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# **Southeast Asia Report**

**VIETNAM**

**TAP CHI CONG SAN**

**No 2, FEBRUARY 1986**

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

## TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 2, FEBRUARY 1986

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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ADDRESS BY TRUONG CHINH AT THE 5TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF HEROES (16-17 JANUARY 1986)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 1-3

[Address by Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear presiding officers,

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, I wholeheartedly welcome you to the 5th National Congress of Heroes and Emulation Warriors, welcome the heroic collectives and individuals and the emulation warriors who bring to this congress the fresh, bright flowers of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

On this occasion, I extend a hearty welcome and thanks to the Soviet specialists and specialists from the other fraternal socialist countries who are working hard and helping the Vietnamese to build and defend their country. I would also like to extend a welcome to the representatives of the diplomatic missions of the socialist countries in attendance here today.

Dear comrades,

This national congress of heroes and emulation warriors represents 218 heroic units and collectives, 111 heroic individuals and 223 national emulation warriors from all strata of the people, all age groups and all localities in both the lowlands and the mountains. This proves that the socialist emulation movement has developed nationwide and is becoming a powerful moving force in the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Under the party's leadership, you, along with the rest of our people and armed forces, have displayed the spirit of collective ownership, displayed self-reliance, overcome natural disasters and enemy attacks, worked with selfless devotion and recorded many very inspiring achievements.

You have helped us to take a step toward defeating the war of encroachment and occupation along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the expansionists and hegemonists, helped us to strengthen and consolidate our national defense, maintain political security and social order and safety

and fulfill our international obligation to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

On behalf of the party and state, I heartily commend you, our heroic collectives and individuals, our national emulation warriors, heartily commend the manual workers, farmers, intellectuals, soldiers of the armed forces and fellow countrymen nationwide who struggled bravely, surmounted difficulties and recorded many outstanding achievements in the resistance against the United States for national salvation and are doing so again today in the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Dear comrades,

In 1986, the first year of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, the tasks of our people are very large and very glorious. Under the light of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the resolution of the 10th session of the 7th National Assembly, I urge you to join your fellow countrymen and the soldiers of the entire country in building stronger unity, join together in effort and spirit, display the spirit of socialist collective ownership, display initiative and creativity and make every effort to emulate in work, production and the practice of frugality, revamp the management mechanism, combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, develop upon strengths, rectify shortcomings, combat each negative phenomena in society and stabilize the standard of living. Put the teaching of the great President Ho Chi Minh into practice: "Each and every person, each and every sector emulating each and every day..." Build a strong and widespread revolutionary action movement aimed at achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency. Be highly determined to bring about a new change in our country's socio-economic situation.

Be highly vigilant and work to strengthen our national defense and security, to defeat the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage and thus insure the performance of our two strategic tasks: successfully building socialist and staunchly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Those heroic collectives and individuals and national emulation warriors who receive commendations must be highly visible in their role as leaders in the revolutionary movements of the masses, keep reaching even higher and record worthy achievements in celebration of the party's 6th National Congress.

It is my hope that from the spirited emulation movement of our people will emerge many more heroic collectives and individuals, many more national emulation warriors who are creative, technically skilled, disciplined and highly productive, who set good examples in respecting and protecting socialist property.

I wish you success in your efforts to complete the 1986 state plan, thereby making positive contributions to the successful completion of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan.

I wish you a new year of abundant good health, much happiness and success in your work.

7809

CSO: 4210/7

## TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 4-8

[Editorial]

[Text] The 9th Plenum of the Party decided to convene the party's 6th National Congress of Delegates in late 1986. The congress will discuss and evaluate the situation surrounding the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Congress, decide the strategic guidelines for socio-economic development in the years ahead and the tasks under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, discuss amendments and revisions to the Party Statutes and elect the party's 6th Central Committee.

These are important jobs, jobs that will have a decisive influence upon the destiny of the country, upon the revolutionary cause of the people, upon the strength and leadership ability of the entire party. Each party congress provides an opportunity to review the party's awareness of theory and practice, re-examine the corps of cadres and party members and increase the party's fighting strength. Each also entails a political activity drive that raises the standards of the masses. Each party congress is a new milestone on the path of development of the revolution and marks growth by our party.

Since the 5th Party Congress and despite countless difficulties and challenges posed by heavy enemy attacks and repeated natural disasters, our people, under the leadership of the party, have fought with great tenacity and bravery and recorded large achievements on both fronts: building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

After healing the wounds of the war, with our economy seriously imbalanced and with fewer supplies and raw materials available to us, we tried to gradually increase production in all areas, especially grain production. Whereas agricultural production only increased at the average rate of 2 percent and industrial production at the average rate of 0.7 percent per year during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, agricultural output increased by an average rate of 5.1 percent and industrial production by an average rate of 14 percent per year during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985. Grain output rose from 13.49 million tons in 1976 to 14.4 million tons in 1980 and 18.2 million tons in 1985. Grain output has risen by nearly 1 million tons per year in each of the past 5 years.



Although we have had to meet the basic and pressing needs involved in strengthening our security and national defense and the minimum needs of the people at the same time, we have displayed a high spirit of self-reliance in building the material-technical bases necessary for socialism. Today, nearly 300 more above-line projects and many medium and small-scale projects built by the state and the people together, which include numerous important projects, have been put into operation and a number of others will go into operation in the years ahead. The fixed assets of the material production sector increased nearly three-fold between 1976 and 1985. Never before has our country had the important material-technical bases that it does now.

Large victories have been won in socialist transformation. The exploiting classes have been virtually abolished. Agricultural cooperativization in the South has been virtually completed through various forms and levels of cooperativization. Socialist production relations now hold the dominant position within the national economy. Deserving of attention is the fact that, in recent years, under the light of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums, we have gradually defined our basic views on revamping the economic management mechanism, dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of planning and have gradually applied the economic laws of the initial stage of the period of transition in our country better.

As regards the standard of living, although many difficulties are still being encountered, we have been virtually meeting the essential needs for food, clothing, shelter, transportation, health care and education. With the exception of a number of places at which damage from natural disasters was extensive, the standard of living has been improved and is more stable in many rural areas. We have provided jobs to millions of persons. Education, science, technology, cultural activities, public health and social work have continuously developed. Important inroads have been made against the cultural vestiges and social ills left behind by the old regime in the South. The face of society, especially in the countryside, is undergoing profound changes.

Having continued to increase the fighting strength of the people's armed forces and strengthen our security and national defense potentials, we have begun to win victory over the scheme of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and other reactionary powers to encircle and sabotage us and have maintained the independence and freedom of our fatherland while fulfilling our sacred international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, thus making the overall revolutionary situation of the three countries of Indochina stronger and more stable than ever before.

The large and comprehensive achievements mentioned above prove that the line of our party is correct and creative, prove the strength and superiority of the socialist system and confirm that our party has taken strides forward and grown in the process of leading the socialist revolution. These large and comprehensive achievements are the results of years and months of arduous, bitter struggle waged by our people in the spirit of self-reliance and with the large and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of our friends throughout the world.



However, the achievements recorded in the recent past have not fundamentally changed the socio-economic face of our country from one of small-scale production to one of large-scale, socialist production nor have they brought about stable development so that we can complete the socio-economic tasks of the initial stage of the period of transition. Production continues to develop slowly at a time when the population has been growing rapidly and national income per capita has risen only slightly. Labor and arable land are not being fully utilized. Productivity, quality and efficiency have declined. The economy is still in a serious state of imbalance, some aspects of which are very acute. The people, primarily cadres, manual workers and the armed forces, are still encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives. Many aspects of the economy and society are abnormal. Negative phenomena are being corrected slowly.

The poor socio-economic situation described above has objective causes and is the result of subjective weaknesses and shortcomings of our party and state in organizing and guiding implementation and in management.

In the field of party organization-building, we have tried to adhere to and support the performance of the political tasks of the party and thoroughly carry out the guidelines, line and tasks set by the 4th Congress, the 5th Congress and the plenums of the Party Central Committee concerning party building. In only a short amount of time, we performed a large volume of detailed work. We carried out the second round of the party organization congresses on the various levels; implemented the resolutions of the Party Central Committee on ideological and organizational work; re-examined and strengthened the corps of leadership cadres on all levels; planned and intensified the elementary and advanced training of cadres; formulated work regulations of the Party Central Committee and the provincial party committees, district party committees and party committees of basic units; promoted the effort to build district party organizations that are solid and strong; focused efforts on strengthening a number of types of basic organizations of the party (such as the basic organizations of the party at state-operated enterprises, in the Central Highlands, in the border highlands and on the subward level); reviewed the issuance of party membership cards and the effort to improve the quality of party members; partially reorganized the organizational and staff apparatus; revised and amended a number of policies concerning cadres, etc. As a result, the quality and effectiveness of party organizational work-building have been raised to a new level. In particular, this work has been increasingly oriented toward supporting the tasks of building the economy and strengthening the state apparatus. The leadership and guidance provided by the local party committees and sectors have been partially improved under guidelines that are more thorough, concrete and effective. The leadership apparatus of the party and the management apparatus of the state have been steadily strengthened.

However, compared to the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, ideological work, organizational work, cadre work and inspections have, generally speaking, improved slowly and not kept pace with the development of the situation. Our efforts in many areas of our work still reflect a lack of initiative, are still ineffective. Within the party and state apparatus, compliance with the lines and policies of the party and laws

of the state is not strict. The right of collective ownership of the laboring people in economic management and state management is not being upheld and is even being violated at many places. Bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, authoritarianism and irresponsibility are still widespread. Although new party membership cards have been issued, there are still more than a few cadres and party members who are corrupt. Using one's position or job to steal public property, take bribes and conspire with undesirable elements to achieve personal wealth, intimidating the masses, actions that reflect a lack of organization and discipline and individualism are still rather widespread phenomena. At many places, the party organization is not fulfilling its inspection function well nor doing a good job of educating and managing party members. The lack of internal unity at a number of places has not been corrected. The ability of the management apparatus to conduct research and provide guidance and management still falls short of requirements. The weaknesses in party organizational work-building have seriously affected the implementation of party directives and resolutions.

Our country is currently in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Although we have many basic advantages in our favor, our economy remains a small-scale production economy and is seriously imbalanced. Many aspects of production and the standard of living are unstable. In addition, our country must constantly fight the wide-ranging war of sabotage and the border war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the enemy and guard against the possibility of their launching a large-scale war of aggression.

In the years ahead, on the basis of the strategic line and views of the party and our country's socio-economic situation today, our people must focus their efforts on meeting the following primary targets: stabilizing all aspects of the socio-economic situation; stabilizing the standard of living; building a rational agro-industrial economic structure; continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism; strengthening and perfecting socialist production relations in a manner compatible with production forces, establishing the new management mechanism and stimulating the development of production forces; and continuing to strengthen our national defense and security.

By meeting the above targets, we will successfully complete the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country and lay the foundations needed to advance our country's socio-economic system to the next stage, the focus of which will be large-scale socialist industrialization.

To implement these strategic guidelines, it is of decisive importance that we continue to improve the ability of the party to lead and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus. The realities of life have increasingly shown that if we adopt correct lines and issue correct directives and resolutions but our organizational and management skills are inadequate, these lines, directives and resolutions ultimately cannot be implemented and are sometimes even altered.

There is very much that we must do as we move toward the 6th National Congress of the Party. However, of key importance is the need to further increase the fighting strength and leadership ability of the party organization and

strengthen the apparatus and increase the management effectiveness of the state through our efforts to organize the implementation of the 1986 state plan and through the party congresses on the various levels.

In the process of preparing for and holding their congresses, the various party committee echelons must delve deeply into reviewing all areas of their work and practice good self-criticism and criticism. They must draw lessons and experience in organizing and guiding implementation, in managing their work. On this basis, positive and practical measures must be taken to develop upon strengths, overcome weaknesses, build stronger internal unity and make progress in all areas of their work. The leaders of the various levels and sectors must guide the practice of self-criticism and criticism on their level and within their sector. They must set a good example by criticizing themselves, accepting the criticisms offered by others and taking positive steps to rectify their shortcomings.

Of pressing importance at this time is the need to correctly and thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism in party activities and management work. Concrete and determined measures must be taken to correct the problem of lax party discipline and lax compliance with state laws, create the strength of unity of will and action throughout the party, create the strength of unified state management and tap the initiative and creativity of basic units, localities and sectors, of each laborer. We must combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. At the same time, we must combat decentralization, localism, the lack of organization and discipline and the pursuit of personal interests to the detriment of common interests.

One important and pressing requirement we face is to raise the standards of cadres and party members, especially their ability to organize and manage the economy and manage the state. At the same time, we must restructure our organization, reassign cadres and improve both work methods and the style of work. On the one hand, we must quickly provide cadres and party members with new knowledge of economic management, science, technology and their specialized field or profession through advanced training in accordance with the requirements involved in revamping our leadership of the economy and improving the economic management mechanism. On the other hand, it is necessary to reorganize the training and deployment of cadres and build a corps of cadres who truly possess good qualities and skills and meet the new requirements of the current stage. The resolution of the 9th Party Plenum requires that we begin, at the very start of 1986, to restructure the apparatus of the party, state and mass organizations, eliminate unnecessary middle-level organizations, restructure the labor force of administrative agencies, reduce the size of indirect staffs at basic production and business units and assign additional cadres to districts, basic units and places that are experiencing difficulties. All levels and sectors must improve their work methods to insure that the principle of democratic centralism is correctly implemented and that they maintain close contact with basic units, with the masses. The style of the bureaucrat, of doing everything by fiat as well as localism, departmentalism and narrowminded attitudes must be overcome and corrected. Emphasis must be placed on a workstyle based on investigations and research, on pilot projects and inspections, on conducting preliminary and final reviews to gain experience.



To increase the party's strength, we must insure that there are unity and consensus within the party based on thoroughly understanding the lines and views of the party, correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism and fully practicing self-criticism and criticism. In the present situation, with difficulties and complex changes still being experienced in the economy and society and the enemy looking for every way to divide, provoke and sabotage us, any relaxation or lack of vigilance, any manifestation of a lack of unity and consensus is harmful to the revolutionary cause of our party and people. Cadres, party members and state personnel on all levels must, regardless of their job, display a high spirit of unity, maintain their revolutionary qualities and ethics and show themselves as correctly fulfilling the exemplary, vanguard role of the party member, of the revolutionary cadre. They must maintain close ties with the masses, improve their workstyle, keep abreast of the realities of life, permeate the masses, listen to their opinions and not be bureaucratic, arbitrary or despotic.

Determined steps must be taken to remove from the party and state agencies elements that have degenerated and become deviant. Strict but fair disciplinary action must be taken against leadership and management cadres who show themselves to be irresponsible, do not comply with the resolution of the party and do not complete the task assigned to them.

A national congress is the most important event in the political life of the party and has a direct influence upon the interests of the people and the life of all society. Preparing for a party congress provides a good opportunity to vigorously tap the intelligence and strength of the entire party and encourage the masses to participate in party building, thereby helping to strengthen the ties between the party and the masses. In the immediate future, all party committee echelons must launch spirited revolutionary action movements of the masses, emulation movements to meet and exceed the targets of the 1986 state plan and record practical achievements in celebration of the 6th Party Congress.

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THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDING THE PARTY'S RESOLUTION ON PRICES, WAGES AND MONEY IN STATE-OPERATED INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 9-12, 24

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Since mid-1985, in keeping with the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and Political Bureau Resolution 28 on prices, wages and money, the basic units within state-operated industry have recorded a number of results in implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and have begun to restructure their production and reorganize their labor force, thus creating the conditions needed to gradually establish the new management mechanism of economic accounting and socialist business practices based on planning. However, while working to implement the resolutions of the party and decisions of the state, the basic units within state-operated industry have encountered a number of difficulties, such as rising production costs, difficulty marketing a number of types of products, a decline in the formation of capital for the state or no formation of capital at all and some basic units are operating at a loss.

These difficulties stem from the low level of development of production and the imbalanced state of our country's economy. Due to shortages of materials and energy, many basic units are operating at only 50 percent of their capacity. The consumption of embodied labor and live labor is very high. Labor productivity is low. Product quality is poor. Waste is extensive. Negative phenomena are still widespread. Many aspects of production are irrational. Production has not been restructured. Distribution and circulation still involve many unnecessary and irrational intermediary levels. Circulation costs are very high. The purchasing power of society is still low. Market prices are still being influenced by state subsidies. Economic management is weak.

Because our economy is so underdeveloped and imbalanced, basic units within state-operated industry have been experiencing more than a few difficulties despite the facts that we have taken a step toward including all costs in production costs, the state continues to heavily subsidize the prices of means of production (particularly imported materials), transportation charges and the prices of some essential consumer goods and a step has been taken toward dismantling state subsidies. Resolving the difficulties mentioned above in a



fundamental way demands that we make every effort to accelerate production, correct the imbalances that exist and bring about strong changes within the national economy.

To overcome the difficulties they face, basic production units must display the spirit of collective ownership, redouble their efforts to step up production, raise their labor productivity, reduce the consumption of materials and improve their management in order to reduce production costs, stop operating at a loss, recover their capital and begin earning a profit. All sectors and levels must endeavor to restore economic order, stabilize the market and prices and create the conditions for basic units to implement their plans from the standpoint of both output and value, institute economic accounting and gradually achieve higher economic efficiency.

Basic production units must make full use of potential sources of energy, raw materials and supplies so that they can fully utilize their existing production capacity. They must make full use of materials stored in warehouses and discarded materials. They must establish economic ties with other economic organizations in order to produce additional raw materials and supplies. They must step up the production of export goods so that they are better able to import those types of materials that are not fully provided by the state. They must use all the capital that they can borrow from foreign countries to import supplies and materials needed for production and must try to turn this capital over many times so that they can produce many products, rapidly increase their business revenues and achieve high efficiency.

Enterprises must formulate and adjust their production plans on the basis of supply sources and on the basis of the needs of society. They must develop the production plan and product line that are most efficient during each period of time in light of the new price policy and socialist business principles. They must determine which products to produce on the basis of marketing capabilities. If they are producing products for which market demand has been satisfied, enterprises must shift to the production of other products demanded by the market. If they are operating at a loss but not producing essential products needed to support the implementation of policies, enterprises must shift to the production of products that will enable them to earn a profit. Enterprise directors have the authority to adjust their product lines in a flexible and timely manner provided that they develop production, meet the needs of society, fulfill obligations to the state and operate an efficient business.

The pressing tasks that confront enterprises are to reduce production costs to more reasonable levels and achieve higher economic efficiency. To reduce production costs, it is necessary to eliminate all things that are irrational and all weaknesses in management and the way that production is organized. Urgent steps must be taken to restructure and reorganize production.

On the basis of the supply sources, production plan and product line of the entire sector and the technical equipment at each member enterprise, the federations of enterprises must apportion their plan among the enterprises within the federation, between central enterprises and local enterprises, between state-operated enterprises and small industry and handicraft

production units and establish efficient cooperation among member enterprises from the standpoint of which handles which stage of production with the aims of tapping the strengths of each basic unit and producing high quality products at low costs. Enterprises must take the initiative in reorganizing their production to suit the production plan and product line they have selected and achieve the highest possible efficiency.

In management, material and labor consumption ceilings must be re-examined. A movement must be launched among manual workers and civil servants to establish reasonable ceilings on the consumption of materials and labor and every effort must be made to implement these ceilings. It is necessary to fully calculate precisely how much equipment will be needed during the year to implement the production plan. Authorization must be sought to transfer equipment that will not be used to other enterprises that have a need for this equipment. Authorization must also be sought to put equipment that will not immediately be used into storage in order to avoid having to take depreciation. Discarded equipment must be written off quickly.

All fixed assets that have been put into use must be utilized at full capacity. If surplus capacity occurs as a result of a shortage of raw materials, enterprises are permitted to do work under contract for another economic organization in order to fully utilize their equipment capacity.

Enterprises must adhere to major overhaul schedules in order to increase the amount of time that equipment is in operation. Major overhaul costs must be included in production costs. Appropriate material incentives must be offered to encourage the manual workers and civil servants of enterprises to manufacture spare parts on their own, restore broken equipment and improve equipment. Below average consumption ceilings must govern raw material, fuel, supply and power costs. A ceiling must be set on the generation of discarded materials and discarded materials must be recovered.

Wage costs must be computed on the basis of reorganizing labor in order to establish a well balanced work force, insure that the required number of productive days and hours is worked and increase the income of persons who are highly skilled and highly productive. It is necessary to overcome such phenomena that reduce labor productivity as not making thorough preparations for production as a result of which workers must wait for work; taking much work time to change shifts; arriving at work late and leaving early; playing during work; working in an irresponsible and inefficient manner; not maintaining proper labor discipline, etc. Lazy persons who have been educated but have not changed their ways must be fired.

Management costs must be calculated in exact accordance with stipulated procedures. Determined steps must be taken to put an end to all expenditures on gifts and conference mementoes, to shifting the burden of administrative costs to the upper level and to expenditures on banquets, parties and receptions as well as all other extravagant and wasteful expenditures.

Enterprises must use their capital in the way that is most frugal and efficient. They must reduce excessive inventories and process backlogged materials. They must recover capital that is tied up and turn over their

capital at a faster rate in order to reduce the amount of capital that must be borrowed and the amount of interest that must be paid.

Products that are produced at reduced cost as a result of the application of scientific and technical advances, the improvement of management or production conditions within the locality can be sold at a price lower than the directed price of the state in order to market these products more quickly, turn over capital quickly and expand production. However, this action can only be taken with the consent of the authorized price agency.

In the case of products produced outside legally binding norms for which production costs are high or which a customer is willing to market, the enterprise has the authority to sell these products at a negotiated price higher than the directed price of the state. However, efforts must be made to reduce these production costs in order to reduce the price to the directed price at an early date. In the case of a product that is difficult to market because the price is high, the price must be adjusted downward and a loss must be incurred so that capital can be turned over quickly. Capital should not remain tied up for very long. In the case of products for which directed prices of the state have not yet been set, producers and marketers are permitted to ship, receive and make payment for products at negotiated prices.

The party committee, trade union, Youth Union organization and Women's Union organization of the enterprise, together with the enterprise director, must maintain close contact with production sections and units, guide and assist them in promptly resolving the difficulties and problems encountered in production and everyday life and encourage everyone to make every effort to step up production.

In order for industrial enterprises to operate normally, it is not only necessary to carry out production well, but also necessary to carry out circulation well. Circulation must be reorganized at both ends: the supplying of materials for production and the marketing of products, with all unnecessary intermediary elements being eliminated.

As regards means of production, basic units that consume large amounts of materials (as power plants and cement plants do in the case of coal...) can receive their materials directly from production units. Enterprises whose needs are small will be supplied through supply organizations, sign procurement contracts and receive their supplies directly from these organizations in accordance with the principle of only going through one intermediary element. Those supply organizations of the ministry that are essentially only intermediary elements will be abolished. Raw materials produced by the collective economy, private economy or household economy, if they are being procured through contracts signed directly with basic production units, need not be procured through an intermediary commerce organization. Revenue accounts set up by sectors and localities on their own that do not comply with the laws and regulations of the state and serve to increase the irrational nature of the prices of the raw materials and supplies used in production must be abolished.



As regards consumer goods, there must be a gradual transition to retail corporations and large retail stores receiving their goods directly from production enterprises in accordance with the distribution plan of the home trade sector instead of through level I or level II wholesale commerce organizations. In cases in which it is still necessary to go through wholesale commerce, the commerce system (wholesale and retail) will only receive a discount (or mark up) set for the entire sector. The commerce sector will apportion this discount (or mark up) among each segment of the sector and may not exceed the approved ceiling.

Developing production, implementing economic accounting and endeavoring to reduce production costs within state-operated industry demand the coordination, assistance and support of all sectors and levels.

The management of the domestic market must be strengthened. Speculation in the materials (including discarded materials) needed for industry, which pushes up prices on the market, must be eliminated. As regards the needs of small industry and the handicraft trades, the collection of taxes must be combined with providing guidance concerning raw material and supply procurement prices and the prices at which products are sold with the aim of preventing prices from being raised in order to compete with state-operated industry. State-operated commerce organizations and marketing cooperatives that sell goods of state-operated industry and the other segments of the economy must maintain tight quality and price control. They must not place sole emphasis upon business revenues, upon obtaining products cheaply and buy defective products and fake goods, thereby supporting those who earn their living dishonestly. The transformation of private merchants must be intensified mainly by shifting private merchants to jobs in production and the services.

The management of exports and imports must be strengthened to protect domestic production. The importation of consumer goods must be closely managed. Products that are produced domestically should not be imported, or only imported in limited quantities and under an import tax. An import tax must also be placed on goods that are permitted to be imported. We must stop the practice of basic production and business units setting the prices of exports and imports on their own and then using the profits from imports to compensate for losses incurred through exports, a practice which disrupts domestic market prices and causes industry to encounter difficulties in its production and economic accounting.

It is necessary to strengthen state management, stabilize the situation and restore economic order in accordance with the new policies on prices, wages and money. All sectors and levels must work together to quickly thwart the enemy's attempts at sabotage and combat speculation and efforts to monopolize the market, disrupt the market and create difficulties for industrial production. Organizations whose task it is to support industrial production, such as our distribution, supply, transport, banking, commerce and other organizations, must restructure their organization, eliminate intermediary elements, change the way they do business and correctly execute the economic

contracts signed with industrial enterprises. At the same time, on the basis of the new policies on prices and wages and correct forms of bonuses and penalties, it is necessary to help industrial enterprises to overcome negative phenomena.

The combined management agencies of the state must help enterprises in the following areas: determining the value of fixed assets; loaning enterprises sufficient liquid capital to enable them to operate at the new prices and new wages; helping enterprises to settle accounts that tie up their capital; removing the obstacles encountered in shipping and receiving operations and processing backlogged inventories; announcing the wholesale prices of all types of supplies and essential goods and the prices at which goods are delivered for exportation in accordance with the new price policy so that enterprises have the basis needed to calculate production costs and formulate their value plan in accordance with the new prices; and establishing the new wage per unit of product to lay the basis for contract work.

Building the new management mechanism in accordance with the resolutions of the party will entail an arduous and complex struggle. The leadership provided by the party is the factor that will determine victory in this struggle. Therefore, it is first of all necessary to strengthen this leadership. The mass organizations (Trade Union, Youth Union and so forth) must mobilize manual workers and civil servants to fulfill their role as collective masters and make every effort to overcome the difficulties being faced, step up production and practice thorough frugality. Issuing detailed regulations and strengthening the management and inspection activities conducted by state agencies are of special importance in the formation of the new management mechanism within industry.

By fully implementing the resolutions of the party and decisions of the state, state-operated industrial enterprises will surely bring about strong changes and achieve a new level of development for our country's industry.

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## MOBILIZING THE MASSES IS A STRATEGIC TASK OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 13-18

[Article by Tran Quoc Hoan]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the working class, always considers mobilizing the masses to be one of the strategic tasks of the proletarian party. Maintaining that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses, Marxism-Leninism expresses undying confidence in revolutionary movements of the masses. History is made by the laboring people. And, since the birth of Marxism-Leninism, this truth has been made ever more radiant by the revolutionary realities of the international communist movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle to liberate the class, socialist construction and the advance to communism.

Born of Vietnam's patriotic movement and the revolutionary movement of the Vietnamese working class combined with Marxism-Leninism, our party possessed the character of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its very inception. Through the realities of the arduous revolutionary struggle, our party has gained much experience in mobilizing the masses, as a result of which our country's revolution has advanced to victory after victory: we defeated our enemies, liberated the nation, reunified the country and have staunchly defended the fatherland.

Our victory in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign ushered in a new era for our country, the era of socialist construction nationwide. Carrying out the "three revolutions" and the "two strategic tasks" at the same time is a difficult and large undertaking. With absolute confidence in the leadership of the Party Central Committee and closely united, our people have recorded enormous achievements in recent years in our new cause. The laboring people of our entire country have responded to and creatively carried out the socio-economic and security-national defense programs established by the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party, thereby recording gratifying results. Of even greater importance is the fact that during the past 10 years of building and defending the fatherland, new, socialist men and women have been and continue to emerge from within the revolutionary movements of the masses, men and women who possess the sense and spirit of collective ownership, the shining qualities of the working class and an increasing knowledge of culture, science and technology.

However, in the new stage, our failure to fully recognize the new requirements involved in our work among the masses plus the harmful consequences of maintaining the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies for too long in each socio-economic activity have caused the organizations of the party as well as the entire proletarian dictatorship system to give light attention to mobilizing the masses and not widely draw the masses into organizations, into revolutionary action movements in order to educate and train them. Because we have not kept abreast of changes in the thinking and aspirations of the masses, we have failed to promptly and effectively resolve problems raised by mass movements. The right of collective ownership of the laboring people has been violated. Many cadres and party members do not or do not know how to mobilize the masses, are remote from the masses and have lost all ability to lead the masses. More than a few cadres and party members are degenerate or deviant and this has adversely affected the ties between the party and the masses.

These shortcomings have seriously affected efforts to carry out the political tasks of the party. They also pose the danger of causing the party to lose touch with the masses. These shortcomings are partially due to the fact that we embarked on the new period with little experience and have failed to seriously and regularly review what we have done. However, the basic causes are that we have not had a full understanding of the line and tasks of the revolution, in general, or the importance and task of mobilizing the masses, in particular, and are still giving light attention to the principles of the party concerning the relationship between the party and the masses and to forging the will of the working class throughout the party. Party committees must recognize these shortcomings and promptly take positive measures to bring the mobilization of the masses to the level required by the rising demands of the revolution. The Political Report presented at the 5th National Congress of the Party emphasized: "In the stage of the socialist revolution and, today, when our country's revolution has the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the importance of mobilizing the masses is not less, but greater."(1)

Our work among the masses must reflect the dialectical relationship that exists between the party and the laboring people, between the working class and the other classes and strata of society. Mobilizing the masses is an essential part of our line, not just a measure that we take. Giving light attention to work among the masses reflects a less than full understanding of the party's line. To be distant from the masses is to be distant from the line of the party. The relationship between the party and the masses is built upon Marxist-Leninist awareness and has been tested during the more than one-half century of our party's existence.

Transforming the old society and building the new is an exceedingly difficult and complex task. The profound and thorough struggle between the new and the old, between the revolution and counter-revolution, between the progressive and the backward is a struggle that takes place every minute of every hour in each of us, in each job that we perform, at every basic unit. Former slaves who have now become the masters of the country, persons who once worked for hire and whose every standard, especially their cultural, scientific and technical standards, was low, the laboring people of our country have been and

are reaching the advanced levels of knowledge of our times. In years past, the needs of the citizen never went beyond things that were in sight, things that were close. Today, the demands of man are not only greater in number, but also higher, more varied, more sophisticated.

Through its more than 55 years of hard struggle, our party has brought political power to the laboring people. This is a very basic and important victory, is a turning point in the revolutionary cause of our party and people. Prior to the revolution, the laboring people had nothing but two bare hands. Now, the state belongs to the people. All assets of the nation, all capital, materials and natural resources are managed on behalf of the people by the administration. All the work of the country is being reorganized along socialist lines by the laboring people through the state. These are extremely favorable and basic conditions that permit us to move forward in building the new system, the new economy and the new culture, molding the new man and woman and building a solid and strong national defense system nationwide. However, with the party in power, the danger of becoming remote from the masses can arise if positive efforts are not made to prevent this from happening.

The initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country is taking place against the background of a very complex and turbulent international situation. The socialist system has constantly grown in size and strength and is, along with the national liberation movement and peace movement, overwhelming each reactionary power. The reactionary imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are continuing to pursue the arms race and creating a tense situation. The new enemies of our people, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, are attacking our country's revolution in a wide variety of ways every minute of every hour. Safeguarding peace is the common goal of the people of the world. For this reason, bringing the progressive masses of our planet together on the peace and anti-war front is an important and necessary effort. Viewed against this background, our party's work of mobilizing the masses assumes even greater significance.

Clearly, we face the need to organize our work among the masses in a more scientific and effective manner to insure that all obligations of the laboring people are fulfilled and that their right of collective ownership is upheld. The experience that we have gained in this work is very valuable. Now, in the face of the new requirements, this experience must be applied and augmented, must be made richer in content, must be made broader and more sophisticated in terms of the methods employed in this work.

The party must know the masses. However, what it should know about the masses and how it should go about learning what it should know, this is a science which every party member must make steadfast efforts to grasp. The processes of surveying, investigating and collecting information on the situation and aspirations of the masses must be expanded nationwide. We should not restrict ourselves to information obtained through conferences or from leaders and progressive model units. Rather, we must also obtain information through the deeply held thoughts and feelings of each person who is directly engaged in production at places that are weak and deficient and places where there are problems that need to be solved. Every available means of the proletarian dictatorship must be employed to convey knowledge of socialism, the lines and



policies of the party, the laws of the state, science and technology, economic management and social management to the masses as accurately and quickly as possible and in the manner that is most easily understood. Every party member and cadre must be a skilled propagandist, a good mobilizer of the masses who listens to what the people have to say, who knows how to speak so that the people listen, who knows how to lead the masses and be their "truly loyal servant."

One of the important requirements in mobilizing the masses is the need to launch revolutionary movements of the masses. It is only through these movements that we can test the positions and policies of the party and state, successfully implement economic, social, security and national defense programs, correctly understand the corps of cadres and party members, provide the forces of the masses with practical training and mold the new, socialist man and woman. Our people have always judged the wisdom and growth of our party not on the basis of words and promises, but mainly by examining our ability to set forth and implement policies that produce visible results. Therefore, positions and policies should be adopted not to suit convenience but on the basis of the legitimate needs of social development, the work experience and the efforts of millions of laborers and the basic interests of the broad masses. A solid relationship between the party and the masses is not something that persists by itself once it has been established. It must constantly be strengthened and built. We should not understand organizing emulation as having launched a revolutionary movement nor should we leave everything involved in revolutionary movements up to the mass organizations. All components of the proletarian dictatorship system, from the central to the basic levels, must direct their activities toward the masses with the aim of launching revolutionary movements of the masses. Party committees must have targets, themes and methods of organizing movements and must adopt plans for conducting inspections and preliminary reviews, for regularly gaining experience so that they can, on this basis, adopt supplemental plans designed to bring movements to an increasingly high level of development.

In recent years, many party organizations, including the party organization of the municipality of Haiphong, the party organizations of Long An, Hau Giang and Kien Giang Provinces, the party organization of Tan Binh District (Ho Chi Minh City) and others, have provided us with many valuable lessons in mobilizing the masses. On the basis of the realities of the locality and the aspirations of the people and applying the positions and policies of the central level, Haiphong has learned how to launch suitable revolutionary movements, all oriented toward agricultural production, through such efforts as building dikes to claim land from the sea, reducing the acidity of fields and building soil fertility combined with product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers. The improved agricultural movement has brought a new character to Haiphong and enabled it to focus its efforts on industry, the handicraft trades and export goods. When performing these jobs, Haiphong attached importance to building solid and strong political bases in its wards, districts, subwards and villages, to mobilizing the masses and looking after the living conditions of the people. Tan Binh District (Ho Chi Minh City), which has selected the handicraft trades as the focus of its efforts, has restructured handicraft production within the district and, on this basis, built a new life for citizens who love to work but are still

accustomed to the old competitive and disorganized liberal way of thinking. Hau Giang Province has concretized the slogan "agriculture is the front of foremost importance" through many revolutionary action programs that combine the transformation of production relations with the development of production forces and have brought about a continuous rise in crop yields and grain output over the past several years. Rapid, strong strides have also been made in collectivization. Under the slogan "the entire party and all the people participate in distribution and circulation," Long An Province has opened sources of goods with which to gradually meet the rising material and cultural needs of the local people. In the other provinces and municipalities, more and more beautiful examples of upholding the right of collective ownership and achieving a combined strength have emerged, efforts which have produced fine results.

It is clear that wherever we succeed in satisfying the aspirations of the masses and meeting the goals of the revolution, the relationship between the party and the masses is strengthened and the broad masses are drawn into the struggle to successfully implement the positions and policies advanced by the party.

In the recent past, many party committees, considering mobilizing the masses to be a strategic task, have made an effort to look after the needs of the mass organizations. However, this effort has frequently stopped at assigning persons to lead the mass organizations and because there is not a full appreciation of the political importance of the mass organizations, methods to provide them with close, constant and comprehensive leadership and guidance have not been adopted. The basic organizations of the party must fully realize the strength that they have in the mass organizations. Conversely, the mass organizations must clearly realize that their political base is the organizations of the party. The mass organizations must take positive steps to improve the forms of organization and methods they use to bring the masses together and must avail themselves of every condition that exists for drawing each stratum into their organization in order to unite and mobilize them to successfully perform the tasks of the revolution. The basic organizations of the party must regularly set specific tasks for themselves with regard to leading the mass organizations and employ appropriate forms of activities for providing this leadership.

The right of collective ownership of the laboring people is exercised most directly through the various levels of the administration. Looking after the work of the administration is an exceedingly important task of the various party committee echelons. Our administration is elected by the people and serves the people. It must be led and inspected to insure that it properly upholds the right of collective ownership of the people. Persons who are not qualified, who violate the right of collective ownership of the people must be removed from the administration and socio-economic management apparatus. Determined efforts must be made to eliminate bureaucratic centralism and stop the intimidation of the masses with a view toward strengthening the people's confidence in management agencies. The state has the task of successfully implementing economic, social, security and national defense programs but must also always give its attention to molding the new man and woman. Today, economic agencies and administrative apparatus on the various levels, engrossed



as they are in meeting economic targets, have forgotten the results that can be achieved through education, through building the various political organizations.

To succeed in the areas of work mentioned above, we must return to the task of building the party. In particular, we must strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses. This relationship must be placed firmly upon the foundation of Marxism-Leninism by means of party organizational work, by means of the policies and laws of the state.

The higher the political qualities, revolutionary virtues and job skills of party members are, the larger and stronger are the prestige and influence of the party among the masses. On the other hand, the more the level of awareness and spirit of activism of the masses are raised, the more party members face new demands from the standpoint of their role and qualifications. The class character of the party member must be examined from many different perspectives. One of these perspectives is that the party member not be distant from the masses. We must maintain the class nature of the party by doing more to train party members in the views of Marxism-Leninism and the stand of the working class and attaching importance to developing the party among the working class and quickly putting more manual workers on party committees. Manual workers still account for a low percentage of the membership of the party committees of basic units, districts, provinces and industrial zones. The party member must be close to the masses in every aspect of his work, production and daily life and must consider himself to be the strong link between the party organization and the masses. Taking steps to strengthen the basic organizations of the party to insure that each basic production unit and each residential area has a basic organization of the party that is pure, solid and strong is an important requirement in strengthening the relationship between the party and the masses.

To assist the party in its work among the masses, a system of mass agitation organizations of the party has been formed. The various party committee echelons must support every aspect of this system very well. Cadres who are assigned to mass agitation by the party must be persons who possess a firm political stand, pure qualities and ethics, a certain knowledge of culture, science, economic management and social management and the ability to educate, organize and mobilize the masses. Although small, this corps of cadres must be alert and skilled, must be effective and creative in using the masses to educate the masses and must gain experience in mass agitation from the masses themselves and from mass movements. Full importance must be attached to semi-professional mass agitation cadres and to mobilizing capable, zealous and responsible persons to participate in this work. Party committees must actively utilize and train the masses as well as cadres who perform mass work. We must fully realize the strategic importance of mass work. This realization must lead to great ambitions, to firm confidence, to overcoming each difficulty we face in order to bring the shining revolutionary ideals of the party to the masses.

Party Secretariat directive number 53 on mass work has been issued just as we embark on the struggle to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state-subsidies and build the new mechanism in economic and social management. The

overriding spirit of the resolutions of the 8th and 9th Party Plenums demands that our entire party and all our people march steadily forward with firm resolve, without hesitating or wavering, but without being impetuous or subjective either and successfully implement the strategic guidelines of the party in building the new economic structure and the new management mechanism.

We have accomplished much in the recent past but also displayed some rather serious shortcomings, as have been clearly pointed out by the Political Bureau and Secretariat. These shortcomings have caused considerable harm to economic and social development and reduced the confidence and revolutionary spirit that the masses bring to the implementation of the directives and resolutions of the party.

In the spirit of serious self-criticism and criticism, all organizations of the party, all cadres and party members must re-examine their level of awareness and work. Having done this, they must bring about true changes in the mobilization of the masses and successfully launch a widespread and strong revolutionary movement among the masses, one that generates intense revolutionary spirit and firm confidence in the party. Only in this way can we meet each challenge, correct thinking that is conservative and slow to change as well as thinking that is fragmented and disorganized, implement the resolutions of the 8th and 9th Party Plenums in the best possible manner, excellently complete our two strategic tasks and record achievements in celebration of the party's 6th Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Van kien Dai hoi V [Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 118.

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## THE CHANGES IN THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S UNION 10 YEARS AFTER REUNIFICATION

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[Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh]

[Text] Since the day that the country was reunified and embarked on building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the Vietnam women's movement has undergone important changes and recorded achievements very deserving of pride, thereby helping the entire party and the rest of the people carry out the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution well and continuously advancing the cause of women's liberation.

During the past 10 years, in keeping with the views of the party that the cause of women's liberation cannot be separated from the causes of liberating the class and liberating the people and that the women's movement must define the problems it must solve for itself on the basis of the common revolutionary tasks of the people, the Vietnam Women's Union has set for itself specific, appropriate tasks designed to organize, educate and mobilize the mass of women to work hard to carry out the central tasks of the party and meet the socio-economic targets of the state and concern themselves with solving problems related to the interests and living conditions of women and children.

To meet the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the stage of the entire country carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction and staunchly defending the gains made by the revolution, the Vietnam Women's Union launched the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the themes of which are the following four:

--Emulating in productive labor and the practice of frugality and carrying out the positions and policies of the party and state well;

--Participating in combat support and combat operations, performing army rear area work well, caring for the children of war dead, caring for the families of disabled veterans, the families of war dead and the families of troops who are short of help and encouraging husbands and sons to fulfill their military obligation;

--Organizing the family well, raising children in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho and practicing planned parenthood;

--Uniting, providing mutual assistance and helping one another to struggle, learn and raise their standards in every field.

This represents a higher and more comprehensive level of development than the "three responsibilities" movement during the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation. Because, the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement demands that women develop in every respect in accordance with the requirements of the new socialist man and woman. The new woman must be a good citizen who is loyal to the socialist fatherland, possesses awareness of socialist ideals, displays the spirit of collective ownership, works creatively and excellently completes each task. The new woman must also know how to properly combine personal interests with the interests of the collective and the state and always struggle, learn and raise her standards in every respect in order to meet the requirements of her tasks in the new stage. The new, socialist woman must also be a model mother who raises her children by scientific methods and teaches them in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho to teenagers and children. She must be a wife who knows how to organize and build a family of quality, harmony and happiness and must practice planned parenthood.

In view of these requirements, women must endeavor to not only be competent in the work of the home and country, as was the case in the "three responsibilities" movement, but must "be skilled in the work of the country, be competent in the work of the home and achieve equality between the sexes." Each year, in order for the movement to achieve good results, the Vietnam Women's Union launches specific movements based on the central tasks of the party with the aims of supporting the party's political task, implementing the state plan and resolving problems concerning the interests of women and children. On the basis of the specific guidelines, tasks and targets for each year, the Central Committee of the Union launches an emulation campaign among the provinces and municipalities and instructs the localities in the activities to be conducted. The "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement is a new stage of development in the women's movement, one that has helped to advance the three revolutions and support both socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. At the same time, women themselves have grown and matured in every way through this movement.

Under the themes emulating in productive labor and the practice of frugality and carrying out the positions and policies of the party and state well, women farmers, manual workers and civil servants, women in the handicraft trades, in scientific and technical research, in literature and art and women serving in all sectors and levels have made new efforts and new progress.

Women farmers in the provinces of the South have participated in transforming production relations and helped to build production collectives and cooperatives, thereby contributing to the virtual completion of agricultural collectivization in the southern provinces. The women farmers of the North have actively implemented the policy on final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, thus helping to perfect the socialist production relations within agriculture. By participating in the transformation of private, capitalist commerce and the transformation of agriculture, women have helped to advance the production relations revolution



in our country. Through their participation in the transformation of agriculture, the transformation of private, capitalist commerce and the transformation and management of the market, women have gained an increasing awareness of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. They understand that the liberation of women and the achievement of equality between men and women under the law as well as in everyday life are closely tied to the socialist revolution. Only the socialist revolution, only the socialist state under the leadership of the party of the working class can truly liberate women. Socialist production relations create the conditions for women to develop their talents and their creativity in labor. Because, on the basis of socialist production and the public ownership of the means of production, women have been able to display their ability to be masters and display their creativity. The emulation movement to work with high productivity, quality and efficiency has helped women to consciously accept and apply scientific and technical advances in production in order to raise their labor productivity and achieve equality with men. The party of the working class and the socialist system always create the legal conditions for women to achieve equality with men. In practice, however, whether or not women achieve equality depends upon whether or not their standards and skills meet the requirements of their tasks. And, the equality of women is, above everything else, equality in labor, is a matter of whether the contributions made by women in the various fields of social activity are commensurate with their positions. Adopted on the basis of this requirement, the theme of the "new woman" movement of struggling, learning and raising her standards in every field has helped women to emulate in the study of culture, science, technology, specialized fields and professions so that women are fully capable of completing the tasks assigned to them well. On the other hand, the socialist system of production demands that women achieve an increasingly high level of education so that they can learn and apply new technology. As a result, it is a pressing, objective demand that women struggle, learn and raise their standards. During the past 10 years, women have made significant progress in raising their level of education. Women accounted for 20.3 percent of the total number of persons with a college education in 1975. By 1985, this figure had risen to 33 percent. The number of women holding Ph.D., M.A. and M.S. degrees rose from 103 in 1975 to 373 in 1985. The number of women teachers has increased by more than 50 times. These are achievements of the women's movement. At the same time, they are products of the three revolutions in our country. Recently, the Party Secretariat issued Directive 44 concerning a number of urgent problems in women cadre work. The state has issued resolution 176a on expanding the role and tapping the capabilities of women in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The directive of the party and the resolution of the state were adopted on the basis of the requirements of the tasks of our country's revolution in the current stage. At the same time, they demand the development of the women's movement. In the more than 1 year that Directive 44 and Resolution 176a have been in effect, the various party committee echelons have made changes in how they evaluate the role, position and capabilities of women, given more attention to creating the conditions that women workers and cadres need and begun to record a number of concrete results. Experience has shown that wherever the party committee is concerned and the administration creates good conditions, women cadres have been able to display their skills and creativity and make effective contributions to the economic construction and cultural and

social development of the locality. Such has been the case in Haiphong, Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, Hai Hung Province, Hau Giang Province, Ho Chi Minh City and other places. Through the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the Women's Union has continuously mobilized and guided women in exercising their right of collective ownership by participating in inspecting and supervising the implementation of regulations and policies of the party and laws of the state and exposing and struggling against negative phenomena in society. Also through this movement, army rear area work, the care of families of disabled veterans and war dead, the care of orphans and the care of war victims have been improved. In 1984, in the "supporting our soldiers on the frontlines" movement, women contributed more than 44 million dong to buy blankets and warm jackets for soldiers. In 1985, they bought one-half million warm jackets for our soldiers fighting along the border and on the islands.

Besides the two strategic tasks of the revolution, the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement has truly given attention to resolving problems concerning the interests of women and children, thus providing women with the conditions to produce, work and study better.

During the first years following liberation, the various levels of the Women's Union in the South, working together with the various sectors, solved the problems left behind by the war. For example, "restore human dignity" schools were opened to reeducate prostitutes, drug addicts and vagrant children, teach them an occupation and teach them to work and live honestly through their own labor. The various levels of the Union have coordinated with a number of related sectors in organizing phases of study to heighten the sense of responsibility of women as mothers. During the three years from 1983 to 1985, some 5.5 million mothers participated in this effort and were trained in how to raise their children by scientific methods. In coordination with the protection of mothers and children sector, the different levels of the Union have organized child care centers in the countryside and along streets so that women can go to their jobs with peace of mind. To directly care for women and children, the levels of the Union have agitated among their members to contribute labor to the construction of childbirth rooms, offices for pediatric care and village and subward maternity clinics. In 1984, this movement developed throughout the 40 provinces and municipalities and attracted more than 40 million dong for the purchase of implements and equipment for the childbirth rooms, pediatric offices and maternity clinics. The Union has closely coordinated with the public health sector and the National Population Commission to urge women to practice planned parenthood and help provide them with the conditions needed to raise their children and have time to relax and study.

Through the activities conducted under the themes mentioned above, the Women's Union became closely tied to the overall revolutionary movement of the people. In the reviews of 5 years of the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, 4,628,000 women have, on the basis of the four themes mentioned above, earned the title "new woman" for 5 years in a row. In the shift of the revolution from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the women of Vietnam have quickly taken on and consciously carried out the tasks set by the party.

The Vietnam Women's Union, an organization that represents the right of collective ownership and right of equality of women, has always correctly defined its position and task within the overall revolutionary movement, taken positions that are appropriate and specific and developed both the role and capabilities of women, thereby making worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the party and the nation. In guiding the movement, many levels of the Women's Union, from the central to the local levels, have quickly responded to and focused their efforts on the central tasks of the party, displayed flexibility and initiative, revamped their mode of operation and sought the maximum degree of leadership from the various party committee echelons and assistance from the sectors and associated mass organizations in order to successfully perform each task.

In the process of guiding the performance of tasks, the various levels of the Women's Union have conducted investigations and surveys and assessed the movement's situation and changes in the thinking, feelings and everyday lives of women in order to suggest to the party and state the requirements of the movement and the mass of women and taken measures to promptly meet them. This has caused the mass of women to see the Women's Union as their base, as the organization that looks after their interests and living conditions and also the organization that represents their right of ownership. As a result, women have a very close attachment to the Women's Union. The prestige of the Women's Union has steadily risen.

Through the revolutionary action movements of women, the Union's corps of cadres has quickly grown and matured. In the southern provinces, through the work of strengthening the executive committees on the various levels, a number of core cadres of the movement have been selected each year for training. Today, women are fully capable of leading the movement, expanding their corps and taking dynamic steps to revamp the way that activities are conducted. As a result, 10 years after liberation, the women's movement has made uniform progress nationwide. Also through revolutionary action movements, the standards of the Union's cadres have been raised and their knowledge of economic management, state management and social management have been increased. As a result, the various levels of the Women's Union have been able to participate in inspecting and supervising the implementation of the systems and policies that pertain to women and children by the different sectors and levels, participate in managing the market and transforming small merchants, participate in distribution and circulation, etc.

These are the major lessons that the various levels of the Women's Union have learned 10 years after reunification in order to conduct better activities in the years ahead.

Besides the strongpoints described above, the women's movement also has certain limitations. They are that the overall standards of women are still low. Some levels and cadres of the Women's Union lack dynamism and creativity, have not quickly responded to the new situation and new tasks, have not adopted practical themes and have not revamped their mode of activity to suit the increasingly high requirements of tasks. At some places, especially in the mountains, along the seacoast and in important areas, the basic organizations of the Women's Union are still weak. The activity themes



of the Women's Union at some places are dry and uninteresting and do not draw women into revolutionary action movements. At some places, executive committees are not correctly fulfilling their function as the leadership's staff, do not seek the leadership of the party committee and are still hesitant and withdrawn. In the guidance they provide, many places fail to focus on the matters of central importance, do not conduct pilot projects and then apply what they have learned on a broad scale and do not conduct preliminary or final reviews in order to promptly gain experience. Many women do not reflect a full sense of being the masters of their country and do not respect labor discipline or the laws of the state. Some women still earn their livings illegally, engage in superstitious practices and lead a style of life that is extravagant and wasteful. Many women are still heavily burdened by a feeling of inferiority, by fatalism, by the lack of a will to struggle and move forward. These limitations are partly the fault of women themselves, partly due to the many difficulties still being encountered in everyday life, partly due to the fact that the situation surrounding the management of the economy and the management of society is not good and partly the responsibility of the Women's Union. The Women's Union has not established suitable themes and modes of activity nor has it taken measures to closely guide each category of women so that problems can be promptly resolved. Union cadres have not been trained in all the knowledge they need to direct and guide the activities of the Union and provide closer inspection and supervision and make suggestions to the party and state concerning matters related to policies and systems that apply to women.

To correct the limitations described above, advance the women's movement to new levels of development and meet the requirements of tasks in the current stage, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union has decided to continue to promote the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the main themes of which are to raise the socialist awareness and spirit of collective ownership of women, gain a clear understanding of the basic spirit of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Party Plenums, participate in formulating production plans from the basic units upward and participate in reorganizing production, restructuring the labor force and accelerating the movement to work and produce with high productivity, quality and efficiency, with productivity, quality and efficiency being the measurements of the qualities of the new, socialist woman. We must accelerate the development of the household economy and develop the trades in order to help provide local jobs, raise family income, stabilize the standard of living and produce increased wealth for society. We must practice thorough frugality in production and consumption. We must intensify the inspection and supervision of the implementation of the systems and policies that pertain to women and children. We must participate in the formulation of new policies that are compatible with the new management mechanism. We must participate in the transformation and management of the market. We must do more to care for the interests and living conditions of women and children. We must perform good army rear area work and care for the soldiers performing their duty on the frontline.

In order for women to fulfill their weighty and glorious tasks described above, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union suggests that the party give more attention to the elementary and advanced training of the corps



of women cadres, especially the core cadres of the women's movement, so that women possess the knowledge and skill needed to organize and guide the performance of the central tasks of the party and the implementation of the Union's work programs well. The organization of the Women's Union must be strengthened, especially on the basic and district levels, so that the Union is fully capable of taking the initiative in its work, widely rallying the mass of women and mobilizing all strata of women to perform revolutionary tasks well.

Women make up 46 percent of the labor force within the state economic sector and 60 percent within the collective economic sector. If the party organizations and administrations on all levels concern themselves with creating the necessary conditions, women will display their creative work skills and make enormous contributions to the revolutionary cause of the party and nation.

The Vietnam Women's Union, the representative of the right of ownership and the right of equality of women and women's school of socialism, has been and will continue to organize, mobilize and teach the mass of women to unite and struggle to perform political tasks well and meet the socio-economic target set by the party, thus bringing prosperity to the country and happiness to the generations of tomorrow.

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## WHY WAS OUR PARTY ABLE TO SEIZE THE RIGHT TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION AS SOON AS IT WAS BORN?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 25-30

[Article by Le Ngoc]

[Text] On 3 February 1930, the Communist Party of Vietnam was born.

Immediately after its birth, our party turned its hands to leading the masses in the struggle against the imperialists and feudalists, the struggle for the welfare of the people and democracy, a struggle which led to a tide of revolution throughout the country, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Movement, which lasted for more than 1 year. The working class was in the forefront of and led this movement. The majority of peasants, instead of responding to the Yen Bai uprising of the Vietnam Nationalist Party on 9 February 1930, supported the party.

Thus, our party seized the right to lead the revolution at its very inception. This was a major victory, a special strongpoint of our party very deserving of pride. It was also an event rarely seen in the history of the world revolutionary movement.

It was not by accident that our party seized the right to lead the revolution as soon as it came into existence. There were very deep objective and subjective causes underlying this development. By gaining an understanding of these causes, we learn more about the splendid nature and unparalleled tradition of our party and, in the process, gain deeper pride in our party and Uncle Ho and study a model of how our party successfully applied Marxist-Leninist doctrine to the specific conditions of our country and fulfilled the hopes of our friends in the world.

To begin with, it must be pointed out that our party's seizing the right to lead the revolution at an early date was closely related to the very favorable international circumstances that existed at that time. The great Russian October Socialist Revolution has won victory. Marxism-Leninism had defeated international opportunism. The 3rd International was established in March 1919. The line on the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonial countries had been mapped out by the 6th Congress of the Communist International in September 1928. The revolutionary movement was seething in Asia.

In our country, the struggle for national liberation was developing strongly but lacked leadership. The feudal class had become corrupt and outmoded. The small, cowardly bourgeoisie was incapable of leading our people's struggle. For several decades, the lack of a line to follow kept our country in a state of crisis and the "situation seemed hopeless."

The birth of our party and its immediate assumption of the role of leading the revolution were an historic necessity and met the needs of the situation at that time. They were the logical result of a long process of preparation, the great credit for which belongs to Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh adopted Marxism-Leninism at an early date and was very loyal to this doctrine. He, as pointed out by Lenin to the communists in the East, performed a "difficult task": "With the general theory and practice of communism as your base, you must adapt yourselves to special conditions that do not exist in the countries of Europe and learn how to apply this theory and practice at places where the masses are mainly peasants... This is a difficult task."(1)

Ho Chi Minh successfully performed many important jobs, from correctly learning Marxist-Leninist doctrine to applying this theory to the specific conditions of Vietnam in order to spread Marxism-Leninism and make ideological-political and organizational preparations for the founding of the party.

Ideologically, he studied, learned and introduced to the worker movement and the patriotic movement many important theoretical issues, most significantly the following several:

1. The age: one of the most important prerequisites to developing a correct revolutionary line was the need to quickly grasp the essence of the new age, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, an age that began with the great Russian October Revolution. Lenin pointed out: "Only by examining the major features of different 'ages'(not the separate stages of history within each country), can we correctly define our tactics; and only by understanding the fundamental characteristics of an age can we turn our attention to the specific characteristics of one country or another."(2)

As they continue to do today, lengthy debates broke out in the past concerning this issue, with one side affirming the significance of the October Revolution in ushering in a new age and the other side denying or diminishing the worldwide historic significance of this revolution. President Ho was quick to recognize the role of the Russian October Revolution in ushering in a new age. He wrote: "The Russian Revolution has driven off the czar, capitalists and landowners and given workers and peasants of all countries and all oppressed peoples in the colonies the strength to make revolution in order to topple all imperialists and capitalists in the world."(3)

2. The national liberation revolution: all patriotic Vietnamese recognize the need to fight the imperialists and win independence. However, of even more basic importance was the need to understand the law of the national

liberation revolution in the new age, that is, the need to face this revolution within the sphere of the proletarian revolution and advancing to socialism once the strategic task of this revolution had been virtually completed.

During the years from 1923 to 1927, before they were educated by Uncle Ho, many patriotic organizations in our country continued to espouse an old-style anti-imperialist revolution. In 1920, while still active in France, Uncle Ho adopted the views of Lenin concerning the national and colonial questions. He asserted: "Only by liberating the proletariat can we liberate the nation; these two liberation causes can only be the causes of communism and the world revolution."(4)

3. The weapon of ideology: while imperialism and bourgeois ideologues were spewing forth many theories to disorient the masses, from reformism and bigoted nationalism to non-alarmism and anti-Sovietism, extolling bourgeois democracy and distorting Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho forcefully asserted: "There are many different doctrines and philosophies today, but the most genuine, most reliable and most revolutionary is Leninism."(5) He especially criticized the erroneous political trends that were exerting influence in Vietnam. He praised Mr. Ton Van, a great Chinese patriot. However, he also pointed out that "the platform of his party--the Nationalist Party--is a reform platform." Uncle Ho revealed the true meaning of the slogans of the 1789 French bourgeois revolution and showed that the words "liberty," "equality" and "fraternity" were nothing more than ideals used to "adorn the tarnished medal" of the wholly criminal system of exploitation of colonialist capitalism.

4. The enemy: the French colonialists constantly sought to conceal their true identity. Those who went off to invade and ruthlessly rule and oppress other nations were portrayed as civilizers. This tactic did produce certain results. For this reason, Uncle Ho wrote a book--"French Colonialization on Trial"--denouncing the crimes of colonialism and exposing its true nature as a "robber," "rapist" and "murderer."

5. International solidarity: on the basis of the realization that the revolution of each country is an integral party of the world revolution, Uncle Ho pointed out: "Anyone who makes revolution in the world is a comrade of the Vietnamese. Persons who are comrades share joys and sorrows."(6) Together with clearly defining the strategic significance of international solidarity, he stressed the thinking of self-reliance, of using our own forces to liberate ourselves and taking the initiative in winning victory without relying upon or waiting for the proletarian revolution to win victory in the imperialist countries. He wrote: "If Vietnamese workers know how to organize themselves, the Red International will surely help them in every way possible to carry out their revolution. However, in order for them to help us, we must first help ourselves."(7)

These were very basic theoretical issues. They were difficult issues to correctly understand and even more difficult to correctly introduce to the Vietnamese, who, although patriotic, had done little or nothing by way of researching theory. However, through determination, persistence and correct



methods, Uncle Ho helped many patriotic Vietnamese youths and progressive workers and laborers quickly learn about the basic issues described above and promptly put their faith in Marxism-Leninism, in the national salvation line mapped out by Uncle Ho. Moreover, historic experience had clearly shown that wherever there was a revolutionary movement, there was also a need to understand revolutionary theory and a readiness to accept this theory. The working class and nation of Vietnam possessed a fervent spirit of patriotism and unyielding struggle against foreign aggression. The awakening and development of this traditional patriotism by Uncle Ho was an exceedingly favorable factor in the spread of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam. In our country, therefore, the struggle against reformism, against non-alarmism was given special attention and also quickly resulted in victory. The struggle between the new style line on national liberation (led by the proletariat) and the old-style line (led by the bourgeoisie) was a sharper struggle, especially against the Vietnam Nationalist Party. However, this struggle also quickly produced results: reformism and the support for a "bourgeois national revolution" were defeated and the majority of patriots, including some members of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, abandoned their old stand and supported the course charted by Uncle Ho. This was one of the important conditions underlying our party's assertion of its role as leader of the revolution.

Politically, the process of establishing basic views concerning the theory behind the national liberation revolution was also the process of defining the major features of the revolutionary line. The struggle in the ideological field was also a struggle over which line to follow. However, when they personally began drafting and propagandizing the line, Uncle Ho and the other elders of the party were unable to avoid a struggle over methodology, that is, over how to apply Marxism-Leninism and international experience in a way truly compatible with the specific conditions of Vietnam.

Our party announced a correct line as soon as it was born. It was to wage a new style bourgeois democratic revolution and advance to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In the first stage of this revolution, the two strategic tasks of fighting the imperialists and fighting the feudalists had to be closely coordinated. The main forces of the revolution would be workers and peasants, on the basis of whom a national united front would be established and expanded. The revolution would seize political power by means of violent force. In order for the revolution to be victorious, it had to be led by the party, by the Vietnamese working class with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the working class of all countries and oppressed nations. These were the most basic elements of the political line.

The drafting of the Political Platform entailed a process of making relatively thorough preparations. Between 1921 and 1925, Uncle Ho outlined the broad features of this line in many documents, especially in the work "The Revolutionary Road." In June 1929, under the light of the resolution of the 6th Congress of the Communist International, the Indochinese Communist Party issued a declaration in the nature of a platform, in which it especially stressed that "cropland is the issue of paramount importance to tillers."

The Summary Platform and Summary Tactics that were adopted by the Conference To Found the Party and subsequently refined by Tran Phu developed President Ho's thinking concerning the form of violent revolutionary force to be employed in Vietnam in greater detail.

The political line of the party closely combined the national factor and the class factor. We know that before they adopted Marxism-Leninism, more than a few persons only addressed the national question, not the class question and that when they achieved communist awareness, they spoke only about the class question without addressing or fully addressing the national question. Our Uncle Ho was not such a person. He was a patriot who advanced to Marxism-Leninism and grew to be an even greater patriot when he became a communist. Through his experience, he led our people down the path that he, himself, had followed. In particular, he developed the patriotic spirit of our people on the basis of the stand of the proletariat. And, it was also through this thinking that Uncle Ho made many contributions to the storehouse of revolutionary experience. He especially displayed a correct and scientific approach in analyzing the attitudes of the various classes in Vietnam and defining the landowner class and imperialists as the targets of the revolution while maintaining that the ranks of landowners still had to be divided; in building and expanding the united national front on the basis of the solid alliance of workers and peasants; in establishing the relationship between the requirements of the struggle for national independence and the requirements of international solidarity, etc.

The platform of the party also reflected coordination between strategy and strategic leadership. Revolutionary strategy is the political line for an entire stage. Strategic leadership renders strategic targets as specific objectives for each period. Uncle Ho asserted that the French imperialists were "using the Vietnamese feudalists, powerful counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landowners to oppress and exploit the Vietnamese" but he still advocated toppling the large landowners first and "using" or at least "neutralizing" the stratum of small landowners.

It was not by accident that Uncle Ho drafted the Summary Platform and the Summary Tactics as well.

Regrettably, some localities did not have a thorough understanding of the above mentioned views of the party and made the "leftist" mistake of attacking "intellectuals," "wealthy peasants," "landowners" and "officials" as well in 1930 and 1931. The party quickly corrected and overcame this mistake.

Thus, from the very outset, the line adopted by our party was a Marxist line--a line that was scientific and creative in every way, a line free of reformism and nationalism, a line that met the requirements of the revolution, reflected the legitimate aspirations of the people and had the force to attract, inspire and rally people behind the party. This was the most decisive factor in the leadership role of our party.

Organizationally, building the party's organization was as much a process as building the party politically. In 1925, Uncle Ho founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth--a transitional organization of socialist

leaning--to promote the spread of Marxism-Leninism to the worker movement and the patriotic movement. The establishment of a transitional organization to prepare for the founding of a party is something that has frequently been seen in the history of the founding of a party in many countries. However, the difference here was that the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was the first step in combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement. Although it was an association, it had the "Brigade of Communist Youth" as its leadership nucleus, agitated among workers and peasants and used the "proletarianization" movement to forge the class stand of cadres.

The Vietnamese working class was born in the early 20th century and developed rapidly during the years from 1924 to 1929. Many large-scale struggles broke out. The slogans of workers in these struggles not only reflected economic interests, but also political demands. However, by 1925, the worker movement was still basically a spontaneous movement. The objective need facing the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was to bring this movement to the point of conscious activities.

In tandem with the worker movement, there was also an intense patriotic movement, especially in 1925 and 1926. However, this patriotic movement still had the major drawbacks of not having a clearly defined line or following the old anti-imperialist and feudal line. The patriotic movement also demanded correct leadership. The birth of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the subsequent birth of the communist party met this demand.

The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth performed the service of advancing the worker movement from a spontaneous to a conscious movement and orienting the patriotic movement in accordance with the line of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, however, it also revealed its shortcomings: an inability to lead the continued advance of the revolution. Then, in the space of 7 months, three different communist organizations came into being. The need to found the party had fully developed. And, the party came into being by merging and developing upon these organizations.

The birth of our party was the result of combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and patriotic movement of Vietnam. The party could only lead the revolution if it had a widespread base and was constantly forged and challenged in the revolutionary movement of the masses. Building the party through the revolutionary movement of the masses meant that organization and the struggle had to be closely tied together. The purpose of organization was to make it possible to struggle. The purpose of struggle was to forge and consolidate the organization. From the revolutionary movement of the masses, the party selected many outstanding persons to train and accept into the party. As the party grew stronger, the revolutionary movement of the masses surged. The enemy was unable to destroy the party because they could not destroy the powerful and inexhaustible forces of the masses.

Our party was able to immediately turn its hands to leading the struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys the feudalists as soon as it was born because our party not only possessed ideological, political and organizational unity, but also possessed unity in action. The unity and

consensus within the party were the prerequisite to uniting and leading all the people, beginning with workers and peasants. In practice, the broad masses acknowledged the policy of the party as being consistent with their aspirations and interests and acknowledged the party as their leader, as an organization in which they could place their trust. And, also in practice, the party clearly displayed its leadership and organizational skills. The party won the right to lead by mapping out a correct line and organizing the implementation of this line, by organizing a brave, day to day struggle. The political prestige of the party and its right to lead the revolution were unquestioned because they stemmed from the historic mission of the party, from its revolutionary and scientific character, from its practical organizational standards and skills and from the invincible strength of the basic masses of the party--the mass of workers and peasants.

Summarizing the experience gained in establishing the party's leadership role, Uncle Ho stated that the party should not demand that the people acknowledge its right to lead, "but must show itself as being the most loyal, most active and most sincere element. Only when, in the day to day struggle and everyday work, the broad masses acknowledge the correct policies and the leadership skill of the party does the party secure the position of leader."(8)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 372.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 21, p 157.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume 2, p 206-207.
4. Ibid., p 162.
5. Ibid., p 189.
6. Ibid., p 233.
7. Ibid., p 224.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 319.

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## THE HO CHI MINH CITY PARTY ORGANIZATION LEADS YOUTH WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 31-36, 47

[Article by Le Huyen Thong]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City is a major industrial, scientific-technical, international trade and tourist center, a place that has many favorable objective conditions enjoyed by few other cities in our country. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh City is one of the places at which we must contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. Conscious of its importance to the rest of the country and recognizing the large role played by youths, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has always viewed the mobilization of youths to be a task of strategic importance.

Political Bureau Resolution Number 26 dated 4 July 1985 on "strengthening the party's leadership of youth work" has further inspired the city party organization to display an even greater sense of responsibility, fully evaluate the youth situation, draw important lessons and experience from the past 10 years of leading youth work and intensify the mobilization of youths to take the lead in the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

### Attention to Quality and Efficiency

The youths of the city have a patriotic tradition. In addition, they are educated, come into contact with mechanization early in their lives, readily adopt the industrial way of thinking and style and are very dynamic and responsive to the new. During the past several years, on the basis of these characteristics, it has been the policy of the city party committee that the Youth Union revamp its mode of operation and methods of agitation in order to meet the needs of youths in the new stage. The effort to teach revolutionary ideals to youths must be closely tied to molding the new socialist man and woman. The resolution of the city party organization emphasizes: there are Vietnamese youths, in general, but there are also youths in each locality, youths who live at a specific point in history. Consequently, the youth movement must have specific targets, appropriate slogans of action and a suitable organizational structure in order to rally forces, carry out the

tasks of the revolution well and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the young.

In keeping with this policy, the revolutionary action movement of the youths of Ho Chi Minh City has been oriented in recent years toward areas in which weaknesses exist, difficult jobs and new jobs and has closely adhered to the political task of the party organization during each different period.

During the period from 1975 to 1978, the city party organization led the Youth Union in organizing and mobilizing youths to take the lead in restoring and developing the economy, stabilizing the standard of living and maintaining political security and social order and safety. At first, with only 550 Youth Union members, the city focused its efforts on performing jobs of pressing importance while attaching importance to developing the Youth Union. By the end of 1975, Youth Union membership had increased 25-fold. In 1976, the Youth Union organized a shock youth force consisting of 15,000 young laborers who volunteered to go build new economic zones and mobilized nearly 70,000 youths to participate in the struggle to eliminate the compradore bourgeoisie. Through these challenges, tens of thousands of additional youths became Youth Union members.

In 1979 and 1980, the city experienced many difficulties with the economy and standard of living and the enemy launched their wide-ranging war of sabotage. Repeated natural disasters occurred. However, through the steadfast leadership of the party organization, the revolutionary tradition of youths was tapped. Thousands of youths left to fight the enemy. Many Youth Union chapters remained at their machines maintaining production, strengthening their organization and taking the lead in difficult tasks. By the end of 1980, Youth Union membership had increased to nearly 100,000, or 11 percent of the city's youths.

The period from 1981 to 1985 was the period during which the city "stripped away" the obstacles being encountered in production by gradually revamping the management mechanism, dismantling bureaucracy and state subsidies, stimulating production, improving distribution and circulation and stabilizing the standard of living. The party committee echelons that lead youth work began to make productivity, quality and efficiency, all closely tied to cadre training, the objectives of their activities. The 2nd City Youth Conference (April 1981) called for a shift in the focus of Youth Union activities to the economic front and efforts to stop the practices of trying to mobilize youths merely by means of empty slogans and general appeals and only emphasizing the contributions made by youths but not being concerned with their legitimate interests. To the credit of the city party organization in its leadership of youth work was the fact that it began to "multiply" the number of progressive models among youths. This effort began with the movement to emulate and learn from the skilled textile worker Tran Thi Be Bay, a young, highly productive worker who performs work of high quality. Thousands of young textile workers responded to this movement and dozens of young women workers caught up to Be Bay and even surpassed her in a number of areas.

Since July 1985, the city has begun to implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum on prices, wages and money. The Youth Union has actively

participated in expanding socialist commerce and managing the market and prices, beginning with moving forward to achieve a monopoly in the grain business. Within the commercial grain corporations of the city and the precinct and districts, the Youth Union has quickly begun participating in the effort to expand the processing network, which includes the processing of some products of value as exports. At many basic units, especially in the subwards, Youth Union chapters have been playing a highly visible shock role, waging a determined struggle to maintain prices and actively participating in the retail sales network, in both state-operated commerce and at marketing cooperatives. Many basic party organizations have been leading the Youth Union chapters within the public security sector, the commerce sector and the branch of the Tax Department. Young worker inspection units have promptly brought to light thousands of cases involving speculation, black marketing, the dispersal of goods and money, the spreading of malicious rumors and efforts to monopolize the market.

Following each phase of work, the city party committee has led the effort to promptly gain experience from the work of the Youth Union and introduced a number of measures for continuing to build upon the shock role of youths in the struggle to transform private industry and commerce, combat speculation, black marketing and the manufacture of fake goods and strengthen market inspections and market management. Nearly 60 outdoor markets within the city have established Youth Union chapters and many markets have Youth Union cadre affairs sections under the direct leadership of the party chapter to gain the participation of youths in the struggle against the practices of raising prices and not selling goods at posted prices. "Youth clubs" and many Youth Union chapters have organized activities under the theme "learning and creatively implementing the new management mechanism" with a view toward encouraging Youth Union members and youths to revise their economic thinking and mount a determined struggle against the negative phenomena among some commerce personnel.

Following the completion of the money exchange program, the city party committee began leading the effort to rather closely manage prices and tried to maintain a state of normalcy in each activity of the city and the daily lives of the people. However, in mid-October, taking advantage of some weaknesses on our part in the management of cash and the promulgation of the new price scale, reactionaries and dishonest merchants spread the rumor that money should be destroyed and began doing everything they could to buy up goods, thus creating disorder on the market. As soon as this "cash fever" broke out, the city party committee mobilized the Youth Union to closely coordinate with the Women's Union, Trade Union and other mass organizations and immediately launch a mass agitation campaign to assist the functional sectors in stopping negative phenomena and promptly exposing saboteurs, speculators and black marketers. More than 80,000 Youth Union members and youths joined the shock units that searched the city for "black addresses," thus helping to stop and initiate legal proceedings in nearly 1,000 cases of persons who were earning their livings illegally.

Along with providing leadership in the area of controlling the flow of goods and money, the city party committee has called for the acceleration of production, for closely linking production to circulation so that the volume



of products and goods steadily increases and the conditions are created for managing the market well. The well coordinated leadership provided by the city party committee and the party committees of the precincts and districts has created conditions that have encouraged the Youth Union organizations at enterprises, factories and small industry and handicraft units in the countryside and at agencies to work hard, revamp the management mechanism, improve economic-technical quotas, economize on raw materials, supplies and energy, achieve higher labor productivity and product quality, reduce production costs, and restructure their organization so that increasingly high efficiency is achieved in production and business, thereby raising the income of laborers and increasing the formation of capital for the state.

Having been forged in the realities of revolutionary struggle, the knowledge that youths have concerning the party, concerning socialism has been markedly improved. The revolutionary action movements of youths have rallied the forces of youths while improving the quality of Youth Union members, training cadres and building a solid and strong Youth Union. As of November 1985, Ho Chi Minh City had more than 250,000 Youth Union members active in nearly 8,400 basic Youth Union chapters. This membership represents nearly 20 percent of the total number of youths in the city and is 5 times higher than in 1975. In 1984, more than 4,000 Youth Union members were accepted into the party. They accounted for nearly 70 percent of the new members accepted into the party during the year. In the first 8 months of 1985, the Youth Union introduced to the party tens of thousands of outstanding Youth Union members, more than 2,000 of whom were accepted into the party.

#### Launching Revolutionary Action Movements of Youths

The party's leadership of youth work primarily has the purposes of upholding the right of collective ownership of youths through the activities of the Youth Union and expressing this right in concrete terms through revolutionary action movements of youths. The experience of Ho Chi Minh City shows that in order to launch revolutionary action movements of youths, the Youth Union must not only closely adhere to the political task of the party organization, but must also improve the forms and methods it employs in the mobilization of youths to be consistent with their requirements and aspirations. The activities of the Youth Union must be dynamic and effective. The Youth Union must promptly bring to light new problems that arise in life and eliminate everything that is bureaucratic, formal, simplistic and rigid in its organization and activities. It must employ many different methods of bringing youths together, such as building youth projects, holding technical exercises, working to increase the number of progressive models, building management models, taking measures to utilize the idle time of youths, etc.

Over a period of many years and under the close leadership of the city party committee, the Youth Union has organized many revolutionary action movements of youths, especially at enterprises, factories and worksites and within the small industry and handicraft sector. On the basis of the economic management model and the examples set by the young management cadres at the Thanh Cong Textile Mill, many organizations of the Youth Union at other enterprises in the city have held symposiums on product contracts and organized "management days," "management weeks" and "management months" of youths. The city Youth



Union has also established the "Scientific Council of Youths" to help stimulate the application of scientific-technical advances in production and encourage Youth Union members and youths to expand the technical network at basic units. The Youth Union "multiplied" the model unit that is the "Youth shop" at the Cuu Long Laundry Powder Enterprise into hundreds of other shops called youth shops that reflect the new quality of Youth Union work closely tied to economic efficiency and the training of young cadres. Through these movements, nearly 5,000 young management cadres between the ages of 24 and 33, from production section chiefs to enterprise supervisors and directors and deputy directors of corporations, have been trained, have grown and matured in practice. During the first 9 months of 1985, some 60,000 young workers signed emulation pledges in the "youths return earlier than planned" movement and nearly 100 units participated in the "skill training and testing" movement. These two movements have had the effect of improving the teaching of revolutionary ideals in a manner closely linked to molding the new man and woman.

Within the distribution-circulation sector, movements to build "youth stores" and "youth counters" and mold "young and skilled state-store personnel" have emerged at many places within the city.

In order for youth movements to take the correct direction and yield both economic and political returns, it is important that emulation targets be properly defined. With the experience gained in pilot projects in revamping the management mechanism at a number of units, the standing committee of the city party committee has asserted: the leadership of youth work by party committees as well as the quality of Youth Union organizations must be clearly expressed in the shock role played by youths in the struggle to dismantle bureaucracy and state subsidies, combat conservatism and inertia and build and perfect the new management mechanism and the struggle to eradicate liberalism, localism and departmentalism at all basic units.

The party organization attaches importance to teaching revolutionary ideals in conjunction with looking after the legitimate interests of youths. The interests of youths are many. They include the following needs: to have a job, to be able to study cultural and technical subjects, to participate in literary and art activities, to forge good health, to achieve family happiness and to endeavor to become Youth Union members and party members. In practice, if importance is not attached to these legitimate interests of youths, efforts to teach the ideals, *raison d'être* and way of life of the revolution are not very effective and it thus becomes difficult to launch revolutionary action movements of youths. The Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee maintains that, under peace time conditions, every labor organization must seek to achieve economic efficiency in conjunction with guaranteeing the material and cultural interests of young laborers as well as all other laborers.

In 1984, together with organizing assault youth units, a form of organization that "closely combines ideological motivation with economic interests," the city also provided jobs for 80,000 youths. The Youth Union and the administration have tried to provide the members of assault units with each of their meals and training in cultural subjects, science and technology. To date, a system of level II and level III on-the-job supplementary education

schools with five departments and 250 instructors has been established within the assault youth forces. The supplementary education movement among assault youths is quite spirited and has begun to produce good results. Through this training, some 2,000 unit members have learned to read and write and are now furthering their education. More than 1,000 members have completed their level III education and nearly 400 members have been accepted into colleges.

At the assault youth units in the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo, along with the movements to study the martial arts, study foreign languages and read books, bonfire rallies, song groups, groups that write and perform their own theatrical art, physical culture and sport activities, press activities and so forth have helped to create a happy and wholesome cultural life for youths.

Building a happy personal life for the members of the assault youth units is also a special concern of the city party organization. Every possible favorable condition has been created for many young men and women to achieve family happiness. Many married couples have expressed their gratitude for the concern and constructive efforts of their mass organization by working hard with high productivity and quality.

Clearly, strengthening the leadership provided by the party and revamping the mode of operation of the Youth Union to include many stimulating and interesting forms of activities that are consistent with the requirements and psychology of youths are important factors in insuring the victory of the youth movement.

#### Teaching Our Raison d'Etre and Way of Life to Youths

The experience of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization in leading youth work once again confirms that in order to develop the revolutionary shock role of youths, it is absolutely necessary that attention be given to educating and molding youths, to training youths to be new, socialist men and women, new persons whose ideals are the ideals of communism and whose way of life is beautiful. The city party committee maintains that the process of forming a *raison d'etre* is the process of the dialectical impact between social existence and social consciousness, between socio-economic circumstances and cultural-spiritual life, between the collective and the individual, etc. One lesson deserving of attention is that the teaching of revolutionary ideals and tradition must be closely tied to labor and combat, that our *raison d'etre* and way of life must be forged in practice. All revolutionary action movements of youths at factories, enterprises and worksites and in subwards, villages, agencies, schools and units of the armed forces are closely tied to the work of building the new, socialist way of life and this has had the reciprocal effect of molding the attitude of performing high quality work and achieving high efficiency. The activities of the assault youth forces are a typical example. During the past 10 years, 50,000 of the city's youths have volunteered to go clear land and generate wealth for the fatherland. At the very outset, the party organization established cultivating the socialist *raison d'etre* and way of life as one of the basic themes in the task of molding the new laborer within the assault youth organization. To achieve this end, it is the policy of the city party committee that we must place true confidence in youths, uphold the right of collective ownership and make it

possible for every youth to develop close ties to the organization, forge qualities in practice and gradually cultivate a wholesome way of thinking and living. Assault youth forces come from many different sources and the circumstances surrounding their lives are very diverse. Many of them are prone to develop complexes. Here, the policy of the party committee has been that we should not dwell upon the past, should not mention the past of some persons who were corrupted by the enemy in days gone by when solving problems of the present. This has had the effect of inspiring everyone to join efforts in caring for the life of the collective. The Youth Union has very much confidence in the ability of youths to make progress and respects each good gesture, even though only initial or small, by each unit member. The party committee requires that every party member and Youth Union member adopt as their everyday principle, as the way that they influence others displaying responsibility and love and achieve a high degree of unanimity amongst themselves.

Anyone who visits the new economic zones in the outskirts of the city, in the Central Highlands or eastern Nam Bo sees that the labor being performed by youths in these zones is not only creating wealth to support the life of man, but also, and more importantly, that these youths are gradually developing the new, socialist *raison d'être* and way of life through the labor they are performing. The strength of the assault youth movement is manifested not only in the training of a corps of young, competent cadres who possess good qualities, but also in the "saving, through education, of many lives that seemed to be lost under the old regime." Nearly 7,000 backward youths have become assault youth unit members and very many of these persons are management or technical cadres at state farms and enterprises today.

One experience deserving of attention is that efforts to cultivate the *raison d'être* and way of life of youths must be closely linked to teaching youths revolutionary vigilance and heightening their will to fight in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between ourselves and the enemy. Because, as Nguyen Van Linh, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee, pointed out: "The youths of the city continue to constantly be a force that the enemy seeks to control by every means possible because they know that by attacking youths they are attacking the strength, the future of the nation... This silent war is taking place every hour of every day on all streets and alleys, in all aspects of everyday life and sometimes even spreads into the socialist school, into agencies, the families of cadres..."

The Ho Chi Minh City party organization also attaches importance to the law and the environment in the process of molding the *raison d'être* and way of life of youths. This relationship is the cause and effect and relationship that exists between the individual and society. The city party committee has pointed out: "Freedom of the individual must be respected. However, when an individual violates the freedom of another person, harms public interests, disrupts order, security...intervention under the law is necessary. Therefore, one theme in molding the *raison d'être* and way of life is that youths live their lives in accordance with the law..."



As regards environment, the city party committee has given its attention to the role and impact of the "micro environment," that is, the production section, work section, combat team, study section, club group and family. Because, the individual youth spends most of his or her time in this "micro environment." The city party committee has required that the Youth Union adopt methods and measures to develop the positive role played by environment. The city's youth cultural center is a model in this area. To date, more than 10 million youths representing each segment of society and representing all different segments of society and levels have visited the center to participate in activities, study and enjoy themselves. Through the wholesome activities conducted at the cultural center, the Youth Union has been guiding youths in adopting a beautiful *raison d'être* and way of life.

The Youth movement in Ho Chi Minh City, despite recording striking achievements, has yet to attract all strata of youths. There are still backward and delinquent youths who have not taken part in any of the changes that have occurred in the city during the past 10 years. Deserving of attention is the fact that more than a few youths have not correctly adopted revolutionary ideals and still have only a vague idea of what is involved in the struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy. A pragmatic, "let yourself go" and decadent way of life, laziness and an unwillingness to learn, a lack of discipline and superstitious beliefs are still seen to one degree or another among some youths. The various levels and sectors still show signs of having a narrowminded, prejudiced attitude and have not concerned themselves with the legitimate interests of youths. In particular, the erosion of the qualities and ethics of some cadres and party members has also had an adverse effect upon the thinking, way of life and actions of youths.

In the face of the new requirements of the revolution and with a deep understanding of the basic views of the party on youth work as set forth in Political Bureau Resolution Number 26, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization is continuing to display a high spirit of responsibility and is determined to do an even better job of leading the Youth Union and youth work. The city party committee has emphasized: "Turning youths who are backward or average into progressive youths not only reflects the love and sense of responsibility of the party organization, the administration and all levels, including the family and school, but also represents a victory over the cunning enemy of the nation in the struggle for hearts and minds."

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## REDUCING THE AVERAGE AGE OF DIEN NAM VILLAGE'S CORPS OF CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 37-40

[Article by Le Van Phong]

[Text] Dien Nam Village lies in the coastal sandy area of Dien Ban District in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province.

In the war of resistance against the United States, Dien Nam had a rather strong people's war movement and was a village whose inhabitants were ruthlessly terrorized and massacred by enemy forces. Within the village, 2,208 persons were killed and 877 were wounded. Prior to liberation day, only 904 persons remained in the village, producing what they needed to live and fighting the enemy. Following liberation day, 12,445 inhabitants of the village returns from resettlement zones of the Americans and puppets and, along with those who had remained in the village, disarmed bombs and mines and began rebuilding their lives.

Today, following more than 10 years of restoration, transformation and construction, the party organization and people of Dien Nam Village have recorded achievements deserving of pride. Dien Nam has completed the restoration of fields to production and the clearing of land, thereby increasing the amount of area under cultivation to 1,000 hectares. It has established four agricultural cooperatives and brought 100 percent of its farmers into these cooperatives. It has established two cooperatives that mill grain and process livestock feed under contract and one building materials cooperative with 13 brick kilns and 2 tile kilns. It has established one granulated sugar production unit, one marketing cooperative and one credit cooperative. It has also established three basic general schools with 71 classrooms with tile roofs, one public health station with 24 beds, four child care centers, three kindergartens and four wired radio stations. Housing for its citizens has been constructed in accordance with village planning. Some 80 percent of the village's homes have tile roofs. Dien Nam has also constructed 10 kilometers of roads within the village by bringing in clay from far away and spreading it to make a hard surface on top of its sand to accommodate vehicular traffic. It has continuously met and exceeded military induction targets and implemented the army's rear area policies and the policies concerning war veterans and the families of war dead well.

There are many reasons for the above achievements. One important reason is that the Dien Nam party organization has built a corps of young cadres who are fully capable of undertaking the tasks set by the party organization. These young cadres are quite dynamic and creative and have tapped the combined strength of the village in order to bring about the steady advance of the Dien Nam movement.

Thus, by which methods has Dien Nam reduced the average age of its corps of cadres?

To begin with, it was necessary to reduce the average age of the corps of party members. The Dien Nam party organization considered reducing the average age of the corps of party members to be the prerequisite to reducing the average age of the village's corps of cadres. On the other hand, further increasing the number of party members, particularly young party members, was a practical requirement in improving the ability of the party organization to lead and increasing its fighting strength. After Quang Nam-Da Nang was liberated, the village had only 58 party members, the majority of whom were old party members whose standards and level of education were low. In the face of this situation, the Dien Nam party organization decided that it was first necessary to attach special importance to developing the party and, in this way, increase the fighting strength of the party organization and expand its corps of cadres. As it set about implementing this policy immediately after liberation day, the Dien Nam party organization encountered more than a few difficulties. As we know, in the 20 years that they ruled the South, the U.S. imperialists and the lackey puppet administration employed every insidious tactic they could in a vain attempt to corrupt our people and make them immoral, especially the young generation. They did everything they could to "smear" sons and daughters of families who were in some way related to the revolution, thus creating mutual hatred and suspicion. Before they were defeated, they inserted more than a few reactionaries in order to continue to oppose and attack our country's revolution. In view of this situation, the development of the party, instead of being carried out normally, required truly painstaking efforts. The Dien Nam party organization adopted an appropriate plan and guidelines. The party organization spent the first years focusing its efforts on investigating, classifying and getting to know the people of the village and assigning them jobs in order to challenge them. The party chapters put a party member in charge of each citizen of the village. They then established three different categories of persons on whom efforts to train them for acceptance into the party had to be focused: the sons and daughters of the families of disabled veterans and war dead and families who had served the revolution; discharged troops; and the sons and daughters of those families who remained in the village during the fight against the United States. The party chapters analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the persons in each category and set specific guidelines for assisting and training them. Those youths who were sons and daughters of families of disabled veterans and war dead and families who had served the revolution were very eager to work but their cultural standards were low. The party chapters encouraged and arranged for them to attend formal supplementary education classes. Those youths who were discharged troops had been tempered in every way necessary but did not want to participate in party work because most of their families were encountering economic difficulties. The approach taken by

the party chapters in the case of these youths was to personally encourage them, to teach them tradition and help them overcome their difficulties so that they could participate. The sons and daughters of families who had remained in their village had been sent to the cities by their families to further their education. As a result, the majority of them had a level II or level III education but knew little about the revolution. The party chapters provided these youths with training to teach them the class stand, teach them about the party, about the socialist revolution... As a result of being educated and trained and being assigned suitable jobs, the village's force of youths has quickly matured. Spirited emulation movements aimed at restoring and stepping up production, such as the movements to restore fields to use, build water conservancy projects, practice intensive cultivation and raise crop yields, build cooperatives, wipe out illiteracy, construct roads, build schools and so forth, have truly become festivals of the youths of Dien Nam Village. Many outstanding youths have emerged, many young cadres have matured. From within these movements, many outstanding youths have been accepted into the party.

The Dien Nam party organization has also given its attention to properly strengthening the organization of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and developing the shock role of youths in each area of the village's work. The Youth Union organization has attracted large numbers of outstanding youths in the village. In 1976, the village had 76 Youth Union members. In 1979, it had 213 members. In 1983, it had more than 300 Youth Union members. The village's Youth Union chapters conduct spirited activities based on many pertinent themes that have truly become a school to train and educate youths. Through the activities of the Youth Union chapters, the party chapters have provided youths with knowledge about the party and helped them to meet the standards of the party member. The party chapters periodically evaluate and select the most outstanding Youth Union members for introduction to the party chapters to be trained for acceptance into the party.

Through such positive, effective measures, the Dien Nam party organization has been able to accept many new, young party members. During the past 2 years, primarily since 1980, the Dien Nam party organization has accepted 100 new members. The majority of these new members have been youths who are educated and quickly accept the new. The average age of the party organization's corps of party members has thus been reduced (to 39 years of age). It is these young, new party members who augment the cadres of the village, thus reducing their average age as well.

To quickly reduce the average age of its corps of cadres, the Dien Nam party organization has boldly trained cadres in accordance with a carefully calculated master plan. When it shifted from leading the people of the village in the guerrilla war to building socialism, the Dien Nam party organization experienced many difficulties because the village lacked key cadres and those that it had were poorly educated and weak in the area of economic management as well as in their special field or profession. In 1976, the village party committee consisted of 15 persons. Not including the six cadres sent by the district to strengthen the party committee, the average age of the village's party committee members was 42.2 years and they had no more than 1 to 3 grades of education (one person was illiterate). This situation



demanding that the Dien Nam party organization attach full importance to training village cadres and raising their standards in every field. It formulated a village cadre plan with the aims of training cadres to meet immediate needs while preparing cadres for future years. In this work, the Dien Nam party organization has given its attention to providing effective on-the-job training and has persisted in sending persons to schools for long-term training. The first thing that the party organization did was to find ways to raise the cultural standards of the village's cadres, party members and people. It considers raising the cultural standards of cadres and party members to be the key in resolving problems in cadre work as well as the key in improving the leadership skills of the party organization. The village has organized one on-the-job supplementary education school. The party organization has decided that each cadre and party member must attend this school and has requested that all sectors and mass organizations schedule their work in a way that enables party members to attend school. Supplementary education has attracted not only cadres, party members and youths, but also each citizen of the village. One hundred core cadres and party members have attended supplementary education classes. The cultural standards of the members of the party organization have undergone a major change. Some 52 percent of its members have completed their level I education, 32 percent have completed their level II education, 14 percent have completed their level III education and 5 have completed college.

Together with opening classes, the Dien Nam party organization has displayed a very high level of determination with regard to sending cadres and party members to study political theory, economic management and a specialized field or profession at the formal schools of the district, province and central level. Sending cadres for long-term training at a time when the village is experiencing a very serious shortage of cadres represents a major effort on the part of the Dien Nam party organization because it requires that the cadres remaining in the village undertake many jobs at the same time. However, there is consensus with the party organization concerning the need to endure the immediate difficulties caused by sending persons to schools for long-term training in order to prepare cadres for the long-range future. As a result, many cadres of the village have attended classes in political theory as well as their special field or profession. The cultural standards of the corps of cadres of the village and cooperatives have been markedly raised. Today, 59 of these cadres are in the 9th or 10th grade, 21 have completed the middle level program and 42 have completed the elementary program. In 1982, 4 members of the village party committee had a level III education, 10 persons had a 6th to 9th grade education and only 1 person had a 5th grade education. Dien Nam's target is to popularize level II education among all cadres of the village within the next few years. The rise in their cultural standards and their command of political theory has made the cadres of Dien Nam strong and brought about the continuous advance of the village's movement.

Together with the efforts mentioned above, the Dien Nam party organization has also boldly assigned jobs to youths and established a good relationship between elderly and young cadres. This is also one of the positive measures taken by Dien Nam to quickly reduce the average age of its cadres. The policy of the Dien Nam party organization has been to only put a number of elderly party members in charge of party work and some jobs that entail extensive



contact with the people while boldly putting young party members and outstanding Youth Union members in charge of production and business units as production unit chiefs or assistant chiefs and members of cooperative management boards, in charge of cultural work, scientific-technical work and so forth. After spending a period of time on these jobs, many of these persons have been selected for promotion to positions on the village level or sent to schools for long-term training. The party organization has also given its attention to assigning jobs to young cadres in a way that gives each of them experience in work that entails increasingly high requirements, from the requirements of being in charge of a specific portion of a job to the requirements of being in charge of an important job. As a result of being highly determined to boldly assign jobs to youths, the Dien Nam party organization has trained a rather young corps of cadres. The members of cooperative management boards are between the ages of 27 and 32. The average age of the members of the village people's committee is 30 and the average age of the members of the village party committee is 34.5.

While boldly assigning jobs to youths, the party organization has given its attention to establishing a close relationship between elderly and young cadres. It has given elderly cadres the responsibility of training young cadres and young cadres the responsibility of learning the experience that elderly cadres have gained in their work. One-third of the members of the Dien Nam party organization are retired cadres. This number increases each year. All these party members are veterans of the two wars of resistance against France and the United States and participated in many different jobs. Each of them has job experience that the young cadres of the village lack. Recognizing this fact early on, the Dien Nam party organization mobilized these party members to actively contribute to building the village's revolutionary movement. The party committee has familiarized itself with the specialized work performed by each of these persons and skillfully mobilized them to work alongside and assist the cadres who currently hold positions within the village. Whenever a sector holds a conference to conduct a preliminary or final review of its work, the party committee invites persons related to the work of the sector to attend so that an exchange of experiences can be held. There is a close relationship and mutual support between elderly and young cadres in all the village's work. These retired party members have brought to the training of the village's young cadres the full measure of their zeal and experience. This wholehearted assistance has helped the village's young cadres quickly familiarize themselves with their work and has caused them to encounter fewer problems.

The Dien Nam party organization has also concerned itself with building the corps of successor cadres. It has implemented the assignment of successor cadres to various job positions. These cadres work with and are assisted by the persons who currently hold these positions. Successor cadres and current cadres discuss the work they are performing. Periodically, successor cadres are assigned specific jobs. This training method has helped young cadres to grow and mature quickly and has enabled the party organization to always be able to take the initiative in the assignment of cadres.

By means of the positive, effective measures described above, the Dien Nam party organization has reduced the average age of the village's cadres. Dien

Nam now has a corps of rather young cadres whose standards and skills have been markedly improved. In 1982, the district withdrew the cadres it had assigned to Dien Nam. Only 1 retired cadre remains on the party committee. This corps of young cadres has made important contributions to the achievements recorded by Dien Nam, achievements deserving of pride. Once an arid, poor village, Dien Nam now not only supports itself at a rather high standard of living, but also fulfills its grain obligations to the state. The people of Dien Nam are very enthusiastic and confident because their material and cultural lives have been steadily improved. With the achievements it has recorded and the experiences it has gained, with a steadily improving corps of cadres, Dien Nam will surely record even larger achievements in the years ahead.

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## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 41-42

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Editorial Note

On 3 February 1930, under instructions from the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc (that is, our Uncle Ho) convened the Merger Conference to bring together the various communist groups in Indochina and establish the Communist Party of Vietnam, which later changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party. As soon as it was born, the party launched a widespread movement of workers and peasants in Indochina, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930 and 1931. This movement achieved acclaim and exerted enormous influence within the international communist movement. The 11th Plenary Conference of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held between 25 March and 13 April 1931 observed: "In Indochina, the peasant movement has developed strongly and widely and has recorded the very large achievement of establishing soviet administrations..."(1) At that conference, the Communist International recognized the Indochinese Communist Party as an alternate member of the Communist International, one separate from the Communist Party of France.

In August 1935, the Communist International held its 7th Congress in Moscow. Our party's delegation participating in the congress consisted of Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and Hoang Van Non. Nguyen Ai Quoc (who was then using the alias Lin) participated as an invited guest of the congress. The congress recognized the Indochinese Communist Party as an official member of the Communist International and elected Le Hong Phong an official member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Below is the decision of the 7th Congress of the Communist International recognizing the Indochinese Communist Party and a number of other communist parties as official members of the Communist International.

[Photograph of the following decision in Russian appears here in text]

## DECISION

Concerning the Recognition of New Members of the Communist International

(Adopted at the 7th Congress of the Communist International on 20 August 1935)

- a) Hereby recognized as members of the Communist International are the communist parties in Indochina, the Philippines, Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.
- b) Hereby recognized as a member of the Communist International with voting power is the People's Revolutionary Party in Tuva.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See: "The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Imperialism," Pravda Publishing House, Moscow, 1932, p 43.

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**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS: THE STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATES WHO LEFT THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1ST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF DELEGATES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 43-44

[Text] Editorial Note: in May 1929, the 1st Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was held overseas. At that congress, the delegates from Tonkin proposed the establishment of a communist party. This proposal was not endorsed by the congress. The Tonkin delegates immediately left the congress and returned home. Upon their arrival in Tonkin, they issued the following statement appealing for "the immediate establishment of a communist party." This statement was printed in leaflet form and distributed in many localities of the country.

On the occasion of the 56th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we are publishing this statement for use as a reference material by our readers.

Dear comrades,

Dear fellow countrymen,

We, who were entrusted by our comrades with the responsibility of representing them as delegates at the 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth that was convened on 1 May 1929, always sought to express, with the full measure of our spirit and minds, opinions consistent with Annam's circumstances and the aspirations of our cadres--our objectives being for the revolution to quickly achieve success and workers to quickly seize political power in order to build a society of equality, liberty and fraternity.

Because such was our responsibility,  
Because such were our objectives,

And recognizing that:

1. In Annam, capitalism has flourished and capital is beginning to become concentrated in the hands of only a few persons;

2. The proletariat in Annam is becoming increasing large and aware and poor peasants are also becoming increasingly numerous;

3. Annam currently has no party that represents the proletariat;

4. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth is a petty bourgeois, petty intellectual mass organization, a nationalist mass organization that endorses socialism. The association's line--"carrying out a national revolution first, then the world revolution"--is opportunistic and not genuinely revolutionary (since the association's establishment in 1924, its activities have been far removed from workers and peasants. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth has not established liaison with the 3rd International ((the Communist International)), the revolutionary organization for the entire world, but instead sent delegates to attend the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Chinese Nationalist Party, an anti-revolutionary, anti-worker and peasant party).

We therefore had no alternative but to propose the establishment of a party that represents the proletariat, the only party that can solve the problems related to the proletariat, a party to lead the entire cause of revolution in Annam, that is, a COMMUNIST PARTY.

The issue of organizing a communist party was thus raised for discussion at the congress. After nearly 1 day of debate (5 May 1929), reasoning that:

This congress is a youth congress (the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth),

These delegates are delegates of the members of the youth association,

The majority of the delegates attending the congress decided:

1. The issue of organizing a communist party is not an issue related to Youth and thus need not be discussed by the congress;

2. The delegates will only discuss issues related to Youth; the issue of a communist party may not be raised.

True, this congress was a congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. However, persons who are genuine revolutionaries must discuss every issue related to workers and peasants, to the proletariat. Yet, the congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth did not permit discussion of the issue of organizing a communist party, which is a very vital issue to the proletariat and poor peasants of Annam. A congress that does not permit discussion of this issue is not a congress that represents the proletariat.

The nature of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had thus been made very clear.

Because we never forgot our obligation to the proletariat of Annam, to all hard working citizens of Annam, because we could not forget the responsibility

entrusted to us by our comrades, we could not recognize this opportunistic national congress of delegates, this bogus revolutionary and anti-worker-peasant national congress of delegates and declared that we were leaving the congress and returning home.

What this opportunistic, bogus revolutionary and anti-worker and peasant congress discussed subsequent to our departure, we do not know.

The result of attending this national congress of delegates is that we know with full certainty that the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth is not a genuine party that serves the interests of the proletariat.

Thus, we sincerely and urgently appeal  
to the workers of Annam,  
to the poor peasants of Annam,  
to the comrades of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth,  
to the members of the political parties in Annam,  
to all those whose hearts lie with the revolution,  
that:

1. We must make every effort to topple the gang of opportunists and bogus revolutionaries who are deceiving workers and peasants.
2. We must immediately organize a COMMUNIST PARTY before we can lead the proletariat in revolution.

We must topple French imperialism, bring down capitalism, eradicate the paralyzed village bullies, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve communism.

So declare the delegates who left the congress and returned home.

1 June 1929

Note: once you have read this, please pass it on to someone else.

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## DISPLAYING HIGH REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM IN LABOR AND COMBAT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 45-47

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The 5th National Congress of Heroes and Emulation Warriors was the first such congress to be held since the country was reunified. The congress met against the background of the people of our country having recorded large achievements in building and defending the socialist fatherland while still facing difficulties in many areas.

Due to the length of time since the previous congress and the breadth of the contributions and achievements that have been made and recorded, this national congress of heroes and emulation warriors represented a larger number of heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors than any preceding congress and was attended by many collectives and individuals from all 40 provinces and municipalities representing practically all important sectors and fields and symbolizing the achievements recorded by the people of our entire country in the performance of the two strategic tasks. The corps of heroes and emulation warriors present at this congress consisted of workers, farmers and intellectuals, men and women, all nationalities and religions, veteran revolutionaries and youths new to the revolution; consisted of persons representing three to four successive generations that have fought and died for the revolutionary cause of the party, of the people.

Many heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors emerged from the widespread revolutionary movements of the masses, from the patriotic emulation movements being carried out in the various fields to meet the requirements of the revolution. They are deeply imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho: we must emulate one another in every job we perform. Emulation is patriotic, emulation is unity, emulation is the remolding of man.

Led and educated by the party, carrying on and building upon the fine traditions of the nation and displaying revolutionary qualities in a way highly visible, our heroes and emulation warriors of today very profoundly embody the precious materials possessed by our people in the past and the present--materials that are the origin of each victory and achievement. These special materials are condensed in boundless loyalty to the party, the revolution and the fatherland.



Upon the foundation constructed of these special materials and against the background of the many arduous and complex challenges of the past 2 decades, all heroes and emulation warriors, although they have conducted their activities amidst different circumstances and in different fields and although each is different in appearance and personality, clearly reflect in their thinking and actions the diverse and rich characteristics of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

The salient characteristic we see is that all have always displayed a high spirit of initiative and creativity in labor and management, displayed bravery and resourcefulness in combat and overcome each difficulty and adversity. In the face of the towering difficulties caused by enemy attacks and natural disasters, in the face of the serious consequences of the war, especially the many weaknesses of the economy, heroes and emulation warriors have very clearly displayed initiative and creativity in their field and jobs. Instead of allowing themselves to be bound by old concepts and ideas, by old ways of thinking, they have constantly equipped themselves with new knowledge, with new ways of thinking and have recognized which directions are the correct directions to take to overcome difficulties and achieve high efficiency in their work. Never fearing difficulties, always keeping abreast of the realities of life and maintaining close ties with the masses, our heroes and emulation warriors have developed and taken many practical measures to overcome difficulties and complete tasks well. Once they determined the correct direction to take, they dared to be decisive and persisted in their efforts until success was achieved.

In combat, clearly aware of the nature, schemes and tactics of the enemy and possessing both patriotism and a deep hatred of the enemy, they have displayed bravery, resourcefulness and flexibility, quickly developed effective, creative ways of fighting and defeated the acts of encroachment and occupation as well as the acts of sabotage of the enemy.

Our life during the past 20 years has been marked by many innovations and changes. These innovations and changes came about partly as a result of important contributions made by heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors.

Secondly, they have displayed a very high sense of responsibility and dedication to their work and contributed all that they could for the sake of the ideals and ambitions of the revolution.

A heroic character is displayed not only in major undertakings, in undertakings of monumental proportions, but also in very ordinary, silent efforts about which few persons know. It is displayed not only in emergency jobs that are completed in a brief span of time, but also in jobs that go on for years and months. Ho Giao has been very closely connected to his occupation, raising foreign breeds of dairy buffalo and cattle, for 31 years. A common laborer who possesses a high sense of responsibility, passionately loves his occupation, is devoted to his work, patiently endures closely connected to his occupation, raising foreign breeds of dairy buffalo and cattle, for 31 years. A common laborer who possesses a high sense of responsibility, passionately loves his occupation, is devoted to his work, patiently endures hardships and

has overcome many difficulties, he cares for calves as a mother cares for her children and has achieved many fine results. One comrade, who left his native village and moved far from his family because he was needed by the revolution, has spent several decades devoting his life to the ethnic minorities at a place in the mountainous jungles shrouded in clouds throughout the year, a place where the climate is harsh, where customs and habits are strange...

Dedication to their work, perseverance in the face of problems, difficulties and adversities and the spirit of sacrifice have helped heroes and emulation warriors contribute all that they have to the cause of revolution.

Thirdly, they have eagerly studied, researched and applied scientific and technical advances and found the most direct way to produce large returns for the revolution.

In view of our country's current circumstances, accelerating the scientific-technical revolution, the key revolution among the three revolutions set forth by our party, is a matter of extreme importance. The heroes and emulation warriors have displayed high determination to study and research science and technology and find ways to quickly apply the results they achieve in production and work. Here, they have displayed their heroic character by remaining eager to learn despite lacking many of the conditions and means they need, by working while learning, by engrossing themselves in research, by creating, on their own, the necessary work conditions, by combining scientific knowledge with their own experience and the experience of their collective, by creating things new and applying these things in their production and work with self-confidence and a spirit of self-reliance. Instead of being disappointed by setbacks, they have moved forward with determination to achieve increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency. In this spirit, in their activities in many fields of science and technology, in industry and agriculture, in communications, transportation, public health, national defense and so forth, our heroic collectives, heroic individuals and emulation warriors have tirelessly worked to develop within themselves increasing skills so that they can contribute as much as possible to the revolution, to the people.

Fourthly, they have displayed diligence, honesty, modesty and simplicity, established close ties to the masses and truly placed their confidence in and relied upon the masses. Imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho that heroes are produced by a heroic people, a heroic nation and upholding the fine traditions of the people, our heroes and emulation warriors, in their work as well as their life, when poor as well as when successful, have constantly forged themselves in order to always retain these precious qualities. In view of the fact that our country is still poor and must still surmount many difficulties, displaying frugality, honesty, simplicity and modesty, becoming one with the masses and having confidence in and relying upon the masses are exceedingly important factors in our heroes and emulation warriors becoming the center uniting and galvanizing the masses in revolutionary action. Many heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors began to become what they are today by studying examples of good persons and good work and studying progressive places. They have become increasingly modest as their

achievements have mounted and, not satisfied with their achievements, have studied even more in order to make continuous progress.

Now, more than ever before, displaying and spreading revolutionary heroism in labor and combat are a very important requirement in intensifying the socialist patriotic emulation movement in every field of activity with the aims of overcoming each difficulty and hardship and successfully carrying out each task set by the party.

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SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN  
VIETNAM AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THIS STAGE (\*)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 48-74, 99

[Text] Hoang Huu Nhan:

Lenin's famous argument on the necessity of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism that "...the general laws of development in the history of the entire world do not exclude but encompass a number of stages of development that reflect characteristics of this development, either from the standpoint of the forms this development takes or the order in which it occurs"(1) was applied by our party to divide the period of transition to socialism into individual stages. Our party has asserted: "The immediate stage is the stage of continuing to carry out socialist construction and socialist transformation; achieving a stronger political and moral consensus among the people; reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the standard of living; stopping and eradicating negative phenomena; making important progress in every field; and creating a new balance for the economy while preparing for steadier and stronger strides forward in the next stage."(2) By the time that the period of transition comes to an end, we must meet the following targets:

--Socialist production relations must be universally established and occupy the position of absolute dominance within each field of social production;

--Socialist production relations must be fully developed, that is, the economic laws of socialism must be exerting their full impact;

--The construction of the material-technical bases of socialism must, from the standpoint of its fundamental features, be completed.

Our two basic tasks in the initial stage, stabilizing and improving the standard of living and accumulating initial capital, demand that we urgently resolve a number of problems: restoring and stabilizing the economy; gradually correcting the major imbalances within the economy; building a minimum force of modern technical equipment and machinery and training a corps of technical cadres and workers with the aim of creating a driving force that will carry social production beyond the framework of simple reproduction; and establishing a rational and efficient economic structure.



The enormous efforts that we have made in the recent past have brought about many changes in the state of our country's socio-economic system compared to what it was at the beginning. We have recorded many economic achievements under very difficult circumstances. However, we have also committed many shortcomings and mistakes in leading and managing the economy. Consequently, the results achieved are still low and not commensurate with the efforts we have made. All these efforts have failed to bring about significant changes in the economy so that we can emerge from the initial stage. We must take a hard look at the current socio-economic situation so that we can set targets that truly focus our efforts and adopt an economic development strategy that is well suited to the years ahead. In this work we must include defining a rational economic structure, our economic management strategy and the specifics involved in revamping the economic management mechanism. For the immediate future, agriculture will continue to be the front of foremost importance. At the same time, we must make every effort to develop the production of consumer and export goods. The development of heavy industry must primarily have the purpose of directly supporting the requirements mentioned above while preparing conditions for the next stage. A rational economic structure is one that always places agriculture, light industry and heavy industry within a unified economic structure and develops, against the background of an "open" economy, our particular strengths in the world economy. As regards the structure of investments in the years ahead, importance must be attached to making investments in utilizing existing production capacity in the fullest and most efficient manner possible. From the standpoint of revamping the economic management mechanism, it is first of all necessary to completely dismantle bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and state subsidies in all fields of production and business, shift quickly and entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices centered around the plan and restore to economic units their inherent business responsibility and independence and financial autonomy under appropriately centralized state leadership and management. Only through a dynamic management mechanism that is consistent with economic laws and only by implementing the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is it possible to fully develop each capability and potential of the economy, quickly stabilize production and the standard of living and truly strengthen the state's leadership of the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is it possible to fully develop each capability and potential of the economy, quickly stabilize production and the standard of living and truly strengthen the state's leadership of the entire economy.

Tran Linh Son:

Following the great victory in the spring of 1975, reunified Vietnam embarked on the stage of the socialist revolution, a stage that has begun with the period of transition to socialism, the period of carrying out the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship nationwide. The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam pointed out: the current stage consists of the period encompassed by the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and will last until 1990, until the conclusion of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, or a little while longer. Today, we know this as the initial stage of the period of transition in our country. The 5th Party Congress introduced the concept

of the initial stage of the process of socialist industrialization and defined our general socio-economic targets for the 1980's as:

1. Accelerating production, focusing efforts on the development of agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance and stabilizing and improving the standard of living;
2. Continuing to selectively build the material-technical bases of socialism, accumulating capital from within the economy and actively preparing for the stronger development of heavy industry in the next stage;
3. Completing socialist transformation in the southern provinces and continuing the effort to perfect socialist production relations nationwide;
4. Meeting pressing national defense needs and maintaining political security and social order and safety.

It can be said that these targets will be met when the economy undergoes fundamental change and national income provides for all social consumption and the formation of capital from within the national economy; when the gross social product increases, is better balanced, meets an important portion of domestic needs and provides an increasingly large volume of exports so that we can import products that are not yet being produced domestically or not being produced in sufficient quantities; when there is a full and timely supply of products of export value so that we can repay loans (including interest) to other countries on time; when we have established truly thorough and effective state inventory and control over the production, distribution, circulation and consumption of the social product; when frugality has become a more strongly established practice and close control has been established over the amount of labor performed and the amount of remuneration received by the various members of society; when the socialist economic segment becomes the dominant segment of the national economy; and when socialization is gradually carried out and becomes reality within the system of social production.

As regards the conditions that we need to move forward, we must adhere to the laws of development and through the subjective, positive impact of management, solve the following number of problems:

1. We must continue to mold the Vietnamese man and woman, these persons who are the masters and our most dynamic strength, are the objects of our efforts and in whom our most important gains and assets lie. We must build upon the tenacious, unyielding and revolutionary character and the high sense of community of the Vietnamese. We must cultivate a truly scientific and objective method of thinking and grasp concepts, categories and laws so that we can make an effective impact upon the process of producing material wealth and creating cultural and spiritual values. We must learn the essence of the ideas and work methods of others and the entire intellectual storehouse of mankind in the full scope of its varied development, both in breadth and depth.

Due to the requirement that we advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and the fact that the "birth

pains" of the period of transition might last longer and be more difficult than in some countries that have experienced the industrial revolution, it is necessary that we quickly cultivate within ourselves the habits of thinking about what we are doing when working, working productively and working on the basis of contracts and cooperation; the concept of saving time, a strict sense of organization and discipline and a sense of order; the ability to organize life, work and relaxation in a rational way based on knowledge of the psychology, physiology and anatomy of man, of the achievements of medical science and the science of maintaining good health; modern work skills and techniques that are well suited to the Vietnamese and the ability to scientifically organize labor at basic units, within the material production sectors and at state management agencies.

2. The world today is divided into two socio-economic systems, in addition to which there are the developing countries. Each system has an objective, internal need to have a homogenous economy and closely tie science, technology and production together under a specific strategy. Our country must display independence and autonomy in a manner closely linked to relying completely upon the effective assistance provided by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. We must strongly develop the division of labor and comprehensive international cooperation with the member countries of CEMA and especially with the two friendly countries of Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, we must have a correct foreign policy toward other countries.

3. We must make full use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution under our strategy of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Our country must keep abreast of developments in the scientific-technological revolution that is currently the focus of world attention. This revolution has become the scene of an extremely bitter struggle between the two world systems--socialism and capitalism.

Importance must be attached to the following special characteristics of the modern scientific-technological revolution:

a) The energy potentials of society have markedly increased on the basis of creating new ways of producing electric power (such as the first atomic power plant in the Soviet Union constructed in 1954) and raising the efficiency of energy systems.

b) Entire production processes, including all elements of machine systems, are being automated.

c) A turning point has been reached in the field of industrial processes, as seen in the application of science in production, of technical electricity, laser technology, the microorganism industry, etc.

d) The scientific-technological revolution even encompasses the most conservative factor of production forces, the objects of labor. The use of raw materials from plants and animals has declined. The use of minerals has increased and natural raw materials are being replaced by synthetic materials.



e) There has been a shift to four-component machine systems based on the application of cybernetics to the production management process (to the three traditional components of a machine system, the power source, control equipment and working machine, a new component has now been added: the management component). The function of the management component is being undertaken on an increasingly large scale by computers with the aim of performing management and planning tasks. A machine (according to K. Marx) is the extension of man's hands. A computer is considered to be an extension of man's brain.

4. Measures must be taken to process, collate and make available to the public statistical data and some materials on basic investigations and economic zoning, which are very necessary in researching and drawing up charts on those factors that determine economic growth, in the forecast system (3) and in drafting well-coordinated, goal oriented programs in such fields as grain production, consumer goods production and public services; energy; communications-transportation and the entire infrastructure supporting production and capital construction; and the information-liaison system, the purpose here being to insure effective economic and social management.

We must formulate 5-year plans and 10-15 year long-term plans up until the year 2000 and coordinate them with the development plans of the member countries of CEMA.

We must research and establish an optimum joint-sector production system, one which insures that production and capital construction are restructured in accordance with an investment policy and a policy on the structure of the socio-economic system in the process of dynamic change that are based on the final product and on economic efficiency.

5. We must strengthen the national financial system; provide sources of investment capital; restore the circulation of money to a wholesome state and stabilize the purchasing power of the dong; expand and strengthen the monetary-credit system on the basis of understanding and applying the system of economic laws; develop commodity production; utilize commodity-money relations in a planned manner in the period of transition to socialism in our country; establish the management and planning mechanism and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Nguyen Anh Bac:

Our country is in the initial stage of building an economy based on large-scale, socialist production. It is also the initial stage of building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland's national defense system, a national defense system in which all the people participate.

In this stage, the economy still faces many difficulties and is seriously imbalanced. Our country is also in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage and a border war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the Beijing expansionists and

hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we must be ready to deal with a large-scale war of aggression, should one break out.

To meet all four of the general socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress, a strategy for socio-economic development that correctly reflects combining the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy in this stage must be designed to meet the following strategic objectives:

1. Bringing about a fundamental change in the state of the national economy, correcting the serious imbalances that currently exist and establishing a rational economic structure in each zone, each locality and nationwide within a unified overall economic structure, one that correctly reflects combining the economy with national defense, thus creating a unified strategic deployment in which we are the masters of both the economy and national defense and increasing the combined strength of national defense forces by an important degree within each zone, each locality and nationwide so that we can defeat each of the enemy's schemes and acts of sabotage.

2. Creating within the national economy the conditions needed to improve our ability to maintain a stable national defense and do so upon a foundation that is increasingly solid, thereby enabling us to meet pressing immediate needs as best possible and laying the groundwork for building and developing the national defense industry in coordination with accelerating socialist industrialization in the next stage.

3. Completing the preparations for mobilizing the economy to resist a war of aggression, preparations which must insure the successful implementation of our strategic guidelines: placing foremost importance upon socialist construction while not relaxing our national defense efforts for one moment.

4. Achieving a rational, solidly based balance that supports economic development between the mobilization of labor and material wealth for national defense and the mobilization of labor and material wealth for the economy.

To meet the above mentioned strategic objectives, the following strategic guidelines for combining the economy with national defense must be examined when deciding matters concerning the strategy for socio-economic development:

1. Building and developing the economy in the areas along the northern border, in the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo with a view toward fundamentally improving our defensive posture in these areas and achieving a new level of qualitative development of the combined strength of the national defense forces of all the people so that we are strong enough to defeat every activity of the enemy in their border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage, thereby making a decisive contribution to stabilizing the situation nationwide.

2. Building an economic structure within each locality, district and province that truly serves as the direct economic base of the national defense forces in the locality, makes each district a military fortress, each province a strategic national defense unit and insures that the national defense system

of the entire country undergoes a marked change and is solidly based at each basic unit and within each locality.

3. Stabilizing the national defense production and support tasks of the localities and economic-technical sectors; establishing, on this basis, a rational structure for each economic-technical sector and the specialized basic production units of the national defense system with the aim of improving our ability to provide the material-technical bases of a modern national defense system of all the people, of a modern, regular people's army in increasingly large quantities and producing an increasingly wide variety of products that meet qualitative standards and are delivered as and when required; insuring that the steps taken do not create an imbalance or difficulty for the economy; giving priority to investing in those industrial sectors that directly support the economy and national defense; and restructuring the industrial sectors that are directly related to the guideline of building and developing the national defense industry in accordance with a strategic deployment that is consistent with the defense deployment of the entire country.

4. Building and developing a three-level structural system that is consistent with the structure of the economy and national defense in order to achieve the highest possible impact from both tasks of building and defending the fatherland; making appropriate investments in those areas in which maintaining combat readiness is an urgent task;

5. Revamping and reorganizing, in coordination with building anew, the structure of the scientific-technical sectors in ways that permit us to fully utilize each scientific and technical force of the entire country to support the entire cause of building and defending the fatherland and lay a good foundation for building and developing Vietnamese military science and technology in the next stage;

6. Combining the labor obligation with the military obligation, the organization of labor with the organization of the military, building widespread mass armed forces, building up the mobilizable reserve forces of the army and laying the groundwork for eventually achieving, from the standpoint of mobilizing labor for the standing army in peace time but still being ready to quickly mobilize combat forces when demanded by the situation, a rational, stable relationship that benefits the economy.

One of the strategic measures in combining the economy with national defense is to make rational use of army forces, through various forms of military organizations, in economic construction. For example, the units of the army tasked with maintaining combat readiness in strategic areas are a strategic force in building the economy and national defense system within the locality. Some specialized basic production units of the national defense system that are highly capable of producing civilian goods and export goods will be restructured and reorganized in order to directly support the army while participating in the production of consumer or export goods within the overall structure and under the common plan of the national economy. Construction forces of the army can undertake the construction of many economic projects and new economic zones for the state. This is also one of the methods of



organizing labor that enables us to combine the labor obligation with the military obligation in order to carry out economic programs on which labor must be concentrated so that they can be completed in a short amount of time.

One of the important requirements in combining the economy with national defense is for the state to correctly apply economic laws and the laws involved in building a national defense system of all the people through necessary principles, policies, orders and regulations governing economic activities that directly support national defense, economic activities within the army, the economic work of the army, the requirements involved in preparing to mobilize the economy and shift it from a peace time to a war time footing...

Phan Van Tiem:

Concerning the law of value and its impact in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country:

The realities of social production have completely confirmed a fundamental principle of Marxist economics, that the commodity economy and its categories of laws are historic categories. Their emergence, development and application are closely tied to certain socio-economic forms, which are distinguished from one another by who owns the means of production. The law of value is the primary, universal economic law of social production as long as this production takes the form of a commodity economy.

History has also caused the emergence of two different types of commodity production: the first type arose and developed on the basis of private ownership of the means of production and the second arose and developed on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. The first type came into existence before the second. In each type, the scope, mode and intensity of the impact of the law of value differ. From the standpoint of scope and intensity, the law of value plays the prominent role in the first type. Here, because private ownership of the means of production is the origin of commodity production, the law of value plays the role of universally controlling production. It is the law that regulates commodity production. This law is of limited scope and intensity within a commodity economy based on the public ownership of the means of production.

From the above, we can see the prominent features of the role played by the law of value in social production during the period of transition, especially during its initial stage, compared to the stage of developed socialism and even the subsequent stages of the period of transition. These features are determined by the fact that many different segments exist within the economy during this initial stage, a stage in which the economic relations within the non-socialist segments of the economy and the necessary relations that exist with regard to reproduction between these segments and the socialist segments of the economy are still under the very strong impact of the law of value. This law also has the objective impact of regulating production and circulation through these relations.



The law of value always exerts its impact through the functions of the categories of commodities-money, circulation, the market, commodities, money, value, prices, credit, profit and so forth and the impact of the laws of a commodity economy: supply-demand and the circulation of money. The economic content and nature of these categories are completely different under the conditions of a commodity economy based on the private ownership of the means of production (which includes the private segment of an economy) than they are in a commodity economy based on public ownership. In the first case, which also applies to the non-socialist segments of the economy in the initial stage of the period of transition, the law of value has a spontaneous impact and is closely tied to the economic laws of a capitalist commodity economy, depending upon the scope and level of development of this form of commodity economy. Here, it is necessary to confirm the role played by the law of competition and the law of surplus value.

Together with the emergence, development and expansion of public ownership of the means of production, a new type of commodity production (socialist commodity production) has also developed in the initial stage of the period of transition, mainly within the socialist segments of the economy. Here, the impact of the categories of a commodity economy as well as the impact of the law of value occur in a planned manner and are closely tied to the laws of a socialist economy: the fundamental economic law, the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy, the law of economizing on work time and the law of distribution in accordance with labor.

The economy during the period of transition is a single entity. The process of reproduction involves all segments of the economy. The socialist segments of the economy operates in accordance with its own laws. Here, the impact of the law of value is planned and always exerts an influence upon the other segments of the economy through the relationships among them in reproduction. The extent of this influence is determined by the continuous growth of the socialist economy.

The national economy during the period of transition consists of two components based on the two types of ownership of the means of production. The national market also consists of two corresponding components. Because the law of value exerts an impact through two different types of production relations, the nature of this impact differs within each of the two groups of economic segments.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist segments of the economy in the initial stage of the period of transition are the internal prerequisites to the economy during the period of transition moving down the path of development of socialism. At the same time, they are the objective conditions that must exist in order to consciously apply economic laws, including the law of value, and in order for the state to manage the economy in a planned manner.

Applying the law of value creates the objective conditions for using this law to support the socio-economic targets of the state and limiting the negative consequences (compared to these goals) resulting from the impact of this law.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, the application of the law of value in the management of the national economy must be designed to meet the following major objectives:

- a) Encouraging the laborers and economic organizations of all segments of the economy to display activism in developing production, rapidly increasing the gross social product and national income in a way that is rationally structured, constantly increasing the efficiency of social production and satisfying the needs of society during each period;
- b) Developing, on a priority basis, and increasing the strength of the socialist segments of the economy while gradually limiting the development of the capitalist segments and curbing the spontaneous development toward capitalism of small-scale commodity production;
- c) Developing the national market in breadth and depth so that it becomes a strong force stimulating the development of the economy and evolves from a subsistence economy into a commodity production economy, from a crippled structure into a structure that is integrated and well balanced, thereby helping to gradually rebuild the structure of social production in order to maintain a high rate of development and more fully meet the needs of society;
- d) Distributing and redistributing national income among the various segments of the economy and strata of the population in all areas of the country, among the different sectors of the national economy and between the formation of capital and consumption in proportions that are rational.

Tran Viet Chy:

The strategic guidelines and measures for implementing the grain strategy in our country during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism first entail the successful implementation of population planning. In our opinion, to be consistent with grain production capabilities, we must endeavor to reduce the rate of population growth so that our population is roughly 65 million in 1990 and only about 76 million in the year 2000. Only with such a population and an increase in grain production of roughly 5.7 percent per year in the next 5 years, as was the case during the years from 1980 to 1985, or by trying to produce an additional 1 percent, can we meet the grain target set for the initial stage of the period of transition by 1992-1993. Secondly, grain production must be closely linked to the proper processing, distribution, circulation and storage of grain. We must strongly develop all aspects of the livestock production sector so that we can gradually change the structure of meals and gradually increase the quantity of food rich in vegetable and animal protein in the daily diet of the people. Thirdly, it is necessary to intensify the activities of the handicraft trades and the production of export goods within agriculture and restructure the allocation of grain and export crops where possible along lines that produce high economic returns. Some of the foreign currency generated through the exportation of agricultural products must be used to import some grain with a view toward fully meeting the grain needs of the producers of exported industrial crops, non-industrial crops and livestock, thereby helping to augment society's overall supply of grain. Fourthly, efforts must be focused

on increasing the production of grain on the basis of a rational allocation of crops that is well suited to production potentials and consumer needs...

Despite considerable increases in the recent past, grain production in our country remains at a level between starvation and sufficiency and grain reserves have not been established. The actual average consumption of grain during the past 10 years, from 1976 to 1985, was 290-295 kilograms per capita per year (between 1976 and 1980, we had to import nearly 8 million tons and another 1 million tons had to be imported between 1981 and 1985). This eating standard only supplies about 1,800 calories per person per day. We must endeavor to raise calorie intake to 2,100-2,300 calories per person per day by 1990, with 15 to 20 percent being supplied by protein rich food (an average of more than 400 kilograms of grain and 15 kilograms of lean meat of various types per person). Thus, the targets that must be met by 1990 are: 25 million to 27 million tons of grain (including 22.5-23 million tons of paddy), 1-1.2 million tons of lean meat of various types, 1.7 million tons of fish, etc. To meet the target of 25,000 calories per person per day by the year 2000, with 20-25 percent being supplied by protein rich food, it will be necessary to produce about 36-38 million tons of grain (including 31-32 million tons of paddy), 1.8-2 million tons of meat, 3 million tons of fish... As a result, in our country's grain strategy, rice will continue to be our main crop followed by corn, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava and so forth, depending upon the conditions that exist in each area. Therefore, our country must have about 5 million hectares under the cultivation of rice by the year 2000. In the immediate future, between now and 1990, the amount of area under the cultivation of rice must be increased by 600,000 to 900,000 hectares. Rice yield must be increased by 6-7 quintals per hectare per season (compared to the current yield of 29 quintals per hectare per season). Then, we must continue our efforts and try to achieve an average yield of 45-50 quintals per hectare per season, thus bringing ourselves to the level of the higher rice yields in Southeast Asia. To accomplish this, we must develop intensive cultivation in depth and make stronger use of biological measures, material-technical factors and industrial standards in key rice growing areas, such as the Red River Delta, the Mekong Delta, etc. We must quickly establish high yield rice growing areas so that we have 2.5 million hectares under the cultivation of high yield rice by 1990 and 3 million hectares by 1995 and produce 50 percent of the country's rice output on about 30 percent of the land under the cultivation of rice. On the basis of attempting to resolve the grain problem in this manner, we will resolve society's food problem and acquire the conditions needed to change the allocation of crops, expand the cultivation of industrial crops, increase the supply of food products and export goods, etc.

As regard subsidiary food crops, efforts to develop production should mainly focus on supporting livestock production, providing some raw materials for industry and supplying some products for exportation as well as meeting the food needs of a number of areas in which the people have the habit of eating subsidiary food crops. In the next 5 years, we must plant about 1.5-1.6 million hectares and produce 3.2 to 3.6 million tons of subsidiary food crops, in paddy equivalent (thus, the amount of area under cultivation must increase at the rate of 3.6-4.3 percent and output at the rate of 7.7-9 percent per year). It has been projected that we will be raising, by the year 2000,



700,000 to 1 million hectares of corn (including 300,000 hectares of high yield corn), 500,000 to 600,000 hectares of sweet potatoes (150,000 hectares of high yield sweet potatoes), 200,000 hectares of potatoes, 500,000 to 850,000 hectares of cassava, etc. Including among those annual industrial crops that are directly related to resolving the food problem are peanuts and soybeans. These crops provide raw materials for the processing industry, are export crops and constitute an important source of protein for humans and livestock. Therefore, by 1990, we should have 400,000 hectares under the cultivation of peanuts and 300,000 hectares under the cultivation of soybeans. By the year 2000, we should have 800,000 to 1 million hectares of peanuts and 500,000 to 600,000 hectares of soybeans.

To meet the strategic targets mentioned above, we must make combined use of economic, technical and organizational measures, such as restructuring the economy, the allocation of crops and growing seasons; building the system of material-technical bases promoting the application of scientific-technical advances in production and processing; redistributing labor and the agricultural population and accelerating the development of the processing industry and the communications-transportation sector supporting agriculture; revamping the management mechanism and economic policy, perfecting production relations; expanding our international cooperation, etc.

In the immediate future, it is necessary to revamp investment, credit and price policies, the policies on the mobilization of products and procurement of grain and the policies on supplying materials and consumer goods to grain producers; improve the product contract mechanism at state-operated and collective units that raise grain, etc. We must begin by reorganizing the system that supplies and manages agricultural materials. We must correct the situation wherein the Ministry of Agriculture is the agency responsible to the Council of Ministers for agricultural production but does not have any power with regard to managing and distributing the strategic materials of its sector.

Projections for the 1986-1990 plan must include 9 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer, 4 million tons of phosphate fertilizer and 700,000 tons of potash fertilizer. However, even these levels will fall far short of production requirements. Therefore, a policy must be adopted that encourages the localities to export products so that they can acquire additional fertilizer on their own to compensate for the shortfall under the plan. To insure that agricultural enterprises can take the initiative in their production and business, we must have state policies concerning production, business, product marketing and so forth that are more specific.

Pham Van Huan:

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, establishing a rational economic structure and a management mechanism that is consistent with socio-economic characteristics is a matter of special importance. The establishment of a rational economic structure at an early date will create favorable conditions for meeting the basic targets of the country in the current stage that were set by the 5th Party Congress:



--Stabilizing and eventually improving the material and cultural lives of the people;

--Completing the socialist transformation of the various segments of the economy;

--Building material-technical bases with a view toward meeting immediate requirements while preparing the conditions for development in subsequent years;

--Meeting the country's defense needs, strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security.

A rational economic structure must correctly "establish" the position of the energy industry in the development of the national economy. Because, it is the basic economic sector of the infrastructure that plays the role as the moving force behind the system of social production; and the extent to which energy is used not only reflects the level of economic development, but also the standard of living and quality of life of every society. In the past, our supply of energy and fuel has not met production or consumer needs. On the other hand, energy and fuel have been used in a very wasteful manner. Meanwhile, the state has not enacted a system of rational policies on the development, processing, distribution and use of energy. Therefore, the energy sector is not truly fulfilling its role as an economic sector of the infrastructure. Our pressing task is to define, on the basis of the potential energy sources, rate of economic development and level of scientific and technical development of our country, a strategy for developing, processing and using energy as well as policies that promote energy science and technology with the aim of building an energy system that is reliable and well-coordinated with the other sectors of the economy.

Our energy development strategy for the years ahead must meet the following objectives:

1. We must build a reliable national energy system (coal, oil, electricity) and do so in advance of development in other sectors so that it serves as the backbone of industrialization. By the year 2000, coal will still account for roughly 23 percent of the total energy consumed. Therefore, over the long range, coal will continue to be the important source of fuel of the industrial sectors. Petroleum exploration, extraction and refining must be accelerated so that we eventually achieve our own stable supply of this liquid fuel. We must establish an electric power system that is strong enough to lay the groundwork for electrification, stimulate the development of the economic and cultural sectors, etc.

2. Importance must be attached to the development of small, scattered energy sources, small coal mines, small and very small hydroelectric power plants and sources of recycled energy. These energy sources, although they do not constitute a significant percentage of the overall energy and fuel balance, do yield high economic returns, especially medium, small and very small hydroelectric power plants, by effectively supporting the cultural and social development needs of the people, especially the people and soldiers in remote,

wilderness areas and creating jobs for many laborers while helping to raise productivity and reduce the intensity with which the laborer must work. The development of small energy sources is totally consistent with our design, manufacture, equipment and operating capabilities and is a quick and inexpensive approach to take.

3. We must strongly develop sources of fuel from vegetation and biogas from garbage while developing the widespread use of highly efficient household stoves with the aim of providing a stable and long-range supply of energy for the household to all the people. Household energy will continue to account for roughly 40 percent of the total energy consumed (up until the year 2000); therefore, supplying household energy is an important strategic target.

4. We must develop our international cooperation in order to build the national energy network, beginning with international cooperation in the development of petroleum and natural gas. At the same time, urgent preparations must be made for the development of atomic power. We must cooperate in harnessing the Mekong River and establish a common power system for the countries of this region by the end of this century.

These four targets are closely interrelated. The first and fourth targets demand large investments of materials, money and technology and must, therefore, be undertaken by the central level. The second and third targets are the responsibility of the locality (province, district, village) with technical assistance from the central level. Localities must mobilize their potentials and develop local energy sources with a view toward carrying out economic and cultural development and supporting the everyday lives of the local people.

Our strategy on the use of energy must have the purpose of controlling the structure of use and the development of energy needs so that the ways in which energy is used are rational and highly efficient. The structure of energy use must be consistent with the structure of energy sources and limit the use of technologies which require types of fuel that are scarce in our country. At the same time, efforts must be made to convert these technologies to types of energy and fuel of which we have a large potential supply. In the use of energy, attention must be given to shifting away from "energy intensive" operations, beginning at each basic unit, in each sector and locality and then on the scale of the entire national economy. In view of the fact that our investment capital is still very limited, shifting away from energy intensive operations so that we can still increase the volume of products produced for society without using much energy is a way to economize on capital invested in energy. If we use energy in a way that is rational and efficient, we would reduce the strain between supply and demand. This would constitute an industrial revolution in the use of energy.

Tran Ngoc Canh:

Ours is an agricultural country. We have much agricultural labor. In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, with industrial development still limited, changes in the division of labor among the various sectors of the national economy have also only been achieved to a limited

degree. At present, of the total labor force of the material production sectors, the labor engaged in agricultural production and forestry accounts for more than 60 percent, the major portion of which is engaged in grain production (63 percent of the total agricultural labor force). The structure of the division of social labor has not changed to any significant degree. Moreover, the level of development of the tools of labor is still low and agricultural labor remains primarily manual labor (mechanized labor in agriculture accounts for only 23.7 percent of the work involved in the preparation of fields, 0.5 percent of the work involved in water conservancy, etc.).

Of necessity, agricultural labor is closely tied to land. However, the average amount of cropland per laborer in our country is low (.5-.7 mau of farmland per laborer). But the division of labor is not uniform among all areas of our country. In the lowlands, there is much labor but little farmland. The mountains account for three-fourths of our country's land but only about 10 percent of the total labor force. The redistribution of the agricultural labor force throughout the country, although it has been initiated and yielded some results, still has, for all intents and purposes, not changed this situation. Moreover, agricultural production is very seasonal in nature. At times, labor is in very short supply. At many other times, labor is idle. Therefore, even at places where the average amount of cropland per laborer is high, agricultural labor is still not, generally speaking, fully utilized. In addition, although we are advancing on the basis of a backward agricultural country and our material-technical bases are very limited, labor is not being focused on developing the potentials that lie in our land, even though these potentials are many.

The sources of labor within agriculture are not being fully utilized. Within the state-operated sector, the average laborer only works about 20 to 22 days per month. Within the collective sector, the utilization of labor varies among the different areas of the country and generally remains at a low level: in the lowlands, the average laborer only works 250 days per year for the cooperative. In the mountains, the average laborer works only about 150 days per year for the cooperative. At many places in Nam Bo, the average laborer only works about 100 days per year for the cooperative or production collective. Because the household economy is dependent upon production conditions within each area and household, its development varies very widely from one area to the next and one family to the next. Generally speaking, there is still a surplus of labor and shortage of work in the countryside. The sources of labor are not being fully utilized and the productivity of the labor being utilized is, generally speaking, still low.

In view of the situation described above and the gradual socio-economic changes taking place in the period of transition (annual growth in the labor force, the development of material-technical bases, the expansion of agricultural science and technology and so forth), the steps taken to resolve the agricultural labor problem in our country during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism must meet four requirements:

1. Agricultural labor must not only fully meet the needs of the development of industry and the other sectors of the economy, but must also meet the labor



needs of each agricultural area. This must be done in the following ways: by concentrating labor in areas that practice the intensive cultivation of grain, areas that produce agricultural products for exportation and industrial crop growing areas and establishing a satisfactory relationship between agriculture and forestry, between agriculture-forestry and the other sectors and trades in the countryside and between productive labor and the defense of the fatherland.

2. Establishing stable stages of development in the distribution and utilization of labor for the 1990's by building models for organizing labor in the different areas of the country and economic forms that closely link the organization of production and the structure of the economy to the organization and utilization of labor; expanding the various forms of economic ties and joint businesses; and creating specific economic forms that are compatible with the characteristics of agricultural production at each place and within each segment of the economy.

3. Bringing about a change in agricultural labor productivity in accordance with the following general requirement: working many days per year and producing an increasingly large volume of agricultural products of increasingly high quality. In particular, labor productivity must be quickly raised in those areas that specialize in the production of export crops and areas that practice the intensive cultivation of grain.

4. Improving the living and working conditions of the laborer and raising the overall level of development of the laborer, that is, his development from the standpoint of physical conditioning, cultural standards, scientific and technical knowledge and thinking. In particular, we must properly meet the labor protection and technical safety needs as well as the needs in the material and cultural lives of laborers in strenuous and hazardous jobs and laborers in areas along the border.

To meet the above requirements, it is necessary to resolve the problems associated with the distribution of labor, organization and use of labor and improve the tools and equipment used by labor. As regards the distribution of labor, we must, on the basis of distributing labor within the agricultural sector well, closely tie agriculture and forestry to the sectors and trades in the countryside and move forward with a new division of labor between agriculture and industry, one that reduces the size of the agricultural labor force, so that we can gradually increase the labor force of the industrial sectors in preparation for expanding the new division of labor among the various sectors of the country after the year 2000. From the standpoint of organizing and utilizing labor, we must, on the basis of correctly defining the forms of economic organization at each place, forms that must be tied to a rational economic structure, organize and distribute labor accordingly and subsequently expand the cooperation and division of labor among the economic organizations within the same area and throughout the territory. As regards tools and equipment, we must combine hand tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized equipment, with special importance attached to hand tools combined with improved implements and semi-mechanized equipment so that we can move forward.



To take steps in these directions, it is necessary in the next 5 years (1986-1990) to concentrate on distributing and utilizing local labor in a manner closely tied to the district and combined with redistributing agricultural labor nationwide. Distributing and utilizing local labor are the universal approach to be taken at all places. This approach will provide the conditions needed to get work done and be inexpensive but yield rapid economic returns. The purposes of this approach are investing labor in intensive cultivation and multicropping and in expanding the amount of area under cultivation; investing labor in afforestation, in hillside cultivation, in closely linking the forest and hills to cropland; and investing labor in the development of the sectors and trades within agriculture.

We must promote the establishment of economic ties and joint businesses in production and expand the cooperation and division of labor within agriculture on the basis of the principle of guaranteeing the interests of producers and production units while consolidating and perfecting socialist production relations and strengthening the guidance of the economy by the state. At our current level of development, the following kinds of economic ties should be expanded within agriculture: economic ties in the production, procurement, processing and marketing of products between state farms and cooperatives and the local people; economic ties in the supplying of technical materials; economic ties among the factors involved in seed production, etc. With these forms of economic ties, it is necessary to have a strong economic organization that serves as the center. This center must be a state farm or a technical station or farm of the state.

The fullest possible use must be made of the labor of families in order to help stimulate the development of agriculture. In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, we cannot bring each laborer into work within organizations of the state-operated economy or the collective economy. Rather, we must also create the conditions for the laborers of all families to have work to do at home. To truly tap the labor of families, we must not only expand the joint businesses and economic ties in production between state-operated and collective units and families, strengthen the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers and make greater use of the various ways that production and processing work are let out on contract to families at state-operated and collective agricultural production units, but must also provide to the laborers of families the seed, material bases, capital and so forth that they need to carry out production. Depending upon the specific production situation in each area, state farms and cooperatives should endeavor to arrange for family labor to have work to perform each day.

Nguyen Te:

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the redistribution of labor and population among the different areas of our country occupies a very important position within our socio-economic strategy because it is related to the distribution of production and the formation of the overall economic structure of the entire national economy as well as the establishment of a new division of social labor in the process of industrialization.

It can be said that the current distribution of the population and labor force in our country is not consistent with the objects of labor and does not put us in a position in which we are ready to advance to large-scale, socialist production. This is also one of the reasons why our country's economy is underdeveloped. Therefore, one pressing task that has been set by our party is: "Making full use of the social labor force; organizing and managing labor well; and redistributing labor among the various areas and sectors of the country with the aim of markedly raising social labor productivity."(4)

In our nation's history of migration and the opening of new land to cultivation, the past 10 years have been the period of largest migration. In a brief span of time and under exceedingly difficult and complex circumstances, we have opened much land to cultivation, thereby making important contributions to redistributing the labor force and correcting, to some extent, the imbalance between the population and the objects of labor throughout the country.

In the years ahead, the redistribution of labor and population and the establishment of a new division of social labor will proceed simultaneously on all three fronts.

--On the scope of the entire country, as a result of the formation of new economic-technical sectors;

--In the different areas of the country, as a result of changes in the structure of the economy within each area;

--At basic units.

These three aspects of this process have a reciprocal impact upon one another and exert a rather large influence upon the redistribution of labor and population within each area.

The local redistribution of labor and population as well as the redistribution of labor and population among the different areas of the country are a matter of strategic significance, are consistent with our current socio-economic situation and the pressing requirements of our country, namely, providing jobs, relocating labor and population in order to develop agricultural production, the fishing industry and forestry, increasing our exports and preparing technical labor forces to meet the requirements of large-scale socialist industrialization in the next stage. The local redistribution of labor, the creation of jobs through intensive cultivation and multicropping and the development of the sectors and trades, especially the development of small industry, the handicraft trades and the services, within the scope of districts and at agricultural production cooperatives are of important significance in the redistribution of labor within each district, in each province and nationwide.

The redistribution of labor to correct the imbalance that exists between the population and the objects of labor nationwide must be carried out on a large-scale. The redistribution of labor and population among the different areas within each locality and throughout the country and the establishment of

economic ties among districts in order to redistribute labor through the strength of the people and with the assistance of the state will take place throughout the initial stage of the period of transition. In conjunction with establishing a new local division of labor and preparing technical labor forces to meet the requirements of the industrialization of the country, 10 million laborers must be relocated within and among the different areas of the country and 2 million nomads must be settled in order to increase the amount of land in use in agriculture and forestry in our country from 15 million to 25 million hectares (10 million hectares of agricultural land, 15 million hectares of land in use in forestry) by the year 2000. If we succeed in meeting the target of 10 million hectares of agricultural land by the year 2000, the population density per hectare of agricultural land will still be about 10 persons.

In the North, on the basis of the sources of raw materials available for the development of industry, it is totally consistent for us to develop heavy industry around such specialized sectors as coal, electric power, mining, tin, iron, steel, chemicals, fertilizer, cement and machinery. Key industrial sectors will be formed in the North that have a profound impact upon the division of social labor throughout the country. However, because of the structure of the labor force and population in the North, the North will not need to have as large a population or labor force as the provinces of the South. On the other hand, the distribution of the population and labor in the North must also be weighed from the standpoint of our grain and transportation strategies so that the labor force and population are of appropriate size. In the South, it is necessary to use much more labor than in the North due to the need to develop light industry and a number of heavy industrial sectors, such as the mining of bauxite, petroleum and natural gas production, petrochemical production, machine production and so forth, and because the South is the major rice growing region.

In the future, municipalities and cities will not only lie along rivers or be located at transportation hubs in the lowlands, but will also be established in the mountains. The highland of Central Vietnam, coastal areas and large islands will also become population centers through urbanization.

The capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and other municipalities, such as Haiphong, Da Nang, Vinh, Hue, Nam Dinh, Da Lat, Can Tho and so forth, will develop into large, densely populated municipalities that are connected to many other municipalities and towns and to industrial zones.

We must soon plan the urban network of the country in accordance with a model of a country that has a developed industry and agriculture, with importance attached to protecting the environment and creating conditions and means of life that are consistent with the momentum of development of science and technology and of the civilized life of the future.

In the future, with a total population of roughly 100 million, some 50 million persons will be living in the municipalities and towns. On the momentum of socialist industrialization, this number will steadily increase and represent the major portion of the population. In the countryside of Vietnam during this period, population centers will form (although the size of the population



and the layout of these centers will differ depending upon the nationality and the region--the lowlands, midlands, mountains--all must be convenient places to live in terms of transportation, electrification, mechanization and the urbanization of life... The makeup of the population in the highlands of central Vietnam and in the Northwest will undergo major changes and the more than 2,000 large and small islands will also be places to which population is redistributed. The design of the models of population centers (or population clusters) must be well suited to each area, consistent with the characteristics of each ethnic group within the country and based on the following factors: the structure of the economy within each area, the natural economic geography of each area, the infrastructure, developed socialist commodity production, the biological characteristics of each ethnic group...

We must actively promote preparations for the redistribution of labor and population under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan and up until the year 2000.

In the immediate future, in order to prepare for opening an additional 1.5-2 million hectares of agricultural land, planting about 3.5-4 million hectares of forests and redistributing about 2 million laborers to new economic zones under the 1986-1990 plan, it is necessary to accelerate the work of preparing sites and portions of the population while conducting good basic investigations to lay the foundation for planning and preparing investments. In addition, we must plan and design sites well and draft plans for the redistribution of labor and population, with attention to such areas of key importance as the Central Highlands of central Vietnam, eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong Delta, and for sending a portion of the population to the mountains of the North.

To perform the above mentioned tasks, we must combine the drafting of the master diagram on the distribution of production forces, the zoning of Vietnam's major economic zones, sector planning and the planning of new economic zones.

The redistribution of labor and population in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism is an important part of our economic and national defense strategies and must be carried out under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level and the locality working together" in order to achieve high returns at low costs and meet the requirement of redistributing labor and population on a large scale.

Correctly and fully carrying out the task of redistributing social labor in a manner closely tied to reorganizing production, establishing a rational economic structure and establishing new population centers in all regions of the country in exact accordance with the line and policies of the party and state will insure that the country's abundant sources of labor are utilized well, insure that the resources of our land, forests and offshore waters are developed well, thereby rapidly increasing the social product and social labor productivity, building the new, socialist countryside and a new urban network, closely combining the economy with national defense and vice versa and creating a new spirit for building and defending the country in this new stage in our history.



Ho Nhat Dan:

In the recent past, new advances have been made in the transformation of the old production relations and the establishment of the new, socialist production relations within our country's fishing industry. In the North today, there are 341 cooperatives and 3 production collectives with 43,890 laborers, 77.3 percent of the fishing industry's labor force. Of this number, 102 cooperatives, or 30 percent of the total, are above average cooperatives. In the South, the transformation of the fishing industry has been underway since 1976. To date, we have established 636 cooperatives and 1,772 production collectives consisting of 76,865 laborers, about 50 percent of the total labor force of the fishing industry in the South, and 11,992 ships and boats, 41.4 percent of the total fleet and 60.9 percent of existing horsepower.

These achievements of important significance have liberated the majority of fishermen from exploitation and brought them within the sphere of socialism. Generally speaking, however, we have only begun to centralize the means of production. The other areas of production have not been given attention. Therefore, the transformation of our country's fishing industry in the recent past has continued to be separated from building, has not been consistent with the characteristics of the sector's production or well suited to the different economic segments that exist during the period of transition...

As we know, the purpose of distributing cropland to poor peasants in agrarian reform was to provide them with a livelihood. Along the seacoast, this democratic reform only abolished the right to own a section of river or an area at sea. The relationships under which fishermen were exploited were not abolished. To the peasant, cropland is a primary and special means of production. However, it cannot be moved. The fisherman's means of production are gear, nets and boats, all of which can be easily moved... Therefore, if the forms of organization we employ and the steps we take in transformation are not appropriate, if they violate the principle of voluntary association, the reaction by fishermen can be greater than the reaction by peasants. When peasants embarked on collective production and contributed their cropland and means of production as public property, the collectivization of cropland and other means of production in agriculture was an important issue in shifting from private to collective production. Within the fishing industry, after being liberated from the yoke of colonialism, some fishermen received state assistance in the form of loans. On the other hand, they voluntarily pooled capital to jointly buy boats and nets. Therefore, when the means of production were collectivized, many boats and nets were already public property. For this reason, when collectivizing the fishing industry, ownership of the means of production is a less difficult problem to solve than it is within agriculture. On the other hand, because they are accustomed to working on rivers or at sea and despite the existence of private production relations, simple forms of cooperation spontaneously developed among laborers or between the crew and owner of a ship or boat. As a result, agitating among fishermen to join collective production is certainly not as difficult as agitating among peasants, who are accustomed to being "self-reliant," accustomed to having their "own fields," "own orchards" and so forth. When the country was reunified, the transformation of the fishing industry took on

new features. In the South, a small number of boat owners are bourgeoisie. The majority, however, are small owners who directly participate in productive labor. Although somewhat exploitative, they are generally technically proficient and skilled in their occupation. Among these small owners is a small number who do not participate in fishing operations, who only do business by operating their boat and taking part of the catch. Generally speaking, working fishermen are still the main production force within the fishing industry. They have direct relations with boat owners but boat owners are also their neighbors or relatives (in addition, there are also some laborers who work for hire). Consequently, the method of distribution is "negotiation" between employer and employee. Therefore, once the means of production have been collectivized, success in the transformation of the fishing industry largely depends upon the establishment of economic relations between the state and the collective, between the collective and fishermen. These relations are most clearly expressed in the economic policy of the state concerning fishermen, in the method of distribution among fishermen, the collective and the state. The transformation of the fishing industry has recently been slow and unsteady because we have not recognized this basic issue.

In the period of transition to socialism in our country, a country that has an underdeveloped economy, a country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that is advancing directly to socialism..., the socialist transformation of the fishing industry is not the same as it is in countries that have a highly developed fishing industry and have experienced the stage of capitalist development. The socialist transformation of our country's fishing industry, therefore, mainly entails establishing the new, socialist production relations and developing suitable transitional forms of economic organization in order to guide fishermen to socialism. Together with transforming the bourgeoisie and small producers within the fishing industry, it is necessary to have state-operated fishing forces undertake the production, harvesting, cultivation and processing of marine products with modern equipment and on a large scale. The dominant role of the state-operated economy within the fishing industry during this period lies, of course, not in producing the bulk of the industry's products, but in providing technical assistance to collectives and fishermen, properly fulfilling its main task, namely, carrying out production and business, and trying to organize and provide an important portion of fishing services to the entire civilian fishing industry through joint business and economic ties with collectives and households with the aim of making them satellite units that operate within the sphere of socialism.

In the South, we must continue the transformation of the fishing industry through the most widely used form of organization, the production collective (cooperatives should only be established where conditions permit), with efforts focused first on the main trades within the fishing industry, highly productive trades and trades that produce products of export value.

In the North, the task we face in the transformation of the fishing industry in the years ahead is to continue to consolidate and perfect production relations. Fishing cooperatives must gradually stabilize their production and business guidelines, establish a rational structure of occupations and operate

a general business, one which is based mainly on fishing but combines fishing with agriculture, forestry, match making and other trades while developing the household economy.

In terms of scale, combining small-scale and medium-scale operations is consistent with the current level of development of production forces and level of management. A production collective should have about 30 fishermen and a few boats and produce about 100 tons of product. A cooperative should be only slightly larger than a collective. At a cooperative, anything more than 150 fishermen and 10 boats is difficult to manage. Therefore, the scale of organization and scale of production must be consistent with each other and closely linked to production guidelines, a structure of occupations... The transformation of old production relations and the building of the new within the fishing industry must, from the very outset, be closely tied to economic accounting in production and business and the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, the best forms of which are final product contracts with boat units and contracts that deal only with the payments that must be made. In distribution, attention must be given to the principle of "mutual benefit," to distribution in accordance with labor combined with distribution based on the number of shares contributed to the collective.

Those persons who earn their livings and fish by themselves and small owners who have yet to join a collective economic organization must be encouraged to use their liquid capital, tools and technical skills in cooperation with a collective or state-operated unit through many forms of economic ties and joint businesses based on the principle of "mutual benefit." The state can flexibly apply investment policy, procurement prices and fishing taxes to control products and regulate income. To carry out transformation and establish the new production relations within the fishing industry, the state should adopt economic policies concerning the collective economic sector that are more specific with regard to investment loans, marine product procurement prices, the prices of means of production, fishing taxes and so forth in order to enable production units to take the initiative in their production and business. The terms of economic contracts between the state and collective production units and the state and fishermen must be improved in order to create conditions that enable the laborer to engage in production with peace of mind and eliminate some of the difficulty and inconvenience involved in the marketing of products.

The above are some specific steps that must be taken to improve the economic relations between the state and fishermen, which we have so far failed to do. Only when we have taken all these steps, that is, when we have created sturdy "links" and "bridges" that closely tie the economic interests and the present and future life of fishermen to the socialist system will the work of transforming and building new production relations within our country's fishing industry be a total success.

Vu Huy Tu:

The organization and management of industrial production in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism are controlled by the underdeveloped state of production, especially by the fact that heavy industry has yet to



meet the fundamental requirement of equipping the other sectors of the economy with technology and means of production. Industry, especially state-operated industry, is not playing a clearly dominant role within the economy. Agriculture is not strong enough to create sources of raw materials, grain and food products for the development of industry. The corps of technical cadres and workers and management cadres does not, in terms of its size, structure, skills and specialized knowledge, meet the requirements involved in organizing and managing large-scale, socialist production. Those cadres who have received systematic training are not being appropriately utilized. Management is still marked by many weaknesses and largely characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. At the same time, there are signs of decentralization, of doing as one sees fit, of a lack of organization and discipline. Bureaucratic centralism in planning, planning that is planning in name only and economic accounting that is artificial have separated planning from economic accounting and socialist business practices. As a result, the productivity, quality and efficiency of production and business are low.

Combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices is a major economic management policy and a pressing economic management requirement in the initial stage of the period of transition. It guarantees that the enterprise not only completes the task assigned it under its plan, but is also able to meet costs on its own and earn a profit on the basis of flexibly applying the tools of value and market relations.

With regard to combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices, the following points must be made clear:

1. Planning and economic accounting are two separate economic categories of socialism. At the same time, they are the two basic methods employed in socialist economic management. Although each has its own separate characteristics and contents and although planning and economic accounting are not synonymous, they are closely related. Planning sets targets, sets direction and lays the indispensable foundation of economic accounting. Economic accounting, which is the combination of the various measures by which commodity-money relations and economic levers are applied, creates the conditions for formulating and implementing activity-production-business plans that achieve optimum results. Whereas the plan--the direct product of planning--is the main tool of management and is used to have a direct impact upon the objects of management and is of a legally binding nature, economic accounting guarantees that the centralized leadership and management provided by the state and the agencies on the upper level are combined with tapping the initiative and creativity of basic units and broadening their financial autonomy in production and business while encouraging the development and utilization of each capability and potential, accelerating the development of production and raising production efficiency, thereby insuring the successful completion of the plan at the lowest possible costs.

2. Planning and economic accounting are integral parts of the socialist economic management mechanism. Planning lies at the center of this mechanism. Economic accounting is a basic component that plays an especially important and indispensable role. Planning must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices not only in the stages of implementing and



evaluating the completion of the plan, but also when formulating socio-economic development strategy, drawing up estimated balance sheets, establishing plan control figures, initialling economic contracts, establishing and refining the systems of economic-technical quotas, standards and information and when establishing the other bases that underlie the formulation of the plan and efforts to guide its implementation. The plan must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices not only within production-business units, but on the scope of the entire sector, the entire locality and the entire national economy as well. They must be combined not only within production, but also in each aspect of social reproduction: production, capital construction, distribution-circulation and consumption. Planning must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices in each factor of planning (each object of planning), such as supplies, products and labor, both in kind and in terms of value. All economic ties must also be established on the basis of combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices.

3. The combining of planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices must be achieved on the following basis: correctly applying, in a well coordinated manner, the economic laws of socialism, among which the fundamental economic law is the nucleus and plays the role of setting the direction, setting the common targets of planning and economic accounting through the law of planned development and the law of value. There must be a thorough understanding of the principles of socialist economic management, most importantly the principle of combining political leadership with economic leadership, the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of defining and focusing efforts on areas of major importance, the principle of economic efficiency and the principle of combining material incentives with political and ideological education. The different types of basic interests, that is, the interests of society-the collective-the individual laborer, the interests of the central-local levels and basic units and the interests of units (individuals) must be closely linked in production, distribution-circulation and consumption.

4. Due to the characteristics and conditions of the period of transition to socialism, it is necessary, together with implementing economic accounting, which is of basic, primary importance, to utilize the factors of commercial accounting with a view toward encouraging enterprises to make full use of their production capacity and surplus labor, develop sources of supplies, obtain the supplies they need on their own, produce many products for society and broaden their economic ties. However, it must be understood that this commercial accounting differs in a fundamental way from commercial accounting under capitalism. Commercial accounting under socialism is practiced on the basis of having established the public ownership of the primary means of production, on the basis of a planned economy, on the basis of properly combining the different basic interests. It is practiced to a limited degree under the guidance and inspection of authorized state agencies (in the fields of prices, bank credit, supplies, labor, finance, product marketing...).

To insure that planning is combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices, it is necessary to:

--Adopt a correct investment policy designed to centralize capital for key projects of the state, with attention given to investing in intensive development with the aim of coordinating and making full use of the production capacity of existing basic units;

--Restructure and reorganize production throughout the national economy, within each sector and locality and at each basic unit, in a way that encompasses production, distribution-circulation and consumption, and expanding economic ties (both at home and abroad) with the aim of developing the combined strength of the entire economy;

--Improve planning so that the plan is truly formulated from the basic level upward under the direction of the upper levels and the plan is closely tied to the market, to economic contracts; make greater use of the law of value and the categories of value in planning;

--Revamp enterprise economic accounting and the internal organization of enterprises on the basis of fully implementing the principles of economic accounting: insuring that the enterprise can take the initiative in its production and business, is financially autonomous, supplies itself and earns a profit under appropriately centralized and unified state management;

--Re-examine, amend and perfect the ceilings on the consumption of materials, energy and labor, the use of capital....;

--Fully and correctly include all costs in production costs, eliminate costs that are irrational or do not conform with regulations, endeavor to constantly reduce production costs, eliminate the need to compensate for losses, eventually recover capital and begin earning a profit in production and business;

--Increase the use of economic levers, such as profits, taxes (state-operated revenues), wages, bonuses, materials penalties and so forth, to encourage higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

Nguyen Quang Long:

Socialist industrialization and the effort to meet the socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress demand that we have very large sources of capital, in the form of both materials and money. Therefore, increasing the socialist formation of capital and establishing the correct relationship between the formation of capital and consumption are matters of decisive significance.

At present, our country is carrying out the formation of initial capital to meet the needs of industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition as defined at the 5th Party Congress. The needs for capital are large and urgent. However, the capabilities of our economy are very limited. This is evident in the following example: under the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the amount of capital accumulated through the state budget for investment in capital construction was equal to the total amount of capital invested in the North during the more than 20 years from 1955 to 1975.

However, this level of investment was only enough to meet about one-half of the target set under the plan and budget deficits became larger with each passing year. The level of capital formation has not increased in recent years and we have continued to be unable to balance capital sources and capital needs. This situation alone is sufficient to show just how difficult it is to accumulate capital in the initial stage. It is difficult because we must resolve pressing problems regarding living conditions while meeting the large and urgent needs of our two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland amidst a situation in which the economy is still underdeveloped, production does not fully meet consumer needs, exports are not commensurate with imports and expenditures exceed revenues.

In other words, we are not accumulating capital from within the economy but face an urgent need for large amounts of capital. This contradiction can only be resolved on the basis of knowing the characteristics of small-scale production that is gradually evolving into large-scale, socialist production, fully evaluating the features of our country's situation, establishing suitable steps to be taken and adopting policies to mobilize and develop our potentials and strengths so that we can accelerate the process of forming and centralizing capital in order to create sources of initial capital for socialist industrialization and, at the same time, raise the income and meet the reasonable consumer needs of the people.

At this point in time, our potentials and strengths lie in our labor, arable land and rich natural resources, in the production capacity of small industry, the handicraft trades, the consumer goods industry and existing material-technical bases. To develop these potentials and strengths well, we can and must focus our efforts on agriculture during the initial stage of the period of transition and create an increasingly large amount of surplus labor within agriculture and produce a full supply of grain, agricultural products and food products so that we can meet domestic consumer needs and create sources of goods for exportation.

In conjunction with strongly developing agriculture, every effort must be made to develop industry, including small industry and the handicraft trades. The development of agriculture creates the conditions for (in terms of raw materials, labor and a market) and requires that industry simultaneously develop. Agriculture and industry must develop in close coordination with each other, not only to serve consumer needs well, but also to create sources of capital. These sources are the main sources of initial capital for industrialization. Heavy industry occupies the position of being given priority throughout the period of transition. At present, in view of our limited capital resources, giving rational priority to the development of heavy industry means orienting heavy industry mainly toward stimulating the development of agriculture and light industry in order to rapidly carry out the formation of capital for the development of heavy industry in the next stage.

The development of the economy permits the expansion of the domestic market and the strengthening of our economic relations with foreign countries. We must organize circulation well and closely manage the domestic market in coordination with improving and strengthening our work in the fields of



prices, finances, money and credit with a view toward distributing and redistributing, in a correct, planned manner, the gross social product and national income in order to exert a positive impact upon production and the standard of living and support the capital formation and consumption policy well. At the same time, on the basis of increasing the production of exports, we must improve our foreign trade activities and accelerate our exports in order to import needed materials and technology. Domestic national income must be regulated through foreign trade in order to set aside some capital for capital formation. Expanding the use of state credit and bank credit is an effective way to mobilize contributions by the people to the process of the socialist formation of capital. Aid funds obtained through loans from foreign countries, especially from the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, are very important supplemental sources of initial capital.

As mentioned above, the high requirements we face with regard to the formation of initial capital demand that we practice frugality in consumption. However, in the initial stage of the period of transition, with socio-economic circumstances being what they are in our country, with our people, especially manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces, still encountering many difficulties in their daily lives, consumption is an issue that must be satisfactorily resolved in order to give laborers peace of mind and stimulate their desire to work. Providing a reasonable level of consumption is the prerequisite to, the moving force behind stimulating the development of the economy and increasing the formation of capital.

Of course, with our economy as underdeveloped as it is today, the level of consumption cannot be high. Consumption cannot exceed the level permitted by production and the rate at which consumption rises must be lower than the rates at which social labor productivity and national income per capita rise so that the necessary capital can be accumulated for socialist expanded reproduction. The problem we face is that we must, within the scope of the wealth we produce domestically, adopt policies that regulate and balance the income of the various strata of the population and redistribute income correctly so that laborers can replenish the energies expended in labor and live in a manner consistent with the results they contribute in accordance with the principles of socialist distribution, thus maintaining fairness in the relationship among the incomes of the members of society. At the same time, another problem we face is the need to establish a correct relationship between personal consumption and social consumption. Only by concerning ourselves with solving the problem of personal consumption in this stage, especially in view of the fact that the standard of living of the individual is still low, can we increase social consumption. Raising social consumption is an important supplement to personal consumption, is a reflection of the superiority of our society. We must concern ourselves with both of these aspects of consumption. However, with the supply of consumer goods still small, we must give more attention, must give our attention first to personal consumption with a view toward insuring that distribution for the purpose of consumption has a direct impact upon laborers by meeting minimum needs so that they can replenish the energies expended in labor, are eager to work and work in a highly disciplined, technically proficient and productive manner. Social consumption must be developed in a manner consistent with the level of



development of the economy. This approach will guarantee an appropriate level of consumption and a rational relationship between personal consumption and social consumption in the current stage.

Luu Van Dat:

Concerning the overseas economy in the initial stage:

Our country is in the period of transition from a very low level of development, from a backward economy in which small-scale production is still widespread and many serious imbalances exist.

Although our entire country has been building socialism for 10 years, social production has not gone beyond simple reproduction, has not met the needs of expanded reproduction, has not stabilized the standard of living of the people and has not provided for the formation of capital from within the national economy. Under these conditions, the rapid growth of the population and continuous natural disasters have made our acute economic difficulties even more acute.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that "our country is in the special situation of being at peace but having to contend with the war of encroachment and occupation along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists," our party and state have been forced to devote an important portion of our manpower, financial resources and material resources to the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Therefore the problems that must be solved are:

--How to escape the vicious circle of low labor productivity-insufficient capital formation, insufficient capital formation (limited investments)-low labor productivity;

--How to build socialism while staunchly defending the socialist fatherland at a time when we are not producing enough to eat, expenditures exceed revenues and exports do not meet import needs.

Clearly, the above problems can only be resolved by combining internal factors with external factors, by combining self-reliance with international assistance and cooperation.

A system of small-scale production cannot advance to large-scale production without the impact of external factors. K. Marx deeply analyzed the role of foreign trade and the world market in the formation of capitalism.

V.I. Lenin also pointed out that, today, backward countries can make the transition to socialism provided that they receive assistance from the proletariat in the advanced countries and assistance from the advanced socialist countries (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 295).

The law on the formation of initial capital in countries that are advancing to socialism from a backward agriculture requires economic relations among socialist countries that have different levels of development.

Of course, the sources of capital through which countries that are still backward form the initial capital of socialism cannot consist only of assistance from the fraternal socialist countries, but must primarily entail mobilizing and effectively developing internal potentials and making skillful use of all overseas economic relations.

However, the transition to socialism in countries that are economically backward must be based on assistance from the socialist countries that have a higher level of development, especially during the initial stage, when the formation of capital cannot be carried out or the formation of capital from within the national economy is insignificant and the ability to mobilize internal potentials and utilize overseas economic relations is still very limited. Under these conditions, international assistance, mainly from the advanced socialist countries, is of decisive significance and is indispensable in the advance by economically backward countries directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

In keeping with Lenin's argument and the law of uniform economic development among the countries of the socialist community through the assistance of the Soviet Union, many socialist countries of eastern Europe have successfully built socialism on the basis of a backward industrial system. With the assistance of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the Republic of Cuba and the People's Republic of Mongolia are advancing to socialism at a rapid rate. The realities of socialist construction in our country also prove that the large and valuable assistance provided by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are a firm guarantee of success in socialist construction within our country.

Today, with many economically backward countries having chosen the socialist path of development, Lenin's argument retains its original value. However, we must take into consideration the capabilities and limits of the advanced socialist countries with regard to providing assistance to countries that have a lower level of economic development and must display an even stronger spirit of self-reliance in building our country. In conjunction with seeking international assistance, primarily assistance within the framework of the world socialist economic system, and making effective use of this assistance, it is essential that we do everything possible to mobilize and fully develop our internal potentials so that we can increase our exports and develop services that generate foreign currency revenues with a view toward achieving the targets and completing the tasks set for the initial stage.

Viewed from this perspective, exports are, in the current stage, a premise to socialist industrialization (Political Bureau resolution dated 17 July 1984) and making every effort to increase our exports so that goods can be imported is a task of strategic significance throughout the party and among all our people (Proceedings of the 5th Party Congress).

On the other hand, we must make active use of overseas economic relations with a view toward attracting capital and technology from countries outside the socialist system through appropriate forms of economic cooperation and scientific-technical cooperation based on mutual benefit.

Therefore, the development of multi-lateral overseas economic relations and the expansion of commodity trade and various forms of economic cooperation with countries that have different political-economic-social systems are consistent with the general trend of our times and our country's specific circumstances. The development of multi-lateral overseas economic relations must be based on strengthening and consolidating our economic-commercial and scientific-technical relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The 5th Congress of the Party viewed combining the development of the domestic economy with the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries as a major economic and social policy, viewed overseas economic work as being of special importance in socialist construction in our country, especially during the initial stage of the period of transition. The congress also defined the strategic principles and primary guidelines in our overseas economic work as expanding and strengthening our cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union, developing our cooperation with the other countries of CEMA through socialist economic ties, actively participating in the international division of labor and expanding the comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance between our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia while appropriately expanding our economic relations with countries outside the socialist system.

The above mentioned, scientifically based views, views that have been tested in practice over the past 10 years, must be thoroughly implemented in our overseas economic strategy throughout the period of transition.

Tran Dinh Nghiem:

The unity between the economy and society in the socio-economic strategy of the current stage is of important and pressing significance. We must simultaneously accumulate capital in order to build the initial material-technical bases of socialism on the basis of a system of production that is still primarily small scale and was heavily damaged during the 30 years of war and gradually stabilize and improve the standard of living of the laboring people under the conditions of an economy that is still very unbalanced in many respects. At the same time, we must make every effort to strengthen our national defense forces and fulfill our international obligations, most importantly to Laos and Cambodia. The economic tasks we face are exceedingly large, difficult and complex. Our social tasks are also very comprehensive and pressing. The completion of these tasks is dependent, to a large degree, upon combining and balancing major economic and social targets, policies and measures within our socio-economic strategy.

The experience of the fraternal socialist countries as well as the realities of our country's revolution in years past show that the performance of economic tasks always demands that associated social problems be solved.



Conversely, meeting the material and spiritual needs of society also demands that many economic tasks be performed. The consequences of failing to take into consideration all economic and social problems and resolve them in a way that is timely and well coordinated are sometimes serious and permanent.

The economy and society are the two inseparable elements of social existence. Placing sole emphasis upon the role of the economic factor in social life erodes the positive meaning of political, ideological, cultural and social activities and thwarts man's creative activities and skills. However, placing sole emphasis upon the role of the social factor readily leads to voluntarism, to being divorced from actual circumstances, as a result of which the standards, targets and policies of socio-economic development strategy are entirely inconsistent with objective economic circumstances.

Economic construction and development strategy must be unified with social development strategy. The essence of this unity is: setting basic social guidelines, goals, policies and measures on the basis of the level and rate of economic development that have been and will be achieved in the current stage in order to organize and manage social relations and social processes in a rational way in accordance with the principles of socialism. In the final analysis, the purpose of socio-economic strategy is to insure the molding and full development of new men and women who possess superior qualities and live the socialist way of life in a manner compatible with the level of economic development.

The balanced combination of the economic factor and the social factor is expressed in a concept of development, targets of development and major policies and measures that will permit us to optimize our socio-economic strategy in the current stage by making thorough use of natural, human, economic and social potentials, gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people, increase the rate of economic growth and develop and perfect socialist collective ownership relations.

The system of socio-economic strategic concepts can be considered the general model of every period in history. The concept of development is a very important factor and serves as the foundation for setting the direction of targets, of development policies and measures. This system of concepts must reflect the socialist character of our economy and society. However, in the current stage, the most important component of socio-economic strategy is perhaps the system of general economic and social norms. On the basis of economic norms of a strategic nature, for example, norms on the development of production forces, the establishment and perfection of production relations, the level of organization and management of the national economy, the level and rate of economic growth, scientific and technical advances, the application of these advances in production and the structure of the economy (such as the structure of sectors, the structure of areas, economic cooperative teams), corresponding standards on social development must be set. The highest, most general goal of socialist production is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the laboring people more fully with each passing day and create the conditions for the free and full development of each individual. However, achieving this lofty goal requires many stages and many steps. In the current stage, a realistic target is to meet the essential



material and cultural needs of the laboring people, especially of cadres, manual workers and the armed forces; is to begin to establish the socialist way of life and abolish the negative phenomena that are contrary to the character of socialism.

The oneness between the economy and society is also manifested in the specific economic and social policies and measures that are adopted to achieve goals. In the present stage, policies and measures must be well coordinated and consistent. They must create the conditions for stimulating one another's implementation with the aims of making the best and most efficient use possible of the country's reserves, material-technical bases, sources of labor, financial sources, the results of scientific research and applied science (in the natural sciences, social sciences and technical sciences) and economic relations with foreign countries, especially making effective use of the large and comprehensive cooperation and assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. Even the fine traditions of the nation in production and everyday life must be maintained and actively built upon through appropriate socio-economic policies.

Here, tapping the spirit of community, the spirit of democracy and equality, the spirit of diligence and creativity in labor, the sense of national self-reliance and the spirit of socialist collective ownership that has begun to be established will be of enormous significance in meeting the goals that have been set.

In broad terms, the urgent social problems to which priority must be given in our socio-economic strategy in the current stage are:

First, stabilizing and gradually improving the standard of living of the laboring people, especially cadres, manual workers and the armed forces. Social policy must reflect the will and interests of the laboring people (both material and spiritual). Stabilizing and raising the standard of living of the laborer are the objective of the production process, the prerequisite to the production process and the basic factor in the production process. If there is not full concern for the material and spiritual interests of the laborer, the development of production will be impeded and the forces that stimulate higher productivity, higher quality and higher efficiency in labor will disappear.

Secondly, implementing and building upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the economic field primarily means putting into practice the right of every able-bodied person to have a job. Having a job not only means being able to support oneself, but also is the prerequisite to each laborer becoming the genuine master of the new society. It is not only the way to enhance the dignity of the laborer, but is also the factor of decisive significance in completely ridding ourselves of the negative phenomena in society today. It is not only the goal of socialism, but also the basic motivating force in the successful construction of the new society. In the years ahead, intensifying the development of agriculture, the consumer goods industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, with agriculture being considered the front of foremost importance, and giving attention to the scale and rate at which labor is exported by sending labor to work overseas,

doing work under contract for foreign countries, expanding our services for foreign guests and so forth should be considered important directions to be taken in providing jobs to laborers.

Thirdly, gradually establishing the new, socialist way of life, especially among youths and teenagers, is a major element of social policy in the current stage. We must remove negative phenomena, vestiges of the old society, from social life, overcome the consequences of the war, of colonialism, both old and new, correct the new negative phenomena arising in the process of social development, including the deterioration in the way of life and ethics of one element of society, the decline in confidence, etc.

Fourthly, the population and family planning problem must be resolved well. This is a very difficult but extremely important socio-economic issue, is a factor that profoundly affects efforts to achieve the goals of socio-economic strategy in many ways.

#### FOOTNOTES

■ See: TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1986.

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 431.

2. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 51.

3. The system of forecasts employed in prospects planning consists, at the very least, of the following types of forecasts: natural resources; social; population; scientific-technical advances; foreign politics; political-military affairs; and economic forecasts. Through the study of these forecasts, the development goals and political-economic concepts of the plan are selected.

4. The Resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 33.

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## COMBINING SECURITY WITH NATIONAL DEFENSE IN THE TASK OF DEFENDING THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 75-79

[Article by Le Quang Thanh]

[Text] Through 40 years of struggle waged against the background of our country's specific circumstances, in time of war as well as peace time, our party has become ever more deeply aware of the existence of the following law: external and internal enemies are always collaborating with one another to sabotage our country's revolution. There is a close relationship between security and national defense and this relationship must continue to be properly maintained so that we can complete the tasks of defending the fatherland and building socialism. As we know, the intelligence and spy activities of the imperialists and international reactionaries always support their strategy for committing aggression against and annexing our country. However, it would be simplistic to assert that their spy operations are only designed to support efforts to start a war of aggression. The intelligence and spy operations of the enemy not only open the way for a war of aggression and are not only intensified in the course of such a war, but are accelerated even more after they have been defeated in this war. According to this law, external enemies are always looking for ways to link up with domestic reactionary forces, which include the exploiting classes that have been toppled but still seek to re-establish themselves and other reactionaries who are very intent on opposing and attacking the revolution, with the aim of increasing their strength and creating difficulties for us, both externally and internally. Therefore, the task of defending the fatherland consists of two inseparable elements: strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security or, as we say, consists of fighting both domestic and foreign enemies. These two elements can assume different positions of relative importance during each specific period. In peace time, maintaining political security and social order are of foremost importance. In war, military activities assume foremost importance while the objectives of security work are to combat spies and reactionaries, maintain security in the rear and capably assist the army in fighting the enemy. President Ho Chi Minh pointed out this matter in the nature of a law back in the 1950's:

"There are times of war and times of peace. In war time, the army fights the enemy, in peace time, it trains. But public security forces must fight the

enemy constantly. They are busy in time of war and even busier in peace time. As long as imperialism exists, as long as exploiting classes remain, there will be saboteurs."(1)

Applying this thinking of Uncle Ho in the present situation of our country's revolution, a situation in which we are at peace but must contend with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers while preparing to deal with a large-scale war of aggression should one be launched by the enemy, our party has pointed out: "Both security work and military work entail tasks that are very important in defending the fatherland."

As regards our country, the strategic guidelines of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are to invade and annex our country. They have been making every effort to assemble reactionary forces outside the country, massing troops against us from many different directions, infiltrating our country, infiltrating our organizations and taking advantage of negative phenomena in socio-economic life and weaknesses and laxity on our part in economic, social and ideological management in order to intensify their intelligence and spy operations, link up with counter-revolutionaries within our country and await an opportunity to carry out their plan for "internal uprisings combined with attacks from without," for creating, disorder fomenting insurrection and toppling us from within. In the current situation, in view of the fact that the struggle between the two paths and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy are very complicated and bitter struggles and are, in addition, intertwined, the task of defending the fatherland not only involves strengthening the national defense system, strengthening the country's defenses and resisting military aggression from the outside, but also includes one very important aspect: maintaining security. Today, security is not only political security, but also economic security and security from the standpoint of society.

Therefore, national defense and security are even more closely combined as one in the task of defending the socialist fatherland. Closely combining security with national defense, national defense with security has become a matter of extremely important strategic significance.

The basic objectives in combining security with national defense are to successfully carry out the strategic task of staunchly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland while insuring that the strategic task of successfully building socialism is also completed. Therefore, when examining and establishing this relationship in the task of defending the fatherland, we must also give attention to this relationship in the task of building socialism. Combining maintaining security with strengthening the national defense system clearly has a direct and large influence upon our efforts to build socialism.

Staunchly defending the socialist fatherland means maintaining national security, maintaining the independence, sovereignty and sacred territorial integrity of the fatherland, maintaining socialist social order, maintaining the socialist system and protecting the right to life and creative labor of



the people of all ethnic groups in Vietnam. The above objectives are expressed in strategic policies and plans for defending the socialist fatherland during each period that are closely tied to the specific strategic situation. Therefore, the objectives and specifics involved in combining security with national defense vary in each of these situations. While we must always observe the principle of closely combining security with national defense, we must apply this principle in a way that is consistent with each situation. Even within one specific situation, the way that security is combined with national defense differs from one area to another, from one field to another.

The current situation demands unity and close coordination between our security strategy and national defense strategy, which includes combining our strategy in the struggle to maintain national security and social order with our strategy in a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland; combining security strategy with military strategy; combining the methods employed in the struggle to maintain security and order with the methods employed in the war to defend the socialist fatherland; combining our security deployment with the national defense deployment of all the people in peace time and employing a combined strength in war; combining the mobilization and utilization of all factors and forces in the performance of security tasks, national defense tasks and so forth. All these types of combining security with national defense must be solidly based on our revolutionary strategy in each specific stage and must, of course, be closely combined with economic strategy, cultural strategy, social strategy and so forth. The combining of security and national defense takes place in two basic situations:

In the situation of defending the socialist fatherland when a large-scale war has not broken out: the overriding objectives in combining security with national defense in this situation are insuring that the country is always in a stable, solid position from the standpoint of security and social order, protecting our right to be the masters and thwarting the schemes of the enemy to unleash a large-scale war against our country. Specifically, we must maintain national security and social order and firmly maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland; intensify our efforts against enemy spies, promptly combat enemy sabotage and uncover and take steps to thwart the attempts by the enemy to launch a large-scale war of aggression; insure that socialist construction and the strengthening of the national defense system develop amidst a situation in which the country is increasingly stable. On the other hand, all the necessary preparations must be made well and in a planned manner so that when a large-scale war does break out we can quickly mobilize and utilize each factor, especially those that relate to security and social order, and achieve a superior position from which to win victory over the enemy. Security and national defense must be combined in the general plan for the defense of the country and the building of the country's strategic lines, of the defense lines within each area, which includes closely combining security defense lines with military defense lines.

In the situation of defending the socialist fatherland when a large-scale war has broken out: the basic objectives in combining security with national defense in this situation is to maintain war time security and social order,

firmly protect our right to be the masters of the country and make every effort to reduce the scope and length of the war while being prepared to deal with the enemy widening and prolonging the war. Specifically, we must combine the rear area and the frontlines as one, must maintain the rear area while increasing the strength of the frontlines. We must closely combine the various modes of strategic warfare of the people's war with suppressing counter-revolutionaries, crushing attempts by the overthrown exploiting classes to re-establish themselves and punishing the enemy for their acts of sabotage in the rear area and within our organization in all fields. We must strengthen war time law and discipline, provide good security for economic bases and national defense facilities, maintain social order and insure the safety of the people. We must prepare each security and military factor well and make good preparations in the other related fields for when the war concludes. We must also maintain security and social order when dealing with the aftermath of the war and must quickly stabilize the country. The combining of security with national defense, national defense with security, is very broad in scope because each of these fields is the combination of many different jobs and many aspects of social life. The forms and mechanisms by which security is combined with national defense, national defense with security, are also broad in scope and diverse. However, viewed from the perspective of objectives, tasks and fundamentals, combining security with national defense consists mainly of the following: combining forces to protect the internal organization of the army, protect national defense material and technical potentials, stop, expose and harshly punish enemy agents who have infiltrated the armed forces and purify the armed forces starting with military inductions, the selection of officers and the training of cadres; combining the activities involved in maintaining security within the army with the maintenance of political security and social order and safety; combining the maintenance of security with the fight against violations of socialist property within the army...

The history of our country provides many very valuable lessons: the prosperous Le, Ly and Tran Dynasties were strict when it came to keeping national secrets and maintaining internal army security. This was an important contributing factor in the staunch defense of national sovereignty and national independence and the recording of very glorious feats of arms in our forefathers' history of resisting foreign aggression. The Military Manual stated: "The work of one person should not be divulged to another person. Tomorrow's work should not be divulged today. Matters must be carefully thought out and nothing must be left to chance. Be on guard against divulging work-related secrets in your speech, be on guard against divulging in your expression secrets contained in your speech. Be on guard against revealing in your spirit secrets held in your expression. Be on guard against divulging in your dreams secrets held in your spirit. Do not reveal the headquarters in charge of your work; do not talk about things in use." (2) The Military Manual also stated that not only education, but also compulsion, discipline and clear orders are required to maintain strict internal security, strictly uphold army regulations and prohibit all relationships not based in principle with the enemy, with undesirable elements. Today, our country's new criminal code establishes 28 crimes against national security, included among which are especially dangerous crimes for which the maximum criminal penalty must be paid. At the same time, it defines the crimes against public order and crimes

against the obligation and responsibility of military personnel with the aim of making an important contribution in strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security.

Security must be combined with national defense through many different forms of activity and measures, not only in the field of security and national defense work, but in all other fields as well, such as propaganda, ideological education, the economy, culture and society.

In localities that have the task of directly fighting the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation, such as localities along the border, and in zones of strategic political, economic or military importance in which the enemy can concentrate forces for the purpose of committing sabotage, efforts to combine security with national defense, national defense with security, must have specific objectives and be carried out in accordance with a plan, carried out on the basis of a clear division of labor and by means of measures that are compatible with the specific situation in each area. For example, in areas along the border that must fight enemy encroachment and occupation, efforts to combine security with national defense, national defense with security, must meet such specific objectives as purifying the area; stopping and crushing reactionary organizations plotting to foment rebellion; strengthening the local organizations of the party, the administration, the military and public security forces; promptly uncovering and punishing enemy spies, intelligence agents and commandoes; thoroughly protecting military secrets, the military-technical bases of the armed forces, etc. Here, more than anywhere else, combining security with national defense demands even greater use of the strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, of the combined strength of the district military fortresses and provincial strategic units. The army and people's public security forces must coordinate very closely in order to serve as the nucleus in the activities conducted to maintain security and fight encroachment, occupation and sabotage by the enemy.

In each period of the revolution, our party has set a correct and creative line on the struggle to maintain security and social order and a correct and creative military line. It has also successfully solved problems concerning the art of leading the revolution, the art of guiding a war and military art. These lines and arts constitute a single entity and are the political and ideological base that underlie efforts to closely combine security with national defense. At the same time, they mobilize and bring together all factors and forces, tap the extraordinary energies and creativity of the people and create an enormous strength that guarantees victory in military work and security work.

Success in combining security with national defense can only be the result of mobilizing a combined strength, not merely the result of military strength or the strength of security forces. This strength is the strength of combining all forms of political, economic, cultural and ideological struggle in the performance of security and national defense tasks. It would be a mistake to maintain that the only responsibility in military work is to combat the war of encroachment and occupation and a large-scale war and that the only responsibility in security work is to combat the wide-ranging war of sabotage. Because, we know that the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation,

although an unusual mode of war, is being coordinated with their silent, wide-ranging war of sabotage against our entire country with a view toward achieving their objective of weakening and eventually annexing our country. Therefore, closely combining security with national defense and the struggle against enemy sabotage with the struggle against the war of encroachment and occupation has become the task of the entire country, of the entire party, the entire army and all the people. However, this task can be performed in a different way within each locality, within each sector and at each point in time. The armed forces and people of the six northern border provinces, of the frontline districts must closely combine these two efforts in their daily activities. Party committees must provide concerted, unified and comprehensive leadership. The people's committees must guide the various sectors and forces and all the people in the successful implementation of plans for combining security with national defense. Public security forces and local military forces must work closely together and be the nucleus of the people in the struggle against the enemy's war of sabotage and war of encroachment and occupation. The provinces in the rear must combine security with national defense by making every effort to step up production, strengthening national defense forces, maintaining security and social order and defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage while being ready to fight well within the province and doing everything they can to fulfill their obligation to the border provinces.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh Voi nganh cong an nhan dan Viet nam"[President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam People's Public Security Sector], the Institute of Public Security Science, published by the Ministry of Interior, Hanoi, 1980, p 19.
2. "Binh thu yeu luoc"[The Military Manual], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 68.

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## PLANNING RURAL CONSTRUCTION WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 80-84

[Article by Dam Trung Phuong]

[Text] Building the new, socialist countryside, in general, and building the district, in particular--both economically and socially--are a central element of the party's line, one that has drawn the participation of practically all sectors and levels and large numbers of the people.

At a conference on rural construction, Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong said: "Developing agriculture, building cooperatives and building the new, socialist countryside are a matter of utmost importance in laying a solid foundation for building the material and technical bases of socialism, building the socialist economy, building the socialist culture, establishing the socialist way of life throughout the country..."(1)

In order to perform this work well, we have made the district the focus of activities. Today, the position and functions of the district have changed. It is not only an administrative unit, but also a socio-economic unit, a unit that has its own plan and budget, a base for redistributing labor, for reorganizing production and life... The replanning of production, the distribution of labor and the establishment of an agro-industrial structure within the district demands that we plan the construction of the systems of material-technical bases and population centers in the countryside.

In designing and planning the new, socialist countryside, thought must first be given to reconstructing fields and building the systems of material-technical bases in order to stimulate the development of production. These systems are: the irrigation system, the system of bridges, the network of field roads, windbreaks and so forth. They also include drying yards, storehouses and technical stations and farms organized as economic-technical clusters that are mechanized, are compatible with the level of development of production forces and management standards and are closely tied to the level and form of development of social organizations at each point in time.

Arising among the various strata of working farmers are new demands concerning housing, cultural life, social intercourse, changes in lifestyle and the

application of scientific and technical advances. To satisfy these demands, we must replan the infrastructure of society.

The old countryside, in which the only public projects were the village communal house, the ancestral temple, the Big house, the Canton market, the district market and so forth, must be augmented by a system of new public projects of a socialist nature, such as child care centers, kindergartens, level I, II and III general schools, medical aid stations, maternity clinics, cultural halls, department stores, athletic fields, swimming pools and so forth. Biogas tanks and small hydroelectric power stations must also be built in order to bring lighting to the countryside and supply energy for agricultural production. The dead-end roads that lead to hamlets, to the compounds of clans or families, mountain village trails and larger paths leading to village communal houses must be widened or replaced and bridges must be built along them in order to accommodate such mechanized vehicles as motorized plows, tractors, rice threshing machines, combines and all types of motor vehicles. These roads must be connected to the network of bicycle paths to enable convenient travel by the people.

Designing and organizing the construction of the host of projects described above, from economic-technical clusters, from the systems of roads, irrigation ditches and canals and then hospitals, schools, child care centers, markets and so forth to the house and garden of each farm household--projects which entail a series of integrated and coordinated jobs and should be viewed as the cells of a single body--not only have the aim of meeting purely economic targets, but also meeting political, social, ideological and cultural goals. The balanced, warm, simple and pastoral appearance of the new countryside will make a considerable contribution to enhancing the feelings of the citizen for his or her village, birthplace and country. Whether or not the cultural and spiritual lives of the farmer are improved depends, to some extent, on how we plan the construction of public welfare projects, economic-technical clusters and the road system, on the layout of the farmer's home and garden.

Generally speaking, the socio-economic factors, ideological factors and aesthetic factors involved in building the countryside are closely related to and have an impact upon one another. The construction profession, if it is to fulfill its mission, can join together with the other specialized sectors in building the district, thereby making the economic and cultural lines of the party a beautiful reality in our vast rural areas.

The general order in which construction in the countryside must be carried out with the other specialized sectors in building the district, thereby making the economic and cultural lines of the party a beautiful reality in our vast rural areas.

The general order in which construction in the countryside must be carried out is to begin by conducting basic investigations and formulating socio-economic development planning and plans followed by designing housing and natural surroundings and, lastly, guiding efforts to turn designs into real projects. In this process of construction, the architect must approach his work with the view of achieving economy of design, economy in the use of land and building materials, convenience of use and aesthetic appeal.

Generally speaking, the construction sector has, in recent years, taken the right direction in rural construction, specifically in building the districts, and has begun to achieve good results.

We have planned and built many key districts, from Dong Hung, Tho Xuan, Quynh Luu, Nam Ninh and so forth during the initial phase to the seven current pilot project districts established by the central level. This has entailed a large amount of detailed work, work that has been closely re-examined many times. This has been followed by planning the organization of the territory of the district. This is very important work because it defines the construction items in which investments must be made and establishes the measures for achieving the socio-economic goals of the district. In particular, we have carried out specific construction planning, that is, the rebuilding and development of rural population centers in a manner consistent with the new production relations, with the direction of socio-economic development of the new hamlet and village, with the need to organize the environment for the new working farmer.

Under the policy on developing the garden economy and subsidiary production on the plots of households, we are designing and planning the construction of models based on the VAC formula [truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry] so that each household plot becomes a developed unit of the village socio-economic system, a unit whose ecological cycle is in balance with changes in the residential ecosystem and within the framework of the surrounding natural ecosystem.

At present, applied research in the introduction of industrial crops of export value, such as tea, coffee, fruit crops, pepper, pimento and high grade vegetables, tobacco and raw material crops for the handicraft trades in household gardens at such places as Dac Lac, Gia Lai-Kontum, Lam Dong, the Mekong Delta, Song Be and Tien Giang, in the outskirts of cities, along the seacoast, in the mountains and so forth, is producing results deserving of attention. Very encouraging models have emerged of the policies on combining agriculture and forestry, on introducing forest crops in areas near villages and cities to meet household and housing construction lumber needs and supply firewood to the people and on the companion cropping of grain and subsidiary food crops at places that previously only practiced afforestation.

In addition, our design of the household plot of a farm family as an ecological unit has been highly evaluated and won prizes at international competitions. This plot plan represents a good approach to take in the development of lowland hamlets and villages. Guidelines for developing the household plots of our farm families must also be researched and widely applied in the barren hills of the midlands that need to be covered with a rational mix of vegetation to prevent them from becoming desert; in the hamlets and villages along the canals and ditches in the key rice growing region of Mekong Delta, where travel is mainly by boat; in the coastal areas where forests are being planted to protect against wind-blown sand and improve farmland; and in border areas that must carry out production while fighting the enemy.

We have begun to record a number of noteworthy results in this area. The planning and design of "floating villages" have solved the problem of how to build villages in areas of Dong Thap Muoi that are regularly flooded by using pre-cast building materials and assembling them on pontoons with modular dimensions, thereby making it possible to organize villages and hamlets that are mobile, that can be moved and easily resolving the problems associated with technical equipment, electricity, water and organizing raft pisciculture. The design employed here is simple and can be industrialized. Ways are being sought to apply this plan to the fishing villages and lowlying areas of the Mekong Delta, to raft pisciculture villages in An Giang, Tien Giang, Minh Hai, Dong Thap and Kien Giang and at a number of areas in central Vietnam. This design has been augmented and refined for application in organizing moveable classrooms and mobile department stores on boats and small repair stations on motorized barges. As a result, it has become very much simpler and more convenient to meet the service needs of the people of the Mekong Delta provinces.

Designing housing models for the countryside is an urgent problem, one that must be resolved quickly.

In the countryside, farmers must obtain their own building materials and build their own houses. In the countryside, houses not only serve the function of providing shelter, but also give the farmer a place to organize subsidiary production, to celebrate death anniversaries, hold funerals and so forth. Moreover, the layout of a house must not only make for convenient everyday living, but must also be compatible with habits, traditions and special characteristics which change when the mode of production changes and the cultural standards and standards of civilization of the new working farmer are raised.

Recently, some architects have attached importance to preserving and developing ethnic heritage by utilizing the folk experience that has been applied to different geographical and ethnic areas and applying it in a way well suited to the habits and capabilities of the people. They have focused their efforts on studying ways to improve the floor houses of the Thai, Tay, Nung and Muong ethnic groups, the houses of the ethnic groups of the Central Highlands, the unbaked dirt houses of the midlands, the wood frame houses of the Red River Delta, the floating houses of the Mekong Delta, the "Palace" style houses of Hue and the houses in the area of Nghe Tinh where the winds are hot and dry.

In recent years, we have also researched designs to facilitate three generations living together in one house. This is a phenomenon that will continue to be widespread in our country. It is a complex social issue that must be addressed and satisfactorily resolved in the construction of rural housing today, especially in the Central Highlands and the mountains.

Throughout the process of performing the jobs described above, positive contributions have been made by many generations of architects, from senior architects to their successors of today. However, all these contributions, everything that we have succeeded in achieving should only be considered the first step. The question we face is what must the specialists and managers of the construction sector do to develop more strongly and effectively upon the



basic advantages created by the superior organization of socialism in order to excellently complete the task of planning and constructing the new countryside.

In the immediate future, we must solve the following problems:

First, there is the problem concerning the mechanism through which construction work is performed. At present, it is a rather widespread practice for each agency to perform the construction work that relates to its specialized field and each locality to build projects in accordance with its own needs. This has given rise to working at cross purposes and has sometimes caused agencies and localities to impede one another, thus limiting the results achieved. Construction planning is work that demands ties among many sectors: politics, economics, science-technology, culture and art. Therefore, to manage construction well with the aim of stimulating the development of production forces, there must be centralization or, in other words, must be close cooperation among those who are engaged in construction planning, those who are engaged in the planning of the specialized sectors and the organizations of the local administration.

Recently, at scientific symposiums organized by the State Capital Construction Commission in coordination with the Ministry of National Defense, many practical and useful opinions were exchanged with the aim of building the districts into military fortresses and combining economic development with meeting national defense needs.

Scientific symposiums of the economic-technical sectors, such as the Central Economic Zoning Commission, the State Capital Construction Commission, the Ministry of Building, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Water Conservancy, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Forestry..., are looking for ways to develop combined district models for areas that have special features and population center models for state farms that specialize in industrial crops, for new economic zones and for ethnic areas. These symposiums have begun to set uniform guidelines. In practice, however, the good models of population centers within the district must still be more carefully studied so that they can be augmented and refined. Architects and engineers, although they have made many efforts, have only made proposals concerning specific aspects of construction and have failed to meet the important requirement of developing models that are befitting the new position, befitting the continued function of the district. They have not combined or balanced efforts to promptly meet immediate requirements with strategic guidelines for rural development in the future.

Secondly, a rather large number of planning models and housing designs are still highly theoretical in nature and reflect little by way of the special characteristics of each locality. Many architects, because they have little practical experience and do not have a full grasp of basic scientific and social factors, have introduced the lowland style of housing in the mountains, the urban style of housing in the countryside and the housing style of one ethnic group in the area of another.

Thirdly, there is still a large shortage of cadres for rural capital construction. Training facilities have not given appropriate attention to training architects and the other types of cadres needed to support district construction needs.

Fourthly, there is the problem of managing and guiding the use of building materials. In the countryside, there is still the belief that a house that is sturdy must be constructed of bricks and tiles, even though we know that bricks and tiles cannot be easily produced everywhere. The excavation of clay generally results in the destruction of farmland and the fuel needed to bake bricks and tiles is becoming increasingly scarce. Recently, a non-traditional building trend has emerged: replacing tile roofs with concrete roofs or precast panels. This style of house consumes a rather large quantity of cement, iron and steel, all of which are valuable, scarce building materials, of which there is not a sufficient supply for key construction projects of the state. In the meantime, if the institutes on the central level, the provincial construction services and the district construction offices were to combine their efforts in the research and development of available building materials that are well suited to the special characteristics of each area and were to guide the use of these materials well, very many building materials could be saved. We have more than a few local building materials, such as cinder bricks, Quang Ninh and Ninh Binh building stone, sand bricks, concrete from the soil in the Red River Delta, Phu Khanh and Lam Dong split stone, Nipa fruticans leaves in the Mekong Delta... At the same time, the state must adopt a specific policy for each area concerning the supply and management of building materials.

From the matters presented above we see that only by closely combining the construction sector with the other sectors and the various localities, plus the efforts of the management as well as specialized cadres of the sector, a correct mechanism and an appropriate policy, can we help builders contribute their capabilities and potentials to work that is of strategic importance to the country--building a new, Vietnamese socialist countryside.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong at the Urban and Rural Construction Scientific Conference Held in September 1980," Journal of Planning (the Institute of Urban and Rural Construction Planning, Ministry of Building), No 2-1981, pp 1, 2.

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## POPULATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 85-88

[Article by Professor Dang Thu, Ph.D.]

[Text] When planning the construction and development of the country's economy over the long-range in the present age, increasing recognition is being given to the importance and urgency of the population issue.

In fact, it was 25 years ago that our party and state first advocated family planning. However, since then, our country's population has doubled: from 30 million (1960) to 60 million (1985), which equates to an average annual growth rate of 2.8 percent.

Vietnamese women, who once bore an average 6.2 children, now bear an average 4.2 children. It might be 20 to 25 years before the women of our country achieve the average of two children. Thus, according to forecasts, Vietnam's population will be about 80 million in the year 2000 and 105-110 million in 2030 and then cease rising.

In countries with rapidly growing populations, the amount of grain per capita generally rises slowly. In 1939-1940, when our country's population was only 20 million, the average was 285 kilograms of grain per capita per year. Today, it is only about 300 kilograms per capita per year.

In Africa, the average rate of population growth has been higher than the rate at which grain output has risen for the past 20 years. During the past 30 years, as a result of the achievements of the "green revolution," India's grain supply has tripled, but its population has also doubled. As a result, India's average output today is only a little more than 200 kilograms of grain per capita per year.

Meanwhile, in many developed countries, the population has increased by very little. During the past several decades, these countries have solved the food problem. Their average grain output is 1,000 kilograms per capita per year, the majority of which goes to livestock production. The Soviet Union produces an output of 600-900 kilograms of grain per capita (60 kilograms of edible meat per capita per year) but is still working to raise its standard of living.

At present, there is only 1 hectare of cropland for every 10 Vietnamese. Nearly all arable land that can be used to raise grain is in use. It has also been calculated that 1 ton of petroleum and natural gas must be used to produce 1 additional ton of grain. The world forecasts that the population of Vietnam will rise to 150 million in the future and that 1 hectare of farmland will have to support 25 Vietnamese. The food problem in our country is a very difficult problem to resolve. Despite our unique eating habits, it will take several decades, and we might also have to wait for the population to decline, before we achieve a truly full standard of eating.

The conflict between population and grain output was a concern of ancient philosophers: rapid population growth can reduce the standard of living of the broad masses, reduce the production capacity of the laborer and is the source of poverty and social ills.

At the time of the birth of Christ, the population of the world was 250 million. Had world population grown at the rate of only 0.5 percent per year, it would now be 4 trillion, 800 times higher than it actually is. Therefore, over the long-range, the planet cannot even support population growth at the rate of only 0.5 percent per year. Today, many countries advocate a policy of zero population growth.

The most populace country in the world now has a population of 1.06 billion. Fifteen years ago, this country had to begin encouraging couples to have only 1 child. At present, the women of this country are bearing an average 2 children. In the cities, 90 percent of women have had only 1 child. They hope to stop the growth of the population by the end of the 20th century at 1.2 billion. However, the United Nations forecasts that their population will stop growing at 1.4 billion.

India, the second most populace country, currently has a population of 752 million. In 1984, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said that her country would soon achieve zero population growth. India is encouraging each couple to have only 2 children. The United Nations forecasts that India's population will stop growing at 1.6 billion.

Thus, from the time that a policy of zero population growth is adopted, it takes several generations for zero population growth to actually be achieved.

A large population inevitably means a large labor force. Our country currently has 30 million persons of work age. By the year 2000, we will have 46 million. And, in 2030, when the population will have risen to 105-110 million, our country will have about 70 million persons of work age.

Today, through the efforts of our entire party and all our people, through the application of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in production and everyday life and through the assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our rate of economic development is, generally speaking, higher than the rate of population growth, higher than the rate of economic development of the developed countries in the 19th century. However, this rate is slow for our times.



Rapid population growth has retarded economic development. During the period from 1960 to 1970, only one-third of the 122 developing countries that had a population of more than 1 million recorded a rise in their national income per capita. In the rest, national income per capita declined. Over a longer period, from 1950 to 1975, only 33 of 72 developing countries, 35 percent of the population, recorded an increase in their gross national product of 2-4 percent per year. In 25 countries, 48 percent of the population, gross national product increased by only 2 percent or less while population grew at the rate of 2-3 percent per year.

In the developing countries in the 19th Century, the economy grew at an average rate of 3 percent per year and the population at an average rate of 1 percent per year. Had the population back then grown at the rate at which the population of the developing countries is growing today, 3 percent, these countries would have had to either ignore the poor and starving in order to maintain their rate of development or feed their people and watch economic progress be destroyed.

A simple model of economic development is: the product produced by one laborer is the function of the amount of capital invested per laborer. In the late 18th century, in order to make use of the achievements of the first technological revolution (the steam engine), one laborer needed 300 dollars worth of equipment. To make use of the achievements of the second technological revolution (the internal combustion engine, in the second half of the 19th century), one laborer needed 3,000-5,000 dollars worth of equipment. And, to make use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution that has been underway since 1950, one laborer needs 30,000 dollars, or 30,000 rubles, worth of equipment.

During the 19th century, the developed countries invested an average of 8 percent of their national income per year in capital formation. Today, they are investing 20-30 percent and sometimes even 40 percent of their national income in capital formation in order to achieve a high rate of economic development. The underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, where population growth is rapid, generally do not produce enough food to feed themselves, carry out little or no capital formation and have no rate of economic development.

The average national income per capita of the richest countries of the world is currently 220 times higher than that of the most underdeveloped countries. The average national income per capita of the 10 most highly developed countries is 40 to 50 times greater than that of the 10 most underdeveloped countries. This gap will steadily widen and the world will become increasingly divided between those countries that have virtually achieved zero population growth and are becoming increasingly wealthy and those countries that are experiencing population growth and wrestling with poverty and backwardness.

From an economic standpoint, an optimum population is that population at which a country can achieve the highest production capacity per capita. The optimum size of a labor force is calculated the same way.

Man is a precious asset, labor is a precious asset. However, at many places, overpopulation sometimes occurs. Karl Marx analyzed overpopulation among the tribes of hunters and gathers as being different from overpopulation in Athens or in Germany, saying that the conditions of a social system are only compatible with a population of a certain size, that the elasticity in the foras of production conditions will determine the size of the population.

For example, in Europe, it was calculated that if two agricultural laborers could work 2 hectares and produce 20 units of marketed products, with the introduction of one horse, that is, one technical advance, one person would be able to work 2 hectares, but the horse would consume a full 7 units of product. The second person, having gone to develop the hills and mountains, would produce 5 units of food. Thus, the standard of living of the two persons would decline because they would only be producing 18 units. If the second person were to die or go into another field of work, the standard of living would rise from 10 to 13 units of product. Thus, a technical advance is only an advance to a population of a certain size. And, the introduction of technical advances in agriculture in a country that is overpopulated, that has little land and a low standard of living only serves to create additional surplus labor.

In many developing countries, as much as 30 percent of work time is unused. In Vietnam, a full 70 percent of work time is unused. At present, we have 20 million agricultural laborers, 70 percent of the country's labor force, working 6 million hectares. Under the policy of "one laborer per hectare cultivated," as much as one-half of this labor will become surplus labor. One standard for determining whether or not surplus labor exists is: if the quantity of products produced does not decline when a number of laborers are removed from a certain field, this labor is surplus labor. Under this standard, every sector of ours, if reorganized and restructured, would currently have surplus labor.

The hope is that, in the process of development, labor can be withdrawn from agriculture and shifted to industrial production. In the United States, agricultural labor has declined from 75 percent of the country's workforce (1880) to 8 percent (1960) and 3 percent today. In India, 72 percent of the labor force worked in agriculture in 1901 and 73 percent in 1961. Today, nearly 70 percent of the labor force still works in agriculture. In many countries, industrial labor is declining, accounting for only 20 to 30 percent of the country's labor force. Industry absorbs technology, not labor. Therefore, countries that have a large population and a large labor force will still have to keep a high percentage of their labor force working in agriculture for many years to come. It will be difficult to reduce Vietnam's percentage of 70 percent of its labor force working in agriculture and the absolute number of persons working in agriculture will continue to increase.

Some developed countries have forecast that, as a result of the introduction of much technology in industry and agriculture, they will only have to use about 10 percent of their labor force in industry and 1 percent in agriculture by the end of this century. Furthermore, back in 1950, Wiener, the father of cybernetics, stated that human labor will not be used at all in work of a repetitive nature in the future.

In a world in which automation and the application of cybernetics are highly developed, a world in which robots are in widespread use, Vietnam's labor force of 46 million in the year 2000 and 70 million in 2030 will exert even stronger pressure upon the country's socio-economic development. Of course, in this labor force, technically skilled and skilled management labor will be precious assets.

From an economic standpoint, it has been calculated that one laborer in France in 1750 produced, in terms of value, 18 tons of wheat (in his lifetime). The standard of eating back then amounted to one-third of minimum physiological need (the minimum physiological need of one person being about 200-220 kilograms of grain per year). By 1911, one laborer was producing, in terms of value, 60 tons of wheat. Preliminary calculations show that a Vietnamese laborer, who currently produces, in terms of economic value, 35 tons of grain, has a standard of eating that only meets two-thirds of minimum physiological need. However, under the new wage policy, the minimum wage is the equivalent of roughly 1.5 tons of grain. Thus, how are we to pay these wages? How are we to carry out capital formation? This is the specific pressure we face.

Socialist society is a beautiful system, is a society that has a comfortable life and high labor productivity but does not have a problem of surplus population or surplus labor. However, time is needed to advance from socialist construction to true socialism. The socialist countries have had to struggle 40 to 60 years to achieve a full life. It will take 80 to 100 years to achieve high labor productivity. This can be seen in the fact that the Soviet Union has 40 percent of its labor force in industry and 20 percent in agriculture while the corresponding figures for the United States are 30 percent and 3 percent.

The laws of population growth of socialist society are balanced between the producing population and the consumer population of society, full employment and a steadily rising standard of living. Our country must struggle for 70 to 100 years, and possibly even longer, to achieve optimum economic figures from the standpoint of population and labor.

In an economic sense, the birth of a baby can be considered the beginning of a period of investment, a period of necessary expenditures on the care and education of the child, after which he or she reaches the stage of being productive and gives something back to the family, to society. Lastly, there is the period of dependency in old age. If we could calculate all these costs and contributions, we could measure the value of the birth of one child.

In the American farm family of the 19th century, they calculated the economic costs of raising a slave child and found that they recovered their capital by the time the child reached the age of 20. In 1975, in the rural areas of the Philippines, it was also found that a family begins earning a profit once it has raised a child to the age of approximately 18. In many other countries, 6 to 8 year old rural children contribute 40 percent as much as adults, 9 to 11 year old children contribute 60 percent as much, 12 to 14 year old children contribute 70 percent as much and 15 to 19 year old children contribute 90 to 100 percent as much, with females of this age group contributing more than 1 adult.

Thus, in a backward economy, parents only work hard raising children for their first 6 or 7 years. By the time they reach 18 or 19, children are producing a profit for the family. In their later years, children support their parents, especially when their parents are old and frail.

In a densely populated country such as ours, the birth of one child is a liability, preventing the birth of one child is an asset.

In a country that has a high birthrate, the benefit derived from avoiding the birth of one child is the equivalent of the national income of one person during the first 5 years and 2.7 times the national income of one person during the 20th to the 25th years from the date that this child would have been born.

The population and labor force of our country far exceed optimum economic levels. Current generations must pay the price for the excessively high birthrate of preceding generations. Perhaps we might have to encourage couples to have only one child and maintain this approach for two generations in the hope of quickly stopping the growth of the population and labor force--which is a pressing goal of our country.

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## THE WARS AS A TOPIC IN VIETNAM'S FEATURE FILMS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 76 pp 89-92

[Article by Hai Ninh, People's Artist]

[Text] As topics, the war of national liberation and the war to defend the fatherland occupy an important position in Vietnam's feature films. If Vietnam's films on the topic of war were arranged in order of the time at which the events depicted in them occurred, the viewer would have a rather clear picture of the great journey filled with hardships, with suffering and losses, with unprecedented sacrifices made by our people in the struggle for independence and freedom. The long string of feature films that have been painstakingly produced during the past 25 years can be compared to a history book on the heroic people and country of Vietnam written in the language of cinematography.

Feature films from "Those Days Along the Lam River," which dealt with the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Movement, to "The August Star," a film on the general uprising in the fall of 1945 that threw off the yoke of French colonialist and Japanese fascist rule and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the works on the great war fought by our people to liberate the nation and defend the fatherland in the resistance against the French colonialists, the resistance against the U.S. imperialists and, more recently, the fight against the Beijing expansionists have very clearly provided such a history. Throughout the several decades that our country has continuously fought the biggest aggressor powers of our times, Vietnam's cinematographers have lived this heroic reality, worked as hard as possible, worked creatively, tried to reflect Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and sung the praises of the country, people and cause of Vietnam under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The images of the men and women of Vietnam portrayed in practically all feature films on the topic of war have exuded patriotism and a tenacious, unyielding spirit in the face of a ruthless enemy; exuded determination to resist aggression, win independence and freedom for their fatherland and secure the right to choose the social system for their nation; exuded the cleverness, bravery, resourcefulness, skill in the art of war, kind-heartedness and loyalty that typify the Vietnamese soul, the Vietnamese character. The impact of these typical images has frequently reached beyond

the borders of Vietnam and touches the people of the world, particularly the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for national liberation. For example, Miss Tu Hau of the film of the same name is very closely identified with the women of countries living under the yoke of colonialism, both old and new. A simple, kind woman and diligent homemaker, her only desire was to live a quiet life in the hamlet in which she was born. But even this small dream was robbed from her by the aggressors. They plundered and burned her home, murdered her beloved father and raped her. She was thus forced to take up arms to defend herself, to liberate herself, to contribute to the common cause of liberation of the nation, of the oppressed. But is such found only in Vietnam?

In many other works, such as "The Kinglet," "The Young Soldier," "We'll Meet Up Here Then" (on the resistance against the French colonialists), "All the Same River," "The Rising Wind," "The 17th Parallel, Night and Day," "The Road to My Mother's Village," "Nguyen Van Troi," "A Wilderness Field," "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," "Punishment," "The Children of Hanoi," "Until October" (on the resistance against the United States), and a number of films on the fight against the Beijing expansionists, such as "Motherland," "The City Within Our Grasp,"...the images of the modern men and women of Vietnam are diverse, rich and very colorful but their hearts all beat in rhythm with the pulse of our times. This can be seen in the image portrayed by Cu Chinh Lan in the film "The Young Soldier." When portrayed in art form, this real-life person became an image symbolizing the determination to resist aggression, a symbol that possessed lyrical and poetic features and bore a truly good and beautiful name: a "soldier of Uncle Ho." Through his resourcefulness and bravery, this soldier of Uncle Ho destroyed an enemy tank with a grenade. Now that we have B-40's and missiles to fight tanks, we view what he did as commonplace. However, nearly one-half century ago, his deed was a victory surpassed by no other, was an event that illuminated a basic view: weapons are very important but the human factor is still the decisive factor in war and, today, small, oppressed nations that are armed only with crude weapons but have adopted a correct revolutionary line and are determined to fight and win can win victory over aggressors who are armed to the teeth with modern weapons and means of war.

The image of the heroic men and women of Vietnam arises not only in hand to hand combat with the enemy, but also at places in the wilderness that were seemingly uninhabited but never severed their ties to the common fight being waged by the entire nation. This is the case with Mr. and Mrs. Ba Do, the main characters in the film "A Wilderness Field." To fulfill their mission as commo-liaison personnel for the revolution, this small family--a husband, wife and small child--concealed themselves within a shelter constructed like a bird's nest in a tree in the middle of the vastness of Dong Thap Muoi and fought with unusual bravery against U.S. helicopters. The character Ba Do in the film "A Wilderness Field" is modern in that even in this apparent wilderness, Vietnamese embody the aspirations and thinking of our times. Theirs was the will to resist aggression. And, these Vietnamese fought not only for themselves, for their nation, but also for progressive mankind. The point made by the filmwriter was not that our enemy only sought to kill a few persons, but that they wanted to destroy the will of an entire nation and that if the imperialists succeeded in doing this in Vietnam, they could do the same

thing anywhere else in the world. For this reason, progressive mankind throughout the world considers the victory of the Vietnamese to be a victory of their own.

In recent years, the cinematographers of Vietnam have faced new challenges. To continue discovering new features of value concerning the topic of the wars, they have continuously conducted research and been creative.

The characters portrayed in older feature films on the topic of the wars were generally shown on the battlefield, shown in face to face combat with the enemy. Recently, some filmwriters have expanded their topics and characters to the territory behind enemy lines, to the ranks of the enemy, to the tragedies of those who "sowed the wind." The character Phan Nam, a puppet pilot, in the film "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," acting on orders from the Americans, sprayed the orange herbicide on his birthplace, killing fellow countrymen. In the end, however, he himself died a tragic death from the poison. "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," which was hailed at the 1984 Kac-lo-vy Va-ry [Vietnamese phonetics] Film Festival and was awarded the Li-di-xe [Vietnamese phonetics] Rose Award, was recently shown in the GDR and won high praise as satisfying the aspirations of the people of the world who are today resisting the chemical war and the nuclear war to destroy mankind that the imperialists and neo-fascists are secretly plotting. Another puppet officer, the main character in the film "Punishment," is portrayed in the process of the collapse of his reactionary ideology--the lackey of the American aggressors.

Whereas in past years, the image of the heroic women of Vietnam burst forth in the spirit of struggling face to face with the enemy, as seen in the character Diu in the film "The 17th Parallel, Night and Day," in the character Van in the film "The Rising Win," and in the character Su in the film "The Clod of Dirt," in recent years, the images of Vietnamese women in the rear, women who did not bear arms but who played an important role and contributed to the nation's great victory, have been rather clearly portrayed. They include Miss Duyen in the film "Until October" and Miss Chieu in the film "Quiet Night." These women, these wives of war dead overcame their personal pain and suffering in order to be worthy of the loved ones they lost and truly created a strength equal to that of the persons bearing arms on the frontlines.

Generally speaking, during the past 25 years, Vietnam's feature films on the topic of the wars have produced encouraging results and are a source of pride to us. However, we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved. Frankly, we have yet to produce one film that is truly befitting the stature of the great war of national liberation and war to defend the fatherland fought by our people, one work befitting our times. Besides achievements, feature films on the topic of the wars have also displayed more than a few shortcomings and weaknesses. This is evident in just the following few recent feature films: "A Quiet Moment in the War" presents an image of a revolutionary officer which is somewhat less than that of a puppet officer. The puppet officer practically dominates the screen, thus making viewers feel that he is still an imposing figure, even though he was a defeated soldier. Moreover, throughout this work, the images of revolutionary soldiers are somewhat vague and



submerged. "The Cold Forest" presents an absurd situation, one that is not very convincing to viewers: a troop unit assigned the mission of transporting a corpse from the South to the North is pursued throughout its journey, from the start to the end of the film, by enemy aircraft and commandoes.

The topic of war has a proper place in Vietnam's feature films but developing this topic from the standpoint of the reality of war in Vietnam, the standpoint of our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation, remains work that will still take many years to complete. "Describing well, honestly and eloquently" the extremely brave and brilliant persons and deeds of the great wars for national salvation and national defense fought by our people under the leadership of the party are the very important and glorious tasks of Vietnam's literature and art, in general, and Vietnam's cinematography, in particular, and will continue to be so for many decades to come. This is not only a matter of a spiritual debt that we are obliged to pay to all those persons, the deceased and survivors alike, who recorded the imposing feats of arms that gave us what we have today. This is also not only a matter of teaching future generations and helping to spread to the world, to say through cinematography what the people of the world said during the days of the resistance against the United States for national salvation: "Vietnam is the epic of our times," is "the glory of mankind." This is an immediate requirement of the revolution, that is, to bring the spirit, character, energy, resourcefulness, creativity, optimism...in summary, the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism displayed in the war, into the new stage of the revolution in order to successfully build socialism and staunchly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Of course, now that our party and people have made socialist construction their task of utmost importance, we must focus our efforts first on the topic of socialist construction, on the new persons and jobs in socialist construction today. However, this in no way means that we can give light attention to or not trouble ourselves with creating works on the topic of the wars or relax our efforts to strengthen national defense forces and defend the fatherland. Moreover, the issue is always the returns from art, not the topic.

However, there is a certain urgency associated with making films on the subject of the wars. Some persons, some scenes and some materials will not wait forever for us.

Many favorable conditions exist today for making films on the wars. Now that we can look back on the wars from a more distant vantage point, the scope of the topic is broader. The wars can now be viewed from many different perspectives. The issues that were ours, our enemies' and our friends' are now clearer. We are also encouraging new discoveries, new creativity and everyone has had much time to think, investigate and create. However, regardless of the perspective and regardless of how creativity is expressed, the dominant note struck in films on the topic of the wars must still be the unparalleled revolutionary heroism of our people under the leadership of the party. Only this is the truth, only this is art.



The making of films on the topic of the wars not only demands the efforts of cinematography artists--of filmwriters, producers, actors, cameramen and so forth--but also thorough and practical organizational work and planning.

Importance must be attached to developing screen plays before anything else, adopting plans for long-range topics, expanding the close collaboration with writers outside the cinematography sector, opening screenwriter camps and creating for writers every possible favorable condition. Full attention must also be given to avoiding waste and practicing strict frugality so that the quality of each film is commensurate with the amount of money and effort invested in it, because films on the topic of war have traditionally entailed very large costs.

We are awaiting new films on the topic of the great wars of national salvation and national defense of our nation, films of a stature that is truly befitting the revolutionary heroism of our people, films that reflect in art the "epic of our times," the "glory of mankind" that once attracted the entire world in order to help to preserve this "glory" forever, help to pass this "epic" on to future generations.

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FULLY ADHERING TO, CONCRETIZING AND ORGANIZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LINES OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 93-96

[Book Review by Xuan Kieu]

[Text] Fully adhering to the basic views set forth in the lines of the party, concretizing these lines and organizing their implementation are the matters of most pressing importance to the organization of the party and each cadre and party member.

The book "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Lines of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition," written by General Secretary Le Duan and published by Su That Publishing House, meets the needs and satisfies the desires of many readers concerning these matters.

This work consists of a system of factors that are in the nature of laws in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. After deeply analyzing the two strategic tasks of Vietnam's revolution, the general secretary presents the basic elements of the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building our country's economy. He says: "We can only successfully complete the very difficult, historic task of advancing our country from small-scale production directly to socialism by creating a combined force of the socialist revolution"(p 24)(+). When talking about the combined force of the revolution, we are talking about the unity and close relationship among socio-economic forces and factors. The most comprehensive combined force stems from: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, building the new system, the new economy and the new culture and molding the new, socialist man and woman. In the socio-economic field, this combined force is the forces of the three revolutions, of the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new, socialist man and woman. From the standpoint of the economy, this combined force stems from closely tying industry to agriculture within a structure from the very outset; combining the central economy and the local economy in a way that is balanced; developing production forces and perfecting the new production relations; closely combining the economy with national defense; closely tying the division of

labor and the expansion of the domestic market to the development of overseas economic relations, most importantly with the Soviet Union and the socialist community... The line of the party is a complete entity, one in which there is close coordination between objectives and the means and measures for achieving these objectives, between production forces and production relations, between the economic base and the superstructure, between the economy and national defense, etc. And, as the general secretary concludes, "A combined force is created through the simultaneous birth of these factors and the impact they have upon one another." In the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, because we knew how to achieve a combined strength stronger than that of the enemy, we won victory even though our country is small. Today, in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland, although our methods of organization and operation are much different than they were during the war, this lesson in achieving a combined strength retains its original worth.

The exercise of collective ownership by the laboring people is both the goal of and the moving force behind the socialist revolution. It is also the most important factor of a combined force. The essence of collective ownership is exceedingly broad in scope: being the masters of society, nature, and oneself and being the masters of politics, the economy, culture and society. Being the masters of the economy means being the masters and making good use of labor, arable land and the other means of production, achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency... In the period of transition to socialism, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is implemented through the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." Collective ownership develops from a low to an increasingly high level. It is established as soon as the proletarian dictatorship is established. In each stage of the period of transition, the specifics and requirements of collective ownership are consistent with the political, economic, cultural and social conditions of the country. After deeply analyzing this factor, Le Duan concludes: "The right of collective ownership of the laboring people cannot be implemented if we do not carry out socialist industrialization, if we do not advance from small-scale production to socialism"(p 26).

Socialist industrialization is the central task in the period of transition to socialism. This law has been stated by our party thusly: "Giving rational priority to the development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry and combining the building of industry and agriculture within one structure"(p 29).

To carry out industrialization, we must have capital. To us, our most valuable assets are our labor and the potentials that can be developed in our arable land (including the forests and offshore waters) and our sectors and trades (which include the subsidiary trades in the countryside, small industry, the handicraft trades...). Our strongest motivating force is the system of socialist collective ownership. It permits us to combine our labor with arable land, expand our sectors and trades and quickly produce a large volume of products to meet capital formation needs and constantly improve the standard of living.

To carry out socialist industrialization, we must strongly develop agriculture and light industry. At the same time, full importance must be attached to building a number of projects within the key heavy industrial sectors: electricity, coal, petroleum-natural gas, metals, chemicals, building materials and, in particular, machinery. Because, as V.I. Lenin said, the only material-technical base of socialism is large-scale, mechanized industry.

On the basis of a deep and comprehensive analysis of the above factors, Le Duan concludes: "The two essential elements of our line are collective ownership and socialist industrialization. This can be considered a law"(pp 22-23).

Building the central economy while developing the local economy is an element of the party's economic line, one that reflects the law of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country.

The central economy and the local economy are closely interrelated and both lie within the unified industrial-agricultural economic structure of the country. The central economy, the backbone of the national economy, is of vital importance to the economy of the entire country. The local economy is the prerequisite to supporting the life of the local people and, at the same time, contributes to the building of the central economy.

When discussing the central economy, we are discussing the economic-technical sectors. The development of these sectors has the effects of converting manual labor into mechanized labor, creating new machinery, tools and materials, stimulating specialization, cooperation and federation in production, raising the level of scientific and technical development, raising labor productivity and creating increasing high quality and efficiency. When discussing the local economy, we are discussing the extremely important role it plays in utilizing labor and arable land, expanding the sectors and trades, closely tying agriculture to industry within a structure from the very outset, establishing ties among the various segments of the economy, combining the economy with national defense, etc. After analyzing the position and role of the local economy, the general secretary concludes: "The local economy is the important base that brings together all three levels that exercise collective ownership, brings together the strengths arising from basic units, the strengths emanating from the central level and the strengths arising within the locality itself"(p 32). And, the important base for combining the central economy and the local economy is the district. Because, the district economy is linked to the cooperative's, is part of the economic structure of the province or municipality and is closely tied to the economic-technical sectors of the entire country." And, "it is only through the district that the central level can manage and combine labor with arable land"(pp 32-33).

Planned and balanced development of the national economy is an economic law of socialism. This law controls the entire process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. To apply the law of planned and balanced development of the economy in a manner consistent with our country's specific circumstances, "it is absolutely necessary that we establish three planning levels: the national level, the



local level and the basic level." We attach very much importance to the national planning level because it is one of the things that makes the socialist system superior. At the same time, we also attach very much importance to the plans of the basic and local levels because they represent the thorough implementation in planning of the system of collective ownership on the three basic levels of our system. Planning must be closely linked to economic accounting and socialist business practices in order to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency. The production plan must be closely tied to the financial plan in order to apply commodity-money relations and market relations well. In our country, the law of planned and balanced development is being applied "at the very outset of the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production because we have established the system of collective ownership and must, therefore, comply with the law of planned and balanced development of the economy"(p 34).

In addition to the factors mentioned above, two other factors that are in the nature of laws, one being the expansion of international cooperation and the other being the development of science-technology and the application of scientific-technical advances, are also deeply analyzed by the general secretary in this work.

Only on the basis of fully adhering to the fundamental views of the party can we concretize and implement the party's lines correctly. General Secretary Le Duan points out: "Concretizing the lines of the party in this initial stage, which began when the entire country embarked on the advance to socialism, is not at all a matter of adopting another line in addition to the general line and the economic line"(p 39). We reject the view that the lines of the party are only correct as they apply to a long period of time, that they are not consistent with the current situation and that we must, as a result, adopt a specific line that differs from the general line. This approach is incorrect and unscientific because, as mentioned above, the line of the party is a unified and whole entity that is implemented in all stages of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. Of importance to each organization of the party, to each cadre and party member is the need to know precisely what concretizing the line entails. Concretizing the economic line, as pointed out by the general secretary, entails mainly the following:

In a manner that is totally consistent with the general line and the economic line, on the basis of these lines and with the aim of implementing these lines:

--It is necessary to formulate a socio-economic strategy for each stage in the period of transition (one which includes objectives and the measures for achieving these objectives);

--It is necessary to formulate a strategy for building, transforming and developing each economic sector, beginning with important sectors that occupy a primary position or play a key role;

--It is necessary to put together a correct socio-economic management system, one which includes the various components and a system of production and business organizations, the planning system, the various leverage policies, economic accounting and business principles, the management apparatus and work regulations.

Once a correct line has been adopted, managing and organizing the implementation of this line assume an exceedingly important role. To a rather large degree, this work decides the fate of the line. How well the implementation of a line of the party is organized depends upon the following factors:

--The revolutionary will to fight, eagerness to move forward, not fearing difficulties or hardships, the sense of organization and discipline and an attitude of strictly complying with the line of the party;

--Successfully establishing the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages" as a system that possesses a large combined strength;

--Establishing a truly revolutionary and scientific set of procedures for preparing, issuing and implementing decisions.

After scientifically analyzing the fundamentals involved in concretizing a line and organizing its implementation, General Secretary Le Duan points out the shortcomings that have been seen in concretizing lines and organizing their implementation in the recent past, such as subjective, impetuous actions as well as conservatism and slowness to take action; a failure to comply with a line of the party correctly or well; ineffective efforts to organize and guide the implementation of a line, etc.

To correct these shortcomings, "it is of utmost importance that we successfully bring about a true change within the party, that we take determined steps to wipe out negative phenomena within the party and make the party pure, solid and strong, make it a party that possesses fighting strength, possesses the ability to provide the leadership needed to complete new tasks and retains the confidence of the people. This is the pressing demand of the revolution today"(p 50).

The book "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Line of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition" consists of a system of profound theoretical and practical issues. This work by the general secretary is an important contribution to further raising the understanding of theory and the ability to organize implementation on the part of all cadres and party members.

#### FOOTNOTES

- + Passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Line of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition" by Le Duan.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: AM I DOING BETTER OR WORSE?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 97-99

[Article by Nguyen Truong Khoa]

[Text] Over the past several years, the habit of looking at things from the perspective of whether one is doing better or worse than someone else has become increasingly widespread among our cadres and party members, including some middle and high-ranking cadres. Persons working in one sector are jealous of those working in another. Persons working in one locality or field feel that they are worse off than persons working in another locality or field.

There are even some provincial party committee members who worry: if I do not transfer to party work and keep working in my specialized field, if I delve into science, I might get a degree like everyone else but wind up having nothing to do(!). Meanwhile, some professors draw the following contrast: the life of a professor is not as good as that of a local party committee member, who has position, authority and many benefits as well. A comrade working in the North says: "If I had asked to be sent to the South back in '75, my life would be better today." But a cadre from the North who has gone to the South thinks differently: If I had remained at my old job, where I had widespread contacts, it would surely have been easier to make progress in my career! When salary grades are determined, a good many comrades are puzzled: why did I receive only this much when X. at the other agency, who has the same background as I, has been given a salary several grades higher?

In like manner, persons in the education sector maintain that persons in the commerce sector are "doing very well." Persons in the commerce sector think that diplomats are "raking it in." Persons in administration think that persons in production "make money easily." Meanwhile, persons in production think that those in administration "never have to go out in the rain or hot sun and always take it real easy." The elderly feel that they are being treated poorly. The young think that they "have talents that are not being properly used." Everyone feels that he is "unlucky," is "unfortunate," that he has gotten less, that others have enjoyed "good luck" and "have everything." This leads them to being dissatisfied or feeling sorry for

themselves, to tormenting themselves or complaining about everything which, in turn, lead to negative ways of thinking and acting that are detrimental to the party's common cause.

Persons whose thinking is to compare what they have to others generally are weak in terms of their will to struggle and are not content with their jobs. Feeling that the grass is greener on the other side, they preoccupy themselves with questions about whether they are doing better or worse. They become passive and dissatisfied, see injustice everywhere and do not have confidence in the party, in the new system. They do not fully develop their talents, take no initiative in their jobs and work in a half-hearted manner. Instead of making a contribution being the focus of their attention, their only standard is what they receive, what they possess. Much of their effort is devoted to money-making schemes, so much so that they are prepared to sacrifice even their good points. This is also an important reason behind the loss of internal unity and the decline in the strength of the organization.

From an objective standpoint, the underlying cause of this bad habit is small-scale production. Lenin described the "ethic of the small, private owner as 'I only care about myself.'"(1) And, Lenin considered petty bourgeois lack of constraint, their tendency toward anarchy and the ethic of the private owner to pose the danger of the re-establishment of bourgeois exploitation. Persons whose mentality is that of the private owner make their personal interests the standards by which distribution is evaluated and their labor the unit of measurement. With small-scale production still widespread in our country, it is difficult to carry out distribution and treat everyone in a truly fair and rational manner. On the other hand, the fact that our management of the economy is still lax, which has allowed dishonest merchants to earn a higher income than honest laborers, and the fact that some policies are flawed by shortcomings and clearly irrational in some respects have also given objective cause for this thinking of am I doing better or worse to develop and lead to a situation in which individuals and units are pursuing their own interests and forgetting the common interests of society, of the state.

However, regardless of the circumstances, a deviation from their ethics by cadres and party members--persons whose responsibility it is to be in the vanguard--always stems directly from the level of political awareness of these persons and what he or she has done to forge good ethics.

Many comrades, because their way of thinking is incorrect, view things without objectivity and only see their own difficulties or "bad luck," not the difficulties or hardships of others. They constantly think that others have less to offer than they but are earning more, that they are the only ones who "get the worst of it." Some persons do not see all the features of the period of transition to socialism, during which many different socio-economic phenomena along with the production relations and laws that are unique to these phenomena are intertwined, therefore requiring that we have many different kinds of distribution that are not truly consistent with the principles of socialism. But there are also persons whose minds are set on egalitarianism and do not see the need for distribution in accordance with labor; therefore, they cannot stand to see someone else earning or receiving more than they.



Under our country's current circumstances, distribution and benefits must be based on the consideration of many factors. In particular, distribution is limited even more by the fact that we are advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism and must build the country while strengthening the national defense system and defending the country. The method and level of distribution are dependent partly upon nature and partly upon social policy considerations. Distribution supplies are very low and dependent upon aid from friendly countries to some extent. This situation does not permit us to carry out distribution in a manner that is truly fair and rational. It is as unreasonable for a scientific cadre to be envious of an army cadre because he receives a higher salary as it is for an army cadre to be envious of a scientist because his work is less strenuous.

We must, of course, admit that at many places and in many areas of work, we are not yet carrying out distribution well, implementing benefit policies well or meeting the requirements faced in the life of society in a satisfactory or fair manner. It must also be acknowledged that in the field of distribution today, our efforts are still marked by many shortcomings and we have yet to provide for rational and fair distribution in accordance with the views and policies of our party and state. However, this does not permit cadres and party members to be envious or jealous, to calculate whether they are worse off or better off and then bargain with the party, even give themselves the right to do things that are wrong. Our responsibility is to calmly examine the situation, look for a solution and propose a rational way to solve the problem to the responsible agency.

Finally, making comparisons as to whether one is better off or worse off than someone else is primarily the result of individualism. Because of individualism, some persons make very blatant comparisons to their comrades or the other members of their units. There are also persons who lose their sense of vigilance and begin making comparisons to persons who earn their livings illegally, who steal public property. They then accuse themselves of being "stupid" and express regret over being "too honest"! It is precisely this kind of envy that helps to nurture bad habits and develop negative phenomena.

We cannot demand that each and every member of society lead his or her life in accordance with the standards of communist ethics. Such would be a utopian dream. However, communist party members, the militants in the vanguard of the revolution, absolutely must lead an exemplary life based on the principles of communist ethics. To allow the thinking of comparing one's losses to the gains of others as well as other negative phenomena to persist within the party will paralyze the will to struggle of party members and set bad examples for the masses. Our people have been forged in the long revolutionary struggle and are therefore very alert and clearly know the difference between bad and good. They know whom to trust and respect and in whom they should have less confidence. It can be said that one of the causes of less confidence among the masses in the revolution, in the system is wrongdoing on the part of cadres and party members. Conversely, no educational measure is as strong as good examples and sacrifices by cadres and party members. Now, more than ever before, cadres and party members, most importantly high and middle-ranking cadres, must display an even higher spirit of "honestly serving the people" as President Ho Chi Minh often taught and be willing to accept

less so that they can maintain their revolutionary ideals and integrity just as the revolutionary war dead who faced the merciless, barbarous blows of the enemy did.

Communist party members and revolutionary cadres can only make one comparison: the comparison to the enormous sacrifices made by countless war dead and compatriots to the fatherland, to the revolution, which are examples that they must make every effort to learn and follow.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 249.

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## THE PEACE MOVEMENT--A STRATEGIC FORCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 100-102

[Article by Nhuan Vu, commemorating the "International Year of Peace-1986"]

[Text] The Reagan administration is escalating its efforts into space in order to urgently prepare for nuclear war. In the face of the serious threat to the destiny of all mankind, the people of world are further intensifying their struggle to maintain peace and security in the world. In 1985, in the United States and other Western countries, tens of millions of persons participated in demonstrations and marches against the arms race of the United States, the SDI program of United States, intervention by the United States in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, etc. Deserving of attention is the fact that on 10 November 1985, in Spain, more than one-half million persons took to the streets in a demonstration demanding the dismantling of U.S. military bases in that country. Only 2 days later, in Greece, demonstrations by tens of thousands of persons broke out, their demand being the same. Thus, on all four flanks of the NATO quadrangle--the northern flank--Great Britain, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, the eastern flank--the Federal Republic of Germany, the western flank--Spain, and the southern flank--Italy and Greece, shouts demanding that the United States "go home" filled the air. Today, the United States no longer brags about the stability and reliability of NATO, rather, it is very concerned about NATO's instability in the face of the wave of anti-American struggle by the people of the countries of western Europe. This wave of struggle is also an event which the ruling circles of the countries of western Europe cannot ignore because this mass movement has, against the background of political parties bitterly competing for votes, been having a profound effect upon the outcome of elections. Today, the peace movement is no longer a phenomenon of crowds gathering in streets, gathering for 1 day and dispersing during the same day, but has become a constant factor of enormous strength in the political life of many countries, including the United States.

If the activities of the world peace movement, regardless of how widespread they might be, were restricted to the framework of speeches, of slogans and banners and had no real force, the leaders of the White House and Pentagon could continue to devote their efforts to plans for war and never worry. However, these activities have resulted in 1,200 cities in the United States, Great Britain, Holland, the Federal Republic of Germany, New Zealand and

Australia declaring their localities to be zones free of nuclear weapons. In Japan, nearly 900 local governments have declared their localities to be zones free of nuclear weapons. This means that many local governments have separated themselves from the blind nuclear policy of their country's central government. The Organization of African Unity has declared that "all of Africa must be a region free of nuclear weapons." All northern European countries long ago voiced the need to establish a nuclear free zone in northern Europe. In particular, the decision by the government of New Zealand, a member of the ANZUS military bloc headed by the United States, to ban U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons from the ports of this country was a slap in the face of the U.S. imperialists, of the nuclear war policy of the United States and shocked the White House and Pentagon. Then, countries on the rim of the Indian Ocean also demanded that this ocean be brought within the "nuclear free charter." These bright examples are attracting considerable interest among many countries bordering the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The scope of the strategic nuclear deployment of the United States is being steadily reduced on land, in the air and at sea. The world peace movement is dealing rather strong blows to the global nuclear strategic deployment of the United States. This is a strategic turn of events that far exceeds previous calculations made by the "electronic brains" at the White House and Pentagon.

The strength of reason and good will for the sake of peace has been given concrete expression in the wholehearted response by world opinion to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, such as its pledge to not use nuclear weapons first, its pledge to cease nuclear weapons testing, its opposition to the arms race and the militarization of space, its efforts to achieve a balanced reduction of armed forces and its desire for peaceful coexistence between the different systems. The people of the world were further heartened by the statement made on 31 December 1985 by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev: "1986 has been declared by the United Nations as the year of peace. The Soviet Union will extend this year of peace into a decade of peace so that mankind begins life in the 21st century under peaceful conditions of trust and cooperation."(1)

In view of the realities described above, it can be stated that mankind is witnessing the activities of unprecedented intensity of an exceedingly broad peace front, one that encompasses all organizations and movements of each country and all international organizations and movements, from Europe to Asia, the Americas, Australia and Africa, from the developed countries to the developing countries, from the socialist countries, the pillar of the world peace movement, to the capitalist and imperialist countries, from non-government organizations to governments themselves, to the non-aligned movement. In the capitalist countries, political parties of many different shades, ruling and opposition parties alike, cultural and social organizations representing very diverse ideological leanings, trade union organizations, youth and women's organizations, organizations of intellectuals and artists, professional organizations, religious organizations...all have come together in an invisible groundswell surging in one direction: to safeguard peace and eliminate the threat of a destructive war. These are all the mass forces in the world united, despite the fact that their immediate goals differ, in a



single common aspiration, the desire for peace. Mankind's bloody history over many thousands of years has made the word "peace" the most universal, most sacred, most easily understood and most vital word of all, the word that has the greatest power to bring people together because, with peace, mankind has everything, without peace, there is no security, is nothing. It is not surprising that the peace movement has been called the "tempest of our times," the "worldwide alliance of reason and conscience." There can be no doubt that the power of mankind's astute reason will prevail over the blindness and insanity of the imperialist and bellicose powers. Only mankind's astute reason and conscience can guarantee a lasting peace, a bright future for mankind. In fact, along with the democratic movement, the peace movement is becoming an effective offensive force, a strategic force, a powerful revolutionary current on our planet.

Today, the forces of peace have become invincible. However, the powers hostile to peace and security in the world, imperialism and the international reactionaries, still have not changed their nature. What must be given full attention is the fact that the imperialists as well as the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are also brandishing the banner of peace in order to deceive public opinion, in order to rally forces to support their sinister schemes. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are still steadily pursuing the arms race and the militarization of space in preparation for nuclear war. Therefore, the struggle for peace demands patient, steadfast efforts and constant vigilance. It must be realized that "the most burning issue facing mankind is the issue of war and peace... At present, there is no mission more important or noble than safeguarding and strengthening peace, stopping the aggressor and militarist powers and guaranteeing life for the generations of today and tomorrow. A world without war, without weapons, this is the ideal of socialism."<sup>(2)</sup> Mankind looks to the future with firm confidence in the comprehensive strength of the forces of revolution and progress in the world, of which the Soviet Union is the pillar and the peace movement is an important element.

The year 1986 has arrived. Surely, in the international year of peace 1986, the people of the world will take new and larger strides forward in the noble cause of safeguarding peace and security throughout the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: NHAN DAN Newspaper, 2 Jan 86.
2. "Draft of the 'Platform of the CPSU'(revised version)," supplement to the newsletter "The Soviet Union Today," No 4, November 1985.

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## THE SDI PROGRAM AND ITS DANGERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 103-106, 102

[Article by Duy Duc]

[Text] A Shield or a Sword in Space?

The so called "Strategic Defense Initiative," SDI, is the "national policy on the militarization of space" of the United States, a policy that was officially announced by U.S. President Reagan on 23 March 1983. The goal of SDI is to achieve strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union.

To implement the SDI program, the United States will first modernize its defense anti-missile system (DAM), which consists of both space-based and land-based weapons. These are weapons that generate powerful energy beams of many different types, such as fluorine and hydrogen lasers, heavy or neutral elements, nuclear generated and laser guided x-rays, ultra-shortwaves and electronic waves, energy beam cannons, small, automatically controlled missiles deployed on military satellites and land-based anti-missile missiles.

The DAM system of SDI is divided into three layers. The first layer is closest to the opposition and farthest from the United States. This layer will consist of space-based chemical laser ray guns and special particle beam accelerators, the purpose of which will be to destroy the nuclear missiles of the opposition within the space of 2 to 5 minutes after they have been launched and when they are at an altitude of 10 to 150 kilometers. The purpose of the middle layer will be to destroy the nuclear warheads of the opposition that have penetrated the first layer of the DAM system and are continuing toward their target. This layer will consist of electronic beam cannons or small, automatically controlled missiles deployed on satellites. U.S. military experts plan to put a few thousands such satellites into space around the entire planet, each of which will be equipped with 40 to 50 small missiles capable of shooting down targets at altitudes of 500 to 1,200 kilometers. In its final layer, the DAM system will employ medium and short-range ground-based anti-missile missiles to destroy the remaining nuclear warheads at an altitude of 100 to 800 kilometers after they have passed through the first and second layers and are about to strike their targets.

Washington has continuously launched propaganda campaigns for the SDI program in a vain attempt to calm worried public opinion among large numbers of people in the United States and the world and with a view toward securing the support and collaboration of Western allies. The arguments advanced by Washington have been most da vain attempt to calm worried public opinion among large numbers of people in the United States and the world and with a view toward securing the support and collaboration of Western allies. The arguments advanced by Washington have been most deceptive: that SDI is a weapons system designed to "safeguard peace," which is just like Mr. Reagan giving the MX strategic missile, which is armed with 10 nuclear warheads, the name "Peacekeeper"; that SDI is a non-nuclear weapons system that does not threaten humans but only has the purpose of destroying offensive nuclear missiles of the opposition; that SDI will render nuclear weapons "ineffective" and thus hasten disarmament and the end of the arms race and even bring mankind back from the abyss of a destructive nuclear war, etc. However, what is the truth? In essence, SDI is not only a space shield, it is also an offensive weapons system, a sword in space that will hang over the head of everyone living on the planet. The U.S. newspaper INTERNATIONAL NEWS FORUM clearly stated in its 12 March 1985 edition: "According to one enthusiastic supporter of the SDI program, this system, when fully deployed, will be capable of launching from space surprise attacks on ground targets, such as aircraft, oil tankers, nuclear power plants, projects...causing huge fires and damages which, in the space of 30 minutes, can set an industrial nation back to the 18th century."

In addition to the DAM system, the SDI program also consists of space vehicles that transport offensive weapons into and from space. During the past 3 years, the United States has continuously launched space shuttles of many different types: Columbia, Challenger, Discovery and Atlantis. These space shuttles are playing an increasing role as offensive weapon transport vehicles. U.S. President Reagan has also appealed to Western allies to cooperate with the United States in putting a complex in permanent space orbit that will have the effect of serving as a major aggressor base of the United States and NATO.

The weapons system supporting "star wars" is also closely tied to the land-based offensive nuclear weapons of the United States, such as the MX intercontinental missile, the Trident II and, in the not-too-distant future, the Minuteman missile, the Pershing II and Cruise medium range missiles, heavy, long-range bombers armed with nuclear weapons... These are the nuclear weapons designed to "deliver a pre-emptive strike" against the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. On 28 August 1985, in his interview with TIME Magazine, M.S. Gorbachev, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, stated: "The interrelationship between defensive and offensive arms is so obvious as to require no proof." Moreover, given the current level of development of science and technology, it is very difficult to clearly distinguish between an offensive weapon and a defensive weapon. With the SDI program, the United States is quite sure of having within its grasp a space security belt capable of delivering a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" against the opposition under the "theory of a limited nuclear war" without fear of a retaliatory strike by the opposition.

Thus, once the SDI program of the United States with its large system of extremely complex offensive weapons of all types is deployed, the international atmosphere will be further poisoned and made more tense, the threat of nuclear war will mount and the common security of mankind will be more seriously threatened than ever before.

#### Sinister Motives and Objectives

Anti-communist in their thinking to the point of being sick, Reagan as well as the bellicose circles within the United States always consider arms to be the foundation, the strength that will enable them to "eliminate" the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Under the Reagan administration, the United States has thrown itself into the arms race on a scale unprecedented. The annual military budget of the United States has constantly grown and reached new record levels. During his 5 years in office, with a military budget of slightly less than 1.2 trillion dollars, Reagan has accelerated the modernization of the strategic weapons triad: the MX intercontinental missile, which carries 10 nuclear warheads, each of which has 600 kilotons of explosive power; the Trident nuclear submarine, with 14 offensive warheads; and the B-1-B heavy bomber, which has a capacity of 30 tons of bombs. Reagan also pushed through the plan to deploy 572 new medium range nuclear missiles in western Europe... All these steps have been taken to disrupt the balance of strategic military forces and give the United States overwhelming superiority over the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. However, the opposition of the United States has not stood idly by and watched! The Soviet Union and the socialist community have stated that they will not permit the United States to achieve military superiority in any situation. Appropriate retaliatory measures have been taken. As a result, the balance of strategic military forces between the two sides has been maintained, peace and security in the world have been maintained.

Despite defeat, the anti-communist high blood pressure does not subside in a person who has a long anti-Soviet history, such as Reagan. Therefore, they initiated the SDI program. White House leaders think that space can be a "perfect position," be the key opening the way for the United States to achieve military superiority in a way that is "indisputable." In carrying out the SDI program, the United States harbors the illusion that it can use this space shield to create a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" capability against the Soviet Union without worrying about being dealt punishing blows by the opposition. This will provide the "ideal" military and strategic superiority about which the White House and the superhawks of the Pentagon have long dreamed!

Although it clearly understands that the Soviet Union will not be caught napping and will surely take appropriate corresponding measures, the Reagan administration still has no intention of abandoning the "Strategic Defense Initiative"! Why is this? Reagan and the radical anti-communist powers of the United States harbor the illusion that once the United States carries out the SDI program, the Soviet Union will be forced to spend very large sums of money on the arms race in space, will become "exhausted" and have to yield to U.S. pressure. Like an ostrich with its head in the sand, they do not



realize that the first and most powerful socialist country in the world possesses very large material reserves and potentials. Since the great October Revolution, there have been countless schemes to cripple the Soviet economy but all these plans have met with tragic defeat. They were not successful in the past and have even less chance of being successful under present conditions.

By obstinately insisting on SDI, the Reagan administration also seeks to draw Western allies of the United States into the sphere of the United States under the signboards of "sharing" space technology, the defense community and so forth, the actual purpose of which is to tightly tie these "friends" to Washington's adventurous military policy. Therefore, it is easy to understand why some developed countries in western Europe have expressed concerns about and opposition to the SDI program. These countries know only too well that one no less important objective of the masterminds behind the SDI is to make the security of western Europe more dependent upon the space shield of the United States and use the natural resources of western Europe to serve the global strategy of the United States, thereby consolidating the shaky position of the United States as economic and military leader of the "free world" as well as its position from the standpoint of tightly controlling all scientific-technical exchanges and research of its allies.

Another motive behind the Reagan administration's insistence on the SDI program is the huge profits of the U.S. military-industrial complex. These octopuses live on the arms race. They supported Reagan's bid for the presidency so that he would "repay" them with lucrative weapons contracts. By the year 2000, Reagan's SDI program will produce for the U.S. military-industrial complex profits unprecedented in American history, some 250 billion dollars. Of course, this makes the military-industrial complex and its representatives within the U.S. shake the most with fear over proposals by the Soviet Union on ending the arms race on earth, preventing an arms race in space and eventually reducing and destroying nuclear weapons.

#### It Is Necessary To Prevent an Arms Race in Space

The SDI program very clearly reveals the reactionary and extremely bellicose nature of the U.S. imperialists. Very cunningly, the Reagan administration has been trying to create the impression that they are only in the initial stage, in the "research" stage. However, it is inconceivable that 70 billion dollars are to be spent on "research" alone. This is more than four times the cost of the Manhattan Project--the U.S. program for the development of nuclear weapons--and more than double the cost of the Apollo program that provided for the development of space travel for a whole decade--up to the landing of man on the moon. Other facts, including tests scheduled by the U.S. for space strike weapons systems, show that this is far from being a pure research program under SDI.

If the SDI program is implemented, even in its so called "research" stage, it would still be extremely dangerous. It will place all mankind, including the people of the United States, in great danger. It will wip up a new round in the arms race, one that will be impossible to control from any perspective and will surely bring the danger of nuclear war closer than ever before. Everyone

knows that the existing number of nuclear weapons of the two sides far surpasses what is needed to destroy life on earth many times. However, peace has still been maintained as a result of the balance of military-strategic forces that has been established, as a result of the Soviet Union and other peace loving countries possessing a military force powerful enough to discourage those who would start a war. If the arms race enters a new stage, if the latest achievements of science and technology are used for military purposes, who can prevent the hotheads in Washington and within NATO from using their imagined superiority over the opposition and pushing the buttons that launch a most senseless and suicidal war?

Therefore, we absolutely cannot allow this to happen and must prevent an arms race in space. The American people also clearly recognize their responsibility. According to the results of a public opinion survey recently conducted in the United States by the WASHINGTON POST and the American Broadcasting Corporation, 74 percent of the persons surveyed are opposed to the SDI program. Some 1,300 American scientists issued an appeal to other scientists in the United States and the countries of western Europe calling for them to refuse to participate in SDI "research." On 7 November 1985, 30 mass organizations in the United States issued an appeal calling for the American people to participate in a national campaign against the Reagan administration's plan to militarize space. Many U.S. generals and colonels, many former U.S. secretaries of defense, many Nobel Prize winners, many professors and writers and numerous other well known persons in the United States have raised their voices in support of the appeal made by the anti-SDI alliance. Together with the people of the United States, the peace-loving people of the world are uniting more closely and waging a determined struggle to force the U.S. imperialists to abandon the implementation of Reagan's insane "initiatives" and reach agreement with the Soviet Union on preventing the militarization of space and banning the establishment, testing and expansion of offensive space weapons systems. All sincere and practical persons who value their lives and the lives of future generations must raise their voices in support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

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