would be a strong encouragement for the oppressed Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples to revolt and smash the fetters of slavery and choose the socialist path. This would pose a major threat to the colonialist system of imperialism. In the present era--the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale--the birth of a socialist Vietnam would accelerate the collapse of imperialism and the complete victory of socialism. Therefore, international imperialism was determined to obstruct the Vietnamese revolution.

Under the leadership of the party headed by President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people throughout the country were resolved to fight to protect the revolutionary regime. As masters of their own country, the Vietnamese people employed the revolutionary state's apparatus as a sharp instrument to protect the revolutionary gains. The Vietnamese revolutionary state played a great role in integrating our people's material and spiritual strength in the struggles against the French and U.S. imperialists. With their unyielding, arduous and very heroic struggle during 30 consecutive years, the Vietnamese people defeated the French and then the U.S. imperialists, thereby firmly defending their revolutionary state. From the August revolution (19 August 1945), the Dien Bien Phu victory (7 May 1954) to the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign which liberated Saigon and the whole of southern Vietnam (30 April 1975); and from the emergence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (2 September 1945) to the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2 July 1976), all these are developments of the glorious building of the Vietnamese nation in the present era. After the Van Lang and the Great Vietnam eras, this is the third era of national building in the thousands of years of history of Vietnam.

It has almost become a law of history that whenever the Vietnamese people are busily building their country, the ruling circle of the giant nation to the north will wage a war of aggression against Vietnam. Chinese big-nation expansionism and hegemonism is a permanent threat to the existence of an independent and sovereign Vietnamese state. Not long after defeating Western imperialism and unifying the country, the Vietnamese people are faced with new threats created by hostile policy of the reactionary group in the Chinese

leadership. Nurturing the frantic ambition to be the middle kingdom controlling other countries, the Beijing reactionary leadership regards an independent, unified and socialist Vietnam as a great obstacle to their scheme of expansionism to rule Southeast Asia in order to advance toward ruling the world. They waged a war of aggression against our country in two prongs. On one hand they used the Pol Pot clique, their henchmen, to sabotage our country at its southwest border; on the other hand, they sent 600,000 troops across the entire northern border area of our fatherland. Enhancing the undaunted tradition and the heroic will of our nation, the Vietnamese people and armed forces fought steadfastly and defeated the two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their henchmen. The victory of our people and armed forces in these two wars to defend the fatherland is of great historic significance. It indicates that our nation at present has sufficient spirit and strength and know how to defeat the great Han expansionism and hegemonism in order to firmly defend the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Despite their ignominious defeat, the Beijing reactionaries have not given up their scheme to subjugate our country. Supported and assisted by U.S. imperialism, they are waging a war of sabotage against our country militarily, politically, economically and culturally by using various forces and many very villainous tricks in order to create conditions to wage a large-scale war against us. This situation requires the Vietnamese people to consistently enhance their vigilance to cope with the schemes and acts of war provocation being conducted by the reactionary group in the Chinese leadership and other bellicose imperialist forces. Tasks concerning combat-readiness to defend the fatherland require that "utmost efforts by our party, people and the armed forces must be integrated to /strive to defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, and at the same time to ensure that our country is always ready and has sufficient strength to defeat the enemy under all circumstances."/ [slantlines denote boldface as published] (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Political report of the Party Central Committee at the Fifth VCP Congress)

To build a country is difficult, but to defend it is much more difficult. It is absolutely wrong to contend that we can enjoy peace with our country has gained independence. In the history of our nation, many times we regained our independence and then fell under foreign occupation. During the Trung Sisters' era our nation gained independence for 3 years and then was occupied by a foreign country. During the Ly Bon and Trieu Quang Phuc period our nation lived 62 years in independence and again was occupied by foreign country. After living for many centuries in independence, Emperor Ho Quy Ly and sons and the Nguyen Dynasty surrendered to foreign occupation. It is obvious that when we regain independence if we do not enhance our vigilance, positively strengthen our forces and remain ready to fight against foreign aggression we may again fall into the disaster of foreign occupation.

Tasks concerning national defense and building are closely associated. Only when the country is firmly defended can we engage in national construction, and through national construction can we build our forces to defend the country.

What path should we follow to build our country? The selection of this path will determine the success or failure of the national defense task. Due to the limited nature of history in the ancient time, after defeating foreign rebel aggressors and regaining independence, leaders of national liberation struggles sought to establish feudalist imperial courts to oppress the people, thereby creating a stage of exploitation between landlords and peasants and disunity among compatriots who oppressed, exploited and killed one another. As a result, our country has weakened and foreign rebel aggressors took the opportunity to subjugate our country. Today, if we follow the capitalist path in which the bourgeoisie exploit the worker class, this will create a profound class discrimination and a fierce struggle among the compatriots, and as a result, foreign occupation of our country is unavoidable. Only by following the socialist path to eliminate class discrimination and the system of man exploiting man and to encourage the people's right to collective mastery, can we implement our national principle which says: "As compatriots we must love each other." And when faced with foreign rebel aggressors "the people throughout the country must integrate their strength to fight." Consequently, the national defense task requires our people to carry out simultaneously the three revolutions of building the socialist collective mastery system, the socialist large-scale production system and the building of the new culture and new socialist men. Only when socialist national industrialization is accelerated and the socialist material and technical bases are strengthened can we have a strong force to defend the country.

Building socialism triumphantly and standing ready to fight to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland are two strategic tasks set forth by the Fifth VCP Congress for the entire party, the armed forces and the people. It is also a noble ideal and a struggle objective of every Vietnamese.

President Ho Chi Minh taught: "The Hung Kings devoted much effort to establishing the country; we now must together defend our nation." From generation to generation, the Vietnamese people must forever impress in their memory this teaching by President Ho Chi Minh and must strive to implement it triumphantly.

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## ADVANCING TO COMPLETE THE TWO STRATEGIC TASKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 82 pp 5-20

[Address by To Huu, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the formal meeting to commemorate National Day, 2 September 1982]

[Text] Revered General Secretary Le Duan,  
Revered Chairman of the Council of State, Truong Chinh,  
Revered Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pham Van Dong,  
Dear Presidium,  
Dear International Guests,  
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Today, together with the compatriots of the entire country, we are happily celebrating the 37th anniversary of the success of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker, farmer state in Southeast Asia and the present day Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Every time we celebrate these two glorious days, we become even more proud of our heroic fatherland and people and acquire greater energy and determination to advance to new victories.

In 37 years of continuous fighting, our people overcame countless hardships and challenges and recorded three brilliant feats of arms: they won victory over the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese reactionary aggressors, thereby protecting our independence and sovereignty, reunified the entire country and began advancing the entire country to socialism.

Through each victory, our compatriots have become increasingly aware of the great strength of the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," of the spirit of national solidarity and international solidarity, of the socialist system and the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and have become ever more confident in the steady leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the party of the working class and laboring people, the party of the revered President Ho Chi Minh, the party of the intelligence and the conscience of Vietnam!

In March, 1982, our people enthusiastically celebrated an important historic event: the holding of the 5th National Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party, which set forth the objectives and guidelines for the 1980's. We fully believe that the resolutions of the 5th Congress of the Party will surely encourage our entire party, all our people and our entire army to display greater revolutionary heroism and make every effort to overcome every difficulty and move steadily and strongly forward to successfully complete our two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

During the past year, two changes have clearly occurred in our country's economic and cultural development, changes that have involved encouraging achievements.

In agriculture, following the victory recorded in the 1981 10th month season, we recorded a major bumper crop during the 1982 winter-spring season, producing the largest output of rice ever. In the Red River Delta and the Mekong River Delta as well as in the central coastal region, the singlemost noticeable factor has been the emergence of districts that are achieving high yields, yields of 4 to 5 tons per hectare per season and 8 to 10 tons per hectare per year, thereby opening fine prospects for grain production. It is regrettable that the production of the various subsidiary food crops (corn, potatoes and cassava) declined significantly in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, consequently grain output for the entire year only increased by 140 tons.

The rather significant development in the production of food crops and industrial crops, especially soybeans, peanuts, sugarcane, tobacco, tea, jute rushes, mulberries, coconuts, rubber and so forth, shows diverse prospects for many areas of the country. Continued progress has been recorded in the buffalo, cattle, hog and poultry sectors.

The relatively comprehensive victory recorded by agricultural production proves the effectiveness of the new policies, the new advances in science and technology and the new advances in management, especially within the localities and installations. During this past year, in contrast to many previous years during which we had to import large quantities of grain, we made an effort for the first time to meet an important portion of our food needs despite the fact that fewer technical materials were available than in previous years and the fact that the population has grown by 6 million since the liberation of the South. Facts have increasingly shown that if we concentrate more of the efforts of the various sectors and levels on the foremost front, namely, on agriculture, accelerate cooperativization in the South, strengthen and perfect the new production relations throughout the country, further improve management and economic policies and provide additional material and technical bases, first to the key areas, we will surely be able to create an important stage of development in agriculture in the years ahead.

In the production of marine products, as a result of starting to change the management mechanism and overcoming the difficulties with fuel and equipment, production increased by 27 percent compared to the same period of time last year. Deserving of attention is that the fishing trade and the cultivation of shrimp are developing in many large areas of salt water, brackish water and fresh water in the Mekong River Delta, along the central seacoast and in the North. The "Uncle Ho fishpond" movement is spreading throughout the country more with each passing day.

The forestry sector has made new efforts regarding the harvesting of timber and the acceleration of the afforestation movement; however, forest conservation has not been carried out well and the random destruction of forests has not been stopped; management has been improved slowly and suitable policies have not been promptly adopted in order to encourage the people to plant forests, protect the forests and harvest forestry products in a planned manner.

Against the background of major imbalances in the supply of technical materials, raw materials, energy and fuels, the industrial sectors, as a result of new advances made in the management and organization of production, have begun to display dynamism and creativity, especially on the basic level, as a result of which their output value during the first 6 months of the year increased nearly 20 percent compared to the same period of time last year.

Electricity production has increased by 6 percent and coal production has met the plan quota. The engineering and metals sector has exceeded its plan for the production of tractors, pumps, electric motors, diesel engines, the rolling of steel and the production of spare parts for automobiles, tractors, dredges and barges. Cement production has increased by 27 percent; the Bim Son Cement Plant, a large project that we are building with the help of the Soviet Union, has gone into phase one production. The chemicals sector has changed for the better, with the production of phosphate fertilizer exceeding the plan quota.

Consumer goods production has increased in many important sectors: silk cloth production has increased by 41 percent and many textile enterprises have achieved a high rate of increase of production; shoe production has increased by 28 percent and the production of writing paper for students has increased by 77 percent. The Vinh Phu Paper Mill has carried out first-phase production and is completing its new pulp system; the production of civilian porcelain products has increased by 60 percent and the production of sundries has increased by 59 percent. Despite encountering many difficulties with imported raw materials and supplies, the food products industry has still managed to increase its production by 12 percent and the tobacco sector, as a result of boldly improving its management mechanism and organization of production, has rapidly increased its production nearly two-fold compared to the same period of time last year.

In many localities, especially in Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, Da Nang and so forth, the small industry and artisan sector, displaying resourcefulness and skill, have actively looked for domestic sources of raw materials and supplies and have

developed their production at a rapid rate to a point where it constitutes a rather large percentage of the industrial production of the entire country and have produced many additional products, thereby meeting the needs of everyday life and exportation.

One new factor in industrial production at this time is that many forms of federation and cooperation in production under the guidance of the state are emerging among state-operated enterprises, cooperatives and small industry and artisan households, thereby creating markedly higher economic returns. This is a correct method of operating, one whose development must be guided.

As a result of concentrating our investments in them and improving their management, the key capital construction sites have recorded major achievements and achieved the overall rate of construction of the plan with high quality: the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Vung Tau oil and gas project, the Lam Thao phosphate fertilizer project, the Dau Tieng water conservancy project, the Bim Son, Hoang Thach and Ha Tien Cement Plants, the Cao Son, Mong Duong, Mao Khe, Vang Danh and other coal mines, the Nha Trang, Hanoi, Vinh and other fiber mills, etc. A new factor of significance is that many localities have applied the guideline "the state and the people working together" and mobilized local capital and labor to build many new projects, such as schools, child care centers, hospitals, bridges, roads and so forth, thereby improving the lives of the people in a practical way.

The communications-transportation sector has also begun to change. North-south transportation has increased by 14 percent compared to the same period of time last year, the receiving of imports has improved, the Haiphong port has undergone a marked change and the productivity of cargo handling has increased nearly 50 percent. However, because many material and technical difficulties still exist and, to an important degree, because management is still inferior and the spirit of responsibility and sense of discipline are not high, communications and transportation are still a weakness at this time and still pose a very large obstacle to production and everyday life.

In the field of distribution and circulation, because of the major efforts made by the various sectors and levels and because of the patriotism of the people, the state has better control over products than it did last year. The quantity of grain mobilized has increased by 10 percent. Throughout the country, farmers have eagerly fulfilled their obligation to pay taxes and sell grain and various types of agricultural products. Marked progress has been made in the delivery of industrial products by enterprises to the state.

However, distribution and circulation are still a very difficult and complex contemporary problem: prices are still fluctuating, the market is still not being managed well and socialist commerce (state stores and marketing cooperatives) is developing slowly; many efforts have been made to supply grain, food products and consumer goods to the people but the supplying of these products under ration standards to manual workers and civil servants has, at times,

not been prompt and not provided them with products of the proper quality, especially in the cities and the centralized industrial complexes; profiteering and smuggling have not been stopped; the management of cash and the mobilization of capital held by the people are not being carried out well; the wage system has been improved slowly and so forth. All of these factors are creating major difficulties in production and everyday life. At present, distribution and circulation are also a field in which there is a sharp, hour to hour, day to day struggle between socialism and capitalism, between ourselves and the enemy. Therefore, distribution and circulation are our foremost concern, are the most pressing issue that our state is making every effort to resolve in its economic management.

During the first 6 months of this year, export-import activities failed to meet requirements and demanded greater efforts, but, compared to the same period of time last year, the value of export goods increased by 50 percent. The exportation of agricultural products and processed agricultural products increased by 79 percent, maritime products by 48 percent and forestry products nearly two-fold, with the exportation of many products of high value increasing at a high rate, such as rubber, tea, coffee, tin, wood and so forth. With the new policy providing incentive for exports, many sectors, localities and large production installations are making an effort to create many additional sources of export goods while fulfilling their obligations to the state and creating the conditions for providing additional technical materials for the production of their sector and locality.

Socialist transformation and the effort to strengthen the new production relations are continuing to change for the better. In the rural areas of the North, a new, qualitative change is occurring at agricultural cooperatives and the division of labor along specialized lines is developing in depth. In the coastal provinces of central Vietnam and in the Central Highlands, the vast majority of farmers have joined cooperatives and production collectives; the superior nature of the new production relations are exerting an increasingly large attraction. In the provinces of Nam Bo, the redistribution of cropland has been accelerated, thereby bringing renewed enthusiasm to poor farmers; the movement to build production collectives and production solidarity teams is steadily developing. There can no longer be any doubt of the tremendous impact being exerted in many areas by the product contract policy and a number of policies that provide incentive for agricultural production, can no longer be any doubt that these policies have encouraged the spirit of voluntary labor and tapped the creativity of collective farmers, have encouraged technological advances, stimulated the cooperativization movement, strengthened the new production relations and created a new, increasingly stable and improved life in the countryside. However, we must promptly correct the deviations that have occurred, especially the use of "non-specific contracts," in order to insure that the movement develops in the correct direction.

As regards private industry, appropriate attention has not been given to the transformation of private industry during the past year and transformation has not been closely linked to the reorganizing of production in order to create new production capacity. Within commerce, transformation is somewhat lax. At

some places, private commerce still exists and is disrupting the market. Too many strata of small merchants have developed and these small merchants have not been organized, managed or utilized in a way that benefits socialist commerce. Continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce is a major issue to which we must attach importance in the coming period.

Education and scientific, cultural, art, public health and social activities have continued to develop. The percentage of students passing their basic general school and middle school graduation examinations is higher than in previous years. All of our students who have taken the international examinations scored high marks. In keeping with the policies of the party and state, scientific and technical activities have been more closely linked to production and everyday life and have recorded many outstanding achievements. Many new talents have blossomed in literature and art and the mass literature and art movement is spreading more with each passing day on the basic level. The public health sector has made many efforts to stop epidemics, develop traditional medicine and develop domestic sources of pharmaceuticals. Physical culture and sports are becoming an increasingly developed mass movement in the cities and the countryside. Social activities are being developed ever more deeply among the people and care is being provided for wounded veterans, the families of war dead, orphaned children, the disabled and the victims of the old society.

Our heroic armed forces, both our army and our public security forces, who are still always worthy of being the brave soldiers of the country, guard the borders of the fatherland night and day and protect the peaceful, quiet lives of the people. The compatriots of the entire country continue to always feel deep love for our cadres and soldiers who are fighting and dying to fulfill our noble international obligation to the two countries of Kampuchea and Laos. Our people have every right to be proud of and confident in our army and security forces; however, we cannot relax our vigilance for one moment in the face of the situation in which the U.S. imperialists, Beijing ruling circles and the various reactionaries are still scheming to encroach upon our territory and wage a multi-faceted war of sabotage in our country. We also cannot tolerate the present social situation in which many speculators, persons earning their livings illegitimately, hoodlums and gangsters are disrupting social order and security; all of these persons are enemies of the people, enemies of socialism that our state must forthrightly punish.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The actual situation over the past year, with its new advances and victories, permit us to believe that if, under objective conditions involving very many difficulties, we know how to concretize the line of the party by means of correct plans and policies, by means of a management mechanism suited to the circumstances of the country, if we know how to tap the spirit of self-reliance and the tremendous creativity of the mass of manual and mental laborers to insure the unity and harmony of the interests of the state, the collective and the laborer, the central level, the local level and the basic level, we are

entirely capable of gradually overcoming the objective difficulties we face, creating increasingly high labor productivity and gradually winning victory for socialism.

Clearly, during the past year, the initial improvements that have been made to the management mechanism along the lines of removing the constraints of management characterized by bureaucratic centralism, administrativism and subsidization and partially developing the planning independence and financial autonomy of the production installation, the locality and the sector have begun to awaken the dynamism and heighten the spirit of responsibility of every collective and every laboring person. The policies providing incentive for production, such as the use of product contracts within agriculture, the contract wage, piecework wage and bonus policy within industry, the export-import policy, the science and technology policy, which provides awards for innovations and inventions and so forth, all of these policies that provide material and psychological incentive have begun to cause a new wind to blow in society, have begun to create a new enthusiasm for work among the masses, thereby creating a strong moving force behind the socialist emulation movement that is surging throughout the country.

On the other hand, we must also be aware of the fact that building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland are an extremely difficult and arduous undertaking. Our country has not yet carried out socialist industrialization and does not have strong material and technical bases, consequently, we cannot overcome the serious imbalances that exist within the national economy in a short period of time. At the same time, we must take a very harsh attitude toward our subjective shortcomings on all levels and in all sectors, from the central level to the basic level, in the areas of economic and social management. We must also forthrightly state that at a time when the majority of our cadres and party members are upholding and enhancing their fine revolutionary qualities, are making sacrifices in production, combat and work and are setting examples in everyday life, more than a few persons are committing serious shortcomings. This is the result of a lack of a sense of responsibility and will to struggle, of bureaucracy and bossism, of intimidation of the masses, liberalism, decentralization, partialism, localism, misappropriation, waste, degeneration, deviancy and so forth. Clearly, these shortcomings are reducing the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the system of collective ownership by more than a small amount and are a very large obstacle to our people's revolutionary undertaking.

The path that lies before us is clear. Our entire party, all our people and our entire army must strengthen their solidarity, firmly adhere to and properly apply the line of the 5th Congress of the Party, promptly improve their management and their economic, cultural and social policies and stimulate progress in every area of activity. These, of course, are not easy jobs. However, the victories that have been won in many areas, especially on the local and basic levels, have provided us with much valuable experience. If we know how to tap the collective intelligence of all levels and sectors and promptly review and disseminate these valuable experiences, we will surely win gradual, strong and steady victory.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The 5th Party Congress observed that our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression. This situation faces us with two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In the immediate future and in the 1980's, we must endeavor to achieve the following four general economic and social targets:

1. Meeting the most pressing and essential needs and gradually stabilizing and eventually improving the material and cultural lives of the people, beginning with firmly resolving the grain and food problem and better meeting the needs for clothing, education, health care, shelter, travel and the other essential needs;
2. Continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism, primarily with a view toward stimulating agricultural production and the production of consumer goods and exports while providing more technical equipment for the other economic sectors and preparing for stronger development on the part of heavy industry in the subsequent stage;
3. Completing socialist transformation in the southern provinces and continuing to improve the socialist production relations throughout the country;
4. Meeting the needs involved in defending the country, strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security.

Agricultural production, especially the production of grain and food products, is the front of foremost importance. We must truly concentrate the labor, supplies, capital and operations of the various economic and cultural sectors on this front in order to bring about an immediate and important change in 1983 and the next several years.

Our pressing targets are: producing grain, which includes rice and subsidiary food crops, in quantities large enough to meet the needs of domestic consumption and provide the necessary reserves; strongly developing the production of the various types of vegetables and legumes, especially soybeans, peanuts, sugarcane, tobacco, tea, jute, rushes, mulberries, cotton, coconut and the various types of fruit; expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of rubber and coffee; and accelerating the production of livestock and poultry in all three segments of the economy, the state-operated segment, the collective segment and the household segment.

Throughout the country as well as within the scope of each district, we are determined to successfully resolve the food problem and provide food of higher quality to the people of the entire country in the next few years, create abundant



sources of raw materials for industry, especially the food product, textile, paper, pharmaceutical and other industries and allocate many valuable agricultural products for exportation in trade for materials and equipment for agriculture and the national economy.

We will first try to accelerate the intensive cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops and the other crops, quickly create "high yield" areas, actively practice multi-cropping and raise the coefficient of cropland use while steadily opening new land to cultivation in the various localities, with particular importance attached to the southern provinces, especially in the Nam Bo Delta and eastern Nam Bo, the Central Highlands and in the mountain provinces of the North.

The fishing sector will make full use of bodies of salt water, brackish water and fresh water to catch and cultivate marine products and will process fish, shrimp and the other types of marine products in order to improve the quality of our people's diet and create important sources of export goods.

The forestry sector must make an effort to adopt a good plan and policy for conserving and harvesting existing forests and must launch a movement among the people to plant forests in all areas, thereby meeting our very large need for lumber and firewood.

The activity programs for agriculture, forestry and fishing demand that we quickly complete the overall and the specific planning of all areas from the large areas to each district, establish the allocation of crops and species of livestock as well as the seasons for raising them, strengthen material bases (water conservancy, fertilizer, insecticide and so forth) and provide incentive for the research and the widespread application of scientific and technological advances. At the same time, it is necessary to improve management activities and economic policies with a view toward providing incentive for farmers to engage in production with more enthusiasm.

The distribution of labor, which is a task of strategic importance, must also be primarily oriented toward developing agriculture, forestry and fishing and opening new economic zones. This major job, which has been carried out slowly in the recent past, must be planned in a more positive and sound manner in the years ahead within each locality as well as among the various areas of the country in order to insure economic returns and increasingly stable living conditions for the people.

While developing agriculture, the various light industrial sectors must rapidly move forward to meet the need to process agricultural products, marine products and forestry products and the need to produce consumer goods for the people. The various heavy industrial sectors (electricity, coal, engineering, chemicals, building materials and so forth) must first focus their efforts on the targets of supporting agricultural production and consumer goods production. Specific plans must be adopted at an early date for reorganizing, making investments in depth in and fully utilizing the capacity of existing enterprises, especially

those enterprises that are of major importance to the national economy. In the localities, we should develop the necessary types of enterprises on a medium and small scale and in a manner closely linked to existing local sources of raw materials and supplies. Special importance must be attached to widely developing small industry and the artisan trades in all precincts, districts, subwards and villages. In capital construction, efforts must be focused on the key projects supporting agricultural and industrial production, which must be constructed at the projected rate and must meet qualitative standards. Building housing, schools, hospitals and so forth, which is a pressing requirement of the people in the cities, industrial zones and rural areas, especially in the South and the mountains, must be given appropriate attention and must be actively carried out under the guideline "the central level and the locality working together, the state and the people working together."

The capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, which are the two largest economic centers of the country, must be more strongly developed in the years ahead in terms of their industrial production capacity in order to meet needs throughout the country and meet export requirements.

In summary, agriculture, light industry (which includes small industry and the artisan trades) and heavy industry must be closely linked together within an industrial-agricultural economic structure throughout the country and within each locality and within an agro-industrial economic structure within the scope of each district. This is the pressing requirement in the present reorganization of production and construction for the purpose of achieving high economic returns.

In order to support industrial and agricultural production and support the lives of the people well, the communications-transportation sector must promptly be strengthened and developed in the correct direction, especially in the key agricultural areas, the centralized industrial complexes and the mountains. It is necessary to quickly overcome the very many difficulties now being encountered in communications and transportation between the South and the North, in the Mekong River Delta, in the Central Highlands and in the mountains of the North. We must develop upon the advantages afforded by water routes in areas that have many rivers and streams; develop north-south coastal transportation and long distance ocean transportation; expand the highway network to all districts and villages in the countryside and the mountains; and make universal use of rudimentary transportation by means of sampan and draft power (buffalo, cattle and horses). We must reorganize the mechanized transport sector (motor transport and railroad transportation) and thoroughly economize on gasoline, oil and supplies. We must be determined to put an end to the lax discipline and the technical laxity in all sectors: the railroad sector, the highway sector and the water route sector. We must gradually develop the aviation sector and meet domestic travel needs as well as international needs.

Distribution and circulation are a burning issue at this time, one that has a very large influence upon production and everyday life. We must urgently try to successfully meet the following pressing targets: concentrating the sources of agricultural products and industrial goods in the hands of the state; tightly

managing the financial and monetary systems; and stabilizing prices. We must quickly improve the purchasing of grain and agricultural products, properly implement the two-way contracts between the state and farmers and insure the full delivery of industrial products (including the products of small industry and the artisan trades) to the state. We must rapidly expand the socialist commerce network (state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives) all the way down to the basic level in the cities and the countryside in order to control all wholesale sales and the vast majority of retail sales; we must quickly improve the mode of distribution to insure that products are supplied in exact accordance with ration standards, qualitative standards and time schedules to manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. We must tightly manage the market and strictly enforce the law concerning profiteers, smugglers, manufacturers of fake products and persons who operate illegal businesses. The agricultural, industrial and commercial tax policies must be implemented well. We must correct the very large shortfall in the collection of taxes that we have at this time and quickly adopt a reasonable and effective policy for mobilizing the cash held by the people, including foreign currency, for use in production and business in ways that benefit the national economy. We must strongly develop the system of banks and credit cooperatives on the basic level. We must be determined to put an end to the present rise in interest rates.

The economy of our country still faces many difficulties and major imbalances that cannot be easily corrected in a short period of time. Today, more than ever before, we must display a high sense of frugality in production and in our social life as well as in our personal lives. Not only must we develop the sense of practicing frugality, we must also rapidly incorporate the practicing of frugality within the management mechanism. Frugality, which is considered a national policy, must become an ethical standard in daily life, a system of discipline in production. All misappropriation and waste, be they large or small, are a crime. We must imbue everyone with the viewpoint of "only consuming that which is produced by the country" and must not tolerate the extravagant lifestyle of some persons who earn their livings illegitimately at a time when the lives of the laboring people throughout the country are lives of many deprivations.

In order to stimulate the development of our country's economy, we must, in addition to making full use of every domestic capability, attach full importance to international assistance and cooperation, primarily as regards the Soviet Union and the countries within CEMA and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea. We also stand ready to engage in economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other countries on the basis of the principle of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefiting both sides.

One task of strategic significance of all our people is that of making every effort to strongly and rapidly increase the value of our exports in order to import the materials and equipment needed for the economic activities of the country. Every level, every sector and every production installation must first try to meet and exceed the quotas of the state plan concerning export goods; at the same time, they must take the initiative in exporting other products in order to create additional conditions for developing their production. They

should not sit and wait for supplies to arrive from the state nor should they engage in competition to buy or sell goods for exportation, thereby pushing prices upward and disrupting the market.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

All of our economic activities at this time face one pressing requirement, improving the economic management mechanism, in order to thoroughly abolish bureaucratic centralism, administrativism and subsidization, remove every unreasonable constraint and strongly develop the initiative and creativity of the sectors, localities and installations, of every collective and each laborers. We have made initial efforts to improve economic management in the correct direction at installations within agriculture and industry.

Soon, we will establish a rational division of labor and division of levels between the central level and the local level, thereby upholding the centralism and unity of the central level while developing the initiative and creativity of the local level, tapping the combined strength of the entire country and creating the well coordinated development of all sectors and levels. On the basis of the principle of insuring the harmony of interests among the central level, the local level and the basic level and among the state, the collective and the laborer, we will surely mobilize the spirit and the talents, the energies and the money of the people of the entire country in order to successfully build socialism in every field of the economy and culture.

In the process of improving the management of the economy, special importance must be attached to building and strengthening the district level. This is the key in creating a combined strength within the district, closely coordinating agriculture with industry within a unified economic structure, coordinating production with distribution and circulation, coordinating the economy with the culture and the national defense and security system, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, thoroughly developing the potentials we have in our labor, arable land, sectors and trades and gradually advancing to large-scale socialist production. The various levels and sectors, from the central level to the provincial and municipal level, must adopt plans for improving economic management in a practical and urgent manner and must attach particular importance to efficiently organizing their apparatus and assigning to it additional cadres who possess good qualities and are professionally skilled in order to effectively carry out this major program.

The socialist economy is the unification of production forces and production relations. In order to build the socialist economy, it is absolutely necessary to develop production forces at the same time as transforming production relations. Wavering or hesitating in socialist transformation or weakening socialist production relations weaken our effort in the struggle between the two ways of life and harm socialism.

South Vietnam was only recently liberated and the economy still consists of many different segments. To insure the victory of socialism, it is necessary to

expand the position of and develop the dominant role played by the state-operated economy. We must rely upon the state-operated economy and the collective economy to link the other segments of the economy together by means of suitable forms of organization and to transform and guide them within the orb of socialism. We must rapidly complete the redistribution of cropland in the rural areas of the South in order to, on this basis, gradually and steadily carry out the collectivization of agriculture under various forms and on increasingly high levels of development. Together with accelerating cooperativization and the development of production within agriculture, very much importance must be attached to building marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives and organizing the new cultural life in the countryside with a view toward accentuating the superior nature of the new production relations and creating a major attraction to farmers, especially the stratum of middle farmers. The localities of the South, especially Nam Bo, must closely guide the cooperativization movement and insure the virtual completion of socialist transformation during this 5-year plan. At places that have established production collectives, it is necessary to adopt a plan for taking positive steps to upgrade production collectives to cooperatives of reasonable size and develop them toward large-scale, socialist production. At the same time, we must accelerate the socialist transformation of private commerce, transportation and industry through suitable forms of organization.

Emphasizing the need to strengthen the state-operated economy and the collective economy does not mean giving light attention to the household economy. To the contrary, the household economy must be considered a component that supports the socialist economy and its development must be encouraged and guided in the correct direction, not only in the countryside, but in the cities as well, especially in the areas of livestock and poultry production, pisciculture, bee keeping, fruit cultivation, the cultivation of timber bearing trees and the expansion of the artisan and handicraft trade sector.

Together with improving the organization of production and the management of the economy, we must attach very much importance to science and technology, which are a tremendous production force. We have a corps of scientific and technical cadres who have a post-graduate, college or middle school education numbering more than 800,000 persons and have more than 1,200,000 technical workers but these persons are not being utilized well. We must rapidly improve organizational work and take practical steps to closely coordinate science and technology with the economy, with industrial production, agriculture and communications-transportation. Our state has adopted a specific policy concerning this but it has not been widely implemented. The various levels and sectors, beginning with the economic management and scientific-technical agencies, must adopt plans for linking the economy to science and technology within a tight system of operational regulations. They must form paths from the laboratory, from the classroom to the fields, factories, worksites and so forth. We must create every possible condition for science and technology to become a direct production force and for every scientific and technical cadre, including the Vietnamese overseas, to truly support production, raise labor productivity and economic returns and contribute as much as possible to the fatherland. This is also the

fervent aspiration of those persons active in science and technology who are rich in loyalty. The pressing requirement at this time is to effectively initiate the key scientific and technical programs supporting this 5-year plan and subsequent plans.

The reform of education must continue to be carried out in a positive and steady manner. We must greatly intensify the effort to provide general school education in the South, especially in the Mekong River Delta and in the ethnic minority areas so that these areas quickly catch up to the other areas. Importance must be attached to providing a comprehensive education, providing occupational counselling and closely coordinating the school and the family with society and studies with productive labor.

Cultural and art activities must be developed and their quality must be improved, especially at production installations and among youths and teenagers. We must eradicate the various types of reactionary, decadent, backward culture and eradicate bad customs and superstition.

It is necessary to do a better job of protecting the health of the people, with importance attached to disease prevention sanitation, improving the quality of treatment and the spirit in which patients are served at public health facilities and properly implementing the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh that "a physician must be as good and kind as a mother." We must closely coordinate modern medical science with traditional national medicine. We must strongly develop domestic sources of pharmaceuticals in order to meet the pressing need for ordinary medicines. We must widely develop the physical culture and sports movement from the cities to the countryside and make it a part of the new life of society, of the new man.

We must fully concern ourselves with social work, provide a job to every laborer, especially in the cities, and care for the living conditions of wounded veterans, the families of war dead, the disabled, orphans and elderly persons who have no one to support them.

We must strengthen the national defense and security systems and closely coordinate national defense and security with the economy. Protecting the socialist fatherland is a sacred task of all our people and our entire army. The state has promulgated the Military Service Law; it is necessary to teach and mobilize all society, each family and all youths of draft age to comply with this law well.

We must closely coordinate the forces of the army and the public security sector with the mass movement in order to maintain security and order, thwart each scheme of sabotage of the enemy and repulse the negative phenomena in society.

The various levels of government, together with the mass organizations must especially concern themselves with the living conditions of soldiers, especially the soldiers in border areas and on the islands. We must continue to uphold the fine tradition of the years of the war of resistance: all the people caring for troops.

The task of protecting the fatherland is closely linked to the task of building socialism. We must adopt a specific plan and measures for closely coordinating the economy with the national defense and security systems. To the extent permitted by conditions, we must have the armed forces participate in economic construction, thereby helping to produce wealth for society and improve the living conditions of soldiers. Plans must be adopted for mobilizing the capacity of national defense enterprises, war supplies and discarded war materials for the production of consumer goods and instruments of production needed by the economy.

In socialist construction and economic and cultural development, cadres are of decisive significance and strong, practical steps must be taken in cadre work. To begin with, it is necessary to fully examine and effectively utilize the existing force of cadres, utilize them in the sectors for which they were trained in order to make use of the special skills of each person. The various levels and sectors must be determined to streamline their administrative apparatus and assign more cadres to districts and installations. Together with organizational measures, policies must be adopted that provide appropriate material incentive.

As regards the southern provinces, which have a large need for scientific, technical and economic management cadres, it is necessary to quickly transfer cadres from other localities and from sectors on the central level in order to meet the requirements of the economic, cultural and social development of each locality.

At the same time, we must attach special importance to the local training of cadres. We must improve the recruiting of students, giving priority to selecting students within the locality, especially persons who have participated in productive labor and combat, for training as cadres and technical workers for necessary sectors and trades and for utilization within the locality. It is necessary to rearrange the system of colleges, academies, middle schools and technical worker schools in a manner suited to the various sectors, trades, and economic areas. Importance must be attached to training cadres who are skilled in practical application in order to meet the need to accelerate the application of technological advances in production.

The effort to improve economic management and carry out cultural and social development cannot be a solid success if it is not properly coordinated with strengthening the socialist system of law and with the revolutionary movements of the masses. The pressing requirement at this time is for the various levels and sectors to fully comply with the general line and the economic line of the 5th Congress of the Party. We must formulate and amend regulations and policies, upgrade regulations and policies to laws, thoroughly teach the law among the various strata of the people and fully comply with the laws of the state. Clearly defined public services and crimes and fair rewards and penalties are requirements of the revolution as well as legitimate demands of the people. We must closely coordinate economic measures with educational and administrative measures and prevent the backward viewpoint of only attaching importance to

providing material incentive while giving light attention to encouraging revolutionary movements and cultivating an awareness of the ideals and ethical qualities of socialism among cadres and the masses.

It is necessary to widely assemble the masses within the mass organizations, especially in the southern provinces, conduct effective educational activities, provide guidance of activities so that they effectively support production and everyday life and launch an intense socialist emulation movement, launch true "festivals" of the masses.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

We are witnessing profound changes in international relations in the post-Vietnam period. During the past year, the world situation, although very tense and complex, has continued to develop in a manner increasingly favorable for the forces of revolution and peace.

The Reagan administration, in collaboration with the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, has continued its deep involvement in the nuclear arms race, continued to pursue the bankrupt economic "punishment" policy, intensified the activities against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, against the national liberation movement and the nationalist countries and seriously threatened world peace and the security of nations.

The adventurous policy of the bellicose imperialists and the international reactionaries has caused the struggle of the people of all countries to encounter more than a few difficulties and complications but it has not impeded the strong development of the three revolutionary currents nor impeded the inevitably victorious struggle by nations for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. To the contrary, the enemies of peace are finding that they must deal with an anti-nuclear war movement, a movement which, in essence, is the largest display of peace forces since the war of aggression against Vietnam, a movement that has attracted hundreds of millions of persons without regard for their politics, religion, race or language, throughout the world, especially in Europe and even in the United States. At the same time, a strong anti-American movement has spread throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The development of the situation during the past year has further accentuated the struggle between the two lines in international relations: the line of peace and the resolution of international disputes by means of negotiation of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and all peace loving countries and the line of the U.S. imperialists of collaborating with the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles, accelerating the arms race, starting a cold war, using armed force and imposing their will in international relations. Clearly, the line of pursuing the arms race, creating tensions and going against the interests and the aspirations of the people of the world has been defeated. The line of peace, friendship and cooperation of the socialist countries, especially the peace platform of the Soviet Union and the statements made by Comrade Brezhnev concerning the



unilateral pledge by the Soviet Union to not use nuclear weapons first and concerning a number of important initiatives related to the peace and security of the nations of Europe and Asia, have been and are strongly inspiring all progressive forces in the world to struggle for peace, repel the threat of nuclear war and engage in international cooperation. In this struggle of foremost importance, the forces of revolution are constantly strengthened and constantly grow and world peace is strengthened more with each passing day.

Today, 1 September, is International Peace Day. We, the people of Vietnam, enthusiastically support this important day and are even more determined to join the people of the entire world in intensifying the struggle for peace for the sake of life on our planet and to prevent the tragedy of nuclear war.

In Southeast Asia, due to the continuous efforts of the three countries of Indochina and the forces that desire a stable peace, many positive changes are occurring in the situation even though many obstacles still remain. The trend toward dialogue and the reduction of tensions among the countries within the region is developing. The policy of instigating military conflicts in Southeast Asia and surrounding and isolating Vietnam that is being pursued by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers has also been gradually defeated. Although they are encountering numerous difficulties, the people's of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are continuing to march steadily forward and are making every effort to struggle for peace in Southeast Asia and the goals of each country. The situation in Kampuchea is becoming increasingly stable and developing well. The solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between the Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea militant alliance and the Soviet Union have constantly been strengthened. World opinion and many persons within the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries have increasingly recognized that the main threat to the peace and stability of the region is the policy of expansion and hegemony of Beijing; the key problem that must be resolved in Southeast Asia is to abolish the threat posed by China to the three countries of Indochina and the only correct course for establishing a stable peace in Southeast Asia is the course of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN countries without intervention from the outside.

In the face of such international and regional situations, we must make every effort to implement the foreign policy of our party and state that was set forth by the 5th Congress with a view toward creating favorable international conditions for building and protecting our country. We are determined to defeat the policy of expansionism and big country hegemony of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in a scheme to weaken and annex our country. We are determined to defeat the multi-faceted war of sabotage unleashed by them and thwart their scheme to unleash another war of aggression in order to strengthen peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between Vietnam and the Soviet Union nearly 4 years ago has stronger vitality than ever before. The heartfelt

words of Leonid Brezhnev that "to the communists of the Soviet Union, uniting with Vietnam is a mandate of the heart and mind" reverberate in the hearts of our people as a very strong source of inspiration. We promise to forever strengthen our militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the great Soviet Union, the firm pillar of the revolution and world peace, the loyal friend of every nation on the planet. We will forever strengthen our special solidarity with the two fraternal, neighboring countries of Laos and Kampuchea and strengthen our friendship and cooperation with the other countries within the socialist community. This is the firm foundation of the foreign policy of our party and state, is the guarantee of victory in our people's cause of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

We will continue to develop our multi-faceted relations with the great Republic of India, with the non-aligned countries and the developing countries while broadening our relations with every other country and the international organizations for the sake of national independence and social progress, for the sake of peace and friendship among nations.

As regards the countries of Southeast Asia, we once again confirm that our policy is designed to achieve reconciliation, peaceful coexistence and cooperation among the countries within the region. The unilateral agreement of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to withdraw a number of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the peace proposals recently put forth by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three countries held on 7 July 1982 and the recent visit by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to a number of ASEAN countries once again express the peaceful policy and the attitude of good will of the three countries of Indochina and have been widely supported by public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world. The bellicose powers within Beijing ruling circles who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionaries have fabricated the so called "three faction coalition government" in order to conceal the genocidal face of the Pol Pot clique and deceive world opinion in a vain attempt to win Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations. It must be pointed out that each of the vain efforts to use the Pol Pot clique to oppose the revival of the people of Kampuchea is only designed to support the hegemonist and expansionist schemes of China in Southeast Asia and will only serve to further complicate the effort to resolve the problems that exist within the region. We hope that, for the sake of their own fundamental interests and for the sake of a stable peace in Southeast Asia and the world, the ASEAN countries will join with the countries of Indochina to remove every obstacle, engage in dialogue and negotiations on the basis of respecting one another's legitimate interests and eventually establish a Southeast Asia of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

As regards China, our stand has been clearly defined in the resolutions of the 5th Congress of the VCP. Our people always value their friendship with the people of China. Despite the hostile attitude of the Beijing authorities, our people still feel the same beautiful feelings for the people of China and hope to restore the traditional, long standing solidarity and friendship between the

peoples of our two countries, considering this relationship to be an extremely important factor in a stable peace in Southeast Asia. We have frequently proposed the signing of a treaty of peaceful coexistence between Vietnam and China and have made many constructive proposals designed to normalize the relations between our two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the resolution of disputes by means of negotiations. To date, the Chinese side has still not responded to these proposals and has continued to pursue a policy that goes against the interests of the people of China themselves. Despite this, we continue to stand behind these proposals. We hereby state that: on the basis of our policy of friendship and our good neighbor policy toward the people of China and until disagreements can be resolved, we stand ready to meet with the Chinese side on any level and at any place in order to look for measures which are acceptable to both sides that are designed to improve the atmosphere for the normalization of relations between the two countries and are consistent with the aspirations and interests of the peoples of the two countries as well as the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

Faithful to their international obligation, our people have strengthened their solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and strongly support the struggle by the peoples of all countries against the bellicose and aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists and the international reactionaries for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We confirm our sincere solidarity with the Polish United Workers Party, with the communists and people of fraternal Poland, and wholeheartedly support the correct, determined steps taken by the Polish Military Council of National Salvation to defeat every scheme of sabotage of the imperialists and reactionaries, restore order and security, restore and develop the economy, maintain and develop upon the achievements of Poland's socialist revolution and maintain the alliance with the Soviet Union and the countries within the socialist community.

We unite with and resolutely support the heroic people of Cuba in their work of building and protecting the Republic of Cuba, the strong bastion of socialism in the western hemisphere. We strongly denounce the schemes of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their threats to attack the Republic of Cuba.

No cruel force, no malicious scheme can conquer the heroic Palestinian people, a people who have continuously fought for independence and freedom for more than 30 years. With this unshakeable confidence, our people confirm their solidarity with and strong support of the just and inevitably victorious struggle of the Palestinians and the Arabs for the sake of their sacred basic national rights and resolutely demand that the Israeli aggressors and the U.S. imperialists immediately and unconditionally withdraw from Lebanon and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

Our people totally support the just struggle of the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to achieve their basic national rights and build

a life of prosperity and happiness. We will do everything possible to contribute to the unity of the non-aligned movement and develop the role of the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism for peace and national independence and to build a new international economic order.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

During the past year, we have recorded new achievements in our work of building and protecting the fatherland; although these achievements are only initial ones, they are of major significance and mark a positive change in our country's economic and social situation. The difficulties that we face are still many and the tasks that we face are very large but the course charted by the 5th Party Congress is a clear course. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, headed by the revered Le Duan, we will tighten our ranks and march enthusiastically forward. The potentials of our country, our people are very rich. With the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective ownership, with our increasingly improved economic management mechanism and with the tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our special solidarity with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea and the friendship of the progressive peoples of the world, we will surely achieve success in our work of building socialism and firmly protecting our beloved socialist Vietnamese fatherland!

In the face of every victory as well as every difficulty, our entire party, all our people and our entire army remember the revered Uncle Ho and his teachings. Now, more than ever before, we must keep the following teachings of Uncle Ho in mind:

"Be loyal to the country and filial to the people, complete every task, overcome every difficulty and win victory over every enemy!"

Compatriots and soldiers of the entire country, march bravely forward!

Long live the spirit of the August Revolution and National Day, 2 September!

There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom!

Everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people!

Long live the heroic people of Vietnam!

Long live the Socialist Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the glorious Vietnam Communist Party!

Long live the great solidarity of the fraternal countries within the socialist community!

The great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our undertaking!

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SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE LAW ON PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES RELATING TO SPECULATION,  
SMUGGLING, COUNTERFEITING OF COMMODITIES AND UNLAWFUL BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82 pp 21-25, 34 BK

[Article by Pham Dinh Tan]

[Text] Practices involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities and unlawful business transactions are products of the spontaneous development of capitalist production and business, and are phenomena typical of the nature of a capitalist society. In those countries where the socialist revolution has successfully taken place, it is necessary to struggle for a fairly long period against such vestiges of capitalism.

In our country, following the August revolution, the state promulgated various necessary legal documents to control the market and prevent and deal with practices involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities, unlawful business transactions and so forth.

For many years practices involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities and unlawful business transactions were generally limited and not serious and they were not a big concern of the legislative and judiciary organs. However, in recent years such phenomena have suddenly multiplied at an ever-increasing rate and reached fairly serious proportions. We are now witnessing a trend toward spontaneous capitalist development which, though still in the initial stage, has caused harmful consequences in many respects.

Beside people who have long taken up trading as their occupation, many laboring people have quit production and other legitimate jobs and shifted to trading business involving either local or long-distance travel, living on the profits they earn from price differentials. The number of traders has increased very rapidly and about 3 to 4 percent of them neither register their businesses nor pay taxes. Some former bourgeois traders have resumed their activities and a number of new bourgeois traders have emerged (despite the fact that the party's policy on the transformation of private capitalist businesses is aimed at eliminating capitalist businesses in the trade sector).

Capitalizing on national economic difficulties, many persons have bought off the market grain, foodstuffs, medicines, gasoline and oil, consumer goods,

technical supplies and various types of coupons, tickets and other documents good for commodities, supplies or services, thus disrupting the state's plans for collection and purchase and for distribution, creating shortages of goods in some localities at certain periods of time, rapidly pushing up prices and causing severe difficulties to consumers, especially to workers and civil servants who have a fixed income. A number of persons have also taken advantage of the shortages of commodities to earn riches by manufacturing and dealing in counterfeit commodities such as fake foodstuffs (food seasoning and canned milk, fake medicines, fake talcum powder, fake bicycle tires and tubes and so forth, thus taking money from the laboring people without meeting their needs and, even worse, doing them harm with the poisonous substances found in fake medicines and fake foodstuffs.

Most severely sabotaging party and state policies and plans and doing the most damage to the national economy and financial system are the smugglers. They flout the law that spells out the state's unified management, unified collection and purchase or monopoly in trading of certain types of commodities in the interest of the national economy and the entire people. Smuggling gold and foreign currencies and on this basis, smuggling goods, especially imported and exported items that fall under the state's monopoly, and then repeating this process are acts that rapidly weaken the country's economic and financial system and bring about "the bleeding of gold," thereby lowering the value of the Vietnamese currency on the international exchange market. The smugglers compete for sources of exported goods which otherwise should have been included in the state's goods funds, thereby reducing the state's capacity for importing goods necessary for the restoration of the national economy.

Persons engaging in illegal business practices such as doing business without a license or at variance with the license's content, evading taxes, failing to post prices, charging more than the posted prices, failing to register trademarks of goods as required and illegally using trademarks or other maneuvers to cheat state organs and the consumers, account for a large percentage of traders. Although they do not cause such direct and great damage as speculators, smugglers and counterfeiters, these persons are daily and hourly undermining the order of state management and causing shortfalls to the state budget. They create a chaotic environment full of minor offenses that can hardly be dealt with in full but that are actually the cause of more serious offenses, thereby providing additional conditions for the speculators, smugglers and counterfeiters to operate and avoid detection.

Activities involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities and unlawful business transactions cannot take place without help. Speculators and smugglers often collude with store keepers and civil servants having authority over distribution to draw state supplies or pay managerial and security personnel so that they will turn a blind eye to their offenses. This phenomenon has further complicated the situation regarding crimes in society, making a number of cadres and state personnel who are still obsessed with private gain and lacking in integrity degenerate and degraded, and turning them into criminals.

The development of practices involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of goods and unlawful business transactions has led to grave social injustice in the field of distribution: While the actual income and the living standards of the laboring people, especially workers and civil servants, are rapidly dropping due to general difficulties, nonproductive persons engaging in unlawful businesses have a many times higher income and living standard. For this reason, many people, including a number of youths, have developed a lazy attitude in their study and work and pursued activities that bring high income even if they violate labor discipline, social ethics and the law of the state.

In the situation of our country at present, the development of practices involving speculation and smuggling is liable to serve as a leverage for the expansionists and imperialists to conduct hostile activities against our country. There have been many indications showing that through loosely organized and haphazardly directed export and import activities or through illegal trading activities in areas along the Sino-Vietnamese border and so forth, the enemy has sent out agents to establish business contacts with our people for the purpose of seizing the opportunity to oppose and sabotage us.

The Fifth Party Congress set forth the following important and urgent tasks:

"Establish a new socialist order on the distribution and circulation front in order to contribute to stabilizing life, stepping up production, improving the economic and social situation.... Distribution and circulation must play an effective role in the struggle between the two roads in order to expand the battlefield of socialism, repel the spontaneous development of capitalism and regulate at all costs the income of all strata of people in a just and rational manner.

"...Intensify market transformation and management and prevent and punish all activities involving speculation, price manipulation, smuggling, tax evasion and other activities that disrupt the market."<sup>1</sup>

In the new situation, with the development of negative phenomena in the market and their harmful consequences, the law on market management proved no longer to be effective. The conditions were ripe for a change and on 30 June 1982 the Council of State promulgated a new law--the law on punishment for crimes relating to speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities and unlawful business transactions.

This important legal document has promulgated in time; it meets the objective requirements of the task of intensifying market transformation and management and is consistent with the aspirations of the laboring people.

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<sup>1</sup> Political report of the Party Central Committee to the Fifth Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, April 1982 issue, pp 47, 48

The law specifies punishment for the aforementioned practices--practices that cause the greatest damage to the country's economic and financial system, the people's life and social order and security--with the aim of establishing a new socialist order on the front of distribution and circulation, repelling the spontaneous development of capitalist business activities, creating conditions for consolidating state discipline concerning economic and financial management in general, and taking the first steps toward reducing and preventing the emergence of negative phenomena on the market.

As the crime situation is serious, the law lays down strict stipulations. The law states that it is necessary to promptly and strictly deal with "all acts" involving speculation, smuggling, counterfeiting of commodities and unlawful business transactions whether conducted by an individual or by an organization, organ or unit. To effectively prevent such offenses the law strictly prohibits and prescribes our punishment for condoning the offenders; and at the same time, it entrusts all organs, organizations and citizens with the right and obligation to detect such offenses and denounce them to the authorities. The law specifies the heaviest punishment for four offenses--speculation, smuggling or storing of contraband, smuggling or moving goods across the border without permission, and manufacturing or dealing in counterfeit commodities. In particularly serious cases, the offenders may be sentenced to life imprisonment or even to death; a fine of up to 10 times the value of the contrabands or up to 1 million dong for manufacturing and dealing in counterfeit commodities may be imposed; and part or all of the offenders' properties may be confiscated.

The law also stipulates selective judgments in the following three instances:

A. Distinguish crimes from mistakes: in the case of minor offenses (petty speculation, petty smuggling, slight violations of business regulations and so forth), only administrative measures shall be taken in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers.

B. Distinguish the four aforementioned offenses that cause the greatest damage and warrant the heaviest punishment from offenses involving unlawful business transactions and condonement of offenders, which only warrant a maximum jail sentence of up to 5 years.

C. Distinguish normal offenses from serious offenses (offenses of a professional or recurrent nature, organized crimes, speculation and smuggling of goods having great value, and so forth) and particularly serious offenses (offenses that cause particularly serious consequences to the national economy, to the health and lives of others or to security and national defense, and so forth) as well as from cases wherein penalties are either waived or commuted (while his offense has not yet been discovered, the offender sincerely confesses to the state organ and voluntarily hands over to the authorities all the incriminating goods, supplies and equipment prior to standing trial).

Speculation, smuggling, manufacture of fake goods and other illegal businesses have surfaced and developed at a time when the socio-economic situation is very complex. Our national economy has been built on the basis of small



production heavily damaged by many years of war. Our state and people have met countless difficulties in reorganizing production, ensuring employment for every laborer and improving the people's living standards. Following the liberation of the south, the state has been unified in all aspects. However, the economy in the south is still characterized by five elements, including the capitalist element. Formerly the economy in the south was dependent on the economies of various imperialist and capitalist countries, and a section of the people had business transactions with the capitalist market. In recent years, many persons who fled abroad have tried to maintain contact with those remaining in the country by sending of goods back home. Diplomatic and economic relations between our country and other countries have been increasingly expanded. Tourism, trade and cultural exchanges have become more hectic than before and have created an increasingly complex psychological impact on society. The economic policy of our state and its economic management structure are now under study for revision along the course of more strongly developing the dynamism and creativity of various localities and establishments while firmly maintaining centralized management for the state in accordance with plans and the law, scrupulously combining the three economic interests with the interests of the state (meaning of society) to be considered as a primary target, ensuring the interests of the state and of the collective, and paying more attention to the interests of private individuals.

Faced with such a situation, the enforcement of the law on penalties for such offenses as speculations, smuggling, manufacture of fake goods and other illegal business is not easy.

Fighting these offenses will seriously affect those who earn their living through these illegal operations and will affect the interests of those bourgeoisie still existing. At the same time, it will also affect a number of organizations, public organs and units which have committed irregularities in the trading of goods and will affect a number of workers who, though already having a legitimate profession, have had to unwillingly engage in "certain business adventures" because of difficulties in life. It will also affect the outlook and views of a number of cadres who are resorting to "liberalism" as a means to allegedly promote economic development and better economic prosperity. The control and punishment of these violations is therefore very difficult. It requires an identity of views among party cadres and members, the courage and sacrifice of the control forces and the persistent efforts of managerial cadres and of those cadres belonging to responsible organs. It is very important to ensure that cadres and officials who are directly responsible for law enforcement share the same view about the need to disseminate the law and to resolutely contribute to enforcing the law.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to widely disseminate and propagate the spirit and contents of the law so that all party cadres and members and the people at the grassroots level can support the enforcement of the law and assist responsible control forces, cadres and officials in detecting and dealing with all violations correctly and promptly.

In order to scrupulously enforce the law, it is necessary to precisely identify those who are to be punished; to distinguish those citizens, organizations and units engaging in legitimate businesses in accordance with policies from those involved in speculations, smuggling, the manufacture of fake goods and in other illegal businesses. This is to avoid mistakenly punishing those who are earning an honest living. Simultaneously, we must determine the various degrees of violation in order to apply a discernible penalty policy. Responsible management organs must study ways to revise some stipulations in the policy of control for various goods. They must specify those goods which are monopolized by the state or which are placed under unified state control, and must point out prerequisites to be met by collectively- and privately-run trade organizations in the event the state, though exercising its unified control, permits them to engage in part of trade operations and allows the people to freely produce and trade all items of goods other than those monopolized by the state with the condition that they comply with all normal regulations for registering business services, paying taxes, posting price tags and so forth.

Standardizing and revising various stipulations of the government on administrative punishment for those minor offenses which are not serious enough to be brought before court as already outlined in the law are tasks to be completed quickly in order to make them readily available to legal organs and the people.

Strengthening various market control organizations, punishing violations through administrative measures, improving the political and professional knowledge of cadres and personnel, consolidating the working apparatus and readjusting working systems and behavior are regarded as practical measures to have the law enforced promptly, positively and correctly. Simultaneously, responsible organs must increase control measures in order to ensure that control forces can effectively handle criminal cases and can act in accordance with policies and the law.

The following situation may come up when the control and punishment of cases involving speculation, smuggling, the manufacture of fake goods, and other illegal businesses are actively carried out: various kinds of goods which are monopolized by the state or are under unified state control may disappear on the "free" market. These goods may include therapeutic medicine, imported fabrics, spare parts and so forth. Such a situation may cause difficulties to consumers. Therefore, state-run trade corporations and state stores must be strongly consolidated and resupplied with more goods so that they can regulate the flow of goods on the market, increase their organizational management over various storehouses and satisfactorily manage their cadres and personnel who are in charge of the storing, distribution and retail sale of goods.

In general, all measures--which are aimed at enhancing and improving management over distribution and circulation in accordance with the guidelines of the Fifth VCP Congress--such as those designed to "increase the commodity fund, bring all sources of goods, especially essential goods, under state control," to "strictly maintain the discipline in the delivery of products

"to the state," to "disseminate state policies on boosting production and securing all sources of goods from the collectively- and privately-run economic sectors by collecting taxes in kind and purchasing goods through compulsory sales: and two-way contracts, and to have all sectors and echelons strive to struggle against theft and waste of goods and materials of the state," to "strongly improve the system of state-run trade and marketing cooperatives," and so forth are instrumental in preventing various offenses such as speculation, smuggling, the manufacture of fake goods and other illegal businesses.

ADVANCE AGRICULTURE ONE STEP FURTHER, TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82 pp 26-34 BK

[Article by Dong Thao--passages between single slantlines denote italics and between double slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] To continue implementing the guidelines of "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry," the Fifth Party Congress has defined the main tasks of socialist industrialization in the immediate future as follows: /"To concentrate our efforts on developing agriculture vigorously, considering it as the primary front; to advance agriculture one step further to large-scale socialist production; to actively promote consumer goods production and continue to build a number of important heavy industries; to integrate agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational industrial-agricultural structure."/<sup>1</sup> As the party's economic line has clearly pointed out, our socialist industrialization must begin with agriculture, since vigorous agricultural development constitutes a primary and important condition for the development of other economic sectors. Most importantly, to begin with agriculture is to begin with what we already have at our disposal and with those potentials of ours which can be exploited immediately. Moreover, while such an approach does not require as much capital investment as various industrial sectors do, it allows for the employment of large numbers of laborers. The Fifth Party Congress has clearly spelled out: "Our most valuable asset is /labor/; that with the greatest potential, which can be brought into play in the first place and which is also an object of labor capable of attracting the largest work force, is /land/, including the forests and the sea. There is very large capacity in various /sectors and trades/, including sideline occupations in the countryside, handicrafts, small industries and installations of consumer goods industry, which are in a position to undergo great development and to employ much labor. Our strongest motivating force is /the socialist collective mastery system/, which makes it possible

<sup>1</sup> The Central Committee Political Report to the Fifth Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN issue No 4, 1982, p 41

"to combine labor with land, to vigorously expand various sectors and trades, and to create a new productive force at an early date."<sup>2</sup>

The congress has also clearly pointed out the main contents of advancing agriculture one step further, to large-scale socialist production, as follows:

--To arrange for agriculture to carry out production work and the distribution of produce in accordance with the national program and plan;

--To step up the scientific-technological revolution in agriculture, actively build material and technical bases and take a further step in modernizing agriculture;

--To achieve socialist transformation by means of correct forms and steps; and

--To consider the district as the most important area for carrying out the three aforementioned tasks.

# I

//Arrange for Agriculture To Carry Out Production Work and the Distribution of Produce in Accordance With the National Program and Plan//

According to the national plan, agriculture must make an effort to perform the three following tasks well: Ensure food supplies for the entire society; provide agricultural raw materials for the consumer goods industry; and create important sources of export goods. To do so, we must use labor and land in such a way as to promote specialized cultivation, intensive farming, joint business ventures, a rational allocation of crops, domestic animals and trades, and so forth, thereby achieving high economic efficiency in land exploitation, obtaining substantial incomes in trades and constantly increasing labor productivity. To fulfill this task, we must thoroughly understand the guidelines of developing agriculture comprehensively, vigorously and steadily along the line of large-scale socialist production. At the same time, we must hold fast to the central task, namely grain production. At this juncture, comprehensive agricultural development does not merely mean simultaneously carrying out crop planting and livestock raising, or producing grain and expanding industrial crop cultivation at the same time. Instead, it should be understood in a fuller context, as comprising six principal sectors and trades, namely grain production, development of industrial crop planting, animal husbandry, crop growing, fish breeding and practicing handicrafts and small industry.

/Grain Production/: Grain production plays a very important role in many fields, since, without it agriculture will not be able to develop comprehensively, industry will not have a basis for expansion, and society will not

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<sup>2</sup> Op Cit, p 38.

survive. Recent fluctuations in world food supply as well as the status of grain production in our country has irrefutably proved his point. For this reason, the Fifth Party Congress has laid down the following task: In the immediate future, we must do everything possible to meet the demands for food made by all society and to place a necessary amount of grain under state control. According to the experience of many countries, a minimum grain supply of 500 kg per capita is needed to ensure industrialization. In our country, the present average per capita supply is still under 300 kg, far less than the required amount. Therefore, what we should strive to achieve in grain production is not merely an average annual volume of 17 million tons under the 1981-85 plan, but also an annual output of 20-25 million tons or more under the subsequent plans.

To ensure food supply, we must do our utmost to develop rice and subsidiary food crop production. Concerning rice, along with opening new land and expanding the cultivated area wherever conditions permit, we should concentrate mainly on stepping up intensive farming, increasing the number of crops per year, improving crop yields and establishing high-yielding rice areas capable of producing large volumes of marketable produce. We should attach importance to both key rice zones--the Mekong and Red River Deltas. In developing rice cultivation in the Red River Delta, we can take advantage of definite favorable conditions and will eventually be able to do away with or reduce the need to transport rice from the south. Concerning subsidiary food crops, we should vigorously expand the planting of corn, sweet potatoes, cassava and other starch-bearing crops, and strive to increase the ratio of these crops to 18-20 percent of our grain output.

The best way to resolve the food problem is not to strive for self-sufficiency mechanically. Instead, as the Fifth Party Congress has clearly pointed out, all localities (except major cities, industrial centers, zones specializing in industrial crops, concentrated forest areas, and zones facing special situations) must bring into play their own strengths and make an effort to meet their own demands for food by adopting production and consumption policies consistent with their specific conditions and by implementing positive measures, including exchanges with other localities.

/Development of Industrial Crop Planting/: In parallel with grain production, we should develop the cultivation of industrial crops (including fruit trees and medicinal plants) into a major crop growing sector of our country, since industrial crops play a very important role in the comprehensive development of agriculture. In the past, due to the scarcity of land and its large population, the north had to devote most of its arable area to grain production, thus limiting the development of industrial crop cultivation. Today, with the country reunified, although we still face difficulties regarding food supply, there are obviously more favorable conditions for developing industrial crops. We should, therefore, gradually and vigorously expand the planting of these crops by simultaneously promoting concentrated and specialized cultivation and motivating the people to make the fullest use of land to grow industrial crops widely so as to create an abundant source of raw materials for industry. We should develop the cultivation of industrial crops comprehensively, including short-term and perennial plants; fiber-, oil- and

sugar-bearing crops; fruit trees; medicinal and essential-oil plants. We should also concentrate on developing large-scale cultivation of a number of important crops such as soybeans, sugarcane, tea, tobacco, coconut, rubber, coffee, cotton, kenaf, reed and mulberry.

To develop industrial crop planting, the primary thing to do is to survey and zone off agricultural areas, to improve and expand the existing areas and, simultaneously, to build a number of new areas so as eventually to establish zones of concentrated and specialized industrial crop cultivation, such as tea zones, sugarcane zones, tobacco zones, and so forth. We must coordinate the plan for industrial crop development with the plan for developing processing industry, communications and transportation. We should create zones of concentrated industrial crop cultivation around factories so as to closely combine raw materials production with processing industry in each region, thereby achieving maximum economic efficiency.

/Development of Animal Husbandry/: Developing animal husbandry in proportion to crop growing, and making it a main sector of agriculture is a basic requirement in the comprehensive development of agriculture. Animal husbandry and crop growing are closely related. Only by developing animal husbandry can we provide more fertilizer and draft power for crop growing; conversely, only by developing crop cultivation can we provide food for animal husbandry. The task of developing animal husbandry in the coming days is aimed at meeting three principal requirements: increasing food supply for society, resolving the problem of fertilizer and draft power for agriculture, and increasing the supply of raw materials for processing industry and export. We should develop animal husbandry comprehensively, including the raising of big and small domestic animals and poultry, and attach importance to expanding the farming of cattle and those animals which consume little grain. We should satisfactorily combine and develop all three forms of livestock raising--cooperative, state-operated and family-run--while encouraging the development of the family-run form. We should establish animal husbandry belts around major cities and industrial zones at an early date.

To develop livestock raising, we must strengthen material and technical bases, amend policies, improve management organizations and pay special attention to satisfactorily resolving the three basic problems: breeding, food and veterinary service.

/Afforestation/: Developing agriculture comprehensively also means that we should combine agriculture with forestry and fisheries and promote afforestation and fish breeding so as to expand the vegetation cover nationwide. We should develop a broad-based mass movement to plant trees wherever possible. We may plant many kinds of trees, but we should concentrate on a number of the most important ones. We must fully understand that this afforestation will not only help increase raw materials and fuel supplies for society and boost family incomes, but it will also help promote environmental protection and beautify the country.

/Fish Breeding/: We should make the fullest use of all lakes, ponds, pools, canals, rivers and other water surfaces to develop freshwater fish breeding,

which constitutes both a major source of revenue in agriculture and a very convenient local source of food supply. Therefore, any cooperative should engage in fish breeding and any family should take up this trade if possible.

/Development of Handicrafts/: This is a new feature and a new direction in the task of developing agriculture comprehensively and combining agriculture with industry at the grassroots level. Only by developing handicrafts can we fully exploit idle labor and raw materials scattered in rural areas, satisfy the basic needs of daily life and production, and boost family incomes. In agriculture, handicraft development is aimed at promoting handicrafts in every cooperative and family to support agricultural production and to contribute to producing consumer goods for the countryside and export goods. The organization of handicraft production in agriculture must be closely coordinated with other activities of agricultural cooperatives so as to achieve a regulated and balanced distribution of labor, grain and materials between agriculture and handicrafts. The three most popular forms of handicraft production organizations are: family-run handicraft units, seasonal handicraft production units and full-time handicraft units, seasonal handicraft production units and full-time handicraft production units.

Our greatest difficulty lies in the scarcity of land and our large population, which makes it impossible for us to meet our demands for grain, no matter how intensively we cultivate the existing arable land. For this reason, opening new land to expand the cultivated area and advancing toward the use of all of our 10 million hectares of crop land is a strategically significant task which we must resolutely carry out by every means. History and practical experience, however, have shown that this is not a simple matter. Therefore, we must proceed steadily and actively according to the guideline "The state and the people work together" so as to achieve practical economic results and to avoid the state in which land is reclaimed in one place but allowed to lie fallow in another, or in which land is abandoned after being opened. To satisfactorily carry out the task of opening new land and building new economic zones, on the one hand we must educate and motivate the popular masses so that they may see that although setting out to build new economic zones means facing difficulty and hardship, it is an obligation which must be fulfilled to promote national construction. On the other hand, we must make adequate investments, carry out well-coordinated construction work in all fields, especially the building of the infrastructure, carefully organize the sending out of people, and implement appropriate policies to help quickly stabilize life in new economic zones.

## II

//Step Up the Scientific-Technological Revolution and Actively Build the Material and Technical Bases of Agriculture//

To advance agriculture one step further, to large-scale socialist production, we must push forward the scientific-technological revolution and actively build the material and technical bases of agriculture. We should carry out water conservancy, chemical fertilizer application, mechanization,



electrification and the biological revolution in such a way as to suit the transition of agriculture from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, to satisfactorily exploit our labor and land potentials and to increase efficiency in agricultural production.

We always consider water conservancy as the primary means of developing agriculture. We must highly concentrate our resources on developing water conservancy quickly. In carrying out this task we should combine manual labor with mechanical means; combine large-scale with medium-scale and small-scale projects; and build all projects, from key installations to canals and ditches, in a well-coordinated manner in conjunction with efforts to improve farmland. We should also concentrate on the total completion of each project one by one, and manage them well so as to quickly exploit their usefulness.

The water conservancy and building sectors should step up surveys and planning and the construction of large-scale and medium-scale projects. However, they should relegate to provinces and districts the construction of medium-scale and small-scale projects and create proper conditions for them to actively carry out this task. The industrial sectors should ensure supplies of construction materials, earth-moving equipment, motor pumps, pipes and electricity for water conservancy work.

Concerning fertilizer, only by combining the use of organic fertilizers with the use of chemical fertilizers can we create favorable conditions for increasing crop yields. In the immediate future we should quickly increase the output of manure from stables and vigorously expand the production of duckweed, sesbania and other kinds of green manures. We should make the best use of compost and alluviums to improve farmland. We should strive to provide enough coal for use as fuel in agriculture, thereby saving hay for use as fertilizer and cattle feed. The chemical industry should make an effort to constantly increase the production of chemical fertilizers and insecticides to support agriculture and gradually broaden the use of chemical fertilizers. Relying on our own resources, in the immediate future we should step up the production of lime and phosphate fertilizer and strive to increase the output of nitrate fertilizer.

Hand-operated implements are needed not only to satisfy immediate demands, but also to meet other long-term requirements throughout the process of agricultural mechanization. We should, therefore, make the fullest use of the chemical means currently available from the central to the local level and in both state enterprises and cooperatives to produce good and suitable ordinary and improved farm implements. We should conduct specific investigations and surveys so as to set adequate production standards and formulate appropriate production plans, thereby ensuring stable supplies of all necessary implements for all localities.

Mechanization of agriculture will not only help increase labor productivity in this sector but will also help promote intensive cultivation, multicropping and the advance of agriculture to large-scale socialist production. Without agricultural mechanization, we will not be able to consolidate and exploit the results of cooperativization. Carrying out mechanization is a question of

of strategic significance; it is also a task in which we are facing numerous difficulties. We have not yet been able to produce many tractors, and importing them is not easy. Moreover, getting tractors alone is not enough; the problems of procuring tractor-towed equipment, spare parts and fuel and training workers must also be resolved simultaneously. To carry out mechanization uniformly, we must fulfill a host of related tasks, such as perfecting irrigation works, improving farmland, planning population centers, developing rural communications, and so forth. Moreover, agricultural mechanization is related to the use and redistribution of labor; therefore, it must be conducted in such a way as to ensure the economic interests of both the state and the peasantry. In the immediate future, we must satisfactorily combine the use of machinery with manual labor and semimechanized means so as to ensure economic efficiency. Agricultural mechanization should be carried out gradually, steadily and selectively, beginning with those areas lacking draft power and labor, those areas calling for intensive cultivation and multi-cropping, and with new economic zones. Simultaneously, uniform mechanization should be conducted in a number of districts on an experimental basis to provide experience for future expansion.

Because rural electrification is both a goal of socialism and a cherished dream of the peasantry, we will struggle to turn it into a reality. However, because of our present limited power sources and other supplies, we should proceed step by step and ensure the power supply for production work. First of all, we must provide electricity for water conservancy purposes. Concerning the supply of power for daily use, we should do it only in a number of localities on an experimental basis to gain experience and should gradually expand it when conditions permit.

Moreover, we should attach importance to broadly studying and applying biological achievements in crop planting and livestock raising. Especially, we should strive to create high-yielding and pest-resistant varieties so as to raise agricultural productivity.

### III

//Complete Cooperativization and Consolidate and Perfect Socialist Production Relations in Agriculture//

To ensure consistency between productive forces and production relations, we should determine appropriate forms and scales of production organizations according to the level of productive forces, and should absolutely refrain from "imposing" production relations mechanically when productive forces do not require them yet. That is why, concerning agriculture, the Fifth Party Congress clearly pointed out that we must "complete socialist transformation through appropriate forms and steps" and should be neither impatient and simplistic nor undecided and hesitant in carrying out this task.

In keeping with this spirit, in the south we must resolutely readjust land ownership wherever necessary so as to ensure that all peasants have farmland and to attract them into /production solidarity teams/. From production

solidarity teams we will advance to organize production collectives and co-operatives when conditions are ripe. We should, however, consider production collectives as the principal form and should organize such collectives on an appropriate scale. We should base ourselves on the actual situation to adopt appropriate forms for collectivizing the means of production. For instance, we may continue to pay landowners for the use of their farmland, rent part of the farm implements and machinery needed, maintain orchard economy, and so forth. We should, however, gradually raise the level of collectivization according to the development of production. We should closely combine the building of production collectives and cooperatives with the reorganization of production, the implementation of the system of end-product contracts with labor groups and laborers, and the building of districts. We should consolidate agricultural machine teams and collectives and adopt necessary policies concerning spare parts and fuel supplies, prices, and so forth. We should determine the localities and people to be served by these machine teams and collectives. We should also promote the signing of contracts and strengthen our control and supervision over agricultural machine teams and collectives to ensure that they serve production collectives and cooperatives well. Concerning private individuals who own much farmland (including orchards) and machinery, and who use hired labor, or on the one hand we should, through the implementation of incentive policies, encourage and guide them to carry out production work according to state plans; on the other hand, we should adopt policies to regulate their income and to push forward socialist transformation.

We should concentrate our efforts on strengthening cooperatives, production collectives, state farms, state forests and agricultural technical stations by steadily supplying them with necessary means so as to ensure that they can take initiatives in production and business operations. We should classify cooperatives to determine for them an appropriate form of production and management organization, thereby ensuring high economic efficiency. On the basis of the production plans of districts, we should perfect production guidelines and structures by promoting both specialized and general cultivation, creating on-the-spot sources of raw materials to develop various sectors and to increase exports, integrating collective economy with family economy and encouraging the development of the latter. We should organize basic production units on an appropriate scale and strengthen them, and improve specialized units, especially seed production units, water conservancy units, vegetation protection units, and so forth, according to the standards of their present technical equipment and to the need to introduce technical progress into production work. On the basis of the system of end-product contracts with labor groups and laborers, we should improve the various forms of division of labor and cooperation in production between collective and individual labor and between cooperatives and the families of their members. This is to ensure that these forms are suitable and conducive to high efficiency.

On the basis of the state policy of allocating land and forests to production units, the cooperatives in the northern mountain regions and in the central highlands should quickly shift to combined forestry-agricultural production work and adopt forms of production and management organizations consistent with their topography, their population, and the managerial skills of their cadres.

We should attach importance to consolidating state farms and improving their efficiency and quality, thereby enabling them to fulfill their role as models of production and managerial work. We should concentrate investment on consolidating and building state farms which produce strategic commodities such as grain, exportable agricultural products, crop varieties, animal breeds, and so forth. To enable these state farms to conduct their business efficiently, we should stabilize their areas of production, improve their production guidelines and structures, perfect their system of material and technical bases, provide them with sufficient labor, increase the number of their management cadres, closely associate them with the processing industry, and coordinate their economic activities with those of the regions or districts concerned and of various specialized economic-technical sectors. Concerning other state farms, we should rearrange their production structures and organizations according to the limits of our investment. We should build new state farms only when surveys show that they will certainly yield results.

The family economy of the peasants who are cooperative members plays a very important role because it will continue to exist for a long time and is closely linked with the peasantry's livelihood and with the socialist economic system. We should, therefore, encourage its development to supplement the social economy and turn it into a real integral part of the socialist economic system.

#### IV

//Build the District and Consider It As the Most Important Ground To Advance Agriculture One Step Further, to Large-Scale Socialist Production//

The implementation of production plans, the promotion of the scientific-technological revolution and the perfection of the new production relations take place mainly in the district. For this reason, the Fifth Party Congress determined that we should consider the district as the most important ground to advance agriculture one step further, to large-scale socialist production.

The district plays a very important role because it is the ground on which to reorganize production, the base of the scientific-technological revolution in agriculture, and the place where the aggregate strength of the state and the people is created to carry out the party's economic line in the rural areas. However, we must not separate the district from the province and the sector. Instead of building the district "in isolation," we should carry out this task under the province's master plan and in keeping with the district's economic and technical relations with the sector. Both district-run and sector-run production and business establishments are located in the district. The sector provides the district with new technical knowledge and the district absorbs and applies this knowledge according to its own conditions. In so doing the sector will help strengthen the district; a strong district will, in turn, create favorable conditions for the sector to develop. In the absence of fully-developed heavy industry, combining district building with sector building in a good way to gradually advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

The Fifth Party Congress clearly pointed out: "The economic structure of each district takes shape from its economic conditions, its orientation for production, specialization and compound business operations, and from the requirements and capabilities of the agricultural cooperatives and production collectives. At the same time, the building of the district's economic structure must be linked to the provincial and national programs of economic development."<sup>3</sup> The district's economic structure comprises many units belonging to different economic sectors and elements such as:

--Agricultural, forestry and fishery cooperatives and a number of state farms (if at all);

--Agricultural and forestry technical installations: crop variety production and animal breeding stations and farms, irrigation systems, tractor and implement repair stations, and so forth;

--Small industrial and handicraft production installations, and state enterprises (if at all);

--Construction organizations of the district and agricultural cooperatives;

--Transportation units (of the district and agricultural cooperatives), road management units, and post and telegraph installations;

--Supply, produce collecting, retailing and service corporations, and marketing cooperatives.

These economic organizations are production and business units operating under the guidance of different economic and technical sectors. For this reason, the district is only a place where production must be reorganized; it does not yet constitute an aggregate production or business unit. The district acts as a representative of the central government and the province while maintaining close relations with production and business establishments. As an echelon of state management, the district simultaneously manages its own production and business establishments and coordinates the operations of various establishments belonging to different economic elements of the district, the province and the central government located in the district. This is aimed at most effectively supporting production and the people's life in the district, especially agricultural production.

The guidelines for economic development at the district level in the coming years are: to hold fast to agriculture as the central task; however, we should not develop agriculture in isolation, but should combine it with industry at the beginning and from the grassroots level up. We should reorganize agriculture at the district level by redistributing land and labor in order to expand production and business. We should gradually build and shape specialized cultivation zones, gradually raise the level of concentrated production and intensive farming of a number of important crops and domestic animals,

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<sup>3</sup> Op Cit, p. 39.

and establish a system of material and technical bases linked to cooperatives in the districts.

We must attach importance to industry, especially small industry and handicrafts, and must develop them by using the raw materials and labor provided by agriculture. Every district must strive to achieve a volume of small industrial production worth 10 million dong or more.

All districts should make efforts to achieve balanced exchanges in two-way economic relations by sending out goods of equal or greater value than the ones they receive, and should contribute to increasing the amount of export goods. Every district should strive to ensure the supply of food and clothing for its people. If a district can economically meet its own demands for grain or any product, it should try hard to do so and should not depend on the upper echelon for assistance.

The formula for economic building at the district level is "the state and the people work together," with the district relying mainly on its own resources, and with the province and central government providing assistance, chiefly in the technical field and in meeting part of the district's demands for supplies. We must overcome the state of affairs in which the upper echelon concentrate investments on the key districts, because this practice breeds dependence and prevents the districts from gaining experience.

Along with economic building, all districts should pay attention to developing cultural, educational, public health and other services, satisfactorily organizing the people's material and cultural life, and building a new socialist countryside. Simultaneously, they must combine economic building with national defense efforts and build themselves into impregnable fortresses to defend the socialist fatherland.

These are the main contents of the process of advancing agriculture one step further, to large-scale socialist production. To satisfactorily carry out this process, the basic problem is for us to combine agricultural and industrial development in a rational industrial-agricultural structure, and to combine the building of the central economy with the development of the local economy within a unified national economic structure. At the same time, we must resolutely bring economic management up to date, do away with the method of bureaucratic management based on subsidies, and implement the mode of socialist production and business management.

CSO: 4210/2

## PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT AND USING NATURAL RESOURCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 82 pp 35-41

[Article by Tran Duc Giang and Ta Hoang Tinh]

[Text] Our country is one of the famous cradles of mankind. The Vietnamese, who have been formed and developed within their vast environment since primitive times, have known how to use their natural conditions and favorable natural resources as well as overcome countless difficulties in order to acclimate to their surroundings and conquer nature in their struggle to survive.

A Bac Son stone axe and the terraced fields in the highlands; the legend of the mountain god and the god of the sea and the long dikes along the rivers in the North or the canals in the South; the thick bamboo hedges with their banyan trees and well at the head of the village, a fragrant cynamthe in front of the veranda and a rock in the middle of the yard; the "tree planting tet" of Uncle Ho and the "tilt the fields and drain their water into the rivers" movement, the "squeeze the water from the soil in place of rainfall" movement, the "clean village, good fields" movement--all of these things embody something of the scientific and technical aspects of the environment and are in the nature of traditions in the lives of our people.

Of course, the gradual development and expansion of the concept "environment" depends upon the development of the economic-cultural and socialist situation of each people and each nation in each different period of history. And, it is because of this that the requirements of each class, each nation and each region regarding protecting the environment and using natural resources also differ.

Here, the environment is to be understood as the natural environment, which includes the living environment of man, which consists of natural and non-natural factors, their development within an organic entity and their direct or indirect influence upon man; and, man himself is an important environmental factor.

In its narrow definition, the environment is the place where man resides and has the function of supplying natural resources, accomodating the activities of man and assimilate the waste matter of nature and production.

Environmental protection is a pressing requirement of our planet. Its importance goes beyond the borders of a nation, a region and has become international.

All of the things that harm the surrounding environment and have a harmful impact upon man are generally related to the scientific-technological revolution, the "population explosion." As the population grows and technology advances, the attack upon nature becomes more intense and natural resources are depleted more quickly. Man has not realized that material and energy changes within nature constitute a complex system and are related to one another so that a decline in the quality of the environment causes ecological crises on the planet. These are not temporary crises, but prolonged crises that become increasingly intense and large.

Mankind has been warned many times about the environmental issue and its dangers. F. Engels pointed out: "We absolutely cannot rule nature as an aggressor ruling another people, as a person living outside nature..."(1)

Today, man is orienting his efforts toward quickly researching the various ecological systems and learning about them in order to control them, to insure a stable balance, even a rough balance. Because, this is consistent with the law of the continuous development of things. In the present stage of the development of social production, the environmental crisis has begun to emerge in the form of the energy crisis, the raw material crisis, the grain crisis, the food crisis, the population explosion and the pollution of water, air and soil.

Vietnam occupies a very unique position as a country between the ocean and the mainland, as the point of convergence between the two mineral forming belts, the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, and as a tropical, trade wind country. The many forms of development and change of materials under these natural conditions in the various geological ages--from the receding of the ocean from the land to the present day--have created for this territory very rich, diverse and complex potential storehouses of various forms of natural resources.

Our country is considered to be among the developing countries of the world. However, our country has special characteristics that the developing countries in Southeast Asia do not have: we have a most progressive social system, the socialist social system; our party is a communist party that is experienced in struggle and has won one victory after another for the country, for the nation throughout the course of its activities. These are social factors that have a strong and positive effect upon the environment.

On the other hand, however, our country has experienced three long wars that have occurred one after the other over the past 40 years. The state of war restricted development and destroyed the living environment in the most terrifying manner, the most intense manner, in the shortest possible amount of time and over a large area. This factor, which is the social and international factor that has had the most negative impact upon the environment, has had cruel



and tragic direct consequences, consequences that will have a profound impact for many generations, consequences that our people must endure and overcome.

Our people are building their country in a situation in which they are at peace but must contend with a multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a possible large-scale war of aggression launched by the enemy, that is, be ready to deal with a state of true instability on the basis of an economy that is still poor and backward, an economy that still lacks many material-technical bases.

All of these facts make it necessary for us to look for and establish a suitable viewpoint regarding the environment.

The utilization and conservation of minerals in our country are becoming a matter very deserving of concern.

In 12 years of operation (as of 1969), the Tinh Tuc Tin Mine in Cao Bang Province wasted a quantity of tin equal to the total tin reserves of the United States and nearly the total tin reserves of the European countries (with the exception of Great Britain, Portugal, Spain and the eastern European socialist countries).(2)

The quantity of coal wasted in the Quang Ninh mining area is larger than the average output of the strip mines there.

The Lao Cai Apatite Mine has wasted more ore than it has mined.

The Thanh Hoa Chromite Mine only recovers slightly more than one-third of the ore mined, the rest is wasted.

It has been calculated that we need only to reduce by a small percentage the amount of minerals left in the earth in the mining process, the quality of raw materials discarded in the refining process and the quantity of materials wasted in the process of their use in 1 year in order to provide as many raw materials as would be found during the year by geologists in a dozen new, large mines.

Since antiquity, the forests and trees have truly been a source of life, a source of happiness to each person and to each nationality; now, however, the forest resources and tree resources have declined rapidly. In the 10 years from 1963 to 1973, the earth lost 500 million hectares of forests, that is, about 5 percent of the total forests of the world. In Asia, more than 5 million hectares of good forests have been lost each year. The tropical rain forests are being cut and burned at an annual rate of 110,000 square kilometers, a rate at which these forests will disappear from the face of the earth in the space of 85 years.

To the world, protecting the forests is a serious issue. There is not much optimism about this matter in our country, either. In 1945, forests still covered 45 percent of our territory. At present, only 29 percent of our territory is

covered by forest. In the space of the past 30 to 35 years, 5 million hectares of forests have been destroyed. There are more than 5 million hectares of barren hills and hundreds of thousands of hectares of sandunes and wilderness that are not covered with vegetation. Some important headwater forests, such as the forests at the headwaters of the Da River, only cover about 9 percent of the land (in 1945, the forests covered 90 percent of the Northwest). Forest fires and the intentional burning of forests have occurred at many places and caused very large forests to be destroyed. During the past 6 years (1976-1981), the Lam Dong forestry sector planted 9,000 hectares of forest but the survival rate of these trees has been very low. Meanwhile, 1,446 forest fires have occurred, destroying 34,387 hectares (nearly four times the amount that was planted). Between 1976 and 1980 alone, we lost: 114,000 hectares of forests to fires, including more than 20,000 hectares of pine forests; 54,400 hectares of forests were indiscriminately cut and destroyed; 114,000 hectares of forests that were turned into upland fields; and 600,000 hectares of forests allocated for land clearing, only one-third of which has been put into production.

Sadly, the force that is so cruelly destroying the forests is none other than man!

The recent wars heavily damaged more than 2 million hectares of forests in the South. The chemical poisons of the United States totally destroyed more than 500,000 hectares of dense forests, 114,000 hectares of forest inundated by salt water, 100,000 hectares of cajuput forests and 150,000 hectares of beefwood and coconut forests.

The consequences of the forests being destroyed are very profound, widespread and long-range, are related to virtually all fields of the economy and the living environment. The excessive destruction of the forests has caused serious flooding, drought and erosion. The bottoms of rivers and reservoirs are gradually being raised. In the Cam Son reservoir, the bottom has risen 2 meters over the past 10 years. The water holding capacity of the Da Nhim reservoir has declined to the point where it is influencing the output of the hydroelectric power plant.

Forest resources do not consist only of wood. The destruction of forests has led to the direct destruction of forest biological resources, soil and water resources, the air, etc. This reminds us of our attitude toward the forests.

Grain, agriculture and forestry are closely related to the use, conservation and management of soil and water.

Our country has 33 million hectares of arable land (58th in the world) but has a population of 52 million (15th in the world); therefore, the average amount of land per capita is very low: 0.6 hectare (159th in the world); our country is also in the tropical zone, where the soil is easily washed away and eroded and soil fertility can decline very rapidly. Of the total amount of land described above, agricultural land only constitutes about 21 percent, land being used for forestry purposes constitutes more than 35 percent, land being used for other purposes constitutes more than 4 percent and so forth. Thus, more than one-third

of our territory is not being thoroughly used to benefit the national economy in a practical way.

Our forest resources, although large (encompassing roughly 60 percent of our territory), only 29 percent of our forests meet the standards regarding degree of cover, density and reserves that can be harvested; that is, we still have about 10 million hectares of young forests, forests covered with bushes and grass and barren hills, approximately 500,000 hectares of which have been eroded to the bedrock in the Central Highlands, former Zone 4 and the southern Trung Bo coastline.

Soil erosion occurs very rapidly in tropical areas, especially at places at which the people must urgently resolve the grain problem. In our country, the Red River annually deposits in the Gulf of Tonkin 114 billion cubic meters of water containing 100 million tons of alluvial soil and the Mekong River deposits in the South China Sea 475 billion cubic meters of water containing more than 80 million tons of alluvial soil. This is truly regrettable!

In our country, the pollution of water sources is occurring at many places: the Cau River is being polluted by effluents from the Thai Nguyen industrial zone; the Red River is being polluted by effluents from the Viet Tri industrial zone; the rivers and lakes in Hanoi are being polluted by the effluents from the city; the Perfume River is being polluted by the effluents of Hue; the Dong Nai River is being polluted by the effluents of the Bien Hoa industrial zone; the canals of Ho Chi Minh City are being polluted by the effluents of the city. None of these effluents are treated.

Related to the matter of the pollution of water sources on the mainland is the pollution of the mouths of rivers, deltas and offshore waters. The marine product resources of our country, especially summer shrimp, ocean fish and river fish resources, play an important role in supplying protein to our people and supplying products for exportation. In recent years, many commercial species have declined to the point of alarm primarily because of excessive harvesting, a lack of sources of nutrition and water pollution.

In Sri Lanka, the continuous use of coral to produce lime over a period of many years has caused such serious harm that the local fishing trade no longer exists, tidewater forests and coconut forests have been taken over by the sea and all wells in the area have become polluted with salt water. Why is this? It has happened because coral reefs play a special role in protecting the seacoast and the continental shelf and are the habitat and breeding grounds for several species of fish. The excavation of coral for use in the production of lime and cement has and is being carried out in a number of coastal provinces in our country, especially in Phu Khanh and Thuan Hai. It must be understood that the coral reefs are the "forests" of the sea.

To the world, the struggle to protect the atmosphere is more important than the struggle to protect any other aspect of the environment.

One problem that is emerging as one that will affect the environment in the future is the CO<sub>2</sub> content of the air due to the burning of fuels. It has been estimated that, by 1990, the CO<sub>2</sub> content will be twice as high as it was in the mid-1970's and, of course, this CO<sub>2</sub> will be the cause of climatic changes in the first years of the 21st century.

Each year, the atmosphere in the United States receives more than 2 million tons of pollutants. The damage caused by air pollution in the United States has reached 15 billion dollars per year, compared to 5 billion dollars per year in the 1960's. In our country, many authors have surveyed the atmosphere in four regions of Hanoi and found: the SO<sub>2</sub> content is 14 times higher than permitted by the standard, the CO<sub>2</sub> content is 2.7 times higher and reciprocal relationships have been discovered between CO<sub>2</sub> and SO<sub>2</sub> and between SO<sub>2</sub> and the rising number of persons afflicted with respiratory ailments. At six sites that were especially selected for the planning of the city, it was found in the 1960's that the quantity of dust settling within the city was five times higher than the quantity settling outside the city; in industrial zones, it was two times higher than in residential areas, four times higher than in parks and seven times higher than in the outskirts of the city. When low atmospheric pressure prevails, the smokestack of the Ninh Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant causes serious pollution in Ninh Binh City and many surrounding villages.

Why has the atmospheric balance been disrupted? This is a question of major importance to mankind. Here, we shall not discuss this highly technical problem. However, this situation is partially the result of nature destroying and polluting nature and partially the result of man destroying and polluting the place where he lives, with man bearing the final consequences.

However, in Vietnam, we must lay full blame on the most sinister forces of the century for destroying the environment of Vietnam in a cruel manner, the imperialist forces in the recent wars of aggression. The bombs and shells used by the United States in Vietnam, an estimated 14 million tons (not including napalm bombs and phosphorus bombs), had a major effect upon the natural environment: 25 million bomb craters were created; in many areas, not one house was left standing; in Nghia Binh, 2.5 million coconut trees were destroyed; in the South, 9,000 of 15,000 hamlets were destroyed. This was also adversely affected the social environment: the number of persons wounded or disabled in the war is in the hundreds of thousands; nearly 1 million women became widows and 800,000 children became orphans; 10 million farmers were herded into the cities; nearly 1 million people became prostitutes, narcotic addicts or victims of venereal disease; and hundreds of thousands of persons contracted tuberculosis.

The war of aggression waged by the Beijing expansionists on our country's northern border in February and March, 1979, inflicted many damages on us: four cities and 320 villages were destroyed; the Lao Cai Apatite Mine was almost entirely destroyed; 904 schools, 700 child care centers, 430 public health facilities and 42 forestry sites were destroyed; and 15 percent of livestock were killed or stolen.

The 100,000 tons of chemical poisons and the 550 kilograms of agent orange spread on Vietnam in the chemical war of the U.S. imperialists heavily damaged the natural environment and destroyed the living environment in Vietnam, the consequences of which upon the Vietnamese have truly been cruel: 2 million persons were poisoned, 3,500 of whom died immediately; the persons who were poisoned many times and survived, now show many symptoms of serious illness. How ironical! The victims of this war of destruction are not only the Vietnamese but also the ones who committed this crime: 178,000 U.S. veterans, about 4,000 Australian veterans and 1,000 New Zealand and South Korean veterans were also poisoned. Among the victims of these chemical poisons are veterans who have become the fathers of 40,000 children with birth defects since the war.

The wars of aggression have not only had a harmful effect upon nature and upon the body of man, but have also exerted their harmful effects in the psychology, in the decadent culture and education of colonialism, both old and new, in South Vietnam, which it will take our people many years to overcome and transform.

Our party and state have attached importance to protecting the environment and using our natural resources, which is clearly and consistently evident in each related program and policy and is a part of the nature of the social system.

"Everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people" is the slogan of action of our entire party and all our people in the new stage of the revolution.

On the basis of revolutionary viewpoints and the actual state of our country's environment, which faces the danger of deteriorating more with each passing day, protecting the environment and making rational and scientific use of natural resources and natural conditions in a manner closely linked to the long-term and short-term economic development plans of the country and under a unified and scientific resource policy is a matter of strategic significance.

We must eventually bring matters related to environmental protection within the scope of planning and cost accounting. When formulating planning and economic development proposals, we must seriously and closely examine environmental protection, considering it to be one of the various economic-technical arguments and of a legal nature. This demands that planners engage in creative thinking, must approach the problem from an inter-sector point of view and must be unified when making decisions.

Environmental protection is a socio-economic field based on science and technology. By accelerating scientific research, by, in essence, conducting basic investigations and implementing technological advances, it is entirely possible to find "technical solutions" to the problems of protecting the environment and using natural resources.

Environmental protection activities cannot only be scientific research activities of a specialized nature for each aspect of the problem or each field or general research activities of an "academic" nature conducted by scientists, rather, they

must take the form of practical plans that are thoroughly and cautiously carried out in exact accordance with a predetermined order of priority and in a manner closely linked to production activities. As a result, it is necessary to draft laws on protecting nature, protecting the environment, protecting the bowels of the earth and so forth and necessary to amend and perfect the laws that have been promulgated regarding these matters.

The planning and codification of matters regarding the environment cannot merely be based on administrative measures, the central agencies and the organizations of the state, rather, appropriate attention must be given to participation by the mass organizations and the people, to the cultural traditions and social customs and to strongly upholding the right of collective ownership under the guideline "the state and the people working together." It is necessary to teach and disseminate knowledge concerning the environment within the education system and over the mass media to each citizen.

Many matters regarding environmental protection and the use of natural resources as well as natural conditions require international cooperation. For example, the management of the lower reaches of the Mekong River, the rational development of the tropical forests, flood control, problems regarding the climate, trade winds, typhoons and so forth are environmental problems that the entire region or many nations must coordinate to study and resolve. We must strengthen our regional and international cooperation within the field of environmental management and development, primarily strengthen our basic and long-range cooperation with the two countries of Laos and Kampuchea, with the Soviet Union and the other members of CEMA.

Protecting the environment and making scientific and rational use of the natural resources of our country has truly become a pressing problem to many different fields of science, technology, the economy, culture and society. Parallel to the problem of conducting scientific research and implementing technological advances within the field of environmental protection is the problem of investing in and establishing a balance among these activities.

Therefore, in the immediate future, we cannot meet the requirements of each activity in the various fields of the environment all at once, rather, we must focus our efforts on two aspects of an essential nature:

1. Environmental protection and forest and soil resources (forestry land and agricultural land);
2. The environment and educating and protecting the health of the people.

The main purposes of teaching man about the environment must be to heighten his responsibility as a master of and deepen his concern for nature, for the future of his children and the survival of all other species.

This is a matter in the nature of a principle of communist ethics.

Concerning the ecological balance of the planet, many persons have drawn a dark picture and unfairly laid too much of the blame for it on man. They have appealed for nature to be preserved and want to protect nature by maintaining the virgin state of nature and by preventing man from having an impact upon nature. However, there are also some persons who express pessimism regarding this matter, considering it to be the work of scientists.

Man must live and develop. The essence of man is not to destroy but to struggle to build, to seek constant improvement. We, new persons who possess the point of view of maters, must surely become the masters of nature, the masters of society and the masters of ourselves. The environment of Vietnam will surely be protected so that it is as pure as the soul of the Vietnamese.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume II, p 137.
2. The data on Vietnam used in this article has been supplied by the "World Environment Day" Commission of Vietnam from reports by the ministries and sectors participating in the discussion on the environment.

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CSO: 4210/2

MEMOIRS: NGUYEN AI QUOC AND THE FIRST PLENUM OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
(OCTOBER, 1930)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 82 pp 42-45

[Article related by Bui Lam and recorded by The Tap]

[Text] Editorial Note: in October, 1930, after convening the conference to merge the three communist organizations within the country in order to found the Vietnam Communist Party, Nguyen Ai Quoc convened the 1st Plenum of the Party Central Committee in order to ratify the Political Platform of the party, ratify the Party Statutes and decide a number of other important issues.

In order to help readers realize the especially important role played by Nguyen Ai Quoc at that plenum, we have printed excerpts from the memoirs of Bui Lam. Bui Lam was a person who acquired revolutionary awareness through Nguyen Ai Quoc while he was still in France; in 1927, he attended the Far Eastern College in Moscow and then worked in the Office of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International. In 1931, Bui Lam returned home to join the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee, after which he was arrested by the enemy and imprisoned. Following the August Revolution, Bui Lam worked at the Inter-Zone III Military Court, the Hanoi Court and the Ministry of Justice and then served as head of the Prosecutor's Office. After serving a term as Ambassador to Bulgaria and one term as Ambassador to the GDR, Bui Lam held the position of Deputy Director of the Supreme People's Organ of Control until his death in 1974.

Tran Phu and I studied for one semester at the Communist College of the Laboring People of the Far East (abbreviated as the Far Eastern College) in Moscow (the Soviet Union) and left for home in early 1930. Following secret lines of communication, we travelled through France; in April, 1930, we arrived in Hong Kong. Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, a former student of Tran Phu and a cadre at the Office of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International, who was using the name Ly Hue Phuong at the time, met us and led us to a building being used as a revolutionary base in Kowloon, the work place of Nguyen Ai Quoc, who, at that time, was going by the name Vuong. During those days, Nguyen Ai Quoc was living in very miserable conditions, was afflicted with tuberculosis and was thin and sallow; however, he still worked tirelessly and still concerned himself with building the revolutionary movement, not only in Indochina, but in all Southeast Asia as well...



We were very excited to learn that Nguyen Ai Quoc had reported to the Communist International on the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party. He was waiting for the unification of the communist organizations at home to be completed in order to convene a plenum of the Provisional Party Central Committee for the purposes of reviewing the implementation of the resolution of the Conference To Found the Party, elect the official central committee, discuss and define in further detail the line of the party, which was set forth in abbreviated form by the Conference To Found the Party because the conference was convened in a very urgent manner under difficult circumstances... Through an exchange of opinions concerning the qualifications of the cadres and members of our newly established party, we could see that Nguyen Ai Quoc was very concerned with providing training in Marxist-Leninist theory, the lines and policies of the party and work experiences to cadres and party members. In order to prepare one important condition for the performance of this task, he suggested to the Communist International that it supply a collection of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism and a number of other necessary books and newspapers... He also told us in detail how the revolutionary movement was developing strongly at home and demanded that the leadership of the party be strengthened. As a result, Nguyen Ai Quoc sent Tran Phu, an outstanding theoretician who had recently graduated from the Far Eastern College, back home immediately to supplement the Provisional Central Committee (Tran Phu's specific task was to be determined by the Central Committee). He met privately with Tran Phu in order to discuss the situation at home in detail and give him further instructions...

I wanted to follow Tran Phu back to Vietnam and engage in activities myself because I still remembered the advice given to me by Nguyen Ai Quoc when I was still in France: "You must perform the task of a citizen who has lost his country." However, Nguyen Ai Quoc met with me and said: the revolutionary movement at home is growing, the French imperialists are resorting to increasingly brutal terror and mobilizing the Vietnamese and French soldiers stationed in the French colony at this time is very necessary in order to coordinate with our work at home and contribute to the struggle against the enemy's terror. Nguyen Ai Quoc assigned me the task of going to Shanghai together with Nguyen Luong Bang, who was called Hai at that time, and a few other comrades to perform military proselyting work. After I began my work and after several issues of "SOLDIERS BUGLE CALL" Newspaper had been published, a person sent by Vuong contacted me while I was working with Hai at the Tran Tam Inn and took me to the Office of the Far Eastern Bureau. There, a few days after I received my assignment, I learned that Nguyen Ai Quoc, on behalf of the Communist International, had convened a plenum of the Party Central Committee. It was late August, 1930, and the revolution at home was developing into a movement.

Ho Tung Mau, alias Ich, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and myself were assigned to participate in preparing for the upcoming plenum of the Party Central Committee. Under the personal and close guidance of Nguyen Ai Quoc, we drafted the Party Statutes, the resolutions on the mobilization of workers, peasants, youths and women, the statutes of the mass organizations, etc.

While we were preparing the documents for the plenum, Tran Phu arrived from Vietnam and reported to Nguyen Ai Quoc on the revolutionary movement throughout the country and on the Nghe Tinh soviets; at the same time, he presented to him the draft of the Political Platform of the Party. Nguyen Ai Quoc contributed very important ideas to the draft. After revising this draft, Tran Phu also asked Nguyen Ai Quoc for his opinion once again and then presented it to a number of comrades working in the Office of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International for their opinion. We learned that before he drafted the Political Platform of the Party while back in Vietnam, Tran Phu had rather fully prepared himself in terms of both theory and practice; the Standing Committee of the Provisional Central Committee had also contributed its opinions to the draft. However, Tran Phu still continued to revise and supplement the draft until it was presented at the plenum of the Party Central Committee.

After directing the attention of Tran Phu to a few points within the draft of the Political Platform, we went to Hong Kong to make complete preparations for the plenum. Nguyen Ai Quoc and Tran Phu remained in Shanghai working on a number of additional jobs and did not arrive in Hong Kong until late September, 1930... There, our work office was set up at number 186 Tam Lung Street. Nguyen Thi Minh Khai changed her name to Duy (she once called herself Phan Lan); another comrade took the name Giao and I took the name Nam; Ho Tung Mau and a number of other comrades on the Overseas Committee lived elsewhere. Some of the delegates who arrived from Vietnam for the plenum were given quarters on Tam Lung Street; a number of others were given quarters in Kowloon. Nguyen Thi Minh Khai maintained liaison with the various delegates. At night, she and we typed and printed the proceedings of the plenum.

While preparing for the plenum, especially during September and October, 1930, we worked in a spirit of extraordinary enthusiasm. We had been given the assignment of helping Nguyen Ai Quoc keep abreast of the revolutionary movement at home on a day to day basis. We were constantly receiving news of the struggles being waged at home...

The plenum should have been held months earlier but this was impossible because the movement was being terrorized by the enemy at home and some leadership cadres of the party had been arrested. As a result, as of mid-October, 1930, not enough delegates had arrived in Hong Kong to hold the plenum. While waiting for the plenum to convene, some of the delegates who arrived early received initial training in the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

On the 20 October 1930, the 1st Plenum of the Party Central Committee began under the chairmanship of Nguyen Ai Quoc at a house (that had no address) on Guu Nghia Street in Hong Kong.

Attending the plenum were the following official delegates:

- Tran Phu (also called Tran Ngoc Phu), alias Ly Quy;
- Le Mao (also called Le Nhien), alias Cat
- Tran Van Lan, alias Giap;
- Nguyen Trong Nha, alias Nhat;
- .....(1)

Attending the plenum(2) as alternate delegates were Ho Tung Mau, Nguyen Minh Khai, Giao and myself.

The plenum debated and ratified the Political Platform of the Party drafted by Tran Phu; ratified the resolution on the present situation in Indochina and the pressing tasks of the party; ratified the resolutions on the mobilization of manual workers, peasants, youths, women...; ratified the Party Statutes and the statutes of the mass organizations. In accordance with a directive from the Communist International, the plenum decided to change the name of the party from the Vietnam Communist Party to the Indochina Communist Party.

The plenum elected the official Party Central Committee and assigned Tran Phu as general secretary of the party. The plenum also decided to make preparations for convening a national congress of delegates of the party.

Although his position and prestige at the plenum were important, Nguyen Ai Quoc was very modest and listened to and respected the opinions of the collective, we very clearly saw a very high sense of organization and spirit of responsibility in him.

After the plenum concluded, Nguyen Ai Quoc reported immediately to the Communist International and the Far Eastern Bureau on the results of the plenum; at the same time, he explained in further detail the resolutions of the plenum to the leaders of the Far Eastern Bureau...

After this plenum, at the suggestion of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Party Central Committee established its office in Saigon in order to facilitate international liaison...; persons were assigned to welcome a number of cadres returning home to engage in activities, among whom I was included.

The first plenum of the Party Central Committee was of very important historic significance: politically, it developed and further concretized the line of the party; organizationally, it appointed the official leadership agency of the party and strengthened the party's leadership of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam in 1930 and 1931.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Also attending this plenum was Ngo Duc Chi, alias Van. In 1931, he was arrested by the enemy and, after being tortured for many days, he was no longer able to maintain his spirit and confessed to the enemy.
2. One document states that it was a plenum of an enlarged central committee.

## SATISFACTORILY REVIEW THE ISSUANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82, pp 46-49 BK

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Implementing the resolution of the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, since 1980 our party has begun the issuance of party membership cards. To date, this task has been basically completed.

Over the past 2 years and more, the issuance of party membership cards has produced important results, thus advancing the training of cadres and party members and consolidating the party organizations at the grassroots level. Many cadres and party members have further improved their awareness of the party and their sense of organization and discipline, as well as their revolutionary fighting spirit. Many weak or mediocre grassroots party organizations have risen up to make themselves pure and strong. The issuance of party membership cards has also contributed to strengthening unity in the party, encouraging various establishments to carry out all the immediate political tasks, achieving an important step in the struggle to overcome laxity in the management of party members, and putting the activities of most party chapters onto the right track.

However, shortcomings have also existed in the issuance of party membership cards in the recent past. In some grassroots party organizations, because the cadres and party members failed to understand thoroughly the spirit of the party central committee's directive on the issuance of party membership cards and to firmly grasp the requirements concerning the qualification of party members, there were manifestations of arbitrariness and laxity in determining party members' qualifications. Party membership cards have been issued even to those who failed to meet the criteria. The removal of unqualified members from the party still has not been carried out resolutely and scrupulously or in accordance with the party central committee's guiding thought. After receiving their membership cards, some party members still have not tried to improve themselves and have become degenerate instead. Because many party committee echelons have concentrated on consolidating some grassroots party organizations in preparation for the issuance of party membership cards only and have not yet adopted necessary plans and measures to consolidate the others, a large number of these party organizations remain weak.

Our party--a genuine Marxist-Leninist party--is the leader and organizer of all victories of our revolution. The present struggle to build socialism and defend the fatherland has imposed on our party many new requirements concerning the improvement of its members' quality.

To develop the results obtained from the issuance of party membership cards and to continue to improve the quality of party members and consolidate all party organizations at the grassroots level, it is extremely necessary to pay attention to the review of the issuance of party membership cards. The report on party building at the Fifth National Party Congress pointed out: "The review of party card issuance must be a broad political activity throughout the entire party."<sup>1</sup>

Implementing the resolution of the congress, the party central committee secretariat recently issued a circular on the review of party card issuance. It is necessary to combine the review of party card issuance with the political indoctrination drive to seek to understand the contents of all documents of the congress and to conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to make it possible for all party members to maintain more firmly or try to improve their quality in the new stage. It is also necessary to go by this review to commend those outstanding party members and those comrades who have made great progress since receiving their cards; to discover good and qualified cadres and party members for appointment to the party committee echelons; and to re-examine the qualification of party members and rid the party immediately of those found to be unqualified.

All party committees at the higher level must rely on the review conducted by various grassroots party organizations to examine the issuance of party membership cards in their localities. They must go by the requirements laid down in the party central committee secretariat's directive on party card issuance to evaluate the results obtained and the real situation of the contingent of party members at present; draw experience on leadership; and formulate plans for continuing the struggle to improve the quality of party members, remove those unqualified persons from the party, make all party chapters and grassroots party organizations pure and strong, and standardize the management of party members.

The most important thing for all grassroots party organizations in the review of this task is to make all party members clearly understand the requirements concerning their qualifications in the socialist revolutionary stage so they will try to train themselves in accordance with these requirements. Every party member should know that "all party members, regardless of their positions, must be communist militants imbued with an ideal and must act according to the party's lines"<sup>2</sup> and that "They must have the quality and ability of a

<sup>1</sup> Report on Party Building by the Party Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, May 1982 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN, p 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p 51.

"communist militant."<sup>3</sup> These requirements regarding party members have already been pointed out in various documents of the Fifth National Party Congress.

Meanwhile, all chapter committees and party committees at the grassroots level should firmly grasp the criteria set for the evaluation of party members so their classification can be satisfactorily allocated. It is necessary to go by the self-criticism made before the party chapter by each party members--according to the requirements already pointed out in the political indoctrination drive--and observe and firmly grasp the situation of party members in order to classify exactly the number of persons who are fully qualified for party membership and the number of persons who should be removed immediately from the party. Those who should be removed include unqualified members who have remained in the party for quite a long time, members who have not yet received party membership cards pending further education and consideration and who cannot make progress after a certain period of time, members to whom party membership cards have been issued incorrectly, and members who commit mistakes after having received their party membership cards or who are no longer qualified for party membership. In this drive, efforts should also be made to continue the control of the qualifications of party members. As for those who have committed mistakes which still cannot be confirmed due to lack of evidence, we should continue the investigation in order to give them another period of education. We should, however, remove them immediately from the party if their mistakes are concretely confirmed.

Ridding the party of obviously unqualified members is an important requirement which we must carry out satisfactorily with close attention in the current drive to inspect and review the issuance of party membership cards. For many years now, our party has taken a great interest in this matter. The political report and the report on party building at the Fifth Party Congress already pointed out this requirement and the cases in which members must be expelled immediately from the party. We should firmly grasp that thought of the congress so this task can be carried out resolutely with close guidance. "Even if many members are to be removed, we must be determined to go ahead without hesitation."<sup>4</sup>

To ensure close control of the qualifications of party members, attention must be paid to clarifying the cases found to be abnormal. With regard to those party members whose qualifications remain ambiguous, plans should be formulated for a close study so a conclusion can be made quickly. As for those party members whose inordinately extravagant lifestyle attracts the suspicion of the masses and those party members with questionable backgrounds, the party chapters concerned should request that they report precisely on the sources of their incomes. If they fail to clarify the sources of their incomes, the party chapters concerned should reexamine their qualifications. Those party

<sup>3</sup> Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, April 1982 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN, p 87.

<sup>4</sup> Report on Party Building by the Party Central Committee at the Fifth Party Congress of Delegates, May 1982 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN, p 51.

members whose qualifications are under question should not be allowed to remain in or be appointed to any party committee or chapter committee.

The control of the qualifications of party members and their classification must be carefully prepared, closely guided and scrupulously carried out with correct motives and an objective attitude. In some cases, if necessary criticism should be conducted with the participation of the masses in order to seek their views and remarks. This would be an opportunity for the cadres, party members and the masses to enhance their sense of responsibility, thus enabling them to contribute actively to the party-building task. It is necessary to overcome such manifestations as right-leaning ideology, indulgence, laxity and a "live-and-let-live attitude," which could result in diminished standards for party members. We must also overcome the tendency to help those who are no longer qualified as members to remain in the party just because they are our family members, relatives, or brothers and sisters. On the other hand, we must not mistake demoralized and unqualified party members for those aging, physically weak and disabled comrades who are no longer capable of work and deserve rest and convalescence. For the latter, they need only maintain their revolutionary qualities. Concerning party organizations which are affected by the lack of unity and a complex situation, the party committees at the higher level should pay attention to helping them concretely confirm right and wrong before conducting the classification of party members.

To create favorable conditions for party members to strive to train themselves and to continue to improve their quality, all party chapters must, in classifying party members, discuss the measures and time limits for settling each specific case and rectifying the mistakes and shortcomings which have been constructively criticized by the masses. Meanwhile, efforts must be made to ensure that the distribution of work to party members is carried out satisfactorily.

To ensure fine success in the issuance of party membership cards, all party committees at the higher level must truly pay attention to leading and directing the review of this task in every party chapter and party organization at the grassroots level. Before reviewing the issuance of party membership cards at a certain party base, the party committee at the higher level should re-examine the situation of the party committee and party chapter committee at that base in order to replace those key cadres who are not qualified as party committee members. This is an important factor in ensuring that criticism and self-criticism among party members and their classification are correctly conducted. In localities where party membership cards have not yet been issued, the party committees at the higher level should send competent party committee members to consolidate party bases, further strengthen the party organization and help the party committees at the grassroots level prepare and carry out the issuance of party membership cards before party congresses are to be held.

It is necessary for the higher level to send cadres or work teams to weak party bases to study the situation; help grassroots party committees and party chapter committees in making party members and the masses understand clearly the standards of party members and the cases in which party members are

considered unqualified; and guide grassroots party committees and party chapter committees in classifying party members exactly by relying on those good party members or those good people who have already been educated. Cadres assigned to grassroots party organizations should know the operational policies of these organizations well in order to be able to help them effectively consolidate themselves. They should pull out only when all these weak party bases have been consolidated.

[Words indistinct] of party membership cards, we will be able to accelerate the party building task in numerous ways. This work not only contributes actively to streamlining party members and improving their quality, but helps our party accurately understand the real situation of its members at present so it can adopt appropriate policies and measures to continue to educate party members and improve their quality, as well as to further consolidate party organizations at the grassroots level. Closely combining the political indoctrination drive on the Fifth Party Congress resolutions with the review of the issuance of party membership cards is also very important in the preparation of the second round of grassroots party organization congresses and the effort to strengthen all party committees and chapter committees. In view of this, it is necessary for all party organizations at the grassroots level to carefully prepare for and carry out the reviewing of the issuance of party membership cards in accordance with the requirements set forth by the party central committee. All party committees at the provincial and district levels must provide close guidance for those weak grassroots party organizations and formulate plans to actively help them overcome difficulties so the review of the issuance of party cards can be carried out satisfactorily in their localities. It is also necessary to overcome the method of conducting the review merely for the sake of formality as this would in no way benefit the ideological education of party members, the improvement of their quality or the consolidation of party organizations at the grassroots level. The party central committee secretariat said: For those localities and units which have already reviewed the issuance of party membership cards but have not done so in accordance with the resolution of the Fifth Party Congress and the circular of the party central committee, they must now reexamine the qualifications of their party members and carry out the review of this task satisfactorily from the grassroots level in accordance with the party central committee's guiding thought.

The results of the review of the issuance of party cards in combination with the current political indoctrination drive must be distinctly manifested in the changes made by all cadres, party members, echelons, sectors, and grassroots party organizations--in terms of knowledge, ideology and action--to concentrate their minds and energy on successfully fulfilling all the tasks set forth by the Fifth Party Congress.

CSO: 4210/2



BOOK REVIEW: "CONCERNING THE PROCESS OF ADVANCING FROM SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 82 pp 50-54

[Book Review by Xuan Kieu]

[Text] The book "Concerning the Process of Advancing from Small-Scale Production to Large-Scale Socialist Production," which was published by Su That Publishing House, consists of a number of speeches written by General Secretary Le Duan between 1962 and recently that deal with many important matters of profound theoretical and practical significance. By researching this work, we will learn basic knowledge concerning the line of the party and the laws in the process of change from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

The major characteristic of our country is that it is advancing from a backward agriculture directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. As a result, the socialist revolution in our country must first be directed toward upgrading the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. This is a comprehensive, thorough and profound revolution because it changes the entire psychology, all the habits and the method of operation based on small-scale, decentralized production to the modern, socialist method of large-scale operation.

The course for advancing our entire country to large-scale socialist production was charted by our party at the 4th Congress. The 5th Congress confirmed that we will continue to implement the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy that were set forth by the 4th Congress. In this work, Le Duan deeply analyzes the basic matters in the general line and the line on building the socialist economy: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, establishing the system of collective ownership of the laboring people and carrying out socialist industrialization.

Le Duan says: "The path to large-scale socialist production, the quickest path to socialism, is firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions..."(p 156).\* We are in the initial stage of the period of transition, which is the period in which the

struggle between socialism and capitalism is a sharp struggle in all fields, the economy, politics, ideology, the culture and so forth. "The period of transition to socialism is the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the period of class struggle between socialism and capitalism"(p 125). Le Duan reminds us to always have a firm grasp of this basic viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle waged by the working class and laboring people who have become the masters of society to suppress the resistance by exploiters and abolish the remnants of the old society while building the new, socialist society. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle involves transforming the old society and building the new society. The functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat state are to suppress reactionaries and organize and build the new society, with the latter function being the main function. The main front in building the new society is building the new economy in order to create a high social labor productivity and insure the victory of socialism over capitalism.

In order for cadres and party members to realize the full importance and complex nature of the class struggle in the period of transition, Le Duan emphasizes: "Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying out the three revolutions, suppressing counter-revolutionaries, combating capitalist spontaneity, combating factionalism, misappropriation and abuse of authority, combating the unorganized, undisciplined handicraft way of doing things, combating feudal concepts regarding youths, women and so forth, all of these things are part of the class struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, build the system of collective ownership of the masses, build a modern economic structure, successfully resolve the problem of 'who defeats whom' and win total victory for socialism."(pp 126-127).

Establishing the system of collective ownership is a very important theoretical matter in the line of the party. The system of collective ownership has its economic base in the system of large-scale socialist production. In the initial stage of the period of transition our country's economy is still poor, labor is primarily manual labor and labor productivity is still very low. However, we cannot sit idly by and wait until large-scale production has been established before establishing the system of collective ownership. We can establish the concept of being the masters of society, the masters of factories, the masters of fields on the part of manual workers, farmers and the other strata of laborers before large-scale production is established. And, the process of establishing the system of collective ownership in our country is gradually being carried out on an increasingly high level consistent with the level of development of production forces and the perfection of production relations. Le Duan says: "In the immediate future, because our production forces are still underdeveloped, because we are still producing little wealth, we cannot provide much by way of public welfare; the system of collective ownership, therefore, is limited"(p 199-200).

Without a modern machine industry, the effort to exercise collective ownership of the economy must first focus on developing our potentials, such as our labor,

arable land and natural resources, in an effective manner. Le Duan advises the sectors and levels: "We must deeply understand that implementing the right of collective ownership of the laboring people means thoroughly caring for their lives, means providing ample consumer goods to the various strata of the population, to society and each family"(p 189).

As mentioned above, the foundation of the system of collective ownership is large-scale socialist production. The only way to achieve large-scale socialist production is to carry out socialist industrialization. In this book, Le Duan dedicates many pages to discussing socialist industrialization, which is the central task in the period of transition to socialism.

Le Duan scientifically analyzes the process of carrying out socialist industrialization in our country. He says: "The most basic point in the industrial revolution is the development of heavy industry, that is, the development of the industry that manufactures the instruments of production, the center of which, the key to which is machine manufacture"(p 16). Concerning the goal of developing heavy industry, Le Duan stresses: "The role of heavy industry is to create the means for expanding this social production, therefore, the development of heavy industry has no other purpose, is designed to resolve no other problem than meeting the needs of the life of society"(p 18).

The essence of socialist industrialization is carrying out the technological revolution. As regards the stages of development of the technological revolution in our country, Le Duan says: "...We must make immediate leaps forward from manual labor to mechanized labor while developing in an orderly manner from manual labor to semi-mechanized labor and, once this has been completed, to mechanized labor"(p 22).

In our country, the technological revolution entails changing the entire system of social production based on manual labor to a system of mechanized production, that is, entails equipping the agricultural sector and the consumer goods production industry with new technology with a view toward stimulating the development of agriculture and consumer goods production.

Equipping the national economy with new technology and giving priority to the development of heavy industry require capital. As a result, we must vigorously raise the matter of accumulating capital and, in order to accumulate capital, we must accelerate production and raise labor productivity, which is the basic way to accumulate capital; at the same time, all the people must practice thorough economy, practice economy in production as well as in consumption.

In order to more clearly show everyone the state of our economy and the important role of socialist industrialization, Le Duan stresses: "Although it is called a socialist economy, from the point of view of production forces, ours is still an economy of small-scale production, still basically an agricultural economy. The new production relations have been established but we cannot say that the socialist mode of production with all that it entails has been established. It

can be said that we have but do not have socialism... In the final analysis, the crux of the matter is that we have not yet created the material-technical bases of socialism." And, "the only conclusion that can be reached is that we must accelerate socialist industrialization, must rapidly advance to large-scale socialist production"(p 151).

In his work "Concerning the Process of Advancing from Small-Scale Production to Large-Scale Socialist Production," Le Duan deeply analyzes the matters that are in the nature of laws in this process within our country.

Le Duan says: "Every society that wants to change from an old society into a new society must undergo transformation and construction. As regards our country, which is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, transformation must be closely linked to construction..."(p 169). This is a matter in the nature of a law. In the first stage of the period of transition to socialism, special importance must be attached to transforming the old production relations, establishing the public ownership of the instruments of production under two forms, national and collective, and establishing the system of socialist management and distribution while transforming and building material-technical bases, accelerating production and producing more wealth for society. Thus, the "cause and effect" relationship between transformation and construction is manifested in the two constituent factors of the new, socialist mode of production and the transformation and building of production relations are closely linked to the transformation and building of production forces. This organic relationship is due to the law of suitability between production relations and production forces. Le Duan says: "We should not think that transformation is only designed to transform production relations nor should we think that when we talk about building, we are only talking about building production forces. In fact, the old mode of production encompasses both production relations and production forces, both of which must be transformed and built" and "wherever something is abolished, something must be built"(pp 169-170). If transformation is carried out but not building, it does not result in something that is more effective; conversely, only by building, developing upon and perfecting can transformation yield practical returns. "If we are slow to transform production relations and lax in our effort to strengthen and perfect the new production relations, we cannot accelerate the technological revolution. However, if we do not fully realize the pressing nature of building the new production forces on the basis of modern technology, we cannot strengthen the new production relations"(p 129). This is the fundamental aspect of, is the indispensable relationship between transformation and building in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

Building an efficient economic structure is a matter in the nature of a law in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. "An efficient economic structure consists of the two basic production sectors, industry and agriculture, and the two economies, the central economy and the local economy"(p 129).

As we know, industry and agriculture are the two basic material production sectors of the national economy. The combining of industry and agriculture in a unified economic structure is an essential prerequisite to the formation of an efficient economic structure on a nationwide scale. The only course that can be taken to establish this economic structure is "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry." Thus, within the development of industry, the development of heavy industry is a matter of special importance in upgrading small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. As a result, "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry" means relying upon, from the very outset, the natural resources of the country and international cooperation in order to build heavy industrial installations that effectively support agriculture and light industry. However, while orienting heavy industry toward supporting agriculture and light industry, we must accelerate the development of agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and must gradually advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production. This matter is pointed out by Le Duan: "If we do not see the important role of heavy industry and do not immediately begin to urgently build heavy industry in order to have an impact upon agriculture and light industry, the national economy will stagnate. However, if we do not quickly boost agriculture and light industry beyond the necessary 'thresholds,' we will be unable to maintain the living conditions of the people and create the base for the development of heavy industry"(p 131). Le Duan concludes: "Therefore, 'giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry' has become a law in the development of the structure of our country's economy in the initial stage and reflects the 'cause and effect' relationship within a unified heavy industrial, agricultural and light industrial structure"(p 131).

The economy of the entire country is built on the basis of a unified plan, consequently, the economic structure is also a unified, nationwide structure encompassing the central economy and the local economy. Le Duan points out: "Advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a process of integrated development that combines orderly development with leaps forward, coordinates the overall balances of the entire country with the separate balances of each locality and sector and coordinates centralized, unified development from top to bottom with widespread development from bottom to top. As a result, simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development is a law in the development of the economic structure in our country"(p 131-132).

Building the central economy while developing the local economy is consistent with the requirements of socialist economic management in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, consistent with the requirements of the new division of labor and consistent with agglomeration and the centralization of the sources of capital. Only by building the central economy and developing the local economy can we take the initiative in developing each potential of localities as best possible and create the conditions for the central level to focus its efforts on developing the important economic-technical sectors. Le Duan

says: "Building the central economy while developing the local economy is the best way to develop each capability of the country in order to rapidly increase production, accelerate the division of labor, open new sectors and trades and create additional wealth"(p 10).

In summary, in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is absolutely necessary to build the structure of the economy. Concerning this matter, Le Duan points out: "...Understanding the relationship between industry and agriculture, among heavy industry, agriculture and light industry and between the central economy and the local economy means understanding the fundamental factors involved in building a new economic structure that is consistent with the guidelines for the long-range development of the economy and the specific characteristics of the initial stage" (p 133).

In addition to the matters presented above, the book also deals with such matters as establishing the management system and implementing the planning of the national economy; establishing the correct relationship between accumulation and consumption; the development of production forces and the strengthening and perfection of production relations; the coordination of the economy with national defense, etc. These are matters in the nature of laws that were confirmed by the 5th Congress of the Party. As a result, the publishing of Le Duan's work "Concerning the Process of Advancing from Small-Scale Production to Large-Scale Socialist Production" promptly satisfies the desire of the mass of readers in our country and helps readers to acquire the theoretical base needed to more deeply understand the documents of the 5th Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* The passages followed by parenthesis within which there are page numbers are excerpts from the book "Concerning the Process of Advancing from Small-Scale Production to Large-Scale Socialist Production" by Le Duan, published by Su That Publishing House, Hanoi.

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CSO: 4210/2

ORGANIZE WELL THE REVIEW OF THE PATRIOTIC WAR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82 pp 55-59 BK

[Article by Chi Kien]

[Text] Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation cause ended in glorious victory more than 7 years ago. This marvelous epic of the Vietnamese revolutionary war is still resounding throughout the country and continuing to strongly encourage national liberation in the world.

As the party central committee's political report presented at the Fourth Party Congress stated: "Months and years will go by, but our people's victory in the resistance struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, is one of the most brilliant pages of our national history and a shining manifestation of the complete victory of revolutionary heroism and human intelligence. It has gone down in world history as a great feat of arms of the 20th century--an event of great international and profound epochal significance."

Our people and armed forces are very proud of the glorious victory they won over the past 21 years in their unyielding and lasting struggle full of hardships and sacrifices under the party's skillful leadership. They also understand the outstanding successes which various party organization echelons and military commanding echelons achieved in their accurate, sharp and flexible strategic guidance and their art of combat organization.

Implementing the slogan: "Everything for the Frontline; Everything to Win Victory," our soldiers and people, equipped with heroism and intelligence, defeated the various strategies of the White House and the Pentagon, prompting the U.S. imperialists--the wealthiest and most powerful archimperialists--to finally court the unprecedentedly great and shameful defeat.

Obviously, "the anti-U.S. national salvation war is a very rich and precious treasure of experiences. It is necessary to organize well the summing up of war experiences in order to consolidate national defense and firmly defend the socialist regime in the new stage of the revolution." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress, The Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1977, p 14)

The present review of the war is significant in many respects. Not only is it designed to draw upon experiences in leading and guiding the anti-U.S. war to develop and perfect the Vietnamese military theory and science, but it is also really helpful to the study and use of these experiences under the present circumstances, thus meeting the requirements of the tasks of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

The requirements for the review must be reflected in the rich realities of people's war in the various localities of the country in each stage in a truthful, comprehensive and systematic manner, involving the armed, political, economic, cultural and social aspects of the struggle and even the party-building task.

The results of the war review in the localities are very helpful. Besides helping with the review and writing of the country's general war history, the conditions are favorable for the localities to write and perfect the histories of their own party organizations. Also through the review, localities are able to develop even more strongly the patriotic traditions and the national pride of the local people, provide more diversified subjects for the review and accelerate cultural and literary and artistic activities in localities, thus stimulating the people to satisfactorily fulfill economic, political and military tasks in the new stage. For party organization echelons, the war review is also an occasion for them to evaluate and analyze thoroughly their past leadership and direction tasks, to strengthen solidarity and the identity of views within party organizations, to develop strengths, to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses and other prevalent negative manifestations and to strive to make localities even firmer and stronger.

A conference was held early in 1980 to review the anti-U.S. war in the B2 Theater of Operations (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: The B2 Theater of Operations covered the U.S.-fighting battlefields from Thuan Hai and Lam Dong Provinces to the former Nam Bo Provinces.) According to a directive of the central military party committee and the Ministry of National Defense, provinces and cities of the former B2 zone are striving to complete summing up experiences in directing the people's war in localities during the anti-U.S. resistance struggle (from 1954 to 1975). They are writing the history of building the armed forces and of the armed struggle of localities and helping the research on party history boards to write the histories of provincial and city party organizations. Under this project, districts are supposed to write their own histories and traditions of struggle, and villages are requested to do the same thing. A number of key provinces of military regions 7 and 9 are being assisted by the B2 War Review Committee in organizing the review task. Experiences gained by them in this task will be disseminated to other places.

Ben Tre Province was first chosen as a locality to carry out the review task on a trial basis. After nearly 2 years of intensive and comprehensive preparations, it successfully completed the review of the anti-U.S. war last July. Through many basic preparatory steps--ranging from understanding the guidelines, purposes and requirements of the review and improving reviewing methods for cadres, to organizing the research in and exploitation of documents and draft review outlines and reports--Ben Tre Province has set up a main review



system composed of many reports which are of both practical and theoretical value.

There are 13 reports in all. They include one general and comprehensive report thoroughly analyzing and evaluating the war and providing essential experiences drawn from the struggle; four reviewing specifically the armed activities, the political struggle, enemy proselytizing work and the party-building task; and eight reports by localities of the provinces. These eight diversified and lively reports by Mo Cay, Giong Trom, Thanh Phu, Ba Tri, Lach, Chau Thanh and Binh Dai Districts and Ben Tre Provincial City deal with the concerted uprising movement in 1960, the building of a rear base and the launching of guerrilla warfare, the conduct of people's war in districts, the combination of the three-prong offensive to defeat the U.S. troops' sweeps during the 1966-67 second dry season and the opposition to the enemy's "pacification program." The reports also deal with the motivation of the people to revolt during the Mau Than Tet offensive drive (1968), the developments of people's war in a bridgehead and corridor area of the province and the establishment and activities of secret self-defense units in coordination with the political struggle. Moreover, there is a set of 13 maps showing the developments of the Ben Tre battlefield in each stage of fighting between us and the enemy. The maps are supported by a set of appendixes including 18 charts and specific statistic figures of our multifaceted resistance achievements and the enemy's fighting activities.

This entire review project has depicted the fine picture of the people's war with the continuous offensive impetus of a locality known for its tradition of "heroically staging concerted uprisings, defeating the U.S. aggressors and annihilating the puppets."

It can be said that such a satisfactory review reflects the great effort made by Ben Tre Province in spite of the many difficulties and many other duties facing it. Its review is a very positive contribution to the general war review by the entire country. It provides an important research basis for us to elucidate still further a number of questions related to revolutionary methods, the revolutionary military science, the art of armed uprisings and the conduct of people's war in localities.

Ben Tre Province's war review was a labor-consuming project and was completed ahead of schedule with high quality and with all requirements fulfilled. This reflects the steadfast determination of the Ben Tre Provincial Party Committee to make the review a success. The comrade secretary of the provincial party committee and the standing board of this committee had spent much time studying the party central committee's guidelines, affirmed the determination to go ahead with the review, directly and carefully supervised comprehensive preparatory work and paid proper attention to ensuring conditions for the successful completion of the review. Committees and sectors subordinate to the provincial party organization--such as the committee for the research on party history, the committee for military review, the propaganda and training committee and so forth--developed their active role in research and editing work and helped the committee echelons satisfactorily supervise the review. The Ben Tre Provincial Party Committee also paid great attention

to a very important and indispensable factor in the war review--seeking the contribution of opinions from the majority of cadres from the provincial to the grassroots levels, from the comrades who used to lead and supervise the patriotic resistance struggle in localities and from all organs and mass organizations in the province.

Experience in organizing the war review by Ben Tre Province has indicated that the following problems deserve our attention:

--First of all, we must determine clearly and correctly the guidelines, purposes and requirements of the review so the local party committees will do the review work urgently. We must not think that this work can be done any time or postponed for the next year, nor must we consider the war as a thing "of the past" and believe that its belated review would not affect the implementation of the present main economic and social duties.

We must understand that the war review will give us an opportunity to reminisce and promote the traditions of fighting the enemy and defending the country and the "loyal to the country and people" shining qualities of our combatants and compatriots, to arouse our people's strong confidence in our party's steady leadership and to motivate the local people and troops to conquer all difficulties and ordeals in the stage ahead and enthusiastically contribute their strength to the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. In close coordination with other tasks--such as writing history, preserving historical, cultural and information records and so forth--the war review will greatly contribute to enhancing the noble and beautiful spiritual values, which constitute the great source of strength of the local people. Moreover, as the report made by Ben Tre Province on its review work has pointed out, this task must be started as soon as possible "because it will give us a chance to fulfill our obligation to those who have fallen and to our younger generations, and also because it is a dictate of history and of the people...."

--The war review is truly a scientific task. It requires that the war realities in localities should be reflected accurately and fully and that a correct analysis of the lively realities of the anti-U.S. resistance struggle should be made in order to draw upon valuable experiences of theoretical value.

To have a firm grasp of these diversified realities, we must firmly rely on the sources of the enemy's and our material and documents kept in localities and at the central level. We must devote much effort and time to researching, gathering and exploiting these sources of material and documents which, however, are normally insufficient because they were lost or destroyed during the recent fierce war. Therefore, it is necessary to utilize at all costs the living sources of material, which are very great, important and accurate. In the present situation, we must surmount all difficulties and hardships in promptly seeking to understand, refer to and exploit sources of material from the majority of cadres, combatants and compatriots who once lived amid or participated directly in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle in localities. This task must not be delayed any longer. We will suffer a great loss if the aged or ailing comrades pass away one after another before they are asked to contribute their very rich and valuable live resistance material to the review.

In this respect, Ben Tre Province has done a relatively good job. As a result, the realities of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle in Ben Tre Province were documented fairly specifically, accurately and adequately in its reports on the review. With the cooperation of the three levels (provinces, districts and villages) in carrying out the review task, almost all children and brothers of the homeland of concerted uprisings had the honor of contributing to the general war review by the province.

--The war review task is very difficult and complex. Cadres responsible for research and review tasks can fulfill them only if they display a steadfast determination, a high sense of responsibility and great enthusiasm.

Aside from being thoroughly aware of the political and military lines, guidelines and policies adopted by the party and localities in each stage of the resistance struggle, research and review cadres must possess ample knowledge of the realities of the past war in localities. Moreover, it is imperative for them to base themselves on actual and historical facts to analyze correctly victories and defeats, find the causes of what was done right and of wrongdoings, and evaluate the positive and negative aspects of war leadership and direction. The scientific character of the war review requires that all historic events should be recorded meticulously and be neither belittled nor exaggerated and distorted. Shortcomings and mistakes must be boldly pointed out in order to subject them to proper criticism.

--One of the purposes of the war review is to think of ways to apply the experiences drawn from the past patriotic war to the present new conditions. This is designed not only to satisfactorily support the building of the armed forces, the consolidation of national defense and the protection of the socialist fatherland, but also to meet political and economic demands in the current advance to socialism.

Naturally, the application of such experiences must not be simple, nor must it be done coercively or for form's sake. The results of the war review by Ben Tre Province, from which great and very valuable experiences have been gained, have raised some points that need to be considered by party cadres and members.

One of these lessons is that during the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, the Ben Tre Party Organization fought unyieldingly and heroically, achieved unity and unanimity of views among party cadres and members, feared no sacrifices and hardships, always attacked the enemy, upheld the self-reliant spirit and was determined to lead the people in struggling to fulfill all duties.

Having confidence in and relying on the masses of people, constantly maintaining the close relationship between the party and the masses and resolutely motivating and organizing them into a strong revolutionary force were important factors in ensuring the victories of Ben Tre during the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Through the province's war review, the local party cadres and members have realized that in the present stage of socialist revolution, faced with difficulties and complexities in the initial stage of

the transition period, it is very necessary to educate and enlighten the masses and consolidate and maintain their confidence in the party and its revolutionary line in the new stage. Only by consolidating the confidence of the masses in the party and the future of the revolution will we be able to motivate them to participate in all fields of activity to the revolution and to contribute their human and material wealth to gradually overcoming difficulties and satisfactorily carrying out the three revolutions.

To this end, our party must truly mingle with the masses, consolidate its relationship with them more closely, turn grassroots-level party organizations into a connecting line between the party and the masses and resolutely and quickly overcome the manifestations of bureaucratism and commandism that keep the party aloof from the masses.

Obviously, if party cadres and members of the Ben Tre Province continue to maintain the fine local traditions, truly serve as a nucleus of the mass movement, further develop their vanguard and exemplary role and motivate the masses to resolutely fulfill the duties set forth by the party, the Ben Tre Party Organization and people will score even greater victories in the cause of building socialism and being ready to defend the fatherland.

Following Ben Tre Province, other southern provinces such as Long An, Tien Giang, An Giang and others are actively preparing to complete reviewing the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle in localities by the end of this year.

The experiences of the 21 years of the resistance for national salvation on all anti-U.S. battlefields in the south will certainly and greatly contribute to further enriching the treasure of extremely rich and valuable experiences gained by the heroic Vietnamese people in their glorious revolutionary war.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT LITERARY MATTERS IN SOUTHERN PROVINCES AND CITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Sep 82, pp 60-65 BK

[Article by Tran Trong Dang Dan]

[Text] In the 7 years since liberation, literary life in the southern provinces and cities of our country has undergone some basic and positive changes. Hundreds of millions of books of more than 340,000 different titles, and nearly 1,000 types of journals--most of them literary magazines serving the U.S.-puppet regime for 20 years--have been eliminated by the revolutionary people from their spiritual treasury, and have been replaced by literary works written in accordance with the socialist realism style of Vietnam and other fraternal socialist countries.

Progressive, patriotic revolutionary and socialist literature can be said to have become an essential spiritual demand of the people in the newly liberated areas of our country's southern part.

Since the very first days immediately following liberation, a series of works--the quintessence of the century-long literature of our nation and progressive mankind--have appeared alongside modern literary works from both domestic and foreign sources in thousands of libraries, bookstores and news stands in the south. These works have been published, introduced, analyzed and assessed in a scientific and objective spirit and from a correct stand and viewpoint.

Over the past 7 years, some ten or so journals with a relatively wide circulation in Ho Chi Minh City have carried more than 7,000 poems, 4,000 short stories and 300 memoirs. In only 100 issues of newspapers and magazines published by the various literary and art agencies in Hau Giang, Cuu Long, Tay Ninh, Dong Nai, Long An, An Giang, Minh Hai, Kien Giang, Ben Tre, Dong Thap, Tien Giang, Phu Khanh and Dac Lac from 1975 to 1981, we already have over 900 poems and 300 short stories and essays, it is estimated that these journals account for approximately one-tenth of all journals published in the southern provinces. The nine Mekong Delta provinces alone have published more than 60 collections of short stories, essays, fictions and poems. Most of the works published in newspapers and books are new literary works with a sound content whose authors live and work in the localities.

The southern provinces and cities have produced hundreds of plays and movies along with large numbers of patriotic, revolutionary and socialist literary compositions which have been turned into movie scripts, plays, radio and television stories and folk songs. All these literary products are popular with the people not only in the southern cities and provinces but throughout the country.

Popular, classical and contemporary literature of our country and the world--which is absorbed in a selective, judicious and creative way--has been widely introduced alongside our modern literature through publications, lectures in primary and general schools and universities, at various forums of literary clubs, and in various literary seminars and symposiums in the southern provinces and cities. All these types of literature have been absorbed gradually and deeply by the masses of workers, peasants, troops, intellectuals and people of all strata. These very significant achievements have been scored by people engaged in literary activities--especially the literary workers and public in the southern provinces and cities--under the very difficult and complex conditions of the recent special historical stage. The party central committee's political report at the fifth nationwide Party Congress clearly pointed out that the implementation of the Fifth Party Congress resolutions on literature and arts "has achieved some good results." "Neocolonialist culture in the south has been basically eliminated, the revolutionary culture of the resistance movement has developed vigorously since liberation. The mass literary and artistic movement has continued to expand. In the past few years, some valuable works have appeared, promoting the role of building new ideologies and feelings. It is clear that the establishment and transformation of culture along the socialist line has taken another step forward."<sup>1</sup>

Apart from these encouraging achievements, we can also clearly see what should be done to surge forward in the literary and artistic fields. For instance: "Many cultural and artistic activities are of poor quality with shallow socialist contents that are insufficiently attractive and unable to create a deep impression so as to orient man toward correct thinking and action...deviant phenomena and unhealthy trends have emerged." In some localities, the struggle on the cultural front has been neglected, "allowing the vestiges of neocolonialist culture and superstition to rise up in many localities and influence quite a number of youths of both sexes."

One of the most urgent demands of our cultural life is what we should do to create many major and beautiful works in the next few years. The history and life of our country as a whole, and the southern provinces and cities in particular, especially the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, are an extremely rich vein of literary and artistic subjects for description. Today a new life is unfolding in a very vigorous and subtle manner, and literature and art are the two vocations most eminently qualified to understand and reflect on such realities.

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<sup>1</sup> Passages within quotation marks are excerpts from the Political Report at the Fifth VCP Congress.

However, if writers want to produce really beautiful works of great significance and worthy of eminence in the nation and the era as meeting the legitimate demands of the public and the Fifth VCP Congress, they should ponder on how to resolve professional problems and those specific questions which arise in writing. For example, they should know how to create a rational relationship between a social model and a cultural model, between the main and opposite characters, between the reality of life and artistic illusory settings, and between actual and general facts. How should they describe a revolutionary war which has already ended as opposed to describing a war which is still raging? How should they correctly introduce science and technology into literature when writing on industrial and agricultural subjects and intellectual matters? How should they use traditions and acquire new facts? How should they view current facts and reexamine past realities correctly and dialectically? What will be the ideal and realistic models of new Vietnamese people in general and the new Vietnamese people of the southern provinces and cities in the present stage? To what extent should they be dramatic and when would they be too comic? How should they praise achievements and armed exploits without rushing into "making them too rosy" and how should they forthrightly criticize negativism in today's society without leading to "smearing" realities?

These are some of the specific problems being raised for our authors as a whole and for writers in the southern provinces and cities in particular. Our literature and art must reflect the characteristics of socialism, the nation, the party and the people. They must be in harmony with ideological and artistic characteristics. All writers and artists must resolve these specific problems in order to fulfill the general demands. In the past, literature in the southern provinces and cities did not keep abreast of the realities of life. The artistic output was not commensurate with the abilities of the writing force. This situation was partly due to the fact that we had not resolved the above specific problems.

One of the most urgent requirements if really great and beautiful literary works are to be produced in the southern provinces and cities in the next few years, is to continue to perfect the various agencies and organizations, especially literary and artistic associations in provinces and professional associations in Ho Chi Minh City, so that we can engage in really effective and uniform activities. If these agencies and organizations are correctly led, guided and administered, this will create a balanced proportion of works on the themes of combat, production, children, adults, national history, revolutionary history and other contemporary themes. There will be harmonious coordination between professional and non-professional literary workers; between writers in the southern provinces and cities and those at the central level; between writers in Ho Chi Minh City and those in other localities; between literary composition and radio and television broadcasts; between stage plays, movies and songs; between creative work, research and theoretical work, and literary criticism and lectures; and especially between creative work and publication of the press.

Our culture and arts are meant to serve the people, our literature is to serve large numbers of readers. This is the consistent viewpoint and unswerving

policy of our party. In 1943, the party plan for Vietnamese culture set forth the following three principles of the cultural campaign: nationalization, scientific systematization and popularization. In 1957, in a letter addressed to the second nationwide Congress of Literature and Arts, the party central committee clearly pointed out: "Proceeding from the viewpoint that the laboring masses are the creators of history, we advocate that literature and art must serve the people."<sup>1</sup> President Ho also urged writers and artists to view the majority of the people as the target for their work. He asserted: "We should talk about serving workers, peasants and troops, that is, serving the majority of the people."

At the Fifth Party Congress, the viewpoint of cultural and artistic service to the people was expounded all the more profoundly and specifically. The party central committee's political report stressed: "One of the tasks of the ideological and cultural revolution is to touch the people's everyday life with culture. Special attention should be paid to building cultural life in all primary installations to ensure that culture exists in all factories, farms, work and afforestation sites, units of the army and the people's public security forces, schools, hospitals, villages, cooperatives, city wards and hamlets. Cultural life in cities and towns should be improved further to make cities worthy of representing the new culture."

In order to manifest the party's consistent viewpoint on the responsibility of culture and art for serving the people, and to thoroughly instill the spirit of the Fifth Party Congress resolutions into the life of the people in the southern cities and provinces, one of the points to be emphasized is to defeat the tastes in culture and art among the public. In terms of literature, this will be the taste of readers.

Saying that literature must be aimed at serving readers does not mean that it must fulfill all the desires of readers, especially in the present historic conditions of our country and in the former U.S.-puppet occupied areas. Living for more than two decades under U.S.-puppet control, large numbers of readers have become divorced from revolutionary literature. Vast amounts of reactionary and decadent books and journals overwhelmed the occupied areas. The cultural and artistic lifestyle spawned by the huge U.S.-created psychological warfare machinery left behind among some readers base tastes and habits in literature which are contrary to the scope and style of socialist realism literature. It is absolutely necessary to eliminate these base tastes and habits.

When speaking about doing away with vestiges of the old "literature" we must naturally speak about eliminating bad books, reactionary and decadent "literary works" and all "literature" which is the product of the consumer society created by the U.S.-puppet regime. We paid special attention to this question immediately after the total liberation of the south. In August 1975, the

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<sup>1</sup> President Ho: Literary and Artistic Tasks, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, pp 10, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



Ministry of Information and Culture of the Republic of South Vietnam issued Circular No 218 on banning the circulation of "politically reactionary and pornographic books." In March 1976, the Ministry of Information and Culture issued another circular--Circular No 15--concerning the same question. In Ho Chi Minh City in particular, in May 1977 the information and cultural service also publicized a circular on this problem. To each of these circulars was attached a list of banned books. Some of these lists were published in full in many newspapers and magazines. Over the past few years, the southern provinces and cities have also organized the suppression of noxious cultural products left behind by the U.S.-puppet regime. However, it is very deplorable that, up to now, in the book and magazine markets of various southern provinces and cities, especially in Ho Chi Minh City, many kinds of noxious publications, including those illicitly printed recently or smuggled into the country from abroad, are still being openly circulated or put on sale.

The above is just a discussion of book circulation. The problem is how to eliminate the current sizable hidden supplies of bad and noxious books as the main source of the circulation of bad publications, and how to promote our people's understanding of the harmfulness of such reading material, so that they may resolutely get rid of it. This is a task which we are not carrying out carefully. Of course, correctly resolving the question of circulating and illegally storing bad books is only one aspect of the problem. Concerning the subject of improving poor aesthetic taste in the appreciation of cultural products, the most important question is how to eradicate what the reactionary and decadent "literature" has imprinted on the minds of readers, and how to do away with the vulgar approaches to artistic appreciation which have become the habit of those readers who once fell victim to the consumer society. This, too, is no simple task because it belongs to the field of spiritual transformation and takes time. Moreover, it is closely related to efforts to radically change the economic and social life. Especially, it depends on our ability to create new spiritual products and new literary and artistic works with really good contents in really attractive forms.

We must acknowledge the fact that, among the majority of book readers in the southern provinces and cities, there still exist weaknesses caused by the old social regime in general and by the neocolonialist "culture" in particular. At the same time, we must recognize another fact that, despite many years of living under the coercive U.S.-puppet regime, the majority of the people still turn their minds toward the revolution and the nation. For this reason, the positive influences exerted on the people by the revolutionary literature and art, the traditional folk arts and letters and the national culture have developed constantly, giving rise to healthy aesthetic tastes and correct demands for artistic appreciation. This is a good basis for the masses to absorb the new literature at present.

Thus, among the masses in the southern provinces and cities there still exist two contrary aesthetic tastes and ways of literary appreciation. What is noteworthy, however, is that these tastes and ways are not always distinctly separable; very often they blend with each other in each reader, though the ratio of this blending differs from one individual to another. This requires that we remain very alert when relying on their opinion to evaluate current literary works.

What has just been mentioned concerns only those readers who formerly lived in areas under U.S.-puppet control. In reality, 7 years after liberation there are in a number of southern provinces and cities a relatively large number of new readers whom we cannot fail to mention. They are people who have returned from the southern base areas where they lived before 1975 and from the north. They include not only soldiers and cadres but also people of various strata. Among these readers, some have become accustomed to enjoying revolutionary and socialist literature. Today, through their contact with the "culture" left behind by the neocolonialist regime and with various new literary works created in peace time, they cannot but undergo certain changes in tastes, aesthetic appreciation and demands for literary entertainment. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the newly-emerging demands among them due to psychological changes they have experienced when shifting from life under the anti-U.S. war to life in a situation where our country enjoys peace while having to cope with the sabotage and warmongering activities conducted by the Chinese expansionists acting in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. There have been changes in their outlook regarding the difficult situation facing economic construction in the present stage of the transition to socialism on a national scale. This is not to mention a few readers who, since the days when they were still in various liberated zones or in the north, have not acquired enough knowledge to properly absorb revolutionary and socialist literature. Therefore, new tendencies toward the demand for artistic entertainment and toward various tastes are also relatively complex. Some people have very high and exacting demands for new literature while others, perhaps small in number, are still likely to be deduced by various kinds of neocolonialist "literary" vestiges.

Thus, viewing the majority among various circles of readers in the southern provinces and cities, there still exist not only healthy tastes suitable to the acquisition of revolutionary and socialist literature but also unhealthy tastes against which we must struggle drastically and constantly. Therefore, it is necessary to transform the tastes of readers and of the literary masses as a whole. In order to achieve this aim, we must harmoniously coordinate the activities of many sectors, adopt drastic and sophisticated methods and measures, remain persistent and alert, and maintain the essential condition of creating many new beautiful and interesting literary works.

The reflective objects of literature can be the majesty, richness and magnificence of nature; social reality and a splendid history, and today's diversified and vivid life. The force reflecting that nature and that social reality is a large force of enthusiastic and competent writers. The literary public must possess a high knowledge and their tastes must be pure and healthy. Literature must be rich and diversified with many great and interesting works. All these are basic requirements to be met by literary and artistic workers in southern provinces and cities. These are also our party's wishes which we must fulfill under the guidelines set forth recently by the Fifth VCP Congress.

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## REVOLUTIONARY STORMS ARE BREWING IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 82 pp 66-70

[Article by Bui Ngoc Hai]

[Text] Recently, Central America and the Caribbean have become a hotpoint in the world. Following the victories of the revolution in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua, the storms of revolutionary struggle in this region are shaking the neo-colonialist system of the U.S. imperialists in Latin America.

### The Origin of the Storms of Struggle

Since the countries of Latin America won their independence and freed themselves from the yoke of colonialist rule, primarily the Spanish colonialists, in the early 19th Century, the structure of the ruling classes in these countries has remained virtually unchanged. All power has belonged to the upper class of landowners and compradore bourgeoisie who closely collaborate with the U.S. imperialists. They have relied upon their professional apparatus consisting of the army, the police and the terrorist organizations to suppress the struggle movement of the people and prevent every reform, even the smallest. The countries in Central America are primarily agricultural countries but the majority of farmland is held by large landowners who use this cropland in various forms of capitalist and feudal exploitation, in which peasants are tragically exploited. Industrial development is meager and the bourgeoisie is weak, pressured and must rely upon foreign capitalists to survive. The working class and laboring people must sell their labor in order to earn a living and their wages are many times lower than those of the manual workers in capitalist countries. The middle class, petty bourgeoisie lead unstable lives. Basically, society in the countries of Central America, with the exception of Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua, is neo-colonialist society; the landowner class and the compradore bourgeoisie rule these countries in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. This situation is the cause of the backwardness and the dependency of Central America, in particular, and Latin America, in general, and is also the origin of the revolutionary struggle that has been underway for many decades in this region.

Replacing the European capitalists as the bosses in Central America, the United States rapidly permeated and gained control of the entire economic and political

life of the countries within the region. The policy of the United States toward the Latin American countries has, from one president to the next, revolved around the use of the "carrot and stick," threatening these countries at some times while courting them at others but always seeking to strengthen U.S. rule. The Reagan administration had acknowledged that Central America and the Caribbean are "a vital commercial and strategic artery" to the United States. More than one-half of the trade, two-thirds of the petroleum and more than one-half of the minerals imported by the United States must pass through the Panama Canal or the Gulf of Mexico. This is also a region with tremendous potential in agriculture and important petroleum reserves. In the Central American countries, the majority of the foreign investments are U.S. investments.

The crisis within the capitalist world has weighed heavily upon the countries of the region. The foreign debt of the Latin American countries increased eight-fold between 1970 and 1981, rising to 160 billion dollars. In 1981, Costa Rica, which has been called the "Switzerland of Central America" for many years, had a foreign debt of 2.5 billion dollars. In 1981, in order to purchase the same amount of petroleum, the countries of Central America and the Caribbean had to spend five times as much coffee and twice as much sugar as they did in 1977. All of these burdens have fallen upon the laboring people, with the consequences being serious unemployment, illiteracy and malnutrition, poor public health and a frightening gap between the rich and the poor. This is one of the most important factors in the outbreak of the decisive struggle of the people of this region against the dictatorial rule at home and against the U.S. imperialists.

In actuality, the struggle of the peoples of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean began long ago. During the years from 1926 to 1933, an armed struggle was waged against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, a struggle that was under the leadership of General Augusto Sandino. In February, 1932, the people of El Salvador, under the leadership of the communist party, staged an uprising to seize political power. In 1944, there was a revolutionary struggle movement in Guatemala. All of these movements were barbarously suppressed and drowned in a sea of blood. In 1951, Colonel Ha-co-bo Ac-ben [Vietnamese phonetics] who played the key role in the 1944 revolution, was elected president in Guatemala and carried out land reform, confiscating the plantations of the U.S. fruit corporations. In June, 1954 the United States organized a coup d'etat to topple this government. In 1956, Fidel Castro began leading the armed struggle in the mountainous jungles of eastern Cuba and this struggle won victory in early 1959. In 1961, Cuba declared that it would build socialism. The victory of the Cuban revolution marked the start of the true process of liberation of the nations of Central America. As the prime minister of Grenada, M. Bishop, stated: "It is impossible to visualize the victory of the revolution in Grenada or the revolution in Nicaragua without the victory of the Cuban revolution."

In 1961, following the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Sandino National Liberation Front was established in Nicaragua. The armed struggle was also launched in El Salvador. In 1968, in Panama, General O. Torrijos rose to power and began to intensify the struggle to regain sovereignty over the canal zone

that was being occupied by the United States. In 1977, the Carter administration was forced to sign a new treaty and promise to return the canal zone to Panama at the end of this century. The struggle in Central America and the Caribbean underwent major changes in the early 1970's and developed strongly from 1975 onward, following the victory of the peoples of Vietnam and the countries of Indochina over U.S. aggression. In March, 1979, the Grenada revolution under the leadership of the "Common Effort for Welfare, Education and Liberation Movement"(New Jewel) won victory. This event, which occurred on an island measuring 344 square kilometers that has a population of less than 120,000, can be called the opening salvo in a new struggle by the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, a struggle that is much larger than the struggles in any previous stage. Four months after the Grenada revolution won victory, the armed struggle of the people of Nicaragua won total victory. Then, the uprising movements in El Salvador and Guatemala also began to grow more rapidly and strongly. In Honduras, the movement has also undergone change with the birth of the Xin-cho-ne-rot [Vietnamese phonetics] organization, which is the name of a popular leader in this country. The people of Puerto Rico have steadfastly struggled against the statehood scheme of the United States. The storms of revolutionary struggle are spreading throughout Central America, especially El Salvador, which is called the "second Vietnam." The Salvadoran people, with the sympathy and support of the people of the entire world, are bringing their revolution to the threshold of the final stage.

#### The Unique Aspects of the Movements

Generally speaking, the revolutionary movements of Central America are being carried out under the leadership of vanguard political and military organizations that have been challenged in the realities of arduous struggle. Due to historic circumstances, in Central America as well as the other countries in Latin America, there are very many different armed, political and mass organizations within the same country. This situation has fragmented the attack on the common enemy, weakened the forces of revolution and made it difficult to rally the masses. On the basis of their experience in the struggle against the enemy and against opportunistic movements, these forces have gradually unified their strategy and tactics and overcome their fragmentation. In December, 1978, in Nicaragua, the three guerrilla groups called "the permanent people's war," "proletariat" and "uprising" established a single, nationwide leadership committee, thereby opening the way for the victory of the revolution in 1979. In El Salvador, the Revolutionary Democratic Front, a unified organization of the masses, was established in April, 1980 and, in October, 1980, the four armed organizations within the country joined together to form the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. In Guatemala, in early 1982, the four vanguard revolutionary organizations were joined together within the National Revolution Unity League (URNG) and the various mass organizations also united within the Guatemalan Patriotic Unity Commission. The uniting of revolutionary forces on the basis of a common platform is consistent with the requirements of the revolution, marks a stage of growth and is one of the most important prerequisites to advancing the revolution to victory.

On the basis of the people's war strategy, the struggle movements in the Central American countries are being strongly supported by the masses and have a widespread base among the people. The struggles being waged in El Salvador and Guatemala today are not and the Nicaragua struggle was not scattered guerrilla activities conducted in the mountainous jungles but a widespread people's war. In 14 provinces in El Salvador and 22 provinces in Guatemala, there are areas that are under the control of the partisan armies. Due to the participation of large numbers of manual workers, peasants, Indians, intellectuals, students, women, teenagers and children in the struggle through various forms of closely coordinated political, military and diplomatic struggle, a widespread front has been established with the people on one side and the domestic dictatorial regimes and the U.S. imperialists on the other side. In addition to guerrilla forces that are in the process of forming people's armies, there are also militia and self-defense organizations within the cities and the countryside. Their level of organization and command and their level of combat have been markedly raised. The growth of the revolutionary movements has broken the curtain of silence erected by the imperialists and their lackeys in a vain attempt to conceal the realities of the struggle being waged by the people of Central America and the Caribbean. A vast area in the "backyard" of the United States has become a burning frontline.

In Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean are closest to the U.S. imperialists. The thrust of the revolutionary struggle here is directed toward the U.S. imperialists and the pro-U.S. reactionary regimes. The widespread development of these movements has put the United States and its lackeys on the defensive, has made them confused and has made it necessary for them to resist these movements at many places at the same time. On the other hand, due to their closeness geographically, historically, linguistically and culturally, these movements inspire and assist one another, thereby creating an interconnected position.

The struggle of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean has the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and international public opinion, including American public opinion. This is very broad support, support that is coming not only from the masses, but also from many bourgeois governments that are allies of the United States but disagree with U.S. policy toward Latin America. This support is very rich political and material support. It has made an important contribution to preventing intervention by the United States and isolating the United States and its lackeys.

With the victory of the Cuban, Grenadan and Nicaraguan revolutions, an important piece of the neo-colonialist system of the U.S. imperialists has been destroyed and not one but three liberated nations, "three giants," have emerged in Latin America. The struggle of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean has made an important contribution to the strongly developing national liberation movement in the world by strengthening the forces of revolution and weakening counter-revolutionary forces. This struggle has made valuable theoretical and practical contributions and proves that the three revolutionary currents of our times are continuing to take the offensive.

## The Huge Size of the United States Cannot Impede the Advance of Revolutionary Forces

In the face of the struggle being waged by the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, the U.S. imperialists are panic stricken and looking for every way to deal with this struggle. They have sent emergency economic and military aid, including U.S. advisors, to prop up the corrupt lackey governments and have used the puppet armies to wage a very cruel special war. Together with hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, the United States has sent hundreds of advisors, including Green Berets, to help the puppet armies in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. On the other hand, the United States has pressured its lackeys into holding sham elections in a vain attempt to quell the indignation of public opinion over the cruel fascist nature of these lackeys and rescue them from their isolation while clearing the way for the United States to intensify its intervention, even intervene directly in the countries within the region.

The development of the situation has shown that even though they have received large quantities of weapons, ammunition and money, the puppet armies have still been unable to reverse the situation and have, instead, become increasingly bogged down and harrassed. The struggle of the people is continuing to develop, continuing to be strengthened, continuing to win many large victories. The schemes behind the elections were denounced, the elections were boycotted and public opinion was not deceived. The election tricks were merely an opportunity for U.S. lackey reactionary circles to compete for power and fight one another. Their internal antagonisms have become increasingly sharp.

The United States is also using economic aid in a vain attempt to placate, buy and divide the peoples of the countries in the region. As soon as it took office, the Reagan administration loudly proclaimed the intention of the United States to implement a kind of "small Marshall Plan" in Central America and the Caribbean, under which the United States has promised to provide 350 million dollars for "economic development." In essence, Reagan's plan, as pointed out by public opinion, is only designed to create the conditions for U.S. capitalists to expand their operations, designed to encourage private capitalists, designed, as his domestic economic policy is, to "make the rich richer and the poor poorer." While the money promised by the United States is very small compared to the needs of the region, the majority of this money has been allocated to the U.S. lackeys in El Salvador, Guatemala and so forth. The scheme of the United States to gain the participation of Mexico, Canada and a number of other countries in the plan of the United States has not been successful. Many persons have expressed skepticism over the true intentions of the United States and the impact of the U.S. plan.

In conjunction with political and economic maneuvers, the United States is increasing its military presence within the region, frantically conducting intimidating maneuvers in the Caribbean and drawing lackey governments into the counter-revolutionary plan of the United States. According to the Pentagon, the number of U.S. troops now present in the Caribbean has risen to 25,000; these

troops are stationed in the Panama Canal Zone, Guantanamo and Puerto Rico and on the ships that are regularly present in the Caribbean. The United States is also frantically preparing to build new military bases in Haiti, Honduras, Costa Rica and in the Gulf of Fonseca and is planning to establish a U.S. military command in Central America and the Caribbean to continuously carry out the largest maneuvers ever seen in this ocean region.

Directing the thrust of its efforts at the revolution in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, Washington has conducted numerous campaigns of slander and intimidation in a vain attempt to isolate and weaken these countries and block the influence of these countries upon the revolution within the region. The actions of the United States are also designed to create a state of constant tension, draw the attention of world public opinion away from the struggle being waged by the people of the region, distort the actual situation and defend intervention by the United States, which is being denounced. Deserving of attention is the fact that, on this side of the Pacific, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles are also echoing the statements made by the U.S. imperialists that the Soviet Union is increasing its infiltration, that Cuba is the cause of tension within Central America and the Caribbean. This only serves to further expose their counter-revolutionary nature and their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. The revolution in this region must deal with large schemes. The bellicose, aggressive policy of the United States is the greatest threat. However, the situation within the region and the international situation have also undergone some very favorable changes. A few years ago, it was difficult to visualize victory by the revolution in Grenada and Nicaragua. However, this is what happened. In the United States, whereas 18 years ago the Johnson administration could easily send troops to commit aggression against Vietnam and fabricated the Gulf of Tonkin incident in order to launch a war filled with crimes by the United States against Vietnam, today, even when the U.S. administration expresses the desire to send in troops, strong voices arise among the American people and within the U.S. Congress opposing the sending of U.S. troops to El Salvador, opposing increased military aid to the dictatorial regimes and warning the United States about becoming involved in a "second Vietnam." Having taken the side of Great Britain in Great Britain's retaking of the Malvinas, an archipelago under Argentine sovereignty, the United States itself has exacerbated the inherent contradictions between the United States and the countries of Latin America.

With their staunch determination to fight, their revolutionary heroism and their intelligence and with the strong sympathy and support of international public opinion, the peoples of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean will surely win victory in their just struggle.

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