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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

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4 AUGUST 1986

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 4, APRIL 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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## THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 1-5, 8

[Editorial]

[Text] One hundred years have passed since 1 May 1886, the day on which the workers of Chicago noisily took to the streets in a demonstration demanding an 8-hour workday as called for in a resolution of the American Federation of Labor. This struggle resulted in victory. This was an extremely important event in the history of class unity and the struggle of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. Each year since then, 1 May has been celebrated as International Labor Day, the day of struggle of the workers and laborers of the entire world, the day on which they display their strength and solidarity. In our country, when the French imperialists still ruled, the working class engaged in intense and often bloody struggle on 1 May in numerous years and, in prison, revolutionary militants celebrated 1 May in the face of enemy guns. When the working class seized political power, 1 May became the great festival of workers, of all the people, one for which they emulate to record achievements and on which they display their solidarity with the workers of all countries.

During these 100 years, the doctrine of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin has been and continues to be the scientific base, the platform, the compass of the worker movement throughout the world. On the basis of analyzing capitalist society and the mechanism of exploitation employed by the bourgeoisie, K. Marx and F. Engels discovered the laws of development of society and made scientific predictions concerning the inevitable destruction of capitalism and the inevitable victory of socialism. At the same time, they discovered the mission of the working class as the class that will dig the grave of the bourgeoisie. In the "Communist Manifesto" as well as other works, they clearly showed that capitalist society came into being at the same time as the revolutions in the modes of production and trade, at the same time as the birth of large-scale industry. This was an advance in history. However, the history of capitalism has been a history filled with bloodshed. It has not abolished class antagonisms, but only simplified these antagonisms as antagonisms between classes that are opposed to each other in every way: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In capitalist society, there are no interpersonal relations other than those based on cold cash, on the unfeeling and impersonal "cash on delivery" way of doing things. Due to its internal

laws, as this society develops, its fundamental antagonism--the antagonism between production forces and the private ownership of the means of production--becomes increasingly acute and takes the form of cyclical and structural crises accompanied by bitter class struggles to bring about the collapse of this society. When capitalism developed into imperialism, V.I. Lenin called it parasitic capitalism, dying capitalism.

Capitalism itself forges the weapons that will kill it. At the same time, it molds the persons who will use these weapons, that is, modern workers, proletarians. Only they can undertake this mission. Because, they are the most revolutionary of all the classes opposed to the bourgeoisie. They are the class that stands in the center of our times. They represent the modern mode of production. They have grown up together with large-scale industry. On the other hand, because the social status of the proletarians of all countries is similar and their struggle is international in nature, they are united on a worldwide scale in terms of ideals, goals and forces.

During the past 100 years, the world working class has experienced different stages of difficult and bitter struggle but has always moved forward. The working class began the struggle against the bourgeoisie as soon as it was born. At first, it was only a "class of itself." Its struggle was carried out by individual workers and persons, by the workers of one shop, of one industrial sector or one locality against the bourgeoisie who were directly exploiting them. Back then, they not only attacked bourgeois production relations, but even attacked means of production by smashing machinery, setting fire to factories and destroying imported goods. Back then, they were only a fragmented and divided force among the masses.

With the development of industry, the forces of workers steadily grew. Marxism-Leninism permeated the mass of workers and gradually brought a sense of organization and consciousness to their movement. Once a "class of itself," it became a "class for itself." At this point, they consciously established national and international alliances. Their struggle became increasingly political in nature, progressing from economic slogans to political slogans, or a combination of the two. On the other hand, they have had to wage a bitter struggle within the movement against incorrect ideological trends, from the opportunism of the 2nd International and the chauvinist nationalism of World War I to the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, the philosophy of the social-democrats, right wing trade unionism... This struggle has lasted to this very day.

The greatest achievement of the international worker movement was the victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new age--the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. This victory gave birth to the first proletarian state, the citadel of revolution of the working class and oppressed peoples of the entire world. Since World War II, the international worker movement has developed by leaps and bounds, both in size and quality. An entire system of socialist countries has been formed and become the factor determining the direction of development of mankind. A host of countries that are socialist in their orientation has come

into being outside the capitalist world. The working class is in the vanguard of the three tides of revolution of our times that are repeatedly attacking the capitalist world. In the socialist countries, the working class has become the master of the country, become the builder of a new society, become "a federation within which the free development of each person is the prerequisite for the free development of everyone." (1) Here, the working class has become the dominant class. Their labor is the base of the system of modern production. Through their vanguard party, they organize and lead every socio-economic process. In the lead is the working class of the Soviet Union, the greatest superpower, which is moving strongly down the path of communist construction.

In the capitalist countries, the fortress of capitalism has been and is shaking in the face of the waves of struggle by large numbers of workers and laborers. In these countries, new economic-technical phenomena have emerged. The development of production forces, the new division of labor and the application of achievements of the scientific-technological revolution have led to a situation in which social labor is being increasingly concentrated not only in the field of production, but also in the services, distribution and management. As a result, the structure of the working class has changed and more and more "white collar workers" have appeared. With this, bourgeois and reformist propaganda organs have advanced the arguments that the working class no longer has an historic role to play, that it has lost its revolutionary character and is no longer the moving force behind social processes, that this role has been assumed today by another strata, mainly intellectuals! Many reformist social-democrat parties have advanced the theory of a "social marriage," that is, class cooperation and the abolition of class struggle. In fact, however, the working class in the capitalist world continues to be the determining force in the creation of social wealth, continues to be the primary force behind social progress. Their nucleus lies within those industrial sectors that have been nationalized, within the enterprises of powerful capitalists that are equipped with the most modern means of production. There is still a very large number of persons working within sectors that are not directly related to the field of production who are also being exploited and have joined the working class or are allies of the working class. Instead of being "buried," the working class continues to be the class leading the struggle for the welfare of the people, for democracy, peace and socialism. Bitter class battles, demonstrations by millions of persons demanding economic rights, demanding "jobs in place of missiles," the occupation of factories for many days, marches for peace, marches against the arms race...eloquently prove this fact.

In the countries of the "Third World," the national liberation and social liberation movements have won large victories in recent decades. The corps of the working class has constantly grown. The working class has always been in the vanguard of the struggles against oppression and exploitation by multinational corporations, against control by the International Monetary Fund, against the policy of the U.S. imperialists of letting the consequences of the arms race, of the economic crisis fall upon the heads of the people of their country and against social inequality. A powerful wave of struggle is surging throughout such countries as Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Zaire and so forth. In these

struggles, an increasingly high sense of organization and level of consciousness have been displayed. Many political demands have emerged, such as demands for the dismantling of anti-popular social orders, for the removal of reactionary dictatorial regimes, for the democratization of social life, for the implementation of a politically and economically progressive foreign policy and for the implementation of a policy to safeguard peace and promote peaceful coexistence. As V.I. Lenin said: "...The vast majority of the world's population has, in the final analysis, been educated and trained in struggle by capitalism."(2)

During the past 100 years the world has undergone fundamental changes. This has been largely due to the role and struggle of the international working class. This is a source of pride and honor. Of course, their historic mission remains complicated and difficult and will not be completed until the ideals of communism have been achieved on our entire planet. A working class must carry out this mission under the specific conditions of its country. In view of the current complex and tense international situation, the foremost and pressing task of all workers is to struggle for peace, struggle to save mankind from a nuclear holocaust. As Gorbachev said in his opening address at the recent 27th Congress of the CPSU, peace and socialism, peace and creativity are closely linked. In the final analysis, the struggle for peace is aimed at preserving life on our planet and building a social system free of exploitation and war, a society in which "the international principle will be Peace because this one principle will prevail within each and every nation--the principle of labor!"(3)

The Vietnamese working class was born within a colonial and semi-feudal country that was neither independent nor free. They were oppressed by three strata, by imperialists, feudalists and capitalists. They have close ties to farmers. The Vietnamese working class has no workers' aristocracy nor has it experienced a lengthy period of economic struggle under the control of trade unionism as the working class of the developed capitalist countries has. It was born at a time when the feudal class had surrendered to the imperialists, when the bourgeoisie, which had emerged late and was weak, only wanted to compromise with the imperialists and when the various strata of petty bourgeoisie, although enthusiastic and spirited, were frustrated from the standpoint of ideology. Therefore, "the bravest and most revolutionary of the classes, the class that always courageously struggles against the colonial imperialists is the working class. With its vanguard revolutionary theory and the experience of the international proletarian movement, our working class has shown itself to be the most deserving and trustworthy leader of the people of Vietnam."(4)

Before the birth of its vanguard unit, the struggle waged by the Vietnamese working class was spontaneous in nature. After Ho Chi Minh brought the light of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, especially after the Communist Party of Vietnam was born, they came to the realization that to liberate themselves, it was first of all necessary to liberate the entire nation and that the only way to liberate themselves, liberate the nation was to wage a thorough revolution in the example of the Russian October Revolution. With that, the working class established a correct revolutionary strategy and method. This was the factor that enabled the working class to unite and rally the broad masses,

vigorously develop upon the nation's best attributes and combine the class, national and international factors to achieve the combined strength of the Vietnamese revolution.

With this strength, our people have written their history in a conscious and organized manner and won resounding victories over the past several decades while making worthy contributions to the great cause of struggling for the liberation of mankind from every system of oppression and exploitation.

However, a long road still lies ahead. As the leading class, our working class has the historic mission of joining the rest of the people in building a Vietnam of comfort, prosperity, strength and happiness and firmly defending the socialist fatherland against each imperialist and expansionist enemy. Our country's revolution has yet to emerge from the initial stage of the period of transition. The difficulties we face are many. In the immediate future, the working class must take the lead in the efforts to successfully meet the five socio-economic goals set by the 5th Party Congress, successfully implement the 1986 state plan, stabilize the socio-economic situation, stabilize living conditions, build the new management mechanism and advance in a worthy manner to the party's 6th Congress. As the persons who control the key arteries of the economy, our working class must restructure production and develop the economy with high productivity, high quality and high efficiency. At the same time, they must practice thorough frugality and take determined steps to protect socialist property and combat corruption and waste.

As the masters of their enterprises, the masters of the country, our working class must, through its organization, the trade union, actively participate in the management of production, display initiative and creativity with a view toward developing and making rational use of every potential that lies in materials, equipment and labor, display a high spirit of working in a disciplined and technical manner, uphold proletarian ethics and combat individualism.

As persons who subscribe to internationalism, our working class must fulfill its international obligations well, unite and cooperate with the workers of other countries, most importantly with the workers of Laos, Cambodia, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, support the struggle by the workers and laborers of other countries for national liberation and social liberation and join them in a determined struggle to safeguard peace.

To commemorate the 100th International Labor Day, our party, the vanguard unit of the working class, must grow even stronger, strengthen its class nature and its vanguard nature, strengthen its solidarity and unanimity, purify its corps and strengthen its relations with the masses so that it can lead the working class in fulfilling its mission. Every cadre and party member must cultivate the steadfast stand of the working class. This stand must be expressed in unquestioned loyalty to the party, to the people, in a determined struggle to achieve the goals set by the party, in strict compliance with the resolutions of the party, in setting an example for the masses, in displaying the revolutionary qualities of "diligence, honesty, fairness and unselfishness and in cultivating a new style of leadership and working: a dynamic, thorough and creative style.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 569.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, 1978, Volume 45, p 458.
3. K. Marx: "The 1871 Civil War in France," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 35.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap", [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 153.

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## A VICTORY OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 6-8

[Speech by Le Duc Tho to the Editorial Board of TUOI TRE Journal (Ho Chi Minh City) in April 1985, published in commemoration of the 11th anniversary of the victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation]

[Text] The anti-U.S. resistance struggle for national salvation was a war waged by the entire country to fight the U.S. aggressors for 15 years under the party leadership and in alliance and coordination with our friends in the Lao and Cambodian theater of operations.

The southern people in direct confrontation with the U.S. imperialists took up arms to wage a people's war, built the three categories of troops, and staged uprisings. In building a major regular army, we had to rely on a great rear to feed and train troops and to build and send regular forces to the South so that they could be combined into the three categories of troops to fight the enemy. The South was a great frontline and the North a great rear. The people on both the frontline and rear were of one mind to fight the enemy.

In the northern rear, the enemy also waged a war of heavy destruction. In this war, the enemy was aiming its attacks on warehouses, roads and bridges to prevent our supply and shipments to the South. Not only that, it also destroyed factories, hospitals, schools and villages--some of which along the routes of shipment were turned into bare land.

Many villages had nearly all their youths enlisted into the army. Many families had three to eight sons in the army. Many northern villages now have hundreds of surviving families of these fallen heroes. So it is understandable that our struggle could be called a fight waged by the whole country.

In the South, we formed a battle position of the people's war to drive a three-pronged attack on the enemy in three regions using the combined force of three categories of troops. By so attacking, we could only balance gradually our forces and the forces of the enemy and could control only a large part of the rural and mountainous areas. Consequently, if the war was to be ended victoriously, the regular force had to deal a punch to the enemy's nerve

center and only then could the war situation be finally settled. This was the reality of our 15-year fight against the United States.

Uprisings in rural areas to control and win over the administration were different from those in cities because in the rural areas the enemy's coercive apparatus was flimsy and crumbling due to continuous three-pronged attacks from mountains and lowlands. As a result, uprisings in rural areas to gain control was easier. In cities, the enemy's last hideouts, its defense was firmer and stronger and its coercive machinery was also heavy. The war in cities could therefore be waged only by using sappers and special action units and the mass struggle movements to weaken the enemy. Local forces could not be used to stage upheavals and gain control. To definitively win over the administration in cities, there had to be a punch by the regular force. This punch combined with the action by sapper and special units could break the enemy defense line, create favorable conditions for the masses to rise up and seize power, and finally resolve the war.

Looking back in history, we could see that victories on the battlefields allowed the Paris conference to drive the Americans from the country and basically changed the balance of forces between us and the enemy.

After the Americans had withdrawn from the country, we concentrated our forces on eradicating the puppet forces and liberating the South. Following the Paris conference, knowing for sure that the enemy would sabotage the agreement, the party Political Bureau issued a directive to prepare immediately forces for the general offensive.

At the Paris conference, we told Kissinger: Your Vietnamization plan will surely fail. In the past, with half a million troops and the bulk of its naval and air forces committed, the United States was still defeated. Now that the U.S. troops have been forced to withdraw from Vietnam and only the puppet armed forces are left, how can the United States hope to win?

In his memoirs, Kissinger admitted that this analysis was right on the mark, that the United States was in a military dilemma, and that our words went right to his heart and gave him a terrible headache. We recalled Kissinger's admission to show that after the Paris agreement was signed, the balance of forces was radically changed, dooming the United States and its puppets to defeat.

In the wake of the Paris agreement, the puppet forces, assisted by the United States, kept on fighting in violation of the accords. The southern armed forces and people struck back resolutely. Our victories in the Mekong River delta, central Trung Bo, and Phuoc Long Province exposed the puppet troops' Achilles' heel. Then the Political Bureau decided to launch the 1975 spring general offensive that lasted 55 days and nights and which started with the opening blow struck by our main forces against Buon Ma Thuot. This offensive was the fruition of the 15-year war conducted by the entire country against the U.S. aggressors and the culmination of the party's military line and art.

After Comrade Van Tien Dung and I were sent by the Political Bureau to Loc Ninh to join the comrades of the Central Office for South Vietnam [COSVN] and



the Military Party Commission for South Vietnam in guiding the 1975 spring offensive and uprising to the end, we held discussions and unanimously agreed to suspend implementation of the plan devised by COSVN and the southern Military Party Commission calling on villages, districts, and provinces to liberate themselves following the liberation of the Central Highlands. Instead, these localities must wait for and coordinate with the main forces participating in the Buon Ma Thuot, Tri Thien [Quang Tri and Thua Thien Provinces] and Da Nang campaigns to launch, together with the main forces of B-2, a final campaign code-named Ho Chi Minh against Saigon. Only in this way would we be able to quickly defeat the enemy. In the meantime, the forces of the B-2 provinces would switch to small-scale attrition and annihilation attacks and enemy proselytizing activities while readying their forces for the opening of the Ho Chi Minh campaign in Saigon. At that time, the B-2 provinces' forces would coordinate with the main forces to attack and occupy various cities. As it turned out, after the enemy was forced to surrender following our attacks against Saigon, most of its forces in the B-2 provinces disintegrated, creating highly favorable conditions for these provinces to seize power with minimal losses.

Our general offensive launched against Saigon's defense belt under the motto "Attack to Win" lasted 4 days, from 26 to 30 April. The amount of blood shed during these 4 days was in no way small. These 4 days saw the coordination between the main forces and local troops including sappers, commandos, and our bases inside the city. Though all of these troops were indispensable, the main forces played the key role. The battle at the belt of Saigon was fierce and marked by many examples of noble sacrifices.

Thousands of sons and daughters belonging to different categories of forces from all parts of the country had fallen on the outskirts of the city when peace was only 24 hours away. That was the greatness of the Vietnamese soldier. That was something we will never forget.

For 15 years, the entire country, together with the South, fought against the U.S. aggressors, each family making sacrifices and suffering death so that the liberation flag might one day flutter in the city. During these 15 years of fighting against the aggressors, we advanced from one victory to another and finally created the opportunity for the main forces to strike the decisive blow. This victory is a victory of the entire nation under the leadership of the party and great Uncle Ho. This great merit belongs to all the combatants who have fallen in all parts of the country. This is a victory of our time, of progressive mankind who supported Vietnam in its triumphant struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

CSO: 4210/9

GAINING A MORE THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF THE TWO STRATEGIC TASKS OF BUILDING AND DEFENDING THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai]

[Text] "Successfully building socialism" and "being ready to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland" are the two basic and urgent strategic tasks of our country's revolution today. Our party considers these tasks to be the responsibility of the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces, of all levels, sectors and mass organizations, of the entire proletarian dictatorship system in our country during the current stage. These two tasks must be carried out at the same time and be closely coordinated.

Following 10 years of building and defending the socialist fatherland, particularly following the two wars fought to defend the fatherland in 1978 and 1979, this strategy of the party has been clearly shown to be correct.

This strategy has gradually been concretized in the form of party resolutions and decisions by the state: the Political Bureau resolution on national defense work, the Military Service Law, the Army Officers Law and the decrees and decisions of the Council of Ministers concerning mobilization work. Together with carrying out the work involved in economic construction and cultural development, the various levels and sectors have begun to carry out the work of preparing the country and strengthening our national defense system. Some localities have conducted mobilization exercises. Some economic sectors have organized mobilization agencies and held mobilization exercises. All the people, beginning with youths and students, are gradually being provided with an education in national defense.

However, there are still more than a few agencies of the party and state on both the central and local levels that have yet to truly carry out these two strategic tasks simultaneously or closely link one to the other. This is specifically reflected in the fact that they do not have a full understanding of the party's military line, the line on the national defense system of all the people, the people's armed forces and the people's war, during the period of building and defending the fatherland and in the fact that strategic national defense planning has not been discussed in a manner closely tied to

long-term economic strategic planning. The Military Service Law is not widely understood nor is it being thoroughly implemented. The system of mobilization organizations has not been completely put in place nationwide. Many sectors have only just begun this work and some have not even started yet. As regards mobilization preparations, although more attention is being given to this matter and although some jobs have been performed, this efforts has not yet taken the form of specific policies, plans and measures, not yet taken the form of regulations or been put on a regular basis.

The fact that our entire country is building socialism and also finds itself in the special situation of having to constantly deal with a new, immediate and dangerous enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries, makes it even clearer that we have an urgent need to closely link socialist construction to the defense of the fatherland in all fields of activity and correctly apply the law of building the country in conjunction with defending it. In addition, the enemy's mainland, airspace and offshore waters adjoin ours and they are anxious to carry out their schemes to weaken, conquer and annex our country. Their hostile policy toward our country's revolution has never changed, except to become more cunning and insidious. They are trying to pursue a "friendly smile" foreign policy toward many countries but refuse to negotiate with us, to resolve issues concerning Sino-Viet relations through dialogue. They are continuing to regularly direct artillery fire against, to encroach upon and occupy many areas along our country's border, continuously killing countrymen of ours. At the same time, they are still making every effort to distort our country's revolution and looking for every way to isolate us in the international arena. In the face of such a complex situation, our party's policy of simultaneously carrying out and closely combining the two strategic tasks is a correct strategy.

The current situation demands that we reflect, in both our thinking and actions, an even deeper understanding of this strategy. First, together with grasping the economic line, it is necessary to thoroughly teach the military line of the party within all agencies of the party and state, on all levels and within all sectors, mass organizations and other organizations throughout the proletarian dictatorship system, from the central to the local and basic levels. Only by having a thorough understanding of both the economic line and the military line of the party can we reflect, in both our thinking and actions, a thorough understanding of the two strategic tasks in the work of our locality, our sector or our mass organization.

At the same time, through appropriate forms of activity and themes, we must provide an education in national defense to all the people in order to give them a heightened awareness of national defense, an understanding of those aspects of national defense in which they need to participate in peace time as well as war time and show them the responsibility they have in building the people's armed forces in every respect so that these forces can firmly defend the fatherland. With regard to youths in particular, true importance must be attached to teaching our forefathers' tradition of sacrificing one's life to save the country and teaching socialist awareness so that they see the responsibility and honor that are theirs in defending the fatherland, carry on their fathers' and older brothers' cause of saving and defending the country

and are ready to give their lives for independence and freedom, for socialism. Providing education in the Military Service Law is an indispensable program for youths, for all the people, especially cadres, if we are to gain everyone's voluntary and strict compliance. Within general schools, occupational counselling must be oriented not only toward economic work, but also toward fulfilling one's military obligation and eagerly joining the army or the officers corps.

Secondly, we must combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy on all levels and within all sectors, on the central and local levels, through specific plans and practical measures. This is an exceedingly important matter in organizing the performance of the two strategic tasks. The state must have a long-term strategic plan for the economy and a long-term strategic plan for national defense. These two plans must be carefully worked out so that they are well balanced, must constitute a single economic-national defense entity and must be implemented in a way in which they are closely tied to each other and support and stimulate each other. Only in this way can we meet both economic and national defense requirements well, from the redistribution of the population and the deploying of industrial, agricultural, forestry, fishing, communications-transportation, capital construction and other projects to the activities of the cultural, education, public health and social sectors.

In view of present circumstances, it is even more necessary that our army clearly recognize the obligation that it has to always be vigilant, be ready to fight and fight victoriously while also recognizing the obligation it has to perform economic work and help bring prosperity to the country. Combat units, when not in training, must also build roads, plant forests, plant industrial crops, produce grain, food products and so forth in accordance with the requirements of the central and local levels in order to raise the living standard of the unit and contribute to the state. Economic work demands that units appropriately revise their table of organization, tightly manage material-technical bases, combat bureaucracy and subsidization, combat corruption and waste and practice thorough frugality.

The more fully and closely the economy is combined with national defense and national defense with the economy, the more the cause of building and defending the fatherland is served, the more production is accelerated and national defense requirements are met. Our thinking should not be that "combining the economy with national defense only serves to cause problems for the economy" or that "the army's only function is to fight the enemy." These concepts are not consistent with the strategic thinking of our party with regard to simultaneously carrying out and closely combining the two strategic tasks we have today. They can cause immeasurable harm should the enemy recklessly unleash a war of aggression against our country. Because, only by closely combining the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy in peace time, only by establishing a system, establishing procedures when not at war can we quickly, systematically and efficiently put the entire economy on a war time footing with few losses when necessary while meeting national defense needs and insuring victory in war.

Thirdly, mobilization preparations must be made, made for the mobilization of both manpower and materiel, from the registration and management of reserve forces within the ministries and related sectors within the agencies of the state, so that we are ready to call inductees into the army in time of war, to establishing a mobilization system and preparing the means and technical equipment needed for national defense so that we can mobilize each economic sector and the entire economy. The state has recently issued circulars and decrees concerning this matter. Now, it is necessary to codify these circulars and decrees in the form of laws, organize their implementation and closely manage these jobs beginning immediately. This is a very large and important issue, one that has a decisive bearing upon victory in a war, one that is especially closely related to the initial period in a war. However, this is a very complicated matter, one that is still entirely new to us. Therefore, these jobs must be painstakingly researched and urgently performed. Of course, they must be thoroughly understood by all levels, especially the provinces, municipalities and the economic-technical sectors, which must perform these jobs in an effective and active way, gain experience in the process and supplement and improve upon what has already been done.

Today's war to defend the socialist fatherland is very different in some respects from the war of national liberation, both in terms of space and time, in terms of the scale of the mobilization of forces and the scale of warfare, in terms of the degree of intensity, complexity and urgency of warfare... In particular, the initial period of a war to defend the fatherland differs completely from the initial period of the war of liberation. How we view and deal with the issue that is the initial period of a war to defend the fatherland will have a very large impact upon the extent of our victory or losses in this war. This impact is not only upon the initial period, but upon the entire course of the war and the actual conclusion of the war. Clearly understanding the military line of the party, closely combining the economy and national defense within detailed, thorough plans and, in particular, making good preparations in every area for a mobilization are extremely important matters in meeting the requirements that we face during the initial period of a war to defend the fatherland and, generally speaking, the requirements involved in preparing the country to resist aggression.

Fourthly, we must build a mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people are the masters of national defense," just as we have been and are building a similar mechanism with regard to the economy. Within this mechanism, importance must be attached to firmly adhering to the principle of the party's absolute leadership of the army, establishing effective state management of national defense and clearly defining the responsibility of each sector and the rights and obligations of each citizen in the cause of defending the fatherland. Only by clearly defining and maintaining the relations within this mechanism is it possible to achieve close, comprehensive and in-depth coordination, from the scope of strategy and laws to the plan, stages and specific jobs of each sector in the work of strengthening the national defense system and defending the fatherland. Without adopting necessary policies and measures and guaranteeing their implementation by means of such a mechanism, simultaneously carrying out and closely combining the two strategic tasks amounts to nothing more than a slogan.

In the effort to gain a thorough understanding, from the central to the local and basic levels, of our two current strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland, the party committees, key leaders and the staff-planning agencies of all levels and sectors play an especially important role. These are the components that guide and organize efforts to simultaneously carry out and closely combine the two strategic tasks nationwide as well as within each sector and locality. The realities of the past several years have shown: the degree to which the two strategic tasks are thoroughly understood at each place depends, to a very large degree, upon the role and impact of these key forces.

Our country's situation and international circumstances today and for the next several years demand that all our people and armed forces, most importantly the agencies of the party and state, take a new stride forward in their thinking and actions on the basis of the results that have been achieved and the experience that has been gained in order to perform both strategic tasks well, successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, so that our country becomes increasingly prosperous and strong and fulfills its international obligation to the two fraternal nations of Laos and Cambodia, thereby proving itself worthy of being the solid bastion of peace and revolution in Southeast Asia and making positive contributions to the world revolutionary movement.

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COMBINING THE LOCAL PEOPLE'S WAR WITH THE WAR FOUGHT BY THE MAIN FORCE  
MILITARY CORPS--THE UNIQUE ASPECT OF VIETNAMESE MILITARY ART

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 13-16

[Article by Colonel General Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] In its history, our nation has frequently faced a major question: how to defeat aggression and attempts to annex our country by large imperialist powers with many more forces and weapons than we in order to defend the fatherland?

History has also proven: any leadership body of the country that mobilizes the will of all the people that says "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," builds upon the factors of a just war, achieves a combined strength and changes the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy possesses all the strength that is needed to deal decisive blows, crush the basic strategy of the enemy and win glorious victory, regardless of how large and strong the enemy might be.

The greatest advantage of a just war is that it is supported by the people because it is fought to protect the people. This permits the organization directing the war to launch and organize a people's war. However, a just war only provides the basis and potential for a people's war. The strength of a people's war is the strength of Phu Dong. Engels said: "The waves of people's war together with time will crush and smash the largest army into pieces..."(1) This strength also depends upon the talent that the leadership organization brings to the art of directing the war and guiding the arms struggle. This is the art of "a nation that wants to gain its independence must not limit itself to conventional modes of war. Coordinated mass uprisings, revolutionary war and guerrilla units everywhere--this is the only mode by which a small nation can triumph over a large nation, by which a lesser army can oppose a stronger and better organized army."(2) This generalization has been proven by the history of our nation: the coordinated armed uprisings of the two Trung Sisters; the uprising and war of resistance against the forces of the House of Liang by Ly Bon-Trieu Quang Phuc; the wars of resistance against the Sung forces waged by Le Hoan and Ly Thoung Kiet; the three victories over the Yuan-Ming invaders won by the kings of the House of Tran; the 10 year war of resistance against the House of Ming waged by Le Loi and Nguyen Trai; the war against the Qing aggressor forces fought by Quang

Trung, etc. These eloquent historical realities present a living and brilliant picture of the talent of our forefathers in the art of creating the strength of a people's war. The distinguishing features of this art were that it combined warfare with coordinated uprisings by the masses, combined guerrilla warfare with conventional warfare... The militia of the villages and the armed forces of the provinces together with those of the Imperial Court were deployed in diverse ways, ways that enabled them to hold in check, disperse and weaken fully equipped, well trained armies numbering in the hundreds of thousands, armies that had already won victory at many other places, and subsequently create a position and the opportunities needed to deliver thundering blows, defeat each strategy and scheme of aggression of the enemy and win victory.

Today, inheriting the tradition of this military art, our party, with its proletarian military views and correct political and military lines, has raised our nation's art of people's war to a new level of development and scored record achievements in the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The new development of the art of combining the local people's war with the war fought by the main force military corps in modern times is seen in the following:

--The three elements of the armed forces are tightly organized, are complete and widespread and are solidly based on national and class factors. The guidance and management of the war are centralized, unified, flexible, planned and based on a scientific, dialectical view, line and methodology. This art develops, to a high degree, the combat capabilities of each force; at the same time, it establishes smooth, close coordination among all forces. It creates an optimum strength so that specific warfare objectives on the strategic, campaign and combat levels...can be met. Therefore, this strength is exceedingly large. In the winter-spring of 1953 and 1954, the command of French expeditionary forces decided to concentrate their mobile forces in the Red River Delta and send provocative probes into our liberated zone in a vain attempt to draw our main forces into battle at places where they had the advantage in order to crush our main forces and seize the strategic initiative. However, we intensified the guerrilla war in conjunction with sending a large contingent of our main forces into battle against the enemy. We used another contingent of our main forces to liberate the Northwest, a strategically important region in which the enemy was vulnerable. With that, we succeeded in drawing an important contingent of the enemy's strategic, mobile main forces up to Dien Bien Phu, where we had the advantage, and then threw our strategic, mobile main forces into the decisive, strategic battle and won victory. In the winter-spring of 1975, through the activities of the local people's war combined with the stationary main force units plus the foothold established by our large, main force military corps, we succeeded in establishing strategic and campaign groups deployed on all strategically important fronts, thereby forcing the Saigon puppet army to deploy its forces in two large formations at either end of the battlefield (the area around Saigon and the area around Hue-Da Nang). The weak zones in this battlefield deployment were the Central Highlands and the seacoast of central Vietnam, where the enemy was highly vulnerable. We secretly sent in a contingent of main force troops which, together with stationary and local forces, launched the opening attack, a surprise attack, at Buon Ma Thuot. With that, we



shattered the enemy's strategic battlefield deployment, which led to further strategic blows at Hue and Da Nang and the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, which ended in total victory. These were the pinnacles of the art of combining the local people's war with the war fought by the main force military corps in the war of liberation under the leadership of our party.

In the wars against the aggression by the Chinese expansionists-hegemonists and their lackeys on the northern and western borders, we began to successfully apply the approach of combining the local people's war with the war fought by main force military corps under new circumstances and have begun to defeat their schemes.

To properly carry out the task of firmly defending the socialist fatherland, our party adopted as its line building a solid and strong national defense system of all the people and building powerful people's armed forces and has established the guidelines for the conduct of a people's war to defend the fatherland and the guidelines for the development of military art under the new circumstances that exist today. These are correct views, correct thinking and a correct line that have been formed through the creative application of the military arguments of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the 30 year war of national liberation, formed by developing upon the nation's military tradition while incorporating the valuable experiences of the world proletarian military system, especially those of the Soviet Union. In its views, thinking and line, our party clearly points out that combining the local people's war with the war fought by the main force military corps is the law by which victory is won in a people's war to defend the fatherland in Vietnam. It also clearly defines the role and impact of each mode of warfare as well as the impact that these two modes have upon each other in the course of a war. The vitality of these views, of this line lies in their correct and creative application by the various leadership and command echelons, by the people in the process of preparing for and conducting a war.

To combine the two modes of a people's war to defend the fatherland well under the conditions that exist today, importance must be attached to the following several matters:

--The forces of the three elements of the armed forces--main force troops, local troops and militia-self-defense forces--are widespread, have a stable, tight organization and are of appropriate size and high quality. These are the essential material base underlying the art of combining the two modes of warfare. While the size of the armed forces is important, their quality is the basic factor. The quality of the armed forces is the result of special tempering in many areas: morale, skills, discipline, physical conditioning, etc. At the same time, it is also the product of the three revolutions being successfully carried out at each place and within each field. It is closely tied to living conditions and the rules of social life. It is the result of achievements recorded throughout the country, within each area and at each basic unit in building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. Close leadership by the various party committee echelons, guidance and assistance by state agencies and the strength and stability of the corps of cadres of the armed forces also make decisive contributions to this quality.

--The local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps exist at the same time and combine as one in order to achieve optimum strength. Each mode has an independent impact and plays an independent role and is, in practice, capable of fighting the enemy independently. However, in independent combat operations, the strength of each mode is limited. Each can only complete certain limited missions. The missions of the local people's war are to wear down the forces of the enemy, to keep in check, divide and disperse the forces of the enemy, thereby creating the conditions for the main force military corps to fulfill their role. The war fought by the main force military corps plays the decisive role in wiping out large contingents of enemy forces and, together with the local people's war, bringing the war to a conclusion. The combined strength of these two modes of warfare is enormous. If these two modes are combined in a correct and skillful manner, the strength of each mode develops by leaps and bounds.

We should not, in neither our thinking nor application, emphasize one mode to the point where we give light attention to the other. This is a metaphysical approach, an approach that cuts the whole into pieces and impedes the formation of the combined strength of these two modes of warfare. On the other hand, we also should not understand or apply these two modes in a rigid way, that is, should not insist that these two modes always be combined in precisely the same manner at all times. Due to the actual situation at each specific place and time during a war, one mode or the other can assume greater importance and have a larger impact, after which both modes reach higher stages of development.

--The art of combining the two modes is expressed in the organizations that guide the war effort and command combat operations knowing how to devise optimum plans. These plans must provide for each force being utilized on the proper scale, at the right place and in an appropriate way so that it fulfills its role, thereby establishing an effective battle position, one that is an integral part of a skillful strategy. These plans must deceive the enemy and not disclose whatever strategic strikes we intend on launching. They must combine all scales and forms of combat so that we can attack the enemy everywhere, behind their lines, on their flanks...force the enemy to disperse and divide their forces. They must enable us to pin down those forces that need to be pinned down and bring about the movement of those enemy forces that need to be moved. They must allow us to quickly and efficiently take up a new battle position, always seize the initiative in every combat situation and create opportunities so that we can deploy main force units that have been prepared in advance in key, decisive strikes and achieve established objectives. Only through the combined forces of the three elements of the armed forces and the close coordination of the two modes is it possible to achieve this good method of fighting.

A people's war to defend the socialist fatherland raises many new requirements. The conditions of war have also changed. Many new difficulties have arisen. However, we also have unprecedented advantages in our favor: we are the masters of the entire country, have time to prepare in advance, have the conditions needed to forecast what our combat plans will be from the very beginning, etc.

To meet the new requirements of a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland, it is important that we possess new knowledge of this war, delve deeply into researching the laws, principles and methods of this war and, on this basis, adopt plans for applying these laws, principles and methods nationwide and within each specific locality.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. F. Engels: "Selected Military Essays," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, Volume VI, pp 199-200.
2. F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J. Stalin: "On People's War," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 27.

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FORCES, POSITION AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE DECISIVE, STRATEGIC BATTLE IN THE  
SPRING OF 1975

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 17-22

[Article by Lieutenant General Pham Hong Son]

[Text] Forces, position and opportunity are the material bases upon which a strategic decision is made, and this strategic decision must set guidelines for the buildup and utilization of forces, for the deployment of forces in a strategic position and for constantly developing an advantageous strategic position and creating new strategic opportunities in order to bring the war to a victorious conclusion.

1. The Buildup and Utilization of Forces

In each of the different periods in a war, the buildup, the position and the utilization of the forces of the revolution and revolutionary war differ because they support the strategic objectives and mode of warfare during each stage.

In the strategic offensive to conclude the war and achieve the strategic objectives of wiping out millions of enemy troops, completely destroying a large, reactionary political apparatus and totally liberating the South, our party developed, to a degree unprecedented, the mobilization and buildup of forces, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, through suitable forms of organization which insured that strategic decisions would be implemented, even when the war situation developed by leaps and bounds.

The strategic offensive that brought the war to a conclusion was based on the party's line concerning the buildup of forces, namely, mobilizing and organizing all the people for the purpose of building widespread political forces of the masses while building powerful people's armed forces consisting of the three different elements of the armed forces to serve as the nucleus of the fight waged by all the people against the enemy, thus achieving the combined strength of both political and military forces. We saw in its strategy for this offensive that our party clearly defined the role played by main force units as a lever stimulating the simultaneous development of other forces in order to carry out the most basic task of the war, wiping out the armed forces of the opposition, primarily their main force units. In the

final stage of the war, our main force units were a main force army consisting of heavily equipped combined branches that included mechanized artillery, even tanks and armored vehicles, were capable of organizing campaigns coordinated among the various branches on each campaign front and were commanded by a multi-corps, strategic campaign command apparatus so that they could destroy the command center of the enemy in Saigon, which was defended by many enemy divisions. Campaigns conducted by military corps occurred continuously and simultaneously on strategic battlefields, such as the Central Highland, Tri Thien, Quang Nam-Da Nang and eastern Nam Bo.

As regards forces, mention must be made, in addition to military corps, of the material means, grain, ammunition, petroleum products and even the additional troops that had to be fully supplied for large, continuous campaigns that took place in a short amount of time. We recorded a major success by supplying a large quantity of materiel of all types which, if not prepared in advance and stockpiled at those places where the offensive was projected to begin, would have made it impossible to promptly meet needs. Specifically, we supplied 576,963 tons of materiel and used more than 17,000 trucks and pedicabs, 270 ships, boats and barges, 300 railroad cars and many aircraft to provide transportation.

One matter of major importance in preparing forces for that decisive, strategic offensive was that of preparing strategic reserve forces and supplemental troop strength. We had one strategic reserve corps and three strategic reserve divisions, in addition to the three strong main force formations, already deployed on the three main battlefields when the offensive began. By the time of the Ho Chi Minh campaign, the High Command still had four strong divisions. In addition, we had prepared a large, 260,000 man supplemental force during the 2 years 1973 and 1974. During the first several months of 1975, we mobilized 230,000 supplemental troops. Compared to our total troop strength of 418,225 at the start of the general offensive and uprising, this was a very large figure.

Building, accumulating and making optimum use of strategic reserve units of all types are one of the important tasks in the leadership of strategy and also one of the factors in seizing and retaining strategic initiative. Building large, reserve military corps in a short amount of time and doing so without the enemy knowing that these corps are being built make it possible to achieve a decisive advantage in terms of forces and promptly seize strategic opportunities that determine the war situation. This is not something that can be done in only a few months, but must be carried out in a planned manner over a longer period of time in order to achieve large strategic results.

In the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, our main force troops played the direct and decisive role in wiping out puppet main force units, the backbone of the "Vietnamization of the war," which led to the collapse of the puppet government and created the conditions for the masses to arise. This proved that the guidance provided by the Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee in the resolution of the Political Bureau was correct: "The general offensive is of decisive significance and must occur first." The role played by political forces and local armed forces was of enormous strategic significance in the revolutionary

war. In the course of the war, these forces, which were the main forces in the strategic victory won in the coordinated uprisings in 1959 and 1960, forced the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to spread their forces thinly and cause their main force units to become decentralized and bogged down in dealing with our forces within each locality, thereby creating the conditions for our main force units to deal decisive blows at decisive places. In the final general offensive and uprising that brought the war to a conclusion, political forces and local armed forces made contributions of strategic significance together with main force units to the total victory that was won. In actuality, local armed forces seized opportunities to attack the enemy everywhere, killed or routed many enemy troops, forced the surrender of thousands of police stations, attacked roads, smashed the enemy's apparatus of control on the basic level and directly supported the masses in uprisings to seize political power within the locality, including the liberation of district seats, towns and cities. As a result of our local political and armed forces rapidly crushing the local armed and political forces of the enemy and quickly establishing revolutionary administrations, forces and mass organizations, our main force units were able to quickly move forward and meet the remaining strategic objectives of the general offensive. In particular, after the puppet central government surrendered in Saigon, practically all the remaining provinces in Nam Bo were liberated by local political and armed forces.

Even at key places attacked by our main force units, such as Da Nang and Saigon, local armed forces played a very important role by opening fire on and occupying a number of strategically important places within the centers of these cities, thus causing chaos and panic among the enemy and increasing the impact of the rout of enemy forces by our main force units. Just as in chess, one pawn was moved into the right position and the impact of our tanks and artillery was made even greater. It can be said that were it not for the participation of local political and armed forces, the victories won by our main force units would not have been as resounding or swift.

The realities of the victorious general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975 reflected the correct relationship between attacks and coordinated uprisings in the laws of revolutionary war. The experience of our country as well as many other countries shows that coordinated uprisings can only break out and be successful when the enemy is no longer capable of ruling the people as they once did and the broad masses are determined to arise in combat, when the tools of violent force in the hands of the ruling class have been paralyzed and their armed forces have collapsed or been routed as a result of an imperialist war or civil war. It is difficult for coordinated uprisings to be successful if the ruling class still possesses strong military forces. The revolutionary war fought by our people in the South was a war against aggression and a revolutionary civil war. In order for the general uprising, especially the coordinated uprisings in the cities, to be successful, we had to win basic military victories that wiped out an important contingent of puppet forces and routed these forces to the point where they could not re-establish themselves. Thus, from an overall perspective, in the course of these general uprisings, we could not only attack the enemy by means of political forces, but also had to attack them militarily and the general offensive had to be carried out first.

Reviewing the revolutionary war through the realities of the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975 and even during the Mau Tan Tet in 1968, we clearly see development that was in the nature of a law of general struggle in a revolutionary war in modern times: a general offensive must precede a general uprising and is of decisive significance and although a general uprising cannot be the primary blow, a general offensive only serves the function of supporting a general uprising by keeping enemy forces in check. An uprising in a revolutionary war must comply with the laws of revolutionary war.

## 2. Concerning Position in the Decisive Strategic Battle

Forces are an important factor in acquiring the strength needed to win victory over the enemy. However, without knowing how to utilize forces skillfully, it is sometimes impossible to win victory over the enemy even with larger forces. To win victory over an enemy whose forces are larger, the state of development of military art must be even higher. In our nation's history of resistance against foreign aggression, the enemy's forces have usually been larger than ours. Consequently, the tradition of Vietnamese military art is to use small forces to fight large enemy forces, use weaknesses to triumph over strengths. This traditional military art, an important aspect of which is establishing our position and destroying the position of the enemy so that we can, with smaller forces, achieve a strength greater than that of the enemy and win victory, reached a pinnacle of development in the age of Ho Chi Minh.

In the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, utilizing forces that were built and developed in the manner described above, we established a very effective and highly mobile strategic battlefield deployment. As a result, we achieved an overwhelming strength and won decisive victory in a short amount of time.

This strategic battlefield deployment was formed on the basis of military and political forces, of all three elements of the military being deployed at the right time and on the right front. The nucleus of this battlefield deployment was the battlefield positions taken up by main force units on all fronts, units that consisted of military corps and divisions of the various military regions and the High Command. We deployed three large main force formations in the Central Highlands, Hue-Quang Nam and eastern Nam Bo that were capable of dealing large, annihilating campaign blows to the enemy within each region and quickly coming together when necessary to give us an overwhelming position on the decisive front.

In addition to main force units, we assembled local armed forces and political forces in the municipalities, cities, district seats and subsectors to be ready to coordinate with main force units when the opportunity arose.

This battlefield deployment gave us the following capabilities:

First, we were able to attack the enemy on a broad scope and also concentrate our forces for strong attacks on main fronts. We were able to attack the enemy in all strategic regions, the mountainous forests, the rural lowlands and the cities, and, when necessary, concentrate our forces in attacks on the

cities and military, political and economic centers of each region as well as the entire South. We forced the enemy to disperse their forces to the point where even the enemy's strategic, mobile main forces could not regroup.

Secondly, we were able to strategically cut off the Central Highlands and central Vietnam, thereby encircling and isolating the enemy's northern forces, preventing the enemy from withdrawing and regrouping as a strategic force and preventing enemy forces from coming to one another's rescue.

Thirdly, we were able to quickly move concentrated forces and very quickly seize the new strategic opportunity that arose on the main front, the Saigon-Gia Dinh front.

Fourthly, it permitted us, by means of a major attack on a place that was strategically important to the enemy, the Central Highlands, to set off a strong reaction that caused the enemy to panic and quickly collapse, a reaction that was in the nature of a chain reaction within each region as well as on the entire battlefield. This battlefield deployment guaranteed that we could adhere to our basic plan in fighting the enemy but also made it possible for us to quickly shift to a contingency plan in the event that an opportunity arose, thus guaranteeing the victory of the general offensive in accordance with the law of taking a leap forward in the final stage of the war.

Our battlefield deployment reflected the art of utilizing our forces in a specific correlation to the forces of the enemy, specific from the standpoint of both forces and position. Our battlefield deployment not only involved knowing how to concentrate our forces at places and times at which the advantages were in our favor so that we could deal the enemy annihilating blows, but also involved knowing how to widely disperse the enemy and cause them to do what we wanted them to do in the course of development of the warfare between ourselves and the enemy.

Our battlefield deployment changed and evolved across the entire strategic battlefield, not just within one region or at one place. It included concentrating our forces and decentralizing the forces of the enemy, thus setting off a chain reaction of developments, from breaking up the enemy's forces to enlarging the scope of our victory and completely wiping out the enemy when the opportunity arose. Therefore, our battlefield deployment should not be understood as consisting only of the deployment of forces. President Ho Chi Minh summarized the impact of battlefield deployment in two lines of poetry:

If the wrong move is made, one has no choice but to squander two rooks but, at the right time, a pawn can bring victory.

With an effective battlefield deployment, small forces also possess large strength. Large forces have an impact that is many times greater and can achieve the strength to overwhelm the opposition and win victory with high efficiency in a short amount of time. The great victory won in the spring of 1975 as well as the great victory won in the winter-spring of 1953-1954 proved how skillful our party was in applying the art of establishing our battlefield position and destroying that of the enemy, thereby shattering a force of



millions of enemy troops, whose battlefield deployment had been stable for decades, in only a short amount of time. The point of foremost importance in the art of establishing and creating a battlefield position was concretely expressed in the selection of correct fronts and targets to attack. With the war machinery of the enemy having been deployed across the entirety of the vast battlefield of the South, we had to select the correct fronts and targets to attack in order to deal major, decisive blows to, rout and wipe out the enemy on a large scale, shatter their strategic deployment and unleash a chain reaction that would destabilize the enemy's strategic position and lead to the most decisive blow. In the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, we chose the puppet capital, Saigon-Gia Dinh, as the main front and target to attack, as the front and target that would decide the fate of the puppet army and government. However, because our forces were limited and we had to deal the enemy three successive blows in order to set off a chain reaction, the selection of the front and target for the first blow, which would have the effect of launching the general offensive, was extremely important. The Political Bureau selected the Central Highlands because it was the region in which the enemy was weakest, but was also a strategically important region, a region in which a victory of ours would strategically divide the enemy and isolate Military Region I while making it possible for us to quickly concentrate our forces on the main front when necessary. Our victory in the Central Highlands was significant from the standpoint that we wiped out a strategic military force and also from the standpoint of destroying a complete strategic defense system of the enemy. That victory made it possible, in practical terms, to establish a new position for ourselves in order to build upon this victory and turn a partial victory into total victory. Thus, we began at a place at which the enemy was weak but which was strategically important and concluded at the most critical place in the strategic defense system of the enemy--the capital of the puppet government.

### 3. Creating and Making Full Use of Strategic Opportunities

In the art of revolutionary struggle as well as the art of guiding a war effort, our party attaches very much importance to the factor of opportunity, considering opportunities to be a very important force.

An opportunity arises as a result of many factors becoming fully developed, subjective as well as objective factors and factors that pertain to us and the enemy. These factors develop as a process and have an impact upon one another. We can determine their trend of development. To create and make full use of opportunities, we must know these factors, know the laws that govern their development, take actions to stimulate their full development and limit the development of unfavorable factors while making every effort to prepare the subjective conditions needed to take full advantage of opportunities.

The strategic opportunity that had arisen for the strategic, decisive offensive in the spring of 1975 was defined in the decision by the Political Bureau in January 1975. In particular, following the victories of Buon Ma Thuot and the Central Highlands, the Political Bureau, in resolutions dated 18

and 25 March 1975, determined, on the basis of the following factors, that a new strategic opportunity had arisen:

--First, the morale of puppet forces had fallen even further. The attack on the Central Highlands had shaken both the rural lowlands and the cities.

--Secondly, we had the strategic defenses that the enemy had been building for 20 years, thus forcing them to adjust their strategic deployment.

--Thirdly, the puppet military command was beginning to fall into a state of chaos and becoming ineffective. There were initial signs of an impending major rout and large-scale collapse.

--Fourthly, the possibility of intervention by the United States once again proved to be very remote.

--Fifthly, we were still in good shape, our morale was steadily growing and our ability to fight had increased, thus creating a new strategic position for ourselves, an advantageous position characterized by a very high degree of mobility. In terms of their fighting skills, our main force troops had reached a new level of development and were capable of carrying out large-scale attacks coordinated among the various branches to quickly and systematically liberate a large city and systematically wipe out division-level units of the enemy.

Thus, by 24 March 1975, it was clear that although the enemy's troop strength was still large (over 600,000 men, including 300,000 main force troops in 10 divisions and 8 regiments), the position and morale of the enemy had weakened.

The strategic opportunity was created as a result of positive, precise actions taken by us, mainly the annihilating blow we delivered to the enemy in the Central Highlands. It also arose as a result of a serious strategic mistake made by the enemy: their hasty and unorganized withdrawal from the Central Highlands.

Opportunities arise at a specific time. Therefore, promptly seizing a strategic opportunity is a matter of decisive importance in winning victory. At these moments, time is a force and every action must comply precisely with the guideline of being "as timely, rapid, bold, unexpected and sure of victory as possible." The Hue-Da Nang campaign and even the Ho Chi Minh campaign were the products of skill in the art of seizing opportunities and creating new, continuous opportunities in accordance with the law of taking a leap forward in the concluding stage of a war. That we seized opportunities was seen in the facts that we knew the enemy, especially their strategic deployment, predicted how the war would develop, both in an orderly progression and by leaps and bounds, and fully prepared ourselves, in terms of forces and materiel, to deal with the situation while maintaining our strategic reserve forces and promptly moving our forces in order to build upon the gains made in combat. In the space of only a few days, some 400,000 enemy troops were wiped out. This would have been impossible without a strategic opportunity arising, without determined, skillful guidance in the art of organizing and commanding the many military corps and coordinating combat forces of a strategic campaign

and without mobilizing local political and armed forces to take coordinated actions. Once the opportunity arose, it demanded the strength of the masses, demanded unanimity from top to bottom, demanded rapid, timely actions on the part of everyone from the commanders of military corps to the commanders of subordinate units, from the political leaders on all levels all the way down to the masses within the political forces.

The art of creating and seizing opportunities is closely related to the art of creating and utilizing forces and the art of establishing a battlefield position. Forces, position and opportunity are the three organically related factors that create victories. In particular, in wars and campaigns in which our forces are smaller than those of the opposition, opportunities and position play a very important role in giving our small forces a strength greater than that of the enemy's so that victory can be won. As Nguyen Trai wrote: "With opportunity and position, losses become gains, small forces become large forces; without opportunity or position, strengths become weaknesses and a secure situation becomes a dangerous one. These changes can occur in an instant."(1)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Trai: "Toan tap," [Collected Works], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 117.

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POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN SUPPORT OF VICTORY IN THE RESISTANCE AGAINST  
THE UNITED STATES FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 23-31, 16

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] In his speech closing the Political Bureau conference held in early 1975 to discuss the situation and tasks concerning the resistance against the United States for national salvation, Le Duan, after expressing the determination of the Political Bureau to fight the final battle and bring the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation to total victory, said: "This decision by the Political Bureau must be communicated to all cadres, party members, Youth Union members and the masses. We must conduct widespread political and ideological work and build a strong spirit of determination to fight and win." At the same time, he also said: "We must perform very good political and ideological work within the army and among the people and encourage the entire army and all the people to display a high spirit of everything for the frontlines, everything for victory." These words of the general secretary reflected the importance of political and ideological work. Political and ideological work was of extremely important significance in helping to bring about the victory of our people in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Our party, founded and forged by Uncle Ho, has always attached importance to political and ideological work. In the resistance against the international gendarme, U.S. imperialism, our party attached even more special importance to this work. As soon as the war against the United States began, the Party Central Committee stressed the special importance of political and ideological work. The 11th Plenum of the 3rd Party Central Committee, which was held on 25, 26 and 27 March 1965, defined our task in political and ideological work as follows: "Providing ideological leadership and heightening the awareness of cadres, party members and the people are exceedingly important at this point in time. It is necessary to give the entire party and all the people a clear understanding of the schemes of the United States and the fact that, because of their new schemes and actions, the North is no longer in the period of peaceful construction, but has begun to enter a period of war. It is necessary to show the entire party and all the people the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy, show them our strengths and weaknesses, our advantages and difficulties and our capabilities as well as those of the

enemy; show them that we are winning victories; show them that we have forces, have a just cause, have the support of the entire socialist camp and the entire world; show them that the United States is suffering serious defeats, is on the defensive both politically and strategically and is highly isolated; therefore, we will surely win and they will surely be totally defeated"(resolution "on the immediate situation and tasks" of the Party Central Committee, March 1965).

One matter of utmost importance in war is to correctly identify the enemy and gain a clear understanding of their schemes and tactics. Our political and ideological work showed our armed forces and people that the U.S. imperialists were our enemy. They had divided our country, trampled upon the South and were attacking the North in a vain attempt to invade and occupy our entire country. Political and ideological work cultivated among our people a deep hatred of the U.S. imperialists. When the massacres occurred at Phu Loi, Son My and other places, our mass media were mobilized to denounce the towering crimes of the Americans and their lackeys to public opinion at home and abroad and appeal to everyone to unite in struggle against the United States. Our political and ideological work also helped our armed forces and people learn about the schemes and tactics of the U.S. imperialists and understand the differences between the policy of the U.S. imperialists and the policy of the French colonialists who preceded them. Unlike the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists did not impose direct rule, but enslaved our people through a lackey administration that masqueraded as an "independent nation." The neo-colonialist policy of enslavement of the United States was very dangerous because it was cunning and deceptive in nature. This policy, however, was the product of the weak and defensive position of imperialism. It embodied many contradictions and some very basic weaknesses.

On the basis of clearly pointing out the fundamental weaknesses of the U.S. imperialists, our political and ideological work helped everyone clearly realize that "the United States was rich but not strong." In this work, special attention was given to the struggle against the thinking of fearing the United States, of serving the United States and to guarding against the thinking of not taking the enemy seriously.

In each stage of development of the resistance against the United States, political and ideological work helped cadres, party members and the people to correctly understand the war situation, correctly evaluate every aspect of the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy, see our position and the enemy's position and, on this basis, determine their tasks, become confident and enthusiastic, become determined to fight and win victory over the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. As a result, our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people were ready to fight and work at any place to which they were called by the party and fatherland. Cadres, party members and the people believed that they could defeat any type of war waged by the U.S. invaders. Everyone displayed a high sense of self-reliance, was ready to overcome every difficulty and hardship, was determined to fight the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys for many years.

As a result of performing good political and ideological work, our party vigorously tapped the revolutionary heroism of our armed forces and people and

overcame hesitation, vacillation, the longing for peace, the desire to preserve life, the fear of hardships, difficulties and sacrifices and overcame pessimism, negative thinking and impetuosity as well as the thinking of wanting to negotiate at a time when favorable conditions did not exist, wanting to conclude the war at any price... Ideological work also helped to give everyone confidence in themselves and correct the thinking of relying upon assistance from foreign countries.

Throughout the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our political and ideological work kept our party, armed forces and people fully abreast of what our party's determination was. This determination was expressed in the famous words of President Ho: "Johnson and his clique must know that they can send 500,000, 1 million or many more troops to intensify the war of aggression in South Vietnam. They can use thousands of aircraft to intensify the attacks against the North. However, they absolutely cannot shake the iron will and determination of the heroic Vietnamese to resist the United States for national salvation. The more aggressive they become, the greater their crimes will be. The war might last for 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or even longer. Hanoi, Haiphong, a number of other cities and some enterprises might be destroyed but the Vietnamese are determined not to be afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country and make it grander and more beautiful."

As a result of this unshakeable will, our party, armed forces and people overcame every difficulty and obstacle, endured every shortage and sacrifice, fought tenaciously and bravely, won victories gradually and advanced to total victory over the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

In our political and ideological work during the resistance against the United States for national salvation, we strictly carried out the following instructions of Le Duan: "We must attach special importance to conducting very good political and ideological work in order to cultivate a deep hatred of the enemy among all strata of the people and give cadres, party members and the broad masses a clear understanding of the party's line, give them a thorough understanding of our guidelines of waging a protracted war of resistance and practicing self-reliance, give them firm confidence in final victory without fear of the United States and without any illusions of peace"(letter to the Central Office of South Vietnam, November 1965).

Political and ideological work explained to everyone why we had to fight the United States; explained that if we fought with determination and skill, we could win victory over the U.S. invaders; and explained that we had to win victory over the United States and could because we knew how to fight and win.

Political and ideological work showed everyone that the U.S. imperialists were very cruel and obstinate. The greater their defeats, the more they fought back. In their fit of temper, they inflicted heavy losses upon us. As we advanced closer to victory, we encountered more and more major difficulties. But these were the difficulties that are always experienced on the path to victory. We had the conditions and the capabilities needed to overcome every difficulty. Our cause was just, our line was correct and we had forces.

Victory would surely be ours. All we needed to do was be determined, be steadfast and make appropriate efforts and we would be able to overcome each difficulty in order to win victory.

Building determination to fight and win victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, this was our foremost task in political and ideological work throughout the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Giving the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people a firm grasp and thorough understanding of the revolutionary line and revolutionary method of the party, of the party's national defense line and people's war line was the central task in political and ideological work during the resistance against the United States for national salvation. The mass media of our party and state were mobilized to propagandize the line on the Vietnamese revolution set by the 15th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (January 1959) and the 3rd Party Congress (September 1960). This line established two strategic tasks that had to be performed simultaneously: carrying out the socialist revolution in the North and struggling to liberate the South, reunify the country and achieve independence and democracy nationwide.

Brandishing as it did the two banners of patriotism and socialism, our party's revolutionary line expressed the pressing demands and aspirations of our people at that time. Political and ideological work helped everyone to clearly understand that carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North was in keeping with the laws of development of society in the North, now that it had been liberated from the yoke of colonialism, and in keeping with the requirements of the revolution nationwide, because building the North meant building the bulwark of the revolution nationwide and building a solid foundation for the struggle to liberate the South and reunify the country. Continuing to carry out the national, democratic revolution in the South was also in keeping with the laws of development of society in the South, which was under the yoke of U.S. neo-colonialism, and in keeping with the requirement of the entire country that the North be protected in order to create favorable conditions for the North to build socialism.

In keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 15th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, political and ideological work showed everyone that because the U.S. imperialists were determined to maintain their grip on the South and would not voluntarily abandon the use of violent force to extinguish the revolution in the South and in aggression against the North, our people, acting under the basic guideline of coordinated uprisings to topple the U.S.-Diem regime, had to prepare themselves in every respect. Political and ideological work also showed everyone that coordinated uprisings by the people of the South could evolve into a lengthy armed struggle.

Political and ideological work also helped to give everyone a firm grasp and thorough understanding of our party's overall strategy in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the strategy of taking the offensive, and the guidelines under which this strategy would be implemented: gradually pushing the enemy back, toppling one contingent of enemy forces at a time and eventually defeating all enemy forces while causing the enemy to de-

escalate their war effort, winning victories gradually and advancing to total victory.

Political and ideological work helped cadres, party members and the people to grasp our party's revolutionary method: employing the combined violent force of the revolution, which consisted of the political forces of the masses and the people's armed forces; staging local uprisings in the countryside and developing these uprisings into a revolutionary war; combining military struggle with political struggle and diplomatic struggle; combining coordinated uprisings by the masses with revolutionary war, combining uprisings and attacks, attacks and uprisings; attacking the enemy in all three strategic regions: the mountainous forests, the rural lowlands and the cities; attacking the enemy by means of the three offensive prongs: military, political and enemy proselyting; combining the three elements of military forces: main force troops, local troops and guerrilla militia forces; combining guerrilla warfare with conventional warfare; combining large, medium and small-scale attacks; gaining control in order to wipe out the enemy, wiping out the enemy in order to gain control; waging a protracted fight while knowing how to create and seize opportunities to launch strategic offensives that change the war situation and advancing to a general offensive and uprising to crush the enemy and win final victory.

Political and ideological work encouraged cadres, party members and the people to make extraordinary efforts to create opportunities while preparing the forces needed to promptly seize opportunities arising from difficulties and defeats of the enemy and advance the resistance by leaps and bounds. We cultivated throughout the party, the people and the armed forces the thinking of steadfastly maintaining the resistance until victory was won. At the same time, we cultivated the spirit of continuous revolution and built upon the revolutionary-offensive spirit. Political and ideological work helped our party, armed forces and people to see that our party's revolutionary line was an independent and autonomous, correct and creative line. With a correct line, our party could achieve the highest possible mobilization of each force of the nation, combine the revolutionary forces of the nation and those of the times and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Having gained a deep understanding of the party's line, cadres, party members and the people had absolute confidence in the leadership of the Party Central Committee and were determined, for the sake of the supreme interests of the fatherland, for the sake of the nation's glorious future, for the sake of the survival of the people of the entire country, to make every effort to overcome each difficulty being faced, endure each hardship and be ready to sacrifice everything in order to charge forth and attack the enemy, fight continuously and advance the cause of resisting the United States for national salvation to total victory.

To help cadres, party members and the masses acquire a firm grasp and thorough understanding of the party's line, we waged a determined struggle against assertions that socialism in the North could "peacefully coexist" with the neo-colonialist regime of the United States in the South. On the other hand, we also struggled against the thinking of fighting a "war of attrition" and not waging a struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the South. Both of these tendencies would have led to a similar result: forcing our people to endure the permanent partitioning of our country. Political and



ideological work helped cadres, party members and the masses display a higher spirit of independence, autonomy and self-reliance. Through this work, we showed the entire party and all our people that liberating the South was the common responsibility of the people of the entire country. The entire country had to participate in the fight against the enemy, the South being the great frontline, the North being the great rear area.

Political and ideological work helped our party, armed forces and people understand that Indochina was a single battlefield, within which South Vietnam was the most important battlefield and North Vietnam was not only the great rear area of the South, but also the rear area of the revolutions of Laos and Cambodia. The peoples of the three countries of Indochina had to strengthen their close unity, support one another, fight alongside one another and win victory together over the U.S. imperialists. The Vietnamese were determined to fulfill their international obligation to the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

Political and ideological work showed our party, armed forces and people that we had the great honor of performing the national tasks of liberating the South and reunifying the country while fulfilling our noble international obligation.

Political and ideological work showed everyone that our generation had the great honor of waging the greatest war of resistance in the history of the nation's resistance against foreign aggression and that our people had the great honor of being in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of progressive mankind. Through political and ideological work, we inspired everyone to march bravely forward, overcome each difficulty and defeat the enemy.

Political and ideological work helped to show cadres, party members and the people the effectiveness of the strategic guidance being provided by the Party Central Committee headed by President Ho and the Political Bureau. The thinking embodied in this strategy was the thinking of activism and initiative, mobility and flexibility, of closely coordinating all aspects of the struggle. As a result of this effective strategic guidance, our people advanced to victory after victory in the war of resistance against the United States and, in the spring of 1975, under the guidelines of acting with lightning-like speed and boldness and taking the enemy by surprise, our forces dealt enemy forces thundering blows and advanced the cause of resisting the United States for national salvation to total victory.

Expressing the strategic guidance of the party, political and ideological work showed itself to be highly responsive to needs, especially at times that were turning points in the revolution and revolutionary war in the South.

In 1958 and 1959, when the revolution in the South encountered its most serious difficulties, when the Americans and Diem were dragging their guillotines throughout the South to kill our fellow countrymen, the political and ideological work of the party clearly showed that the enemy was not as strong as they thought they were and our compatriots in the South would never

allow themselves to be conquered by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; that only the victory of the revolution could bring to an end the suffering of our fellow countrymen in the South; that the basic path of development of the Vietnamese revolution was coordinated uprisings to put political power into the hands of the people; and that taking this path entailed utilizing the strength of the masses and relying primarily upon the political forces of the masses, in coordination with the armed forces, in order to topple the rule of the U.S. imperialists and the groups of bureaucratic, compradore bourgeoisie, militarists, fascists and lackeys of the United States and establish a revolutionary administration of the people. Carried out in the spirit of the resolution of the 15th Plenum of the 2nd Party Central Committee, political and ideological work helped to fan the flames of revolutionary struggle among the compatriots of the South. Local uprisings broke out everywhere and changed the situation, from one of serious difficulties into a high tide, from "facing the danger of being crushed and not being able to rise up" to "the masses arising" and "our achieving, in terms of political forces, absolute superiority over the U.S.-Diem regime," as observed by Le Duan in "Letters to the South."

During the years from 1966 to 1968, when the U.S. imperialists rushed several hundred thousand U.S. troops to the South, implemented the limited war strategy in the South, waged an air and naval war of destruction against the North and escalated the war to its highest level, our party's political and ideological work made it clear that the U.S. forces were not in a position of strength, but a position of defeat and weakness, a defensive position; that they had come to the South to rescue the puppet army from collapse; that sending in U.S. forces was the "least preferable policy" of neo-colonialism, a kind of colonialism that must conceal its true identity and form in order to deceive the people; that the arrival of additional U.S. forces further exacerbated the antagonisms between our people and the U.S. imperialists; that the arrival of additional U.S. forces did not significantly change the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy; and that although the war between ourselves and the enemy was becoming increasingly difficult and fierce, our people had the solid base they needed to retain and continue to seize the initiative on the battlefield, had the forces and conditions they needed to defeat the immediate and long-range plans of the enemy.

When carried out in the spirit of the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the 3rd Party Central Committee, our political and ideological work strongly inspired our armed forces and people to display high determination to fight and win, to continue to build upon our strategic offensive position and deal thundering blows to the nerve centers of the Americans and puppets during the Mau Than Tet (1968), thus defeating the limited war strategy of the United States and forcing it to de-escalate the war.

In 1973, after the Paris Agreement was signed the United States had to withdraw all U.S. and vassal forces from the South but our armed forces remained in the South, thus changing the comparison of forces in the South in our advantage. Under the new and very complex circumstances that surrounded the struggle, although our forces and battle position were maintained at many places, there were some places at which the revolutionary movement encountered difficulties and experienced losses. Through political and ideological work,

we promptly showed that the enemy was still resisting and attacking the movement at some places not because they were strong but because we had made mistakes. The position and forces of the revolution in the South were stronger than before.

When conducted in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 21st Plenum of the 3rd Party Central Committee (October 1973), our political and ideological work pointed out that the path of the revolution in the South was the path of violent revolutionary force; that the strategy of the revolution in the South was an offensive strategy; and that the guidelines governing the thinking and actions of our armed forces and people were to quickly create a new position for ourselves, quickly create new forces to the best of our ability and be determined to win final victory, liberate the South and reunify the country. Political and ideological work strongly inspired our armed forces and people to struggle and make every effort to build upon the victory that was won in the cause of "driving off the Americans" and move on to complete the remaining portion of that task, namely, "bringing down the puppets," as mapped out by the esteemed President Ho in the spring of 1968.

In late 1974 and early 1975, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the October 1974 Political Bureau resolution, political and ideological work helped to show everyone that the Saigon puppet government had quickly weakened in every respect and was gradually assuming a defensive posture; that we had won a large victory which, although only one step, was a solid step forward of important significance; that the U.S. imperialists were still scheming to maintain neo-colonialism in the South but would find it much more difficult to directly intervene, and even if they did, we were still determined to win victory and liberate the South. The situation was developing by leaps and bounds, "one day was the equivalent of 20 years." We faced bright prospects and large strategic opportunities. Political and ideological work inspired everyone to make every effort to achieve the goal set by the Political Bureau: "We must mobilize the greatest possible efforts by the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people in both zones of the country to advance our revolutionary war to the highest level of development and, by means of a general offensive and general uprising, rout and wipe out the majority of puppet forces, topple the puppet administration on all levels, put all political power into the hands of the people, liberate the South, complete the people's national, democratic revolution in the South and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country" (Political Bureau resolution, October 1974).

As regards our efforts in the diplomatic field, we gave cadres and party members a thorough understanding of our party's position of "fighting while negotiating, signing while fighting" with the aim of creating the conditions for the armed forces to complete their task. Political and ideological work inspired cadres and party members to display a high spirit of responsibility and sense of organization and discipline, display boundless bravery, lead by example and rush to the places where hardships and difficulties are the greatest. Political and ideological work had the impact of mobilizing the greatest possible efforts by the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people in both zones of the country, mobilizing all forces for the successful liberation of the South. Political and ideological work inspired

everyone to march bravely forward for the sake of the cause of liberating the South and reunifying the fatherland, for the sake of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and all progressive mankind.

The ideological struggle against the enemy was an important aspect of political and ideological work. The October 1968 Party Central Committee resolution "on the new situation and tasks" emphasized: "We must attach very much importance to intensifying the struggle against the enemy on the political and ideological front and take determined steps to defeat each psychological warfare tactic of the enemy." In their aggression against our country and enslavement of our people, the U.S. imperialists employed not only an expeditionary army consisting of more than one-half million U.S. troops, but also a huge psychological warfare apparatus complete with the most modern equipment. Struggling against the psychological war waged by the enemy was an indispensable aspect of our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation.

In the ideological struggle against the enemy, we focused our efforts on the enemy's fundamental weakness, namely the unjust nature of the war being waged by the United States. We showed how the policy and actions of the United States constituted aggression and showed that the puppet government in the South was a lackey of the United States. We clearly showed that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Accords and the 1973 Paris Agreement. We showed that our people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was a just war, that we had to fight the United States for the sake of national independence and peace.

By being coordinated with the military struggle and the political struggle, the ideological struggle against the enemy helped to crush the will of the United States to persist in its aggression. Through the ideological struggle, we made it clear that ours was the position of the inevitable victors, that the United States and its lackeys would surely be defeated. By building upon the victories won by our armed forces and people in the battles of Ap Bac, Binh Gia, Nui Thanh, Van Tuong, the Mau Than Tet and Route 9-Southern Laos, by building upon the feats of arms recorded by downing U.S. aircraft and capturing American pilots in the North...our ideological struggle helped to steadily shatter the will of the United States to win victory. Within the ranks of the U.S. Army, within the ranks of mercenary forces and the army of the lackey government, defeatism became more widespread with each passing day.

Due to the unjust nature of their war of aggression, U.S. expeditionary forces fought without ideals and their morale was low. On the battlefield in the South, the modern army of the U.S. imperialists had to fight under very difficult and adverse conditions, conditions to which they were not well suited. As a result, their morale fell even further. Dealt painful blows by our armed forces, their panic spread. Our propaganda efforts added to the blows dealt the enemy in our ideological offensive and caused their morale to fall still further. The will of the U.S. imperialists to persist in their aggression had been shaken.

Through our political and ideological work, we actively participated in proselyting enemy forces. In the resistance against the United States for

national salvation, our party viewed enemy proselyting as very important work. Le Duan said: "Breaking up the military forces of the enemy is a very important and pressing requirement. We must launch a truly widespread and strong mass enemy proselyting movement." He also said: "Winning victory over the enemy by means of enemy proselyting is as important as winning victory over the enemy on the battlefield" ("Letters to the South," 13 August 1982).

The propaganda and agitation efforts we directed toward enemy soldiers were constant. Enemy proselyting was closely combined with the political struggle and the armed struggle. We sternly denounced the schemes and crimes of the Americans and puppets, exposed their lies and cunning allegations and developed hatred of the Americans and puppets among enemy soldiers. We gave puppet soldiers and puppet government personnel a clear understanding of our policy of broad unity and national concord. We showed them the shame associated with the life of a slave, showed them the pain and suffering of our people, all caused by the Americans and puppets, and showed them the need to resist the United States and its lackeys in order for our country to achieve independence, our people to achieve freedom and happiness. Via the air waves, the voice of our just cause was heard even in the sleeping quarters of puppet soldiers and government personnel and awakened their spirit of patriotism.

As our victories and the defeats of the enemy grew larger, the morale of puppet enlisted personnel and officers declined and we intensified our enemy proselyting effort to shatter the ranks of the enemy. Adopting "peace" and "resistance conscription" as our slogans, we launched propaganda and agitation campaigns directed toward families with relatives in the armed and semi-armed organizations of the enemy, campaigns that led to large-scale, public struggles against conscription, struggles demanding that husbands and sons desert and return home, that they turn in their weapons and not go off to fight, etc. We also worked among the parents, wives and children of soldiers, organizing them to agitate among active duty enemy military personnel. We attached special importance to propagandizing and educating youths. When conscripted by the enemy, many youths who had been enlightened by the revolution became active elements of ours within enemy ranks.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys used the slogan "support the nation, wipe out the communists" to divide families, sow hatred within villages and hamlets and push some persons down the path of crime. Ours was the policy of uniting and mobilizing everyone who could be mobilized for the resistance against the United States. Clemency was extended to everyone who deserted the enemy and returned to the people. We adopted a correct 10-point policy concerning puppet soldiers.

Our political and ideological work also clearly explained our policy concerning puppet military and government personnel following the conclusion of the war in order to give them peace of mind. General Secretary Le Duan said: "Following liberation, we must appeal for unity and draw those persons who chose the wrong path back to their neighbors and villages, back to the fatherland and the people. National harmony is also harmony within each family, within each village and hamlet, harmony that brings families together, that brings concord and happiness to each village and hamlet." He also said: "In the spirit of national harmony, the revolution's policy is 'general

amnesty' for all persons who participated in political or armed organizations of the enemy. Everyone who realizes the mistakes that they made, severs themselves from their past and returns to the path of righteousness has a place in the nation's heart"("Letters to the South," August 1972).

Through the press and over the radio, we explained that our approach was to exert influence through charity and justice, to treat others on the basis of clemency and absolutely never seek revenge. Our press and radio denounced the crimes and exposed the insidious, divisive schemes and tactics of the Americans and puppets. However, instead of sowing hatred of those persons who came back to the revolution, who returned to the people, we directed our efforts toward the main criminals--the U.S. imperialists and their top lackeys. We appealed to patriotism and affection for one's fellow countrymen, affection for one's birthplace, for one's village and hamlet. Our position was to encourage everyone to unite with, love and support one another, to set aside the suspicions and hatreds caused by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and eagerly participate in the causes of liberating and defending the fatherland and building the new life of peace, freedom, comfort and happiness.

The experience gained in political and ideological work during the resistance against the United States for national salvation was very broad and valuable. As a result of fully adhering to the party's line and closely following the strategic guidance provided by the Party Central Committee, political and ideological work always took a revolutionary-offensive position, taught the spirit of patriotism and a deep hatred of the enemy to all strata of the people, gave cadres, party members and the people a clear understanding of the party's line, united millions of persons as one and inspired cadres, party members and the people to make every effort to implement this line and resolutely fight until total victory was won.

Today, we are performing the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and staunchly defending the socialist fatherland. The experiences gained in political and ideological work during the resistance against the United States can be useful to us in our political and ideological work today. We must draw from the political and ideological work conducted during the resistance against the United States the basic themes, the essential elements of this work in order to apply them in the new stage of our country's revolution so that our current political and ideological work is a solid guarantee that the party's line on the socialist revolution and its national defense line will be implemented.

Today, the task of our political and ideological work is to inspire the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people to make every effort to unite in labor and combat, in building and defending the fatherland, and be determined to defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage and the war of encroachment and occupation being waged against our country by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists while constantly improving the country's overall state of preparation and

being ready to win victory over a war of aggression of any size and in any situation should the enemy recklessly unleash such a war.

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THE CURRENT STRUGGLE BY THE WORKING CLASS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FOR A  
DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 32-36, 85

[Article by Vu Quang]

[Text] On 1 May 1986, the working class and laboring people of the entire world will celebrate international labor day, the day which, 100 years ago, was marked by the blood shed by American workers in the streets of Chicago as they pressed their demands for an 8-hour workday. Nowadays, red flags flutter in the air across the planet on this date each year, reminding us of the long and brave history of struggle marked by glorious feats of arms of tens of millions of workers in all countries. These flags call for the continuation of the struggle to liberate labor, liberate mankind from all oppression and injustice. Today, these flags remind everyone that on one part of our planet, the class of laborer continues to wage a bitter struggle every hour of every day against the policies of cruel exploitation and suppression of capitalist bosses and the ruling classes.

Following World War II, devastation and mass unemployment were everywhere. The laboring masses under capitalism intensely hated the capitalist monopolies, these organizations that supported and protected fascism, the mortal enemy of peace and the cause of the crippling of the economies of the capitalist countries and the world. In the face of the pressure generated by the worker movement, employers were forced to take many measures to provide the worker with a minimum standard of living and put into effect a number of social insurance policies. Capitalists have been put on the defensive. It can be said that during the many decades since the war, in conjunction with the temporary economic prosperity in the capitalist countries, the worker movement has won large victories in the struggle against the capitalists, the struggle to protect the rights of workers. It is against this background that revisionists have been quick to advance various theories aimed at defending capitalism, such as the theory that capitalists and labor "cooperate," the theory of "people's capitalism," the theory of the "welfare state," the theory that capitalism and socialism have "converged"... Recently, the leaders of the ruling social-democrat parties in the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria...proudly declared that their countries--places where capitalism has been deeply rooted for several centuries--have now become "socialist" countries. To the working class, this truly comes as an odd assertion to



make. What is the reality? In the countries mentioned above as well as in all the capitalist countries, there are sharp antagonisms between labor and capitalists, between the exploited and the exploiters. There are widespread signs of the disintegration of classes and signs of the impoverishment of the proletariat. These realities refute the specious arguments presented above.

Modern capitalism is different from capitalism in the mid-20th century. How is it different? The primary difference is the strong development of state monopolistic capitalism. The strength of monopolistic capitalism and the power of the bourgeois state combine within a single mechanism. The objective of this mechanism is to curb and extinguish the struggle by the working class and abolish the social gains made by the laboring masses in their many years of continuous and hard struggle. This has exerted unprecedented pressure upon the working class in its struggle to protect its life and made the antagonisms between exploiters and the exploited increasingly sharp. At the same time, the increasing internationalization occurring within the system of state monopolistic capitalism, the increasing development of international ties among monopolistic capitalists and the agglomeration and centralization of capital on a multi-national scale have turned the capitalist world into a workshop of imperialism, the representatives of which are the multi-national corporations. This situation has made it possible for imperialism to map out a common economic, political and social strategy aimed at raking in maximum profits concealed in sophisticated forms in order to deceive workers, divide workers and set the workers of one country against those of another. Now, more than ever before, facts are eloquently proving the following statements by Marx: capital is an international force. Therefore, the proletariat must be an international force.

Through the multi-national corporations, imperialism and neo-colonialism have intensified their effort to squeeze profits from the developing countries. They pay the workers of the developing countries more than two times less than the workers of their own countries. Large U.S. corporations are using the labor of poor countries to avoid paying higher wages to American workers. Because they have amassed huge profits by this method, many monopolistic capitalists are able to withstand strikes by thousands of workers that last for months, even years. The modern world is witnessing a perverse situation: at a time when millions of workers in the developing countries toil all day for a cheap wage, millions of workers in the most highly developed capitalist countries are being fired and experiencing lengthy periods of unemployment. Never before has capitalism sucked the blood of workers at home and abroad in such a sophisticated and cruel way, just like the leech with two suckers that President Ho Chi Minh described many decades ago. Never before has the working class in the capitalist world, both the developed and developing countries, had to struggle so hard against ruthless attacks by multi-national corporations as it must today.

One major characteristic of modern capitalism is that capitalists make every effort to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to upgrade production forces to a very high level of development. In the hands of state monopolistic capitalism, the enormous, unprecedented strength

of science and technology has become an entirely selfish tool. It uses the latest achievements of civilization to serve its class interests and maintain the survival of capitalism.

Facts show that the application of new technology permits the development of economic sectors that require little labor and reduces manpower needs. However, under the capitalist system, the scientific and technological revolution has caused serious social consequences. Millions of workers have been thrown out of their factories and are experiencing hard times. Unemployment has become chronic, regardless of how the capitalist economic situation changes. Monopolies and their servants in the ideological field are always lying to the laboring masses. They tell workers that they have no reason to be afraid of science and technology! To date, however, all the advances that have been made in technology and industrial production processes under capitalism have resulted in increased unemployment not only among industrial workers, but even within the ranks of "white collar workers," that is, technicians and mental laborers within the economy. Why, during the final decades of the 20th century, are the workers under capitalism still the victims of technological advances, of increasingly modern machinery? Why is capitalism still unable to use science and technology to benefit the laboring masses as capitalists are always proclaiming they are doing? Why has the right to work been taken away from millions of persons? Capitalism never provides a satisfactory answer to these questions. All the answers to these questions lie in the law of surplus value--the pursuit of profit, which reigns supreme within the capitalist economy. In all the most advanced capitalist countries, a strange phenomenon is occurring: competition among robots, modern technology and workers. The working class must contend with a new situation. They must wage a vigorous struggle to force the owners of enterprises to retain the jobs of workers and improve their working conditions instead of firing them when applying new technology.

In the decades ahead, according to scientific forecasts, the strong development of the scientific and technological revolution will continue. Production technology and equipment will undergo unprecedented changes. However, under capitalism, private ownership, the source of all misfortune, will continue to prevail, will remain just as it is today. The scientific and technological revolution cannot put an end to economic crises and unemployment, cannot serve the interests of all society. The working class must continue to brandish the banner of struggle against capitalism, against unemployment, demand reduced working hours and demand that it be the beneficiary of scientific and technical advances.

One salient characteristic of the modern capitalist world is the frenetic activities of the military-industrial complex. Monopolistic capitalist groups specializing in weapons production, warmongering generals, groups of bureaucrats within the capitalist state, the ideological apparatus and their war research agencies--all have combined to form what is called the military-industrial complex, which is the most competent propagandist and administrator of the reckless and insane arms race policy and the policy of making preparations for war. The production of nuclear weapons, the nuclear arms race and the militarization of space are generating huge profits for capitalist monopolies. Meanwhile, these enormous military expenditures have

fallen as a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the working class and laboring people. This fully criminal collaboration between weapons producers and the imperialist state administration is the foundation upon which the radical reactionaries of militarism and neo-fascism, the constant source of the threat of war, create upheavals and countless difficulties in the life of the worker.

In the arms race and in war, the worker gains nothing. To the contrary, it is the worker who loses the most. The military buildup has gobbled up large amounts of wealth that could have been used to free hundreds of millions of laborers from chronic hunger, pervasive unemployment, disease, illiteracy, environmental pollution... On the average, an investment in the military economy produces three to four times fewer jobs than an equal investment in the civilian economy. In the United States, the natural resources gobbled up by the military budget each year, if used for peaceful needs, could create 10 million jobs, that is, three times more than the number of jobs created within the framework of military production. In the imperialist countries, mainly in the United States, the state administration has cut scores of welfare expenditures, reduced the scope of the social insurance system and kept worker wage increases in check in order to support their militarist policy. These steps have been accompanied by the emergence of the most dangerous enemies of the worker movement--neo-fascism, chauvinism and anti-communism. These powers fully support and are closely associated with the militarist policy of imperialism. The entirety of the situation described above faces the working class with an urgent task: waging the most determined struggle against the arms race, the most determined struggle to safeguard peace.

Militaristic capitalist groups and their representatives are advancing all sorts of arguments to deceive workers. They allege that military production is a necessary factor in stabilizing the economy and maintaining the standard of living. Their militaristic propaganda apparatus seeks to poison workers with the thinking of being opposed to peace, being opposed to a shift in the use of the military economy to peaceful purposes. Communists and militants in the vanguard of the working class are working tirelessly to show workers that the arms race and military production are closely tied to unemployment, to fewer jobs, lower wages and a reduction in social welfare, to the most serious threats to the basic interests of the worker.

The internationalization of state monopolistic capital, the strong development of scientific and technical advances and the increasing militarization of the economy, all of these factors are occurring against the bitter background of the inherent crises of capitalism, thus making the antagonisms between labor and capital, between society and monopoly even deeper. These crises--the general crisis, the structural crisis and the cyclical crisis--overlap and intertwine, thus causing unprecedented harm to the interests of the worker.

The 1974-1975 economic crisis was the most serious stage of stagnation after the Vietnam war. It broke out in the United States and spread to the entire capitalist world. The 1980-1982 crisis was the worst recession since World War II. The serious decline that occurred in all sectors of the economy produced record levels of unemployment. As of 1985, the number of persons on official unemployment roles in the 24 OECD member countries still stood at more than 30 million. In the United States, a new period of recession began

in 1985. The number of totally and partially unemployed exceeded 14 million. In the space of only 2 years, as a result of their policy of laying off workers and closing enterprises, the owners of U.S. capitalist corporations took 200 billion dollars away from the working class. During the first year of his first term in office, Reagan cut the expenditures on social programs by 100 billion dollars, thus reducing the standard of living of the worker. These are very heavy blows to the living standards of American workers.

Against this background, the struggle being waged by the working class and laboring masses has steadily grown. They are pressing their demands for democracy, jobs, better living conditions and no welfare cuts and voicing their opposition to increases in the military budget, to the arms race, to layoffs and unemployment. Hundreds of strikes have occurred in the capitalist countries. Most typical among these were the strikes in Italy in February 1985, in Portugal in June 1985, in Spain in July 1985...in which millions of persons participated. These were the largest struggles waged by the working class of the capitalist countries in many decades. In the United States, workers have been continuously struggling against attacks by the ruling class since the start of the 1980's. In 1984, workers at 80 percent of the mines in Great Britain went on strike against enterprise owners for firing some 20,000 mine workers. This strike by mine workers was the catalyst of an unprecedented proletarian solidarity movement. Within Great Britain, worker organizations of other industries and different political leanings, including the British Labor Party, supported the struggle by mine workers in practical ways. Trade Union organizations in more than 50 countries of the world provided material and financial assistance to British mine workers.

It can be said that the worker movement in recent years has been characterized not only by the increasingly profound nature of the themes of struggle, but also by the increasing variety of forms of struggle employed, such as the "warning" strike, the "rotating" strike (rotating from one place or enterprise to another place or enterprise), protest demonstrations by workers, the organizing of national action days and, the highest forms of all, the occupation of enterprises, the blockading of enterprises... Of these forms, strikes against mass layoffs, as staged by British mine workers, are the most common form in the current stage.

Besides the changes that have occurred in working conditions and the circumstances surrounding the struggle, a new phenomenon has also emerged within the working class, it is the rise in the number of "white collar" workers (workers who are not manual workers) and the decline in the number of "blue collar" workers (manual workers). This is an inevitable trend, one consistent with the modernization of production. In Great Britain, manual workers have become the minority in the workforce. However, in the struggle against capitalism, manual workers have a stronger tradition, a more determined spirit and a higher sense of class solidarity. This situation raises a new issue, namely, the need to unite both of the above mentioned components of labor within a common anti-exploitation front. This is a matter of pressing importance in the worker movement and the activities of trade union organizations today.

Today, the working class of the world is not confined to the developed capitalist countries, but is growing vigorously in the developing countries. In the developing countries that are following the capitalist path, the working class, although still young, has grown quickly and is emerging in the international arena as a very important force. They must fight both foreign capitalists and exploiters at home. In the course of their struggle, they are gradually being reorganized. Their class consciousness and political maturity are also developing. Economically, they are the targets of brutal exploitation by native capitalists and multi-national corporations. Politically, worker organizations of all tendencies, especially social-democrat reformism, seek to win their support. This situation demands that the worker movement in this region combat attempts to divide it, combat trends toward class cooperation with capitalists and continue to brandish the banner of class struggle of the working class.

At a time when the situation presented above is unfolding within the capitalist countries, in the socialist countries, the working class has been freed from all oppression and exploitation, has truly become the master of society, nature and itself, is leading the cause of building the new society, bringing happiness back to all the people and ushering in a brilliant future for mankind. This further inspires and encourages the working class of the capitalist countries to wage a determined struggle for the sake of its vital interests.

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## THE WORKING CLASS OF VIETNAM--PAST AND PRESENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 37-42

[Article by Pham The Duet]

[Text] On 1 May 1986, the working class and laboring people of Vietnam, together with the workers and laborers of the entire world, solemnly commemorate the 100th International Labor Day. Exactly 100 years ago, on 1 May 1886, some 340,000 American workers staged a demonstration to demand an 8-hour workday, thereby ushering in a brilliant period of struggle by the working class of the entire world. Four years later, on 1 May 1890, a great demonstration by the working class took place in many countries at once: the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Rumania and Holland. On that occasion, Friedrich Engels added the following inspiring words to the preface to the "Communist Manifesto": "...Even today, as I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and North America are recounting their fighting forces... Today's scene will show the capitalists and landowners of all countries that the proletarians of all countries have truly united with one another."(1)

During this period, the working class was just coming into existence. Its birth was the result of the French colonialists opening plantations, mines, roads, machine-repair works, etc. Bankrupt peasants from many different regions were drawn here to "sell themselves for a few sou." And, with that, they became the working class.

In the first stage of development, development by French capitalism (during the final years of the 19th century), our country's working class numbered about 50,000 persons. By 1929, with the second stage of development, colonial development by the French colonialists, our country's working class had grown to 220,000.

Thus, the working class of our country emerged at the time when capitalism was entering the stage of imperialism, socialism had begun to appear with the birth of the great Soviet Union and the working class had become the center of the age.

As soon as it was born, Vietnam's working class embodied the fine qualities of the international working class: a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, the sense

of organization and discipline and the proletarian international spirit. At the same time, our country's working class possessed certain unique characteristics of its own: it was born before the domestic bourgeoisie came into being; was enlightened by Marxism-Leninism at an early date; acquired the leadership of a political party at an early date; was a homogenous class, a class that had no workers' aristocracy; was not under the influence of reformism; and had close ties to peasants and the other strata of laboring people. These factors explain why Vietnam's working class has always possessed the spirit of thorough revolutionary struggle, has always been the central and leading force in revolutionary struggles.

As a result of being severely oppressed and exploited and its blood being the blood of an unyielding and heroic people, our country's working class continuously arose in struggle against the greedy and cruel owners. At first, the struggles were spontaneous and uncoordinated. Gradually they evolved into protests by collectives of workers against overseers. They wrote and signed petitions demanding higher wages and reduced working hours, voiced their opposition to wage penalties, beatings and so forth. After 1900, many strikes occurred, typical among which were the strike at the IUCI Company in May 1909 and the struggle by the students of the vocational school and the workers of the Ba Son Company in 1912, in which Ton Duc Thang participated.

These struggles opened the way for scores of subsequent struggles and were the basis upon which mass organizations and the party organization were established within the working class.

From spontaneous to conscious and organized, the struggles of the working class steadily developed and won increasingly large victories, which led to the formation of the active rudiments of the trade union in the form of organizations of seamen, of factory, plantation and mine workers. In particular, when the light of the Russian October Revolution reached Vietnam, the struggle of our country's working class, as if injected with new strength, grew and assumed a new quality through the efforts of the great revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc, through the "proletarianization" movement of revolutionary militants and through the preparations made to found the Indochinese Communist Party. The laborers within the industrial sectors were gradually reorganized in different forms of associations, such as the Friendship Association, the Mutual Savings and Loan Association, the Association of Tailors, the Matrimony Association and so forth. These were the basis of the clandestine trade unions that subsequently developed. The "proletarianization" movement brought Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary militants into activities among workers, the purposes of which were two-fold: to transform themselves and organize the revolutionary movement among the mass of workers. As a result, on 28 July 1929, the Tonkin Confederation of Red Trade Unions--the forerunner of the present day Vietnam Trade Union organization--was born. This organization grew rapidly in Hanoi, Haiphong, Quang Ninh, Nam Dinh, Vinh, Saigon-Cho Lon and at many plantations and mines.

Under the direct leadership of the party, the activities of the Red trade unions steadily grew in strength and the struggle of workers at mines, plantations and factories became a movement. The highlight of this period was the fact that, under the leadership of the party, the revolutionary movement

of workers combined with the struggle being waged by peasants and created a large national, democratic, revolutionary force, a force that had the common goal of struggling against the imperialists and feudalists, a force that fanned the intense flames of revolution in 1930 and 1931, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe Tinh Soviets. This movement together with the struggles for the freedom to establish trade unions, for the livelihood of the people and democratic rights that took place during the years from 1936 to 1939 were revolutionary exercises led by the Indochinese Communist Party to make active preparations for the general uprising to seize political power in August 1945.

During the days of the general uprising, workers everywhere stood shoulder to shoulder with peasants, held high the banner of revolution, were in the forefront of the forces arising to seize political power and went on to participate in building and defending their young democratic republic.

During the 9 year resistance against France, workers in both the combat zone and the free zone made every effort to produce weapons and ammunition for the battlefield and manufacture farm implements for agricultural production. Under the leadership of the party and Trade Union, workers in the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy secretly and bravely sabotaged the enemy economy and defeated the plan of the French to "use war to support the war." When the enemy withdrew from the North, it was the working class who protected equipment and machinery so that it could be turned over to the revolutionary administration.

After 1954, under the yoke of American-puppet control, the workers of the South continued their steadfast struggle for civil and democratic rights. Through many forms of activity, sometimes covert, sometimes clandestine, that combined lawful and unlawful struggle, political struggle and armed struggle, workers tenaciously and bravely fought the enemy, achieved a combined strength and contributed along with all our armed forces and people to bankrupting each war strategy of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. In the great general offensive and coordinated uprisings in the spring of 1975, workers throughout the South arose, took control, protected assets, participated in establishing the new administration, actively restored and developed production and maintained political security and social order and safety.

In the North, the period following 1954 was a period of brilliant development for Vietnam's working class. Under the party's economic line, hundreds of worksites, factories and state farms sprung up everywhere. The working class grew quickly, truly became the force in the vanguard of the three revolutions, capably participated in socialist transformation and socialist construction, made worthy contributions to the successful completion of economic recovery and development plans, to the building of a stable, strong North and to firmly defending the North while competently supporting the South. During the years of the U.S. imperialists' insane air attacks on the North, the working class, along with the rest of the people, displayed a tenacious will, displayed intelligence and creativity in each field of production, communications and transportation, voluntarily joined our main forces, organized combat self-defense forces...to support and share the fighting with the South.



Since the complete reunification of the country and in keeping with the party's socio-economic development line, the working class of the entire country, along with the rest of the population, has made every effort to overcome the difficulties caused by the 30 years of war and endured every sacrifice and shortage in order to build the material-technical bases of socialism nationwide while fulfilling our international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

The historic role and mission of Vietnam's working class have always been closely linked to the historic role and mission of the world's working class. As we know, one of the first organizations through which the working class of Vietnam struggled was the organization of the seamen on the merchants ships of the French capitalists that served the Saigon-Hong Kong and Saigon-Marseilles routes. These seamen came from many different colonies in Asia, Africa... Although their nationalities differed, although the color of their skin differed, although they spoke different languages, they were all poor, were all slaves and they arose together against the greedy, rich ship owners. And, it was these very seamen who joined Ton Duc Thang in raising a flag in support of the Russian October Revolution aboard a ship of the French imperialists.

The success of the Russian October Revolution and the birth of the first stage of the working class and laboring people in the world profoundly influenced the thinking and feelings of the young working class of Vietnam. During those years, leaflets supporting the Soviet Union, supporting the October Revolution appeared in our country each time 1 May and the anniversary of the August Revolution were celebrated. From the time that the party assumed leadership, especially from the time that the administration was established, our country's worker movement has developed increasingly close ties to the international worker movement.

In the resistance against France and especially in socialist construction in recent decades, the working class of Vietnam has increasingly shown itself to be an integral part of the international working class. In particular, in the struggle against fascism in World War II and against the U.S. imperialists' preparations for nuclear war, in the struggle to safeguard world peace, the working class of Vietnam has, through its concrete actions, closely coordinated with the working class of all countries and oppressed nations in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, the largest organization of the working class of Vietnam, has been an active member of the World Federation of Trade Unions for many years.

The history of the formation and development of Vietnam's working class has been the history of tenacious revolutionary struggle. Vietnam's working class is still very young and is not large. However, it has always stood in the center of the nation's historic events. It is the class that represents the most progressive mode of production, the class which, together with farmers, forms the main force army of our country's revolution. It has carried on and developed upon the glorious tradition of struggle of the nation of Vietnam.

Today, our entire country is engaged in a new fight, is carrying out the greatest, most profound and most thorough revolution in history: the

socialist revolution nationwide. In addition, we must always maintain our vigilance in the face of the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and defend the socialist fatherland. At the same time, our international obligation is also very large. Vietnam's working class is always in the forefront of these important tasks.

To discuss socialism is to discuss industrialization. Socialist industrialization is the central task throughout the period of transition in our country. The working class is the decisive force in socialist industrialization. In the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, developing agricultural production is the front of foremost importance. The working class has the important, constant task of launching emulation movements to produce, practice frugality, make technological improvements and raise labor productivity in industry and competently support the development of agriculture.

Today, our country's working class has in its hands some of the strongest and most modern material-technical bases. In the past 10 years alone, we have constructed more than 300 state level projects and created a significant amount of new production capacity within such key economic sectors as the power sector, the coal sector, the cement sector, the mechanical engineering sector... Also during this period, 35 to 37 percent of total investment capital has been invested in industry. As a result, the fixed assets within industry have increased 2.5 times. The number of state-operated enterprises has increased 1.4 times. The number of workers has increased 1.3 times. Consequently, industrial production has grown at the annual rate of 8.1 percent.

The working class has not only had a direct impact upon industrial production, upon scientific-technical research, but has also had a direct and increasingly widespread impact upon every other sector of the economy, most importantly agriculture. This is seen in the development of scores of new crop varieties and breeds of livestock, in irrigation, drainage, the preparation of fields and the services, in the production of fertilizer, pesticides and so forth. It can be said that with each passing day, the activities of the working class, of industry have increasingly participated in the effort to raise crop and livestock yields, thus helping to solve the critical problem of our society today--the grain and food problem.

However, due to the circumstances surrounding its birth and growth, Vietnam's working class has certain weaknesses: there are not many veteran or traditional workers; the percentage of workers in the higher job grades is very low; the number of workers has grown rapidly in recent years but because our conditions and level of industrial production are not highly developed, the working class still embodies, to a large degree, traits of the class of farmers; the industrial style and the sense of organization and discipline of the working class are still poorly developed.

Understanding these special characteristics of the working class is extremely necessary in the process of carrying out the socialist revolution in our country.

We must teach and encourage workers to build upon the glorious traditions of the class and nation while making every effort to overcome their weaknesses and to grow and excellently complete the important tasks of the class and nation. In the immediate future, the following several jobs of primary importance must be performed well:

First, we must steadily increase the size and improve the quality of the working class. This is a constant task, one that encompasses many areas and must be performed together by many organizations, from the party and state to the mass organizations.

By means of political and ideological education, by teaching tradition in coordination with various management measures and the proper implementation of systems and policies, we must cultivate among workers class pride, the spirit of collective ownership and the sense of organization and discipline. These must be given concrete expression in high labor productivity, high quality work and high efficiency on the job, in the attitude of waging a determined struggle against negative phenomena within one's unit and in society and establishing a scientific workstyle, in conscientious, diligent and creative labor. These are the ethics, the conscience of the socialist worker.

In conjunction with political and ideological education, we must gradually build and improve the economic management mechanism in order to guarantee the autonomy of basic units in their production and business and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring masses. At the same time, we must restructure production and reorganize labor to insure that each person has a job and works with high efficiency and productivity. These issues are not solely economic. They are also social and ethical issues, are the issues involved in building the working class.

In our efforts to build the corps of workers, attention must be given to providing skill training to workers, especially to young workers. To date, only about 30 percent of the direct production workers in the various sectors of the industrial economy have received training in formal classes. This has kept labor productivity, product quality and economic efficiency from rising. This situation demands that each basic unit, each sector and the entire country adopt plans for providing supplementary skill training to veteran workers and systematic training to young workers. Specific measures must be enacted to train a corps of skilled workers, workers who are leaders in their fields and workers in the traditional trades. Facts show that many famous products have been developed by traditional trades, such as the bronze casting trade, the silk weaving trade, the pottery-ceramics trade and so forth. Therefore, providing training in the traditional trades is an issue that must be addressed, the sooner the better.

Secondly, in view of the current wage and price situations, the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants is a matter that must be given special attention. The prerequisite to stabilizing prices and the standard of living is developing production. Therefore, as mentioned above, we must quickly improve the economic management mechanism, restructure production, reorganize labor, streamline the indirect apparatus, eliminate unnecessary intermediary elements and provide jobs for displaced workers. On this basis,

we must develop production and expand the payment of contract wages and piecework wages. The trade unions must join with state agencies in re-examining wage, price and social insurance systems and policies and all other subsidies and allowances and adjusting them along lines that provide incentive for production and guarantee the legitimate interests of the worker. The trade unions must coordinate with the administration on their level in creating the conditions for manual workers and civil servants to participate in the household economy in order to overcome some of the difficulties being encountered in everyday life.

In the recent past, especially since the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, some specific steps taken with regard to prices, wages and money have been marked by mistakes and shortcomings, which have adversely affected production and the standard of living. We must resolutely and promptly correct these mistakes and shortcomings in order to accelerate production, stabilize and gain control over the market and prices and stabilize the standard of living of the laboring people, most importantly the standard of living of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. Lenin taught: "The first task is to save the laborer. Mankind's most important production forces are workers and laborers. If they survive, we will be able to save and restore everything."(2)

Thirdly, we must intensify the building of the party among the working class and agitate among workers to participate in party building. This is a large and very important job, one that must be performed on a regular basis. However, in recent years, full attention has not been given to this work at certain times and places. At present, workers only make up about 10 percent of party membership. The number of key cadres of the party and state on the various levels who come from a worker background is not high either. Meanwhile, some young workers have no interest in the activities of mass organizations, are hesitant about having a close association with party members and there are even persons who do not want to join the party.

When preparing for and holding the party organization congresses on the various levels as well as when making preparations for the 6th National Congress of the Party, basic units must arrange for workers to contribute their opinions to the documents of the party congress and criticize cadres and party members. At the same time, they must introduce to the party outstanding workers so that they can be trained and accepted into the party. We know that the communist party is the nucleus, is the vanguard unit of the working class. The first place that the party must be developed is among the working class. It is there that we must train for the party outstanding cadres who possess good qualities, are competent, know how to perform their job and make sacrifices throughout their lives for the cause of the party, of the working class.

The tradition of Vietnam's working class is a very heroic and glorious tradition. The mission of Vietnam's working class is a most noble one. Its future is also very bright. These are entirely objective factors. In view of the fact that our economy is experiencing many difficulties, the tasks that confront the working class are exceedingly large. To help bring about a change in the socio-economic situation, a change in the direction of

eliminating the style of management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, let each manual worker and civil servant grow and be worthy of the tradition of his class. The trade union organization must fulfill its task as the largest organization, as the school of communism, as the school of economic management and state management of Vietnam's working class.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 526.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, p 430.

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TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 43-49

[Article by Hoang Xuan Tuy, head of Secretariat of the Central Education Reform Commission]

[Text] Editorial Note: beginning in this issue, in order to tap the intellect of cadres, party members and the people and enable them to contribute to the formulation of the line and policies of the party, TAP CHI CONG SAN will carry a section entitled "Toward the 6th Party Congress." In this section, we will publish opinions contributed by readers nationwide and by overseas compatriots to the formulation of socio-economic strategy during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism within our country. It is hoped that readers near and far will enthusiastically participate by sending articles to us in order to make practical contributions to preparations for the 6th Party Congress.

Bringing About Changes in Education

Today, following 40 years of revolution under the leadership of the party, our once backward country, a country in which more than 90 percent of the population was illiterate, has a relatively well developed, nationwide socialist system of education, a system that encompasses all levels of education: child care centers, kindergartens, general schools, supplementary education schools, trade training schools, vocational middle schools, academies, colleges and post-graduate facilities. The network of schools reaches everywhere. At present, more than 3 million children are enrolled in child care centers and kindergartens, 11,767 students are enrolled in general schools and more than 300,000 students are enrolled in trade training schools, vocational middle schools, academies and colleges. One of every four persons is attending school. Millions of young students have become laborers in every region of the fatherland, become brave soldiers who have recorded imposing feats of arms and contributed to the struggle for national independence and socialism, for the reunification of the country. The education system has trained a corps of scientific and technical cadres consisting of more than 1 million persons of all levels of education, all occupations. It has trained a rather large corps of manual workers who are educated and skilled.

During the past several years, in the face of countless difficulties, the schools have maintained the "two goods" emulation movement and initiated educational reform. Many localities and schools have taken creative steps to implement the education line and guidelines of the party. As a result, positive changes have gradually occurred in the quality of education. Most obvious are the changes that have occurred in the outlook of the leaders of localities and the education sector concerning the nature of the general school as a school that teaches basic knowledge, teaches labor and general technical skills, provides occupational counselling and teaches a trade; concerning the need to closely tie education to efforts to meet the socio-economic goals of the entire country and each locality; concerning the need to closely link teaching and learning to productive labor and the need to apply technical advances in production and everyday life. Advanced model units, heroic collectives and individuals and national emulation warriors have emerged on the education front.

These progressive units and individuals show that we can appropriately develop education regardless of the difficulties being faced.

However, the changes mentioned above are only initial changes and do not constitute a whole system. There are still many shortcomings and weaknesses. Generally speaking, these shortcomings and weaknesses exist in the following three areas of basic importance:

First, there are shortcomings and weaknesses with regard to the quality of education. The school has not done enough to teach the young generation the concept of being ready to serve anywhere and perform any job required by the fatherland. Pragmatic thinking, the fear of hardships and difficulties, egalitarianism and the lack of revolutionary ambition and ideals are still quite widespread among youths and students. There are many trades that are necessary for socialist construction which only a few persons want to learn or which persons learn only when compelled to do so. Graduates of colleges, academies and vocational schools usually prefer to work in the municipalities and cities. Generally speaking, instruction is still largely oriented toward purely academic subjects. Theory is divorced from practical application, from productive labor. The majority of general school students want to learn in order to go to college. Colleges, academies and vocational schools have not restructured their subject matter or training programs, formulated plans for scientific research and experimentation, planned training and so forth on the basis of socio-economic requirements and goals. Full attention is not being given to teaching aesthetics, to physical education or to providing an education in national defense. The physical fitness of students is declining.

Secondly, there are shortcomings and weaknesses with regard to the scale and rate of development of education. At present, there are still more than 7 million children, two-thirds of the number of children of pre-school age, who are unable to attend a child care center or kindergarten. The popularization of level I education has not been completed and is far from completion in the mountains and the Mekong Delta. Not much has been done to complete the popularization of level II education (basic general school education). The number of college, vocational middle school and trade training school students has declined compared to 5 years ago (there were 150,000 college students in

1980, only 120,000 in 1985). The rate of development of education and training is very slow compared to the growth of the population and the requirements of the revolution. After 1975, there were 35 students per 10,000 persons. Today, there are only a little more than 20 per 10,000 persons. The youths and laborers of our country are intelligent, diligent and creative. However, because the development of education is still slow, because we have not assigned jobs to or utilized these persons in a way that is rational...these potentials have not been cultivated or fully developed.

Thirdly, there are the shortcomings and weaknesses in educational work. Our corps of scientific, technical and professional cadres, although rather large, lacks coordination and balance and is not efficiently deployed. In some sectors, such as the mining-geological projects sector and the forestry sector, in the collective economy and the household economy, there is still a very serious shortage of cadres. Meanwhile, in the large municipalities, in the cities and at colleges, there are still many scientific and technical cadres who are not being utilized or correctly utilized in the field for which they were trained. Many important industrial sectors, such as the sectors that process agricultural, forest and marine products, the industrial biology sector and so forth, have few specialists and leading cadres. The flow of students after graduation from basic general schools is still irrational. This has made it more difficult to provide occupational counselling and prepare youths for productive labor and has caused a lack of balance among the various education and training sectors. The method of formulating education and training plans is inappropriate, is still mechanical and simply imitates the approach taken in a number of economically developed countries. Student recruiting and training plans are not closely tied to the plans for the utilization of graduates. Some sectors (such as petrochemical sector, the automation sector...) train cadres for which there is little or no need (there are currently many more railroad engineers than there are locomotives and railroad cars. The education system is still rigid and not compatible with our country's socio-economic situation. The methods of teaching and learning are largely academic in approach and require a complete program, teachers, classrooms, equipment and so forth at a time when we are unable to provide these conditions. Many other forms of learning are being given light attention. Formalism, a penchant for diplomas, the failure to attach importance to the essential worth of a particular level of education, to the returns from training and so forth are still widespread within the education sectors and in society.

There are many reasons for the shortcomings and weaknesses described above. Just as we emerged from several decades of continuous war, the imperialists and reactionaries launched a border war of encroachment and occupation and a wide-ranging war of encirclement and sabotage against us. Our material-technical bases are very underdeveloped and backward and were heavily damaged in the war. The difficulties we face from the standpoint of the economy and living conditions are acute. The economic management mechanism and the social management mechanism are still characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, which has very seriously curbed the display of dynamism and creativity by the various education sectors. We do not have a long-term strategy or plan for socio-economic development to lay the foundation for a strategy and plan for the development of education. However, the main causes



of these shortcomings and weaknesses continue to be subjective causes. Education, as well as many other fields of activity, must comply with certain laws. However, there have been times when we have failed to grasp and act in accordance with these laws. Then, because we were impetuous and subjective, we caused harm that will take many years to overcome. We have failed to fully understand the role played by education in socio-economic development and failed to realize that among the various factors of socio-economic development, the human factor is the most important and can be the decisive factor. Generally speaking, we have still not invested an appropriate amount of effort and money in the "cultivation of humans." The Party Central Committee has yet to hold a symposium to discuss education. The Council of Ministers has also rarely discussed this issue and has not discussed it in depth. Generally speaking, the various levels of the party and the local administrations and many economic and social sectors still give light attention to educational work. Investments in education account for only a very small percentage of the total investment in the socio-economic system. The corps of teachers, cadres and personnel of the education sector do not hold a worthy position in society and appropriate attention has not been given to building, training and looking after the needs of this corps. The majority of schools are in a state of disrepair and suffer from a serious shortage of equipment. Students do who just enough to get by are widespread. Therefore, education is not exerting its full impact in stimulating socio-economic development.

Generally speaking, the education sector, from leadership and management cadres to the corps of teachers, students, pupils and even the families of students, still holds firmly to a number of views of the old society concerning education: an emphasis on teaching and learning composition; the separation of theory and practical application; the teaching and learning of academic subjects being divorced from the teaching and learning of an occupation, from productive labor; getting an education in order to acquire status... The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, the Trade Training General Department and the Commission for the Protection of Mothers and Children are decentralized, are divided and have few ties to one another. In addition, their thinking is conservative and stagnant and they have been slow to concretize the education line and requirements of the party and state, slow to take steps and approaches that are compatible with the characteristics of our country during the initial stage of the period of transition. The bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in the management mechanism of the education sector have also greatly impeded the development of education.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, the socialist revolution in our country places very many demands upon education. Education plays a very important and large role in our three revolutions today. Education cannot be considered a non-production component that is purely a welfare service, is a heavy burden upon the economy. Education has the important task of completely changing the quality of the labor force, the most important component of production forces, and also helps to strengthen and perfect the new production relations. Education is an important factor in human strategy. Thus, education must become an integral part of the social production system and be closely linked to socio-economic development. The large tasks that lie ahead

during the balance of this century and the first years of the next century will be carried out by those persons who are attending school today. Consequently, we must immediately develop a correct understanding of the position and role of education and do everything possible to develop it in the right direction. We must also fully research the characteristics of our country, of our nation and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the youths and laborers of our country so that we can take appropriate steps and approaches.

The goal of the education system is to train the new laborer, a laborer who possesses patriotism and socialist ideals, is in good health, possesses good personal qualities, possesses the knowledge and skills of a trade and is ready to join the army to defend the fatherland or accept a job in productive labor that is consistent with the division of labor within the locality and nationwide. Our country's labor force must not only be suited to and prepared for the level of socio-economic development achieved during the initial stage and throughout the period of transition to socialism in our country, but must also be able to learn the latest achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in the world.

To achieve this goal and successfully complete the tasks of education, mainly between now and 1990, we must solve the basic problems that face each education sector:

Pre-school education must be unified, must consist of a system of child care centers and kindergartens and have the aims of raising children well and cultivating in them the initial fundamentals of the character of the new, socialist man. This will provide favorable conditions for achieving high quality in general school education and expanding the cause of women's liberation. However, there are still millions of children who are unable to attend a child care center or kindergarten. Therefore, in conjunction with expanding the network of child care centers and kindergartens and improving the quality of child care, measures must be taken to instruct mothers in how to raise children within the family by scientific methods.

The general education sector faces two large and basic problems: popularizing education and changing the nature of the school. We must try to complete, by 1990, the popularization of level I education among children of school age; the popularization of level II education within the municipalities, cities, delta areas and concentrated economic zones as well as among the cadres of the collective economic sector; and the popularization of level III education among young workers and persons within the state-operated economic sector. Not all basic general school graduates can enroll in middle schools, trade training schools or vocational middle schools. However, these graduates are still not fully capable of truly participating in labor. Consequently, the Ministry of Education should research the establishment of a type of informal, general middle school that provides an education, although not complete, in academic subjects and also teaches a trade that is consistent with the needs and division of labor of society. This type of school should be organized by state-operated and collective production units and the people on their own with assistance from the state in the areas of teachers and the management of the education program and subject matter. This would be a preparatory step

for the popularization of middle school education. We must also have a system of special schools and classes so that we can select superior students and train gifted persons for the country. At the same time, we must gradually upgrade current general schools to schools that teach academic subjects and provide an education in labor, a general technical education, occupational counselling and general trade training. When they graduate from school (basic general school and middle school), students must have achieved a certain level of academic education and begun to be prepared in terms of the concept of labor and the skills of an occupation. Subject matter and programs of education will be revised in the direction of providing a comprehensive education. The teaching of foreign languages at general schools will also be expanded, with importance attached to quality. The program of instruction in Marxism-Leninism will be improved in a manner consistent with the characteristics and standards of each level of education, with the different students being taught and with the realities of the country.

The trade training sector must constitute a large percentage of the education system so that we can train skilled manual workers under a strict set of standards and achieve high quality in this effort while widely popularizing vocations among youths and laborers. Within the state economic sector, 38 percent of laborers have not received basic vocational training. Therefore, providing regular, continuous elementary and advanced training of many different forms is very necessary if we are to improve the quality of our country's workforce. We should study the experiences of many countries in the world that have laws stipulating the training standards that apply at agencies, enterprises and factories. The training task is as important as the production task of enterprises and factories. Funding must be allocated for this work. At the end of each year, any unit that has not utilized all this funding must return the balance to the state and may not use it for other purposes. Trade training schools must be restructured along lines that make the provinces and the municipalities directly subordinate to the central level in the areas that they serve. On the central level, there should only be a number of schools providing training in trades for which there is little need among the localities.

The vocational middle school sector must be closely combined with the trade training sector within a vocational education system. In many countries, general school education, trade training and vocational middle school training are provided all within the same school. In some countries, a college also provides academy and vocational middle school training. We can study these flexible approaches in order to make full use of the capabilities of teachers and material bases in education and training.

The college sector is currently experiencing the following difficulty: the number of middle school graduates is increasing each year but the scale on which students are being recruited for the formal college system is very limited. Therefore, we must boldly reform the structure of the present college system along lines that are diverse and flexible in order to meet cadre training needs and the needs involved in constantly raising the standards of the laborer. Of importance is the need to improve the quality of the comprehensive education received by the college student so that he or she can properly resolve theoretical and practical problems that arise. College,

graduates can work in the collective or household economies and be paid on the basis of the contributions they make to society. We also must attach importance to the on-going training system and create favorable conditions for workers who have a need to study while working so that they can raise their standards, raise their labor productivity and work efficiency and contribute much more to society. We must quickly correct the practice of spending too much time studying, taking examinations and earning a diploma simply for the sake of having a diploma while spending little time in practical, creative activities that make a contribution. It is even more necessary that the network of colleges and academies be restructured. This must be done by establishing a number of large, key colleges and distributing training facilities among all localities and areas of the country.

Learning combined with practical application, education combined with productive labor and the school closely linked to society--these are the correct education guidelines of our party. Labor must be incorporated in the curriculum because productive labor within the school plays an important role in providing the new man with a comprehensive education. Through productive labor--labor that involves technical skills--schools can quickly apply technical advances in production and everyday life while earning revenues to help improve the living standards of teachers and students and build the material base of the school.

Building and supporting the corps of teachers and education cadres are the most important task of the education sector today. We must continue to train teachers in those subjects in which there is a very serious shortage of training, such as Marxism-Leninism, aesthetics, foreign languages, technology, industrial subjects, physical education-sports and military affairs. We must mobilize scientific researchers, industrialists and skilled workers at agencies, enterprises and factories (including persons who have retired) to participate in instruction within schools. We must provide regular training to and raise the standards of teachers and select outstanding students who possess good personal qualities for the normal school sector for training as instructors of teachers. The party and state should adopt policies aimed at enhancing the social position of teachers and supporting the material and spiritual lives of teachers so that they are content with their occupation.

Investments in education within our country stand at a very low level and have declined under recent 5-year plans. Therefore, in the years ahead, the state should set an appropriate rate at which investments are made in education. In addition to the central budget, specific levels of contributions to education must be set for the localities, economic sectors, social organizations and the people. However, the education sector cannot wait for others to take action, cannot rely upon others. Instead, it must display a full sense of self-reliance and, through productive labor, through scientific research, meet an important portion of its needs on its own.

Planning has a direct influence upon the scale of development, the quality and the efficiency of education and training. Consequently, it must be improved and revamped so that planning is selective, not evenly spread among all education sectors. In addition, planning must be formulated from the basic level upward. Plans must meet the needs of the state sector, the collective

economy and the household economy and be closely linked to the needs involved in the use and division of social labor.

Examinations, the evaluation of students and the selection and screening of students in the education and training process must be reformed and a specific mechanism must be put in place so that the collectives of teachers schools, social organizations, families and even students themselves can participate in this process of evaluation and selection. The policies on the awarding of certificates, diplomas and academic titles, especially on the college and post-graduate levels, must be improved, must have the objective of supporting production and serving society in practical ways, must reflect the true essence of the level of education achieved and must preclude any possibility of certificates, diplomas and titles being awarded to achieve false fame or awarded as a formality.

The expansion of international exchanges and cooperation within the field of education and training, especially with the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia and the other socialist countries, must also be intensified so that we can raise the education standards of our country and contribute the wealth of experience of our education system to other countries.

Under the light of our party's education line, education in our country is undergoing positive changes. In the years ahead, education will surely reach new stages of development, thereby making important contributions to the successful performance of the socio-economic tasks that will be set by the party's 6th Congress.

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## ORGANIZING THE EXISTING CORPS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CADRES BETTER

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[Article by Le Quy An]

[Text] Over the past 30 years, in keeping with the party's line on education and training, we have built a relatively large corps of scientific and technical cadres, a corps that has made positive contributions to the cause of national liberation and the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland. Political Bureau Resolution 37 observed: "We have trained a large corps of scientific-technical cadres and professional workers who possess good political qualities and whose specialized standards are gradually being raised."

Compared to the developing countries, the potentials that lie in our country's scientific and technical cadres are considerable. For example, the number of persons engaged in research and development per every 1 million persons of population was 3,871 in the developed countries and 307 in the developing countries in the 1970's and 349 in our country in 1983.

Ninety-nine percent of our scientific and technical cadres have been trained since the revolution. The majority of them have been tempered and challenged, have matured in the realities of production and combat and are exerting an increasingly clear impact in each field of society.

This corps has the ability to learn the new scientific-technical and industrial advances of the world, such as the advances in basic investigations, in the design and construction of civilian projects, in industry, communications and water conservancy, in machine manufacturing, assembly and repair, in agriculture, public health and so forth, in order to effectively apply them under the actual circumstances of our country.

The ability of this corps to organize and conduct scientific research has been markedly improved. To solve practical problems, about 1,500 projects have been conducted under 76 state programs in key technical advances over the past 5 years, together with thousands of scientific research projects conducted by the various sectors and localities, which have produced initial, very satisfactory results. We have helped to raise the output of grain and food products, the output of raw materials for industry and the output of goods for

exportation by researching and putting into cultivation on hundreds of thousands of hectares new, high yield varieties of rice, short-term varieties of rice and varieties of rice that withstand acidity, sulfates and cold weather and by researching the allocation of crops and intensive cultivation and crop protection techniques. The results of scientific research in the field of industry have helped to increase our capacity to produce some building materials and certain types of equipment, machinery and spare parts, reduce the difficulties being experienced in production, save foreign currency and increase the variety of products available for domestic consumption and exportation. In the field of basic investigations, the application of geophysics, aerial surveying, space photography analysis and electronic computers has enabled us to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency in our measurements and survey work, in the exploration for minerals and has enabled us to discover many mineral deposits.

We have begun to organize domestic post-graduate cadre training. Some 46 colleges and research institutes have been given permission to provide this training. Nearly 400 cadres have successfully defended their doctoral or master of science thesis, practically all of which have involved subjects of practical significance to our country. This is also an important feature, one that marks the maturity of the corps of scientific and technical cadres.

However, the potentials of the corps of scientific and technical cadres are not being fully developed with the aim of meeting the needs of society. Some of the reasons for this lie with the corps itself and some stem from organization and management.

Generally speaking, scientific and technical cadres do not have a deep understanding of the characteristics and actual conditions of the country. Cadres in the natural and technical sciences have little knowledge of the social sciences and are confused when it comes to integrating and applying the knowledge of several different fields, are limited in terms of practical skills and industrial standards, etc. These factors have frequently affected the effort to discover and define in a full and accurate way the scientific problems that need to be researched, the selection of areas of key importance and the sound application of knowledge for the purpose of thoroughly resolving problems. In particular, limitations in terms of socio-economic knowledge, industrial standards and the ability to organize and manage have caused research results to be incomplete or made it difficult to apply these results in practice. (Of course, difficulties in applying technical advances are also due to many other causes). The foreign language skills of scientific and technical cadres are also not highly developed. An investigation has shown that as many as 47 percent of cadres do not know or have not yet used a foreign language.

The structure of this corps still lacks coordination in certain areas. The number of highly educated cadres is small. Only slightly less than 2 percent of the total number of scientific and technical cadres has a college education, consequently, there is a shortage of skilled persons to head collectives of scientists in researching important projects or conducting research to establish major scientific guidelines. From the standpoint of the fields represented by this corps, there is still some lack of balance. In

some fields of social science and economic management, there is still only a small number of cadres.

The assignment and utilization of cadres are very important in developing the role played by this corps. According to an investigation conducted in 1982, the distribution of scientific and technical cadres by field of training between the material production sector and the non-material production sector is as follows:

	<u>Natural Sciences</u>	<u>Technical Sciences</u>	<u>Medical and Pharmaceutical Science</u>	<u>Agricultural Science</u>	<u>Social Sciences</u>
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Material (%) production	5.3	74.8	16.2	52.8	20.3
Non-material (%) production	94.7	25.2	83.8	47.2	79.7

Distribution within the social sciences is such because these cadres primarily work in the field of education and training.

As a general average, about 30 percent of the total number of scientific and technical cadres works in the material production sector. This percentage is low and steps must be taken to raise it.

From the standpoint of distribution by territory, the corps of scientific and technical cadres is still largely concentrated on the central level and in the provinces and large municipalities. Meanwhile, only 14 percent of those cadres who have an academy education or higher are in the mountains and midlands of the North; 7.5 percent are in the Mekong Delta and 2.9 percent in the Central Highlands. In particular, the deployment of scientific and technical cadres on the district level is still very thin and does not meet the requirements involved in building the district level. Of course, in the provinces and large municipalities, where there are many research, training and management agencies and large enterprises, the current distribution of scientific and technical cadres limits efforts to develop the strengths of each area in the overall socio-economic development of the country. Even the distribution of cadres between research institutes and colleges is uneven. Some 14 percent of institutes do not have a cadre who has received post-graduate training and 35 percent of the institutes have only 1 or 2 persons who have achieved this level of education. At some colleges, as many as 25 to 30 percent of instructors have a post-graduate education. Meanwhile, there are still some colleges at which no or only very few instructors have a post-graduate education.

The corps of scientific and technical cadres is the most important factor of scientific and technical potentials. Other factors include the system of research and development agencies, material-technical bases, scientific-technical information, financial investments and the science-technology



management organization, which includes related policies. Scientific and technical potentials can be understood as the combination of these factors. They have an impact upon and stimulate, support or impede one another. Only through the balanced development and combined use of these factors can we achieve practical returns. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the development of the role played by the corps of scientific and technical cadres from the standpoint of the relationship of this corps to the other factors that make up scientific and technical potentials. At present, our country has more than 100 research institutes, not including dozens of design and planning institutes. Working at these institutes are more than 10,000 cadres who have a college education and nearly 1,000 cadres who have a post-graduate education. Some institutes that have been relatively well equipped and have a well coordinated corps of cadres have been playing a positive role in research and development. However, the majority of the institutes are still underdeveloped in terms of material-technical bases. They lack equipment or the equipment on hand is outmoded or unmatched. The system of institutes has grown very rapidly. Since 1975, the number of institutes has doubled. The state has been unable to make all the investments that should be made. In addition, there is duplication of function among some institutes. Due to their decentralized nature and the fact that their management mechanism is largely administrative and bureaucratic, the institutes have not made much of an impact. According to the results of a general investigation, only about 30 percent of the equipment of the institutes and colleges is being used relatively well; 52 percent is not in use because of a shortage of operators and a lack of material-technical support (in the form of materials, chemicals, components, spare parts, auxiliary equipment, electricity, water and so forth); 14 percent is not in stable use due to a lack of planning or no constant need for the equipment; and 4 percent of this equipment has no need to be used.

The level of our investments in science and technology have also been very low, even compared to the developing countries. Even if we use only one of UNESCO's standards, the average financial investment per cadre working in the field of research and development, we see that the average in the developing countries is 20,000 to 30,000 U.S. dollars per year. In the developed countries, this average can be 100,000 dollars or higher. In our country, in 1979, the average was 8,300 dong. In a number of countries, such as Mauretania, Equador, Canada, Denmark and so forth, the national income grew at an average annual rate 1.2 to 1.4 times higher than the average rate of increase in the investment in one research and development cadre during the 1970's. This is also a matter deserving of thought.

As regards the management mechanism, policies and systems, some improvements have been made in recent years. However, there are still many aspects of the management mechanism, policies and systems that impede efforts to develop the impact of the corps of scientific and technical cadres. One of the underlying causes is that the economic management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies does not stimulate the dynamism of basic units nor does it attach importance to the close relationship among research-production-consumption. This has made laborers less inquisitive and creative and led to the development of a passive way of working, to "waiting for plans to be assigned," "waiting for funding and materials to be supplied" and

"being happy with whatever is achieved." As a result, producers have little interest in the needs of consumers (including both consumers in production and in the market place) concerning the variety and quality of products, that is, they have no need to apply scientific and technical advances. There have even been times and places at which the further application of scientific-technical advances and the further improvement of product quality have only led to further losses. There have also been times and places at which the more equipment a unit retains, although does not use, the more its profits rise.

In summary, we currently have a rather large corps of scientific and technical cadres, cadres who, generally speaking, possess good political qualities and are rather highly educated. This corps is a precious asset of the country, is the result of a long process of training being provided in accordance with the party's education line. We are embarking on the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, a plan that is of very important significance in meeting the socio-economic goals in the initial stage of the period of transition that were set by the 5th Party Congress. The resolution of the 9th Party Plenum points out that we must "more effectively organize and utilize scientific-technical potentials, beginning with the existing corps of scientific and technical cadres in the social, natural and technical sciences, and focus the efforts of this corps on tasks of primary importance with a view toward solving the pressing problems we face regarding production and living conditions, the improvement of management and national defense." To accomplish this, it is necessary to adopt training plans and necessary to assign and utilize cadres in ways that are rational with the aims of developing the skills of each person and the potentials of the entire corps.

To deploy the corps of cadres in a more rational manner, it is first of all necessary to examine and take determined steps to restructure the system of research institutes and colleges in keeping with the general policy on accelerating the division and redistribution of labor and restructuring and reorganizing production nationwide. We should study the feasibility of making those institutes that are in narrow, specialized fields directly subordinate to the federations of enterprises so that they more closely support production requirements and operate primarily on the basis of contracts signed with production units. In this way, the state can focus its investments better and supply more equipment to key institutes with a view toward performing the most important tasks and meeting the most pressing needs. Together with restructuring the network of colleges and institutes, it is necessary to re-examine the distribution of scientific and technical cadres and redistribute them in a way that is more rational, beginning by correcting the irrational aspects of the distribution of these cadres within each sector.

To resolve important and complex scientific and technical problems, it is necessary to eliminate the decentralization and fragmentation that currently exist by establishing well coordinated scientific collectives that represent several different fields; by implementing key programs of the state; by formulating our strategy for socio-economic development and the development of science and technology; by developing the economic-technical argumentation for projects of major importance to the national economy, etc. In recent years, facts have shown that the performance of such complex tasks demands that we bring together cadres from the natural sciences, technical sciences and social

sciences and cadres working in the fields of research, production, management and training. One matter that is deserving of concern and plays a rather important role in insuring the effective operation of scientific collectives is that of the selection and appointment of project management cadres. These persons must have the ability to bring persons together, must be specialized themselves and possess sound organizational skills.

We are still poor in terms of machinery and equipment but the percentage of machine and equipment capacity in use is not high. We must make full use of existing material-technical bases and create additional working conditions for scientific and technical cadres by establishing procedures and policies as well as rational ceilings and prices designed to encourage agencies to cooperate in using one another's equipment in the most efficient manner possible. On the other hand, measures such as redistributing equipment, collecting depreciation funds and so forth, should be taken to encourage agencies to make full use of their equipment and gradually discontinue the practice of keeping machines of which they make little or no use.

It is also necessary to research and promulgate specific policies and regulations to encourage scientific and technical cadres to become deeply involved in production, to go to basic units and localities where there is a need for their services. We must provide both the incentive and the conditions needed for scientific and technical cadres to resolve difficulties being experienced in everyday life through their scientific labor so that these cadres become more closely associated with the efficiency of work and production. In this area, importance should be attached to the social returns from the work performed by these cadres and egalitarianism should be avoided.

In recent years, some scientific-technical cadres and workers have been sent to work overseas as exported labor. This practice should and can be further developed but the guidance we provide must be more effective and concerted and we must establish balance between working at home and working abroad, between immediate and long-range needs, between the selection of persons to go abroad and the utilization of persons returning from foreign countries, etc.

It is very important that scientific and technical cadres be evaluated on the basis of the returns from their scientific and technical work and the contributions they make to the socio-economic development and the defense of the country, not simply on the basis of the diplomas they hold. And, a system of fair awards and strict penalties must be enacted.

We have achieved many fine results in our training of cadres. However, to meet the needs of society, the structure of the system of schools and training, in general, must be more closely tied to the implementation of socio-economic development strategy and be compatible with the distribution of production forces as well as the investment capabilities of the state. On this basis, the goals, subject matter and modes of training should also be researched, augmented and revised to be made more complete. Flexible training methods must be employed so that training is closely linked to the utilization of cadres in order to support production, the standard of living and national defense well while helping to raise the intellectual standard of the people and satisfy their traditional desire to learn.

Together with restructuring the training system, there is a large need for additional on-going training in order to raise the overall standards of scientific and technical cadres and make it possible for them to promptly grasp the new achievements of science and technology at home and abroad and supplement their knowledge of other fields. Improving the quality of training and establishing a corps of highly skilled specialists must become a major policy of the state, a policy carried out by improving the quality of training from general school education upward, training and selecting cadres in the process of utilizing their skills, providing more domestic post-graduate training and increasing the effectiveness of scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries.

Together with improving the management of science and technology along the lines of achieving higher socio-economic returns in a manner consistent with the characteristics of this work, it is necessary to boldly increase the investments made in science and technology.

Organizing the corps of scientific and technical cadres better and combining this corps with the corps of technical workers, with the science and technology associations and the movement among the masses to move forward on the science and technology front will contribute in a positive way to making the scientific-technological revolution truly become the key revolution among the three revolutions and science become "a force stimulating the progress of history, a force behind the revolution."

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SOME THOUGHTS ON SEA POLICY AS PART OF OUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL DEFENSE STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 56-61, 55

[Article by Luu Van Loi]

[Text] Measuring more than 360 million square kilometers, that is, more than 70 percent of the earth's surface, and containing 1.3 trillion cubic kilometers of water, that is, more than 97 percent of all the water on earth, diverse and exceedingly rich forms of animal and plant life and inorganic natural resources, the reserves of which have yet to be fully determined, the seas have occupied an increasingly important position in the history of man's evolution. This is not to mention the effect that the seas have upon the weather and atmosphere.

Some 4,000 to 5,000 years ago, ancient man learned how to extract salt from sea water and began using sea routes to communicate with the offshore islands. But man was slower to explore and learn about the seas than he was to explore and learn about the continents. This is easily understood. Excluding the transoceanic voyages of the Vikings (Norway) that led to their landing in North America in the 12th century, the major discoveries that began in the 15th century, the most celebrated of which was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, were only attempts to discover new lands, even though they did provide mankind with much new information about geography, about the earth and the seas. Oceanography truly worthy of its name began with the 69,000 nautical mile journey around the world by the H.M.S. Challenger. During this voyage, which took three and one-half years, from 21 December 1872 to 24 May 1876, many different aspects of the seas, including the bottom of the seas, were examined. Of special importance is the fact that during this voyage, that is, more than 100 years ago, the Challenger obtained the first polymetallic nodules, which are of current interest to oceanographers as well as business circles in many countries.

In the space of the past 3 decades, with the discovery of petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelves and the discovery of areas rich in polymetallic nodules, research on the seas and oceans has developed rapidly. All developed countries have a national sea policy. The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, the Soviet State Commission for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control and the Maritime and Oceanography Department of the

Soviet Ministry of National Defense have conducted many ocean research projects to support the national economy and oceanography. The United States adopted the Law on the Development of Sea Resources and Technology in 1966 and then established a commission tasked with defining the specifics of the sea research policy of the United States. In 1967, France established a national center for ocean development. In August 1967, the Maltese Mission at the United Nations proposed the incorporation in the agenda of the General Assembly debate on "declarations and treaties related to only using the sea and ocean bottoms outside current limits of national jurisdiction for peaceful purposes and to developing these natural resources in the interest of mankind." This was essentially a proposal that the United Nations debate a new concept, namely, that the sea and ocean bottoms outside the limits of territorial jurisdiction of nations be considered the "common property of mankind." On 21 December 1968, the U.N. General Assembly decided to establish the "Commission on the Peaceful Use of the Sea and Ocean Bottoms Outside the Zones of National Jurisdiction." As a result of the new matters brought to light by this commission, the United Nations has decided to convene an international conference on admiralty law in Caracas in which more than 140 countries will participate.

In the 1960's and 1970's many countries participated in international programs to research the tropical region of the Atlantic Ocean, the Kuro-Shio current, the Caribbean Sea, the northeast and northwest regions of the Atlantic Ocean, many areas of the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, etc. Deserving of attention were the FAMOUS Program (French-American Mid-Oceanic Undersea Study) of France and the United States and the GATE Program (comprehensive experiments involving the Atlantic Ocean) carried out within the framework of a global atmospheric research program in which several thousand scientists and technicians from 72 countries participated. Oceanographic information was exchanged through international oceanographic data centers located in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Many projects have been conducted to explore for polymetallic nodules on the floor of the Pacific Ocean.

The modern era is not only the era of "man and space," but also the era, as called by many scientists, of "man and the oceans." The ocean issue has economic and military aspects, but also a political-legal aspect due to the disputes that have occurred, and continue to incur in increasing number, over rights in the oceans. In the age of huge strides forward by science and technology and the difficulties being experienced by the capitalist economy due to shortages of raw materials and fuels, the oceans have become a "new world" into which the trusts and multinational corporations have thrust their hands in search for new sources of raw materials and fuels that exceed the reserves on the continents or at least augment the sources that have begun to dry up on the continents.

On 10 December 1982, due to the importance of the seas and oceans from all three perspectives, representatives of 119 countries, despite U.S. position, signed a United Nations' Agreement on Admiralty Law at Montego Bay in Jamaica. Since then, about 20 other countries have signed this agreement. Although this agreement is not yet in effect, a Preparatory Commission has been

established so that the agency with jurisdiction over the floor of the seas and the International Court of Admiralty Law can begin operating at an early date. Four countries, the Soviet Union, India, Japan and France, have each contributed 30 million dollars in order to be registered as "charter investors."

History shows us two paths that nations have followed in their formation and development. Some nations have followed the traditional continental path, spreading along the banks of a river into the delta of one or many other rivers and then steadily expanding their territory, sometimes through conquering surrounding countries to become continental empires. Such was the case, for example, of Egypt, the Sumerians, the Inca empire and the Chinese empire. Other nations, usually along the seacoast or on islands, have followed the path of the sea, steadily expanding the scope of their activities at sea by building their merchant fleets and developing trade with other countries over sea routes. Ancient Greece, which dominated the Mediterranean Sea and even defeated the Persian continental empire, built a brilliant civilization, the radiance of which still shines today. Even the small island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea developed strongly as a result of knowing how to rely upon the sea and built a famous culture. The Phoenicians not only used the sea to develop trade with surrounding countries, but also crossed the sea to settle in North Africa, establishing powerful and prosperous Carthage, which controlled the majority of the Mediterranean Sea, impeded Rome and forced Cato, the Roman politician, to constantly call for the "destruction of Carthage!." Later, when maritime technology developed, many countries that have ocean waters, such as Portugal, Spain, Holland, Great Britain, France and so forth, became powerful and prosperous also as a result of taking full advantage in the early years of their history of the strengths of a country that has ocean waters. We denounce the colonial regimes that these countries subsequently established in the new lands, but we must research the policy of the sea they employed to achieve economic development and expand their influence.

In ancient times, our forefathers took salt and fish from the South China Sea and established Van Don as the first seaport for trade with foreign countries. In particular, the feudal state occupied the Paracels (that is, both the present day Paracel and Spratly Islands). Each year, it organized a Parcel fleet, which fished the waters around the Parcel Islands for 5 or 6 months. During the other months of the year, a Bac Hai fleet organized by the state harvested resources in other areas of the sea.

President Ho and the party have always reminded us: our country has "forests of gold and seas of silver." And, in the specific measures concerning the sea that they have set forth and put into effect, many positions and policies of our party and state have fully reflected this spirit.

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress set the general line on socialist construction and the line on building the socialist economy in the new stage of our country's revolution. Regarding the sea economy, the resolution identified many different areas of economic activity: fishing and the cultivation of marine products; rapidly increasing the size of ocean fishing forces; developing the salt industry, building ocean vessels and fishing

ships; developing the ocean fleet, etc. With regard to zoning and planning production in order to bring about the development of all areas of the country, the resolution included the "sea." The congress also identified our two most precious assets: our labor and arable land (which includes the forests and the sea). The 5th Party Congress reaffirmed the line adopted at the 4th Congress and stressed the importance of the sea economy when defining our primary socio-economic tasks during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 and during the balance of the 1980's.

On the basis of the general line and the specific positions taken by the party in each stage, ocean research and development agencies in our country, including the Oceanographic Research Institute and the Ministry of Marine Products, have conducted many oceanographic investigations, from the Gulf of Tonkin to the southern waters, and recorded important achievements.

The party's line as well as the research projects that have been conducted clearly illustrate our country's interest in the sea and the issues relating to it, both in the past as well as in the 1980's.

But what will our country's policy concerning the sea be after the 1980's? This is the crucial question that the scientists, economists and military authorities of our country must immediately begin to research so that a correct answer can soon be found, an answer that is befitting the importance of the sea and consistent with the circumstances and requirements of our country.

In my opinion, in order for us to address this question correctly, the following three factors should be taken into consideration:

1. Because the increasingly rapid advancement of science and technology is enabling man to unlock the secrets and discover the potentials of the oceans, high hopes can be placed on the oceans for solutions to a multitude of problems that far exceed the potentials of the continents to solve: increasing the sources of protein through fishing and the cultivation of marine products; extracting petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelf; mining polymetallic nodules on the ocean floor and minerals dissolved in sea water; and tapping the thermal energy of the sea. Facts confirm that these approaches are entirely practical.

2. On 12 May 1977, our government issued a declaration claiming an exclusive economic zone that extends for 200 nautical miles from the base line of the continental shelf as a natural extension of the continent to the outer edge of the continental rim and to a distance of 200 nautical miles at those places where the continental shelf is not 200 nautical miles wide. This is an extremely important declaration because it expands our country's national territorial waters and does so in exact accordance with international law. Thus, we not only have a continental Vietnam that measures some 320,000 square kilometers, but also an oceanic Vietnam measuring roughly 1 million square kilometers. Not only do we have the resources on the mainland, but also the biological and non-biological resources of our country's exclusive economic zone and continental shelf.



3. The United Nations' Agreement on the Law of the Sea signed in December 1982, which more than 130 countries, including our own, have signed or participated in to date, recognizes the zone that is the bottom of the sea and oceans outside the limits of national territorial waters and the resources of this zone as the "common property of mankind." Thus, all mankind, as represented by an international authority, possesses all the rights to the natural resources of the zone. The international authority can directly develop these resources through an enterprise or sign contracts with nations or other entities permitting them to explore for, extract and do business in the natural resources within the sea and ocean bottom zone. In the past, our country, as well as other countries, had the right to freely send ships and aircraft across the oceans. Now, with the new Agreement on the Law of the Sea, our country will be a member of the international authority and have the right to participate in the exploration for, extraction of and business in the natural resources on the ocean floor in accordance with the provisions of this agreement. Our country's natural resources, therefore, are not limited to the mainland, the exclusive economic zone or the continental shelf, but have been expanded to the sea and ocean bottom zone that lies outside national territorial waters.

Thus, when researching and formulating our country's policy concerning the sea, we have the right to understand this policy to be a policy on our country's territorial waters and continental shelf and on the oceans as well. This view must be fully reflected in all aspects of this policy, from scientific research to the exploration for, development of and commerce in the resources of the sea, from the training of skilled specialists to the preparation of our organization and investment capital, from the efforts we make on our own to cooperation with other parties.

When discussing the very rich resources and the importance of the sea in our country's economic and national defense strategies, everyone is in agreement. At the same time, everyone realizes that our "capabilities are not what we desire them to be." At present, our country is only in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism and, although we are at peace, we must contend with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Beijing expansionists. Besides the advantages we have in our favor, we also face countless difficulties. Although the direction that our development is taking is clearly visible and although the years of our worst difficulties are behind us, it is also clear that we currently do not have enough to eat and are not generating sufficient revenues to cover our expenditures. Thus, which capabilities can our country's policy concerning the sea employ to extend our development beyond the seacoast and the waters that lie immediately off shore? This is not to mention the remote areas of the South China sea, not to mention the oceans!

However, life, with its strict laws, raises requirements that we cannot and should not avoid.

The sea and the continental shelf of our country hold large potentials. International law has given our country new and truly broad rights, including rights to the ocean floor. Those things that pertain to the sovereignty of the country are things that we must defend. And, we have no permission to

turn our backs on that which is a legitimate interest of our country. With the discovery of petroleum in the sea off Vung Tau, the resources of our country's continental shelf are now clearly within our grasp. In the next few years, along with accelerating the development of the natural resources on the continent within our country, our economy can undergo rapid changes if we manage to extract a significant quantity of crude oil. With only one undersea oil well in operation at a site northeast of the Spratly Islands, the Philippines extracts enough petroleum to satisfy 10 percent of its annual need for liquid fuel. This means that the extraction of petroleum and natural gas in the South China Sea (in the future, attention must also be given to the Gulf of Tonkin) is not very far away.

Moreover, many countries are taking advantage of the difficult situation in which our country currently finds itself to vie for land and resources of ours. Beijing took occupation of the entire Paracel Islands and is allowing many corporations from the United States, France, Great Britain and other countries to actively explore for petroleum and gas there as well as in the Gulf of Tonkin. In the Spratly Islands, we have troops stationed on nine islands but Taiwan is occupying Ba Dinh, the largest of the islands, the Philippines is occupying eight islands (only since 1970) and Malaysia is occupying one small island in order to secure a foothold in a vain attempt to explore for and extract resources in the surrounding waters and on the sea floor. And, the Beijing dragon always has its mouth wide open, awaiting an opportunity to gobble up the entire Spratly chain while thrashing its tail about in the South China Sea. This situation shows us that even in the South China Sea and on the territory under the sovereignty of our country, the slower we are to act, the more we face the danger of losing more land, losing more of the continental shelf and the resources in and under the sea. Today, everyone sees that Beijing is looking for ways to expand into the sea, to gradually encroach upon the South China sea in a vain attempt to carry out plans for expansion and hegemony in Southeast Asia.

The rights and resources of our country on the continental shelf are, according to the new Agreement on the Law of the Sea, inviolable, whether we declare these rights or not, whether we develop these resources or not. However, such is not the case with regard to the rights we share to the "common property of mankind" in the oceans. All nations have the right to register a claim to explore for and extract polymetallic nodules in a specific area. Some nations have already registered claims and many others will continue to register claims until there are no longer any areas of economic importance left to be registered. Our forefathers used to say: "The slow buffalo gets the muddy water to drink." Today, in this issue that is the natural resources on the floor of the oceans, the "slow buffalo" will not even have "muddy water" to drink!

The developed countries have been actively preparing to explore and develop the ocean floor for many years. It is now the turn of the developing countries. In July 1981, India established the Department of Ocean Development (DOD), which is headed by a minister, is under the guidance of the Office of the Prime Minister and has the task of coordinating the activities of related agencies and formulating India's ocean policy. Thailand has Chulalongkorn College, which has been coordinating with Canada's Dalhousie

College in a large-scale project aimed at researching issues concerning the law of the sea in Southeast Asia since 1981 (the SEAPOL Program). In 1966, the Commission To Control the Exploration for Mineral Resources in the Waters Off Asia (COOP) was established with the participation of 12 Asian countries.

The problem facing our country is:

--If we immediately address the issue of the sea's resources on a level befitting its importance, that is, as lying within the scope of our country's sovereignty and lawful rights, including our rights to the oceans, we will find that we currently lack the capabilities needed to take the steps that must be taken;

--But if we wait until we acquire the necessary capabilities, the minerals that we have the right to extract from the ocean floor will surely no longer be there.

This is a very difficult choice, one that comes at a time when we have other priorities. However, this is not an equation to which there is no solution.

In view of the pressing difficulties and tasks that confront us, carrying out development in the oceans might seem like something of a scientific fantasy for our country and even raising the issue of participating in the development of the floor of the seas and oceans might seem like an unrealistic pursuit, an illusion. However, in my opinion, of foremost importance is the need to determine whether it is true that the oceans and seas constitute an issue of very pressing importance from the perspective of the near term and long range future of our country, even the present, and whether our country can build and develop itself on both the continent and at sea at the same time. Once they realize that the issue must be addressed in this manner, the responsible agencies will research and propose positions and steps that are consistent with the present and future capabilities of our country.

Following the signing of the U.N. Agreement on the Law of the Sea in 1982, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Border Department of the Council of Ministers proposed to the government that it establish a national commission on the sea. The Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers has established a special subcommittee to research the continental shelf. I suggest that we establish, the sooner the better, a national commission on the sea tasked with helping the government to formulate our country's sea policy.

Ravaged in World War II, Poland, which is only slightly larger than our country and has a population of a little more than 30 million, has built a developed ship building industry and has a merchant fleet of 304 ships with a total tonnage of 2,835,953 tons (1), even though it only has about 500 kilometers of coastline. Cuba, an island that is one-third as large as our country and has a population of 10 million, has built a merchant fleet of 114 ships with a total tonnage of 797,418 tons (2) over the past 25 years.

Vietnam faces the South China Sea and has a coastline that extends for more than 3,260 kilometers. Its exclusive economic zone and continental shelf are large. Of our 40 provinces and municipalities and the special zone, 20

provinces and municipalities and the special zone have a coastline. More than 90 of the country's 426 districts have a coastline. Thus, one-half of continental Vietnam has a coastline. Such a country must give the sea a proper position in its economic and national defense strategies. Such a country should, at the very least, do as much in this regard as countries whose stature is equal to or less than its own. The problem lies in adopting the correct policy and organizing its effective implementation in a manner consistent with each of the country's stages of development.

In the legend of Lac Long Quan and Au Co, one half of their children went up to the mountains, the other half down to the sea. Has it not come time to make this legend a reality reflecting the two directions being taken by our country in its development: the continent and the sea?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. SHIPPING STATISTICS, published in Bremen, No 1, 1985. Includes only ships of the 300 ton class or larger.
2. Ibid.

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## AGRICULTURE--THE FRONT OF FOREMOST IMPORTANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 62-66

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "We must focus our efforts on developing agriculture and consider agriculture the front of foremost importance in order to advance it one step closer to large-scale socialist production." This is the party's basic guideline, a guideline of strategic significance, for developing our country's agriculture.

In recent years, together with the difficulties common to the entire economy, agriculture has experienced more than a few difficulties of its own. Chief among these difficulties have been the continuous and serious natural disasters that have occurred; the shortage of technical materials for agriculture and the failure to deliver these materials on time; and the continued existence of the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, which has impeded and hampered the development of production.

Under the light of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, our people have displayed patriotism and revolutionary heroism, displayed creativity in their labor, overcome difficulties and endeavored to achieve important agricultural production targets.

Generally speaking, agricultural production has made important strides forward over the past 5 years. We stopped the serious decline in agricultural production that occurred during the 2 years 1979 and 1980. Since 1981, a diversified agriculture has been developing nationwide. Many new factors have emerged and many advanced models symbolizing the vitality of our agriculture are continuing to advance.

From the standpoint of the results of agricultural production, mention must be made of the outstanding achievements recorded in grain production. As a result of properly applying intensive cultivation and multicropping techniques, changing the allocation of crops and seasonal schedule and, in particular, implementing the new contracting mechanism, grain output steadily rose from 14.5 million tons in 1980 to 15.1 million tons in 1981 and 18.2

million tons in 1985. Annual grain output in paddy equivalent rose from 13.35 million tons during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980 to 17.1 million tons during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985. Grain output has risen at the average annual rate of 5.05 percent (mainly as a result of increases in rice yields), which is a relatively high rate in the history of the development of agriculture in our country. Per capita grain output rose from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 309 kilograms in 1985 (with the population growing by 5.8 million between 1981 and 1985). The state mobilized 2 million tons of grain in 1980 and 3.9 million tons in 1984, as a result of which annual grain imports have significantly declined. The standard of living in the countryside is, generally speaking, stable and has been markedly improved at many places, except in areas heavily hit by natural disasters.

Together with accelerating the development of grain production, new levels of development have been reached from the standpoint of the amount of area under cultivation, the allocation of crops, the yield and the output of industrial crops and food crops. The livestock sector also took important strides forward during the past 5 years. The number of hogs increased by 26 percent between 1980 and 1985. The number of buffalo and cattle increased from 1.6 million and 2.3 million respectively in 1980 to 2.6 million and 2.58 million respectively in 1985. The decline in the output, quality and efficiency of livestock production was stopped. Livestock production is gradually developing in balance with crop production.

The advances that have been made in crop and livestock production during the past 5 years have been closely linked to the rapid introduction of scientific and technical advances in production, the strengthening of the material and technical bases of agriculture, the continual efforts made to strengthen and perfect socialist production relations within agriculture and, in particular, the virtual completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo. This virtual completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo is a significant achievement and also a very important factor in the development of agriculture over the past 5 years, a factor that has laid the groundwork for the development of agriculture in the years ahead.

The results that have been achieved on the agricultural front during the past 5 years are living expression of the spirit of creative labor, of the spirit of overcoming every difficulty and struggling to move ahead of the class of collective farmers under the leadership of the party. However, compared to the requirements and potentials of the country, the results described above are only initial results. We must make greater efforts to move ahead. We have committed shortcomings in our effort to implement the party's line on agricultural development, shortcomings that we must make every effort to correct. Most importantly, the implementation of the policy on "agriculture being the front of foremost importance" set forth by the 5th Congress is still marked by numerous shortcomings. Many problems of agriculture itself, such as those concerning the seasonal schedule, the allocation of crops, crop varieties, fertilizer, pesticides, water conservancy and so forth, and other problems directly related to agriculture, such as the price and procurement policies, the processing of agricultural products, transportation and so forth, have not been solved in an appropriate or timely manner. We have

invested little capital in agriculture and that which we have invested has not been properly concentrated in key aspects of agriculture. Importance has not been attached to making well coordinated investments or investments in intensive development. Many projects have taken a long time to build and remain unfinished, thus causing a large amount of waste and very low efficiency of use.

The strengths of agriculture have not been developed. The potentials that lie in labor, arable land and the trade sector have not been organized or used well in order to develop a diversified agriculture, create a rational production structure and achieve high efficiency within each production unit, each district and each area nationwide. Grain and food production, although increased, still does not meet the consumer needs of the people. Difficulties with grain and food products persist. Industrial crop production does not meet the needs for raw materials for industry and exportation.

Generally speaking, although initial steps have been taken to dismantle the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, it continues to be the main obstacle to the display of autonomy, dynamism and creativity by basic units. Many economic policies concerning agriculture are no longer suitable but have not been promptly revised. There are still many unnecessary intermediary organizations and levels that pose an inconvenience to producers.

Agricultural cooperativization has been virtually completed nationwide. However, the level of organization and management and the level of development of material-technical bases at cooperatives and production collectives are, generally speaking, still low. As a result, the superior nature of socialist production relations has not been made clearly apparent.

These limitations have many causes. The underlying causes are that our country's agriculture is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production and bears the scars of a long war. The direct causes are that our level of organization and management and our awareness of agriculture as the "front of foremost importance" are low. In addition, there are the constraints imposed by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in management, which have caused the various levels and sectors to not give appropriate attention to agriculture.

The economy of our entire country continues to face many difficulties. These difficult circumstances demand that each of us correctly determine, in a truly objective fashion, what has been done and what remains to be done. Neither the tendency to only see difficulties, not achievements, nor the tendency to only see achievements, not difficulties, help us in any useful way to be determined to implement the party's guidelines for the development of agriculture in the years ahead.

In 1986, the first year of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, agriculture faces exceedingly large tasks, the most important of which is stepping up grain production. Together with rice production, we must strongly develop the production of such subsidiary food crops as corn, western potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava and so forth in a manner closely tied to the processing of

these crops and the gradual improvement of the diet. We must try to meet the target of 20 million tons of grain in 1986. As regards the development of industrial crop production in 1986, we must encourage the strong development of such annual industrial crops as peanuts, soybeans, tobacco, sugarcane, jute, mulberries and so forth. As regards perennial industrial crops, such as rubber, coffee, tea, coconuts, lacquer, T'ung trees, pineapple fiber and so forth, we must concentrate our investments in intensive cultivation on land now under cultivation while opening new land to cultivation. Under the guidelines "using short-term crops to support the production of long-term crops" and "the state and the people working together," we must closely combine state-operated units with collectives and households in order to rapidly increase the amount of area under cultivation, yields and output with the aim of meeting the requirements of industry and export activities. We must strongly develop livestock production in the state-operated, collective and household sectors to meet the needs for meat, milk, fertilizer and draft power. We must encourage the development of buffalo and cattle production and expand the trade in buffalo and cattle among all areas of the country. We must increase the size of hog herds and the weight of hogs and try to increase the number of hogs being raised to 13 million in 1986. We must strongly develop the raising of ducks for exportation at those places where the necessary conditions exist.

To implement the guidelines for the development of agriculture in 1986, practical and effective measures must be taken.

Building material-technical bases and rapidly introducing scientific and technical advances in agriculture: as mentioned above, the victory of the socialist transformation of agriculture nationwide in 1985 laid the groundwork for building material-technical bases and rapidly introducing scientific and technical advances in agriculture. The lesson of recent years in developing production forces in a way that is not balanced with the newly established production relations within agriculture reminds us that we must further increase our investments in agriculture. This is a very important point, one stressed by Lenin: agriculture cannot develop on its own. Therefore, to develop agriculture, to make "agriculture the front of foremost importance," the key is to increase our capital investments, that is, increase the amount of assistance provided by the state of the working class to the class of collective farmers. To begin with, an appropriate amount of investment capital must be earmarked for the construction of material-technical bases and the rapid introduction of scientific and technical advances in agriculture. The main thrust of our efforts should be investments in the construction of water conservancy systems, the improvement and enlargement of projects and the improvement and construction of fields to support intensive cultivation, multicropping and the expansion of the amount of area under cultivation. We must immediately expedite the completion of plant and livestock breeding, testing and production facilities (from the central to the local levels, the crop protection system, the veterinary network and so forth with a view toward fully meeting the needs for seed and breeding stock, maintaining safety in production, combating diseases and pests and achieving the highest possible yields and output. It is necessary to re-examine the percentage of overall investment capital invested in agriculture. At the same time, we must rearrange the structure of the investments made in the various sectors within



agriculture so that rational investments are made in those fields and factors that determine the yield and output of crops and livestock. We must make concerted, complete and well coordinated investments in those crops and species of livestock that are of leading importance while giving our attention to developing a diversified agriculture. We must provide a full supply of fertilizer, pesticides...and insure that they are supplied on time in accordance with the plan for the growing season, considering this to also be a direct factor in raising the yield and output of crops. Appropriately increasing our investments in material-technical bases for agriculture is very necessary because if we provide a full and timely supply of material and technical factors (most importantly fertilizer and pesticides) for the land currently being farmed, we can increase grain output by millions of tons. This is a realistic potential.

In conjunction with strengthening the material-technical bases of agriculture, we must gradually revamp the agricultural management mechanism. This is a matter of special importance in insuring the successful implementation of agricultural development plans in the years ahead. Foremost among the guidelines for revamping the agricultural management mechanism is revising economic policies, revising the policies on investments, credit, prices, product mobilization, supply and so forth with a view toward insuring that agriculture receives a full and timely supply of technical materials for production and providing incentive for everyone to work hard. Revamping the agricultural management mechanism demands that we clearly establish the position of the basic units (state farms, cooperatives) as economic, production and business organizations that possess financial autonomy and have the status of an independent individual under the law. On the basis of the centralized, unified plan of the state, the basic units must be responsible for earning a profit in their production and business and satisfying the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer while taking the initiative in developing the various sources of goods and supplies in order to support their production and business and increase their income.

Because agricultural production is heavily dependent upon nature and because different economic segments currently exist (the primary one being the collective economy), the agricultural planning mechanism must take two forms: direct planning by the state of the state-operated sector (production and services) and indirect planning of the collective and private sectors through the impact of and the guidance provided by the state-operated economy. The state must formulate a plan for guiding the activities of the collective and private sectors by means of such economic policies as the procurement policy, the price policy, the credit policy and so forth in order to provide incentive for and regulate production in line with the general direction being taken under the state plan. Trade and commerce between basic agricultural units and other economic units must be carried out on the basis of the principles of equality and true negotiations and under economic contracts.

We must gradually implement the economic accounting system to insure that businesses operate at a profit, implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, improve product contracts and expand their use, pay piecework wages, improve the wage and bonus policies...with the aim of providing incentive for laborers to work hard.

The division of labor and responsibilities between the central and local levels, between the sectors and economic organizations must be based on the principle of establishing economic-technical sectors. At the same time, this division of labor and responsibilities must develop the potentials and tap the creativity of localities and basic units, insure centralized and unified guidance by the central level, eliminate decentralization and fragmentation and prevent competition, especially within the field of exports. Economic exchange between the cities and the countryside, between production areas and consumer areas must be expanded (within the scope permitted). The activities of state-operated commerce must be oriented toward effectively supporting agricultural production by engaging in fair trade and discontinuing the practice of procuring products on the basis of long-term credit, which is an inconvenience to producers. Products must be circulated and marketed well. The rural markets must be organized well. Cooperatives that have surplus products on hand must be permitted to directly sell them to marketing units in the cities and industrial zones if state-operated commerce is unable to handle these products.

Many factors are involved in revamping the agricultural management mechanism. However, the important factor of decisive significance is to restructure the agricultural management apparatus and corps of management cadres. In 1986, along with restructuring the general management apparatus of the state, the agricultural management apparatus must also be restructured. We must eliminate unnecessary intermediary organizations and echelons; select competent cadres who possess good qualities to strengthen the agricultural management apparatus; and dismiss cadres who are unable to complete their tasks under the new mechanism. We must strengthen and streamline the agricultural management apparatus from the central to the provincial and district levels with the aims of increasing the ability of this apparatus to serve as the staff of the various party committee echelons and levels of administration, increasing their responsibility in this area and organizing the successful implementation of agricultural development plans. We must restructure and make rational use of the corps of agricultural scientific and management cadres, send competent technical and management cadres down to the localities and basic units (primarily to cooperatives) and closely link their activities to the results of production. The new management mechanism demands that we improve the skills and raise the organizational, managerial, professional and specialized standards of the corps of agricultural cadres. Therefore, the provinces, districts and basic units must plan the training of agricultural cadres for their units. At present, the training of cadres for basic units is the weakest and also the most crucial aspect of agriculture. In order to broaden the authority of basic units, we must have a corps of cadres who are fully capable of learning the knowledge of organization and management, of their profession and special field required by the new management mechanism. In the implementation of agricultural product contracts in recent years, besides the good model units that have emerged, there are still more than a few cooperatives that are not doing a good job. This is due to many reasons, one of which is the fact that the standards of organization and management and the professional and specialized standards of cooperative cadres do not meet the requirement of the new contracting mechanism. To further intensify the training of cadres, it is necessary to assign responsibilities and authority to the provinces and districts and clearly

define the contents of the training program and the form of training for each type cadre. We must accelerate the training of cadres, especially the key cadres of cooperatives.

Developing agriculture is the common undertaking of the entire party and all the people. Consequently, there must be close coordination among all levels and sectors and each of their activities must be directed toward supporting agriculture. The contribution made by each level and sector must be measured on the basis of the results achieved in supporting agriculture.

The agricultural development tasks and targets for 1986 and subsequent years are very large. However, these targets can surely be met if we work hard. We must display dynamism and creativity, adopt a new way of thinking and working and accelerate the development of agriculture with a view toward recording many larger achievements.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ON STRENGTHENING THE CORPS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 67-71, 81

[Article by Nguyen Khac Bo]

[Text] Each new stage in the revolution raises new requirements concerning cadre work, which includes agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres.

As we know, when agricultural cooperativization was being carried out, many different kinds of cadres, "movement activists," demobilized troops, active cooperative members, outstanding Youth Union members and so forth, were assigned the responsibilities of leading and managing cooperatives. During the early years, when we had no corps of systematically trained cadres, assigning these types of cadres as leaders and managers of cooperatives was necessary. In actuality, these cadres played a good role during the first years of the transformation and development of agriculture. Many of them displayed a high spirit of learning while working, as a result of which they quickly grew to meet requirements and become rather dependable cooperative leadership and management cadres. These persons are still an important force within the corps of leadership and management cadres of collective agricultural units. They have much experience in organizing and managing production and business.

During the past 26 years, besides these cadres, we have quickly trained for cooperatives more than 50,000 cadres who have a middle level education and a number of cadres who have a college education in economics, technical fields and agriculture. Through their practical activities, many persons have become leadership or management cadres. Today, 10 percent of cooperative heads and 11 percent of party chapter and party organization secretaries nationwide have a middle level or college education; 12.7 percent of production unit chiefs have a middle or elementary level education in economics, a technical field or agriculture. Practically all cooperative leadership and management cadres have been trained at party schools, agricultural schools and management schools (on the central or provincial and district levels) or in short-term training classes at basic units. As a result, they acquired some of the

knowledge and experience needed to lead and manage the transformation and the building of agriculture and the new countryside in accordance with the party's line.

However, in the face of the new requirements of economic development, especially the development of the agricultural economy, the current corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres has exhibited rather serious shortcomings and is, generally speaking, not fully qualified for its tasks.

In the North, more than 20 years after the completion of agricultural cooperativization, all cooperatives have been expanded to village-sized cooperatives. Each has an average of a few hundred hectares of farmland, hundreds of laborers and millions of dong in capital and manages many complex sectors and trades that have placed increasingly high requirements on cooperative leaders and managers. However, the standards of leadership and management cadres have been raised slowly, their job skills are limited and the majority of cadres still rely mainly upon old management experience in their work.

In the South, the selection and training of cooperative leadership and management cadres have focused mainly on the immediate task of organizing and building the cooperativization movement and have not truly focused on the specifics of economic management.

At present, more than 90 percent of agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres have not received formal or systematic training in economics, technical fields or their profession, especially the science of organizing and managing agriculture. More than 82 percent of party chapter and party organization secretaries and the heads of cooperatives and 95 percent of production unit chiefs only have a basic general school education. More than one-fourth of these persons only have a level I education.

The low level of education and the poorly developed specialized skills of management cadres combined with bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in management and the many difficulties being encountered in production and everyday life have created the conditions for negative phenomena to emerge and develop within cooperatives. The good qualities of some cooperative leadership and management cadres have eroded.

The causes of this situation are both objective and subjective:

1. The various levels and sectors do not have a full understanding of what is involved in and have not given appropriate attention to building the corps of agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres nor have they taken positive measures to strengthen and streamline this corps. We have long failed to see the full extent of the harm caused by the practice of providing only general guidance, by doing as one sees fit, by decentralization and localism in economic activities. Steps have not been taken to promptly and fully provide the training required under planning.
2. The training of cooperative leadership and management cadres has not been closely linked to supporting the tasks of cooperatives in each stage. The

results of production and business under the new management mechanism within agriculture has not been established as the standards for the selection and assignment of cadres. Some cooperative leadership and management cadres are incompetent and their good qualities have eroded but they have not been promptly re-evaluated and replaced.

3. Within agriculture, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies is being dismantled slowly. The systems and policies that pertain to cooperative leadership and management cadres have been amended slowly. Therefore, we have failed to fully tap the capabilities of cadres and have even created the conditions for negligence, bureaucracy and laziness to develop, which have led to steps being taken in violation of principles and to many negative phenomena arising within cooperatives.

At present, we are focusing our efforts on developing agricultural production and consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance. It is exceedingly important that we consolidate and perfect socialist production relations and build the new management mechanism within agriculture. Therefore, we must quickly build a corps of agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres who are fully capable of leading and managing production and business in accordance with the new management mechanism in order to steadily advance agriculture from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production.

Our general guidelines are to restructure the existing corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres in a way that is rational, provide them with additional training and select and train reserve leadership and management cadres for cooperatives on the basis of a well coordinated corps structure, one that includes party chapter and party organization secretaries, cooperative heads, production unit chiefs, planning cadres, chief accountants and so forth. These cadres must be persons who are capable of leading, managing and organizing the production and business of the cooperative in accordance with the new management mechanism. At the same time, they must be assigned to positions in such a way that they supplement one another and become a balanced and strong "collective manager." They must be politically dependable, be well versed in the management profession and be stable but bold, creative and responsive so that they can "independently calculate the potentials that lie in labor, arable land and the trade sector and formulate plans for production, business and the distribution and marketing of products; implement economic accounting and socialist business practices in exact accordance with the policies of the state; fulfill tax obligations and fully execute economic contracts with the state and other business organizations."(1)

The standards of cooperative leadership and management cadres must be defined in detail for each position held by these cadres. However, their foremost standard is that they be loyal to the party, to socialism. Cooperative leadership and management cadres must adhere to the lines and views of the party and the directives and resolutions of the upper level; must possess the ability to organize implementation in order to turn the party's line and directives of the upper level into reality, must possess the spirit of struggling against inertia and conservatism; must possess knowledge and

experience in cooperative management; must possess the spirit of being responsible to the cooperative and eagerly involve themselves in agricultural production. This corps of cadres must consist of persons who possess good qualities, are honest and faithful and have the trust of the mass of cooperative members.

At present, some members of the corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres have been challenged in practice, been forged in many areas and are highly experienced, zealous and responsible. However, there are not many such cadres and some of them have not been assigned to the proper position. In keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 7th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, it is necessary to make better use of existing cadres while quickly discovering, utilizing and promoting cadres who have been trained and forged, whose ways of thinking and working are compatible with the new management mechanism and take determined steps to replace leadership and management cadres who are conservative, are incompetent and whose personal qualities are poor.

Over the years, we have trained tens of thousands of cadres who have a middle level or college education, including hundreds of college educated cadres and thousands of cadres who have a middle level education employed by the state, to work at cooperatives. Many of these persons have proven themselves to be outstanding in their field of work, their ability to organize and manage production and business has been challenged and they can be immediately selected to supplement the corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres.

At a time when we lack many of the agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres we need at basic units, there are tens of thousands of cadres who guide agriculture and agricultural economic and technical cadres (500 Masters of Science, 34,500 engineers and 114,000 middle level cadres of various types) deployed in a cumbersome organization on the upper levels, especially on the provincial and central levels. If we transfer a number of these cadres to agricultural cooperatives, we can also select among them competent cadres who are experienced in organizing and managing production and business to participate in leading and managing cooperatives. Of primary importance is the need to adopt appropriate policies concerning them.

In conjunction with strengthening the existing corps of cadres, we must actively recruit and train their successors and reserve cadres for the corps of cooperative leaders and managers. At present, the average cooperative has from 150 to 200 basic general school and middle school graduates working on the basic level and about 35 percent of young labor is made up of rather highly educated demobilized or discharged troops. These persons constitute a very good pool from which we can select and train cooperative leadership and management cadres. We must fully tap the capabilities of this pool. At the same time, we must ask the upper level to send persons down to be forged and trained in order to prepare a corps of future cooperative leaders and managers, thereby insuring succession and continuity and meeting the rising demands of agricultural development.

Here, it is of basic importance that we have a thorough understanding of the party's views in cadre work. Our party always requires that cooperative leadership and management cadres be selected and assigned on the basis of standards, not simply on the basis of the diploma they hold or their age. A determined effort must be made to correct the narrowminded and conservative attitudes that impede the discovery and utilization of new cadres. Cadres must be assigned to jobs on the basis of the work jobs entail. We must not, because of patronage, a desire to maintain some internal relationship or a desire to conform with village or hamlet sentiment, assign cadres to jobs who lack the necessary personal qualities and job skills.

In actuality, complete persons are very rare. Cadres who are skilled, talented, assertive and bold are usually persons who are "individuals," who exhibit certain weaknesses in their style, attitudes and relationship and who are very easily the victims of prejudice caused by old outlooks. Therefore, only by being bold and very precise in their evaluation of persons and making concessions for those shortcomings that are not fundamental in nature can we select and assign cadres in a manner truly based on their skills.

To find cadres who meet the new requirements, we must adopt a new outlook and new methods. We must make the need to eliminate the slowness to take action in organizing the performance of the tasks of cooperatives and the need to bring the organization and management of production and business in line with the new requirements, the bases upon which we assign cooperative leadership and management cadres, select reserve cadres and boldly promote and create the conditions for them to exert an impact. The quality of cadres is the factor that determines success in cooperative leadership and management. Therefore, in addition to educating and training themselves through their work, cooperative leadership and management cadres must also receive training in schools and classes, especially training in basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the lines and policies of the party, economic management, the methods of organizing production and labor and leadership principles and experience, especially the methods and art of leadership. Of course, appropriate requirements must be established for the various types of cooperative and production unit cadres as well as the specific job titles of cadres.

To quickly perform the above jobs well, attention must be given to solving the following several key problems:

First, we must consolidate the cooperative cadre management system, including the departments and sectors from the central to the local levels, especially on the district and village levels. It is necessary to quickly augment this system with cadres who possess new qualities and skills compatible with the shift to the new management mechanism in order to insure that cadres are assessed, evaluated, selected, assigned, utilized and managed in an objective and scientific manner.

Secondly, besides reassigning cooperative leadership and management cadres in a manner consistent with immediate tasks, we must immediately expedite the formulation and implementation of cadre planning so that we can take the



initiative in building the corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres for the next 5 to 10 years and the long-range future.

Cooperative leadership and management cadres do not appear overnight but must undergo a very detailed process of selection, challenges and cultivation. Therefore, it is possible to calculate how many economic, technical and other cadres need be trained for the state sector (at present, there are hundreds of graduates who do not have a job and thousands of cadres still deployed within a cumbersome organization on the upper levels) and then shift to training economic, technical, management and other cadres for the agricultural cooperatives. Each year, the cooperatives can select sons and daughters of cooperative members to be sent to study trades for which there is a need in production and business in accordance with a unified plan that extends from the basic level to the central level. Upon the completion of their studies, they would return to their cooperatives to work but not be part of the state staff. But even if we immediately begin to take this approach, it will be nearly 10 years before we can select college educated cooperative leadership and management cadres who possess solid practical experience (5 years of study and about 5 years on the job).

Thirdly, we must restructure and make effective use of the existing system of schools and classes. At present, our country has 10 colleges, 2 college departments and 67 vocational middle schools training economic and technical cadres for the agricultural, forestry, fishing and water conservancy sectors. The agricultural sector itself has 4 colleges and 2 college departments, 2 academies, 11 middle schools on the central level and 32 local middle schools. If we include technical worker schools and district agricultural schools, there are 102 schools. The state has only established two cooperative management schools on the central level. Every province and district has a party school and the country as a whole has three regional party schools.

We must choose subject matter and training programs and select persons for schools according to the function and task of each school and the standards of each type job title.

For example, the colleges, cooperative management schools on the central level and the party schools on the central level should train cooperative leadership and management cadres who graduate with a college education. The schools on the provincial level should train cadres who graduate with a middle school education. The schools on the district level should train cadres who graduate with an elementary level education.

The programs of instruction used by schools and classes should be revised so that they are consistent with the new economic management mechanism. Old curricula based on the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies are no longer suitable. New curricula must be written that are based on the new management mechanism, which itself is based on economic accounting, socialist business practices and greater autonomy for economic units.

The forms of training must be diverse and flexible. The formal, long-term training system should primarily be used to train reserve cadres and young

cadres now holding positions who are able to attend school. The correspondence and on-the-job training systems should mainly be used to train cadres who currently hold positions but are unable to partake in formal training.

Training subject matter must be immediately augmented with knowledge concerning the methods of leadership, the work methods of the leader and the knowledge necessary for cadre organizational work, ideological work, inspections and mass agitation. Current curricula contain very little or no information concerning these matters.

Fourthly, we must soon study and solve a number of problems concerning the policies that pertain to agricultural cooperative leadership and management cadres (including cadres of the state assigned to cooperatives) in order to insure fair distribution in accordance with the results of the labor of each person and create a new social attitude of equal respect for each of these cadres who makes a good contribution, regardless of their job, position or field. Importance must be attached to providing both material and psychological incentives based on a system of clearly defined responsibilities with fair awards and strict penalties and the adoption of policies that strongly encourage persons to undertake tasks in areas of leading importance and at places where difficulties and hardships are being experienced, to study hard and be close to their work. We must soon research a retirement policy for cooperative leadership and management cadres.

Fifthly, we must soon conduct a comprehensive review of the work of building the corps of cooperative leadership and management cadres, from the time that the agricultural cooperativization movement was launched to the present day. On this basis and on the basis of the requirements of agricultural development in the years ahead, we must propose to the party and state a plan for building the corps of cadres of the collective agricultural economic sector up until the year 2000.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Party Secretariat Directive Number 67/CT-TU dated 26 June 1985 on improving economic management and perfecting the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agricultural cooperatives and production collectives.

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## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN OUR COUNTRY IN RECENT YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 72-75

[Article by Dang Huu]

[Text] In the new stage of the country's development, when concretizing the line on economic construction, the 5th Party Congress once again confirmed the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution as part of the three revolutions in our country and considered the acceleration of scientific and technical activities--which is a very important aspect of this revolution--to be one of the 10 major policies for achieving the four general socio-economic goals of the initial stage. The congress set high requirements regarding science and technology (the natural sciences, the technical sciences and the social sciences) and defined the task of those who work in the fields of science and technology as becoming the masters of those fields of science and technology that are needed by the country: "We must grow and become the masters of that which the country needs."

In keeping with the resolution of the congress, the corps of scientific and technical cadres along with large numbers of laboring people throughout the country have, under the direct leadership of the agencies of the party and administration on the various levels, displayed a high spirit of overcoming the difficulties they face, applied themselves to the pressing socio-economic tasks of the sectors, levels and localities and gradually tied scientific and technical activities to production and everyday life, with encouraging results.

The salient feature during the stage from 1981 to 1985 was the application of the goal-oriented program approach in management. More than 70 state level programs in key scientific-technical advances, more than 250 sector level programs and over 150 provincial and municipal level programs brought together large scientific and technical forces to solve pressing problems of the economy, such as providing a full supply of grain and food to the people; creating additional sources of raw materials, fuel and building materials from domestic natural resources for industry, especially the consumer goods industry; reconditioning and manufacturing many parts, pieces of equipment and machines, including small and medium-size synchronized production lines for many sectors of the national economy; increasing the utilization of production capacity; reducing material, energy and labor consumption ceilings;

stabilizing and gradually improving the quality of products and goods; improving and refining the management mechanism...

During the past few years, many issues of importance in the social sciences, such as "the mechanism the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership," "district level management" and so forth have also been the subjects of key research programs.

The state level programs alone have drawn the participation of more than 15,000 key scientific and technical cadres from nearly 400 research, instructional and production facilities under 40 ministries and general departments. In this way, we have partially corrected the decentralization and fragmentation in research efforts that have existed for many years. At the same time, we have created the conditions needed to concentrate our resources (financial resources, cadres, materials, equipment and so forth) on the key problems of the various levels. As a result of undertaking the key programs that we have, more than 700 research projects have been evaluated and accepted, more than 300 of which we have been able to immediately apply in production. On the average, more than 1,000 technical advances have been applied on varying scales in each of the past 5 years. The economic returns from the application of scientific achievements and technical advances in production and everyday life during the past 5 years are estimated to exceed 10 billion dong. The application of a number of technical advances in agriculture, fishing and forestry alone has increased crop and livestock yields in some areas 1.5 to 2 times compared to 1980 and made important contributions to the growth of grain output by roughly 1 million tons per year.

Along with the application of the goal-oriented program approach to management, scientific and technical activities in the localities have also reached a new stage of development. In keeping with the spirit of Political Bureau Resolution 37 on the science and technology policy, many leadership agencies of the party and administration on the provincial and municipal level have issued separate resolutions on scientific and technical work, increased the level of investment in science and streamlined and strengthened the provincial science and technology committees that serve as the staff of the local party committee echelon and administration. With the assistance and support of the central level, many provinces and municipalities have assembled scientific and technical forces within the locality to conduct basic investigations in support of zoning and planning the distribution of production forces within their territory; apply scientific achievements and technical advances in resolving the difficulties being encountered by the locality in production and everyday life; intensify the management of weights-measures, standards and product quality; and launch a widespread movement to make innovations and rationalize production.

The period from 1981 to 1985 was also marked by a new stage of development in the research activities at colleges, academies and middle schools. By combining the large potentials that lie in their cadres and equipment with training, many schools have, in addition to participating in the key programs of the state, taken the initiative in expanding their direct relations with production and business units on both the central and local levels through

research, development and technology transfer contracts or the performance of technical services. At some colleges, total revenues from contracts have reached tens of millions of dong. Some schools have established subordinate laboratories, centers and specialized research institutes in the special fields in which they are strong to develop research results.

In keeping with the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, steering agencies and many scientific collectives have consciously combined the natural and technical sciences with the social sciences in the earlier stages of their work, that is, when conducting general basic investigations, establishing research tasks and requirements and selecting the agencies and individuals to participate in research, as well as when evaluating and certifying research results. As a result, many achievements in biology and industrial biology, in mathematics and cybernetics, in psychology and sociology, in the science of organization and management and so forth have been applied to achieve initial, successful solutions to many complex problems raised by production and everyday life.

At many projects of the country, such as the Da River and Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plants, the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Thang Long Bridge, the Chuong Duong Bridge, the Hoang Thach Cement Plant, the Bim Son Cement Plant and so forth, Vietnamese technical cadres and workers, standing shoulder to shoulder with foreign specialists, have introduced many technical solutions that are of scientific value and of major significance from the standpoint of economic returns to overcome difficulties encountered in construction and the operation of equipment and industrial systems that are, by world standards, modern.

Significant changes have also occurred in technical management. The rate at which standards have been established and revised has been twice as high as during the period from 1976 to 1980. The quality control system has been strengthened from the central level to the localities and basic units. The system set up to calibrate and repair weighing and measuring devices has been augmented. These efforts have played a practical role in stopping the decline in the quality of products and goods that has occurred in recent years.

Together with focusing efforts on immediate problems, an important portion of our potentials has been devoted to programs involving general basic investigations of several important regions, such as the Central Highlands, the Northwest, the Mekong Delta, and the coastal region of Thuan Hai, and general investigations of a number of provinces and municipalities in order to lay the groundwork for research on the distribution of production forces. Under many programs in key scientific and technical advances and within the framework of subcommittees for the research of scientific and technical strategy, thousands of scientific, technical, management and professional cadres have been mobilized to participate in researching long-term forecasts and strategy for scientific-technical and socio-economic development. The results that have been achieved have helped to prepare the scientific argumentation for establishing the targets of and the steps to be taken by the country in the coming stage and the scientific argumentation for the 1986-1990 plan.

However, besides the important achievements cited above and if strictly compared to the role that science and technology must play, the result that have been achieved are not commensurate with existing potentials and still fall far short of meeting the large requirements faced in developing production, stabilizing and improving the standard of living, improving and refining our economic management and strengthening the security and national defense systems.

Due to many different reasons, but primarily because the economic management mechanism has not truly attached importance to the need to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency, we have neither demanded nor opened the way for the creation and application of scientific and technical achievements. For these same reasons, many technical advances, including some that hold the promise of large socio-economic returns, have been applied slowly and on a very limited scale. Many advanced model units and many innovations and technological improvements of value have not been widely copied or applied. We have not found places to apply many research projects that have been concluded. As a result, scientific and technical activities have not, generally speaking, brought about strong changes in the production sectors.

In recent years, the legal standards on technical management have been amended and further refined. However, the lack of strict compliance with the standards and the failure to harshly prosecute violations of technical legislation have adversely affected the effort to stabilize and improve product quality, especially the quality of essential consumer goods and export goods. The lack of strict compliance with technical standards and codes in production, circulation and distribution and the lax management of raw material, fuel and building material consumption ceilings have created many more difficulties for the economy.

The serious lack of balance between the existing force of cadres and the minimum conditions needed to perform scientific and technical work, such as materials, chemicals, laboratory equipment, spare parts and components, buildings, workshops, especially trial production facilities, scientific-technical publications, printing facilities and so forth, is being corrected slowly. This continues to pose a major obstacle to insuring the quality of projects and carrying out projects at the planned rate. In addition, the slowness with which we have strengthened scientific research agencies and corrected the decentralization, fragmentation and duplication of tasks under which these agencies operate have impeded the enormous ability to contribute that the corps of scientific and technical cadres--this priceless asset of the country--possesses.

The system of specialized scientific and technical management agencies has been virtually completed from the central to the local and basic levels. However, we have been slow to strengthen this system and the working coordination between these agencies and the plan management agencies, finance agencies and so forth on the same level is not close; therefore, they are not playing the role they should be playing. The failure to clearly define the responsibilities of scientific and technical management agencies in providing certification of compliance with technical and industrial standards for major investment projects, especially imported projects, is having negative effects

upon our efforts to increase the returns from investments and form the economic structure of each sector and locality as well as the entire national economy.

The shortcomings and limitations presented above have, to some extent, prevented scientific and technical forces from making all the contributions they could have made to the performance of the socio-economic tasks set by the 5th Party Congress. In the years ahead, in the remaining years of the initial stage, science and technology face increasingly large and pressing requirements. On the basis of reviewing the successes and failures of recent years, all sectors and levels and the entire corps of scientific and technical cadres must find effective ways to correct these shortcomings and weaknesses. To fully implement the resolutions of the party, especially the resolutions of the recent 8th and 9th Plenums of the Party Central Committee, we must continue to refine the management mechanism, especially with regard to a well coordinated mechanism for introducing technical advances in production, gradually do away with the administrative, state subsidies approach to management, boldly shift to economic accounting where possible, increase the autonomy of basic units... with the aim of mobilizing, to the highest degree possible, the enormous potentials of the corps of scientific and technical laborers so that they participate, in close coordination with the mass of laboring people, in the successful performance of the new tasks we face in the years from 1986 to 1990.

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## THE FIRST STEP IN A NEW CHANGE IN LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Ha Xuan Truong]

[Text] The reunified Vietnamese fatherland has brought a new vigor to the literature and art of the entire country. In particular, since the Congress of the Associations of Writers and Artists in late 1983, the corps of writers and artists has begun to be restructured, strengths and weaknesses have been raised for analysis and evaluation, specific guidelines have been formulated and the literary and art activities of the entire country have become increasingly vibrant, have thrived.

The salient feature of literature and art in 1985 was the efforts made to move closer to the realities of society, the realities of the changes replete with complex contradictions that are taking place in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism nationwide. Through hundreds of books, films and plays, through thousands of poems, songs, fine art works and photographs, one can see that the new life is becoming part of works of literature and art, see that literature and art are also beginning to delve deeply into the new life and are, from many different perspectives, recognizing, evaluating and creating. Creative potentials have tapped into the new, deep pools of vitality of the new society. From the works of literature and art produced in 1985 and the preceding few years, there has slowly emerged the image of man and the times in which he lives, even though that which has emerged is not comprehensive, not complete and the same degree of success has not been achieved in all the different genre of literature and art.

It can be said that the singlemost distinctive feature of literature and art in the recent past has been the fact that they have addressed many questions of social ethics, addressed many issues that trouble everyone. Such is necessitated by the current situation, a situation in which the struggle between socialism and capitalism is a bitter struggle and society is highly polarized: on the one side are the progressive and heroic forces who are fighting day and night to defend the fatherland, are working to build projects, from small and medium-scale projects to projects of the century, to change the way things are done and transform society along progressive lines; on the other side are backward and degenerate elements who stubbornly cling to



old concepts of life, who fall further and further behind in the face of the temptations of a lifestyle of decadence, individualism and selfishness, confused social values and eroded ethical standards. Against such a background, the fact that the appearance of such works as "Man's Time," "The Shooting Star," "Leaf-shedding Season in the Orchard," "Passage from Youth," "In the Name of Justice," "The Left Hand Turn Along the Trail" and others, has drawn the attention of public opinion is easily understood. At the same time, the appearance of these works is also an indication of the desire on the part of writers and artists to participate in solving the pressing problems of society. Persons engaged in labor, production and construction--the dominant and most important features of the country's life today--are continuing to be portrayed in a more direct fashion in literary and art works. Through such works as "Extremely Hard Labor," "Next Season's Seed," "Facing the Sea" (a film), "White Paper," "Da River Dialogue," "I and We," "Summer at Sea" and so forth, literature and art have squarely faced the crucial issues of the life of work and production on the economic front. Although the degree of success achieved by each work, by each genre differs and although, from the standpoint of their quality, ideological importance, power to persuade and artistic value, they are not, generally speaking, comprehensive, refined or of a stature befitting the greatness of real life, the works of this type have been greeted by enthusiastic public response and some have drawn unprecedented attention.

The cause of defending the fatherland--a repository of themes in which our country's literature and art has achieved much success--continues to be a focus of attention, especially as the subject of epic poems, as many writers seek to summarize the 30 years of the nation's great wars of resistance. Some multi-volume novels by Nam Ha, Huu Mai, Phan Tu, Nguyen Quang Sang, Hoang Van Bon, Nguyen Trong Oanh and others that have been or are being published and some works of the stage and cinema dealing with the war have appeared before the public and achieved a certain amount of success. Serious attempts to present the image of Uncle Ho, the soul of the revolution and wars of resistance, on the stage, such as the play "History and the Eye Witness," have produced gratifying results.

Actually, it is impossible for the activities of literature and art to draw the attention of the public as strongly as we have seen in recent years if writers and artists move closer to life but fail to undergo changes in their artistic thinking and expression. The art public of today has higher cultural standards, a higher consciousness of being the masters and is striving to achieve a level of appreciation of literary and art works marked by an attitude of analyzing and evaluating these works, by new thinking. From social phenomena to the fates awaiting man, from the general features of collectives to an overview of society through the portrayal of specific individuals, from the development of characters who stand as bright examples for everyone to the portrayal of characters whose inner struggle is profound and whose personalities are unique, our literature and art of today are calling out to the reader and viewer to think, analyze and evaluate in order to better themselves. The spirited and sometimes sharp debates that have taken place concerning some works of literature, theatrical art and cinematography are evidence that art is directly participating in life, that characters and their creators are engaged in a dialogue with life, with those

with whom they live in society. Many authors have boldly portrayed their characters living, acting and thinking in the fight that rages today; have dared to express virtues that are now only forming while also presenting the unsettled, changing life of today; have dared to take the initiative and explain new issues with the intent of contributing to the development of society instead of wavering, waiting and hesitating. This is perhaps one of the reasons behind the many disputes that have occurred recently. And this is something to be welcomed for our country's literature and art. An ancient proverb states: the truth is born of dispute.

In recent years, there have appeared in all genre of art more than a few works dealing with good subjects and proper themes that have raised positive issues but not captured the attention of the public because they have not reflected a significant change in thinking or a significant change in the form of expression as required by new demands. Recognizing this, many writers and artists have begun to search in new directions within their works in order to change and improve the language of art and draw the public to their works. Young writers and artists, always enthusiastic, have begun to record achievements in this regard. There have also been many efforts to change and improve the methods of expression among older writers and artists, whose creative style is set, is established.

Dramatic works have recorded noteworthy accomplishments from the standpoint of broadening the genre and the styles of production and performance. On the traditional stage, popular opera has begun to overcome its difficulties and develop in the direction of raising itself to a higher pinnacle or broadening its language of expression to suit the attitudes and sentiments of modern audiences. Classical opera has reaffirmed its existence by examining modern subjects. A number of reform operas that achieved success in recent theatrical festivals reflect efforts to go beyond this genre's habitual approach of seeking to captivate audiences through unusual, contrived plots full of surprises, beyond feelings of pessimism and melancholy and divorce itself from those aspects of the art that are alien to our country in order to bring itself closer to life and reach higher standards of art. "Watchtower" folk musicals and Nghe Tinh folk music are enriching themselves in terms of both their music and the way it is performed. For the first time ever, the "Du Ke" art of the Khmer of Nam Bo with its unique features of traditional folk theater has been improved and is being performed as professional theater.

The cinematography sector has also made efforts to develop upon its broad mass character through experiments in expanding the subjects of film, employing a broader variety of genre and broadening the way that reality is arranged and expressed to many different time frames and locations. Within the scope of its distinctive language, attempts have been made to increase the effectiveness of audio-visual imagery by producing more color films, raising the standards of filmmaking, artistic design and film music, improving acting performances and introducing diversity in the appearance of actors.

In the field of music, numerous successful songs have come along that beat in rhythm with the pulse of life today while incorporating and enriching the lyrics and melodies of revolutionary and resistance war songs. Some pieces of theater music, dance music, symphonic music... have been marked by a certain

amount of success in composing, developing upon and enhancing traditional national music. Traditional national folk music and serious-classical music have been given appropriate attention and gradually assumed a worthy position. Wholesome light music has taken the direction of combining a style that is modern with national and folk tradition, thus reaching higher aesthetic and ideological standards. This is a type of music that appeals to youths very much.

The fine arts have also taken strides toward a style of expression characterized by depth. The montage--with its ability to embrace many different events, times and images--is being experimented with by artists of many generations, especially young artists, in order to keep pace with the demands of social life. From the perspective of the materials being used, oil paintings, a dynamic force in the language of the fine arts, reflect an effort to achieve a rich blend of the national and the modern. Lacquer paintings remain faithful to their precious traditions and the unique language of this medium. The field of sculpture, which is also experiencing uncertainty from the standpoint of concepts and methods of expression, is trying to overcome these uncertainties and move in the directions that have been confirmed as the directions it should take. Monument projects have been given attention in order to satisfy a new aesthetic need of society. The use of traditional printing and engraving techniques is being expanded through the introduction of world graphic arts technology.

Within the context of a socio-economic situation marked by many difficulties, the changes that have been taking place in literature and art over the past several years, especially in 1985, reflect very large efforts on the part of the persons engaged in literary and art activities nationwide. However, these changes are only initial changes. Generally speaking, the majority of works go no further than recreating some aspects of reality and fail to analyze and interpret reality. They do not focus on the essential issues in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in terms of the philosophical and ideological depth the situation requires nor in terms of revolutionary zeal. In general, literature and art only reflect, not answer, the questions life is raising. This is the basic drawback of our literature and art today. In the creative effort, subject and theme are important. However, from the perspective of the quality of a creative work, the important questions are: what does the subject address, to which degree is the theme explored and developed and what by way of things new and beneficial to the soul, the intelligence and the feelings of the public does the work provide.

In the repository of subjects reflecting life today, critical works that address ethical, psychological and social aspects of life have recently found a strong response and encouragement among the public because these works satisfy the public's desire to expose the rather widespread negative phenomena that exist today and, in some cases, even stand as an insolent challenge to public opinion. However, these attempts to break new ground usually lack accurate and deep analysis of the root causes of these phenomena with the aim of generating confidence and awakening everyone to think and join the struggle to transform society. For this reason, critical works have begun to duplicate themes and take a superficial, simplistic approach.

There still are not many works that build, in a convincing way, the image of new persons in work and production, in transformation and construction, persons of whom the recent Congress of Heroes and Emulation Warriors showed there are many prototypical examples in life today. The force that draws us to these examples is their desire to make positive contributions to the progress of society. This desire transcends every detail of life, every action and the meaning of everything and becomes the decisive force in the development of man's unique and diverse nature in the process of his challenging and struggling with social forces. From a look at how the new man has been portrayed in labor and production, we see that there have been, in recent years, works of high value that have won widespread acclaim and also been the subjects of intense debates, debates that have made a positive impact upon society. Generally speaking, however, this field of subjects has not been given full attention by writers and critics or by many of the persons who are engaged in party ideological work. These initial successes belong mainly to a number of young writers and artists who are dynamic and bold, even though they still exhibit certain weaknesses in terms of their life experience, world view and philosophy of life as well as artistic expression. Mention must also be made of a situation worthy of our concern, namely, indulgence and haste in creative efforts and shunning reality for the sake of experimentation and the achievement of self-awareness. Some phenomena associated with nostalgia, apathy and the attitude that literature is an activity in and of itself, an activity divorced from revolutionary struggle, have also emerged. "Commercial art" is a burning problem, one that holds the potential of causing very much harm to our literature and art not only now, but in the future as well and is the cause of many negative phenomena in our literary and art activities.

Changes in contributions in the fields of theory and criticism have been part of the overall change that has taken place in literature and art. The new efforts that have been made in these fields have been reflected in many articles boldly supporting that which is genuinely new and analyzing things that are good while also analyzing things that have not been achieved and are not good. A number of research projects and many productive symposiums conducted last year created a wholesome, rather intense atmosphere for criticism and drew the attention of professional circles as well as the masses. However, from the standpoint of the literature and art front as a whole, the inherent weaknesses of criticism remain: the failure to keep pace with the development of creative efforts and the avoidance of certain subjects. At a time when writers and artists--especially in the fields of literature, theater and cinematography--have created for themselves a significant public, a public identified with the new era, the field of criticism lacks the sensitivity to keep abreast of the state of public opinion in order to develop upon the fine and good aspects of works, point out the inadequacies and unsuccessful efforts of writers and artists, rectify mistakes and correct the misunderstandings that develop among a considerable portion of the public. On the other hand, the art public is making the inevitable change from the habits of art appreciation associated with war time, with images that serve to set an example and largely represented social forces, to the enjoyment of images that serve to give an overview of society through unique personalities and rich, diverse inner feelings, thus causing audiences to think and cultivating in them the ability to improve themselves. In the face of this situation, theorists and critics have still not conducted significant

activities to raise the level of the public's appreciation of art while struggling against commonplace concepts, "forced marriages" and convenient deductive reasoning. The lack of well coordinated development between theory-criticism and creative works is having a significant influence upon efforts to achieve a higher combined strength so that literature and art can achieve even higher results in their task of directly participating in solving the exceedingly complex problems of the period of transition to socialism in our country.

The strength of socialist literature and art can only be expressed when literature and art directly participate in building the new life and join the people in the struggle for the socialist *raison d'etre*, when the heart of literature and art beats in rhythm with the pulse of life in the very complex process of the advance of the revolution, a process replete with contradictions. Literary and art criticism can only serve its function of directing and guiding when it actively participates in the process of artistic creativity by means of keen observations and analyses, balanced and profound evaluations and by being close to the masses. The popular nature of the new literature and art not only originates in and serves the people, but must also stimulate the creativity of the masses and create an aware public with high cultural and aesthetic standards.

Our people deserve to enjoy the best and most beautiful works of art of the nation and mankind. Our country's writers and artists possess the capabilities and potentials they need to continue the development of our country's literature and art into an important part of socialist literature and art. The new aspects of literature and art that emerged in 1985 are the results of a process and the weaknesses and shortcomings of literature and art are due in large measure to fundamental changes in the requirements of the new stage of the revolution. In the new steps that they take in the years ahead as part of the change they are undergoing, literature and art will surely encounter many more difficulties because the revolution will be developing in depth and the struggle between the two paths will be even more bitter. The revolutionary struggle not only demands a high consensus among writers and artists concerning the goals of the party and people and militant solidarity among the different generations of writers and artists. It also demands that our very flesh and blood be bound to life, to the tens of millions of laboring people who tenaciously and heroically struggle in the fields, at forestry sites and at sea as well as at construction sites and industrial enterprises, to the soldiers who are defending the frontier of the fatherland and fulfilling our international obligation day and night. It demands that we constantly cultivate broad knowledge and our desire to always improve ourselves. And, now more than ever before, the revolution, life itself, demands that we constantly raise the consciousness of citizens and the party consciousness of the artist-militants on this glorious but turbulent front: the literature and art front.

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AN EXAMPLE OF CREATIVITY AND PERSEVERANCE IN THE EFFORT TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 82-85

[Article by Le Tam Huong]

[Text] As the first enterprise in our country's pharmaceutical industry, an enterprise that has been assigned weighty tasks, Central Pharmaceutical Enterprise Number 2, despite shortages and difficulties, has excellently fulfilled the targets assigned it under state plans and been ready to accept more difficult, larger tasks for 25 consecutive years. The enterprise has not only recorded achievements very deserving of pride in the form of drug products for the people and exportation that have earned a position of prestige on the market, in the form of hundreds of millions of dong in gross output and contributions to the state budget and so forth, but also possesses enormous potentials in the material and technical bases, especially the human resources, created by the enterprise. The enterprise is worthy of its selection by our state for commendation as an heroic labor unit.

Established in 1961, Central Pharmaceutical Enterprise Number 2 at first had only 315 cadres and workers, 25 percent of whom were women. The enterprise's production area is cramped. Its machinery is old. For the past several years, the supply of electricity and water has been unstable. Raw materials and supplies have become increasingly scarce. Imports have been difficult to obtain and it has not been easy to make domestic procurements, either. There has also been a serious shortage of adjuvants. The production tasks assigned to the enterprise have been many times larger than its rated capacity. In the face of this situation, the enterprise has always taken the initiative and looked for ways to overcome one difficulty after another in order to complete its plan and maintain its position as the sector's leading enterprise.

In 1983 and 1984, the enterprise accounted for one-fifth of the value of the total output of the entire pharmaceutical sector. Products produced from domestic pharmaceuticals have risen from only 10 percent of the value of the enterprise's total output under the very difficult circumstances of previous years to 30 percent today, thus exceeding the target assigned to the central enterprises by the Ministry of Public Health. Meeting this one target alone has not been easy: active ingredients can only be extracted from domestic pharmaceuticals at the rate of 1 percent, sometimes only at the rate of

one/tenth of one percent or even as low as one/one hundredth of a percent. These active ingredients must then be purified to meet drug standards and made into hundreds of millions of pills and vials of medicine, which greatly reduces the amount of foreign currency that must be spent to purchase pharmaceuticals from foreign countries. The enterprise's contributions to the state budget have grown with each passing year: from 26 million dong in 1981 to 89 million dong in 1982, 93.3 million dong in 1983 and 116 million dong in 1984. Product quality has been maintained and continuously exceeded the standards set by the Ministry of Public Health. The enterprise has been awarded a certificate of commendation by the State Science and Technology Commission. Its products have gained increasing prestige on the market: Ka Vet, Se Da, Queen Bee's Milk tablets, vitamin supplement pills, Malamin, Sen Vong and Vinca. The production of all exported products, such as Ba Dinh ointment, Sao Vang ointment, Thang Long oil, Denticite toothpaste and the recently introduced pollen tablets has exceeded plan targets. The enterprise has also displayed a high spirit of socialist cooperation with Laos and Cambodia, with the Soviet Union and Hungary. More than 10 years ago, the enterprise designed and assembled for Houa Phan Province in Laos a pharmaceutical enterprise complete with all the necessary production components. Today, Central Pharmaceutical Enterprise Number 2 continues to regularly supply materials to our friends and train cadres for them.

To support its production and build a unit that is solid and strong in every respect, the enterprise has built many movements, the impact of which has been marked. The emulation movement is well established. One team has been a socialist labor team for 14 consecutive years. In the industrial safety and sanitation movement, the enterprise has been recognized as an outstanding unit by the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions and awarded a certificate of commendation by the State Science and Technology Commission for its work in the drug quality control movement. The literature and art movement have also developed well. The enterprise's supplementary education school has continuously been a progressive, outstanding school. One of the enterprises self-defense battalions has earned the "Determined To Win" title for 12 years in a row. The enterprise has also been recognized as an outstanding unit in the innovations movement and the movement to maintain political security. Its party organization has been recognized as a solid and strong party organization.

The enterprise has been able to record achievements deserving of pride throughout the past 25 years mainly because it has always displayed high, steadfast determination to be self-reliant. Most importantly, it has searched for and relied upon domestic sources of pharmaceuticals, produces drugs for use in both the prevention and treatment of illness and has combined Eastern medicine with Western medicine, thus helping to build an independent and autonomous public health sector for Vietnam and overcoming the enterprise's largest difficulty. Because its production area is cramped, the enterprise has organized the use of its space efficiently. Its machinery being old, the enterprise has enacted regulations on its use and established periodic inspection and maintenance procedures. It has also manufactured some spare parts on its own. With materials in short supply and imports difficult to obtain, specialists of the enterprise have scurried like shuttles throughout the South and the North and up to the border provinces in search of materials

to pick or buy. Each time it has been necessary to replace a pharmaceutical or adjuvant, they have promptly conducted research and amended technical standards to conform with the actual production situation. Despite the lack of appropriate policies and regulations on the research and production of drugs from domestic pharmaceuticals and although the implements and equipment necessary for research and production are in short supply and not matched, no one from the director of the enterprise to its scientific cadres and technical workers has any fear of difficulties. To the contrary, everyone is enthusiastic, humbly studies and will go for days without eating or sleeping just to put a product into production.

Secondly, the enterprise has intensified the innovations movement and its scientific research.

The pharmaceutical industry is a production sector that demands scientific and technical precision and absolute quality control. The slightest mistake can cause grave harm to human life. It also demands a deep commitment to research, to developing drugs that are more efficacious and have a wider use. The director of the enterprise and its leadership have given particular attention to this aspect of their work and consider it to be their most important responsibility. As a result, scientific research and the application of research results have become part of standard procedure in the offices, sections and plants of the enterprise. The enterprise's corps of scientific and technical cadres now includes more than 100 persons who have a college or post-graduate education. During the past 5 years, 74 scientific research projects have been put into production and yielded economic returns. The bee products project resulted in the development of products that have contributed nearly 30 million dong (old money) to the value of the enterprise's total output over the past 5 years. These products account for 60 percent of the value of the products processed from domestic pharmaceuticals by the enterprise each year. The enterprise has made codeine from morphine extracted from poppies, refined vitamin K in its broken down form into a drug ingredient, manufactured whole blood products, extracted vinbla-stin [Vietnamese phonetics] for the treatment of cancer from the active ingredient of Vinca rosea, etc. To be able to produce these pharmaceuticals, the enterprise designed and built, using its own capital, a drug extraction production line, manufactured a circulating vacuum autoclave with a capacity of 100 liters per hour to isolate pharmaceuticals and manufactured a fine grade pharmaceutical milling machine with a capacity of 120 kilograms per hour. Many persons have set examples of dedication and high enthusiasm in research work. Some have gone to the trouble of accompanying mobile bee keeping units to study how to extract each product from bees for analysis and determine which should be put into production and which provide an abundant source of raw material. During the years of the resistance against the United States, groups of cadres travelled to Hoang Lien Son to research the extraction of essential cinnamon oil from the various parts of the cinnamon plant. In recent years, essential cinnamon oil has been extracted in Thanh Hoa and Ha Tuyen Provinces. They have not only concerned themselves with investigating pharmaceutical materials, setting up extractors and researching extraction sites and the preservation of essential oils, a strategic product, but have also performed manual labor, have carried water and built ovens. Cadres of the enterprise have travelled all the way to Muong Iong, Sa Pa and



Lai Chau to find heavily fruited poppy plants that contain a high percentage of active ingredient. During vacations at Sam Son, they have eagerly gone in search of Vinca rosea plants that contain a high percentage of active ingredient. In the production of drugs, they have displayed a high spirit of responsibility and given attention to every minor detail, from the printing of labels for vials of injectible medicine to the lettering on pills in order to avoid mistakes. Even in this work the enterprise has made an innovation by manufacturing mortars with lettering for making pills. In recent years, the enterprise has made 3,231 innovations, saving the state more than 3 million dong in old money. It has accepted three state-level projects. The director is a member of the 64.01 Project Board, a state level project in the creation of sources of raw materials for use in the production of drugs.

Thirdly, it has formulated and implemented training plans and raised the standards of cadres and workers. Because of the highly specialized scientific and technical requirements involved in insuring the development of its production, the enterprise has attached very much importance to providing training and raising the standards of cadres and workers. Although busy with many other jobs, the various directors of the enterprise have all served as the principal of the enterprise's supplementary education school. This school completed the popularization of level I education in 1970, the popularization of level II education in 1979 and the popularization of level III education in 1983 among all the persons within the stipulated age groups throughout the enterprise. Working at the enterprise requires that a person constantly study, study his special field and even foreign languages. The director has learned four foreign languages (English, French, Russian and Czechoslovakian) in order to be able to research additional foreign publications and raise his standards to meet the requirements of his increasingly difficult task. The deputy directors also know from two to four foreign languages. Scientific and technical cadres have eagerly learned foreign languages (Russian, English and French). A number of cadres know four foreign languages (not including those that they learned while overseas, such as Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian and Chinese). One after the other, all cadres who have a college education have been sent for advanced training at home and abroad. Under the enterprise's planning, all technical workers must complete an elementary or middle-level class in technology. The key cadres of the enterprise, in addition to learning more about their special field and learning foreign languages, must complete a middle level class in politics.

This "cultural key" has helped the enterprise to acquire the conditions needed to train a corps of successor cadres who have completed their tasks in every period. During the past 25 years, the enterprise has trained for itself and other places 116 leadership cadres.

Fourthly, it has constantly concerned itself with the living conditions of cadres, manual workers and civil servants.

The task of the enterprise has steadily grown. From the standpoint of living conditions, cadres, manual workers and civil servants are experiencing many difficulties, particularly female cadres and workers, whose health is poor and whose children are small. Some women are both mothers and grandmothers and shouldering the work of the country and the chores of the home is very hard.

Women make up 80 percent of the total number of persons at the enterprise. Many women hold key leadership positions in production, in the party organization, the Trade Union and enterprise leadership board. These women understand the living conditions of cadres, manual workers and civil servants very well. The enterprise has taken many different approaches and measures to improve living conditions. Worthy of attention are the following: the mechanization of dining halls and regularly maintaining mid-shift meals and a differential for hazardous work, despite the high costs involved; the introduction of annual and quarterly health examinations for persons working at hazardous places; the use of Eastern and Western medicine to develop preventive health care and medical treatment; the administration of acupuncture at the enterprise; the maintenance of good child care centers and kindergartens; the implementation of product contracts and the recycling of discarded materials and defective products. This last effort alone has saved millions of dong in old money each year: 1.073 million dong in 1983 and 1.4 million dong in 1984.

With the achievements it has recorded in the past 25 years, its splendid tradition of struggle, its solid and strong political and ideological base and its determination to retain its distinguished title as an heroic labor unit, vigorously develop the combined strength of the entire enterprise, display a higher spirit of self-reliance, overcome difficulties, take the initiative and be creative, Central Pharmaceutical Enterprise Number 2 will surely complete its larger tasks under the 1986 plan and the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan well.

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## STRUGGLING FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF INFORMATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 86 pp 86-91

[Article by Hoang Thinh]

[Text] Never before has mankind possessed such enormous capabilities to resolve difficulties that have been faced since the dawn of history, such as the problems of health, food, shelter, natural disasters and his own security.

The development of information has helped man to discover many new horizons and familiarize himself with the cultures of other nations.

Our society is becoming an information society. The information revolution has had profound influences on how society is organized. Due to the remarkable achievements of science and technology, which have brought us modern communication tools, no region of the world is isolated or alone. And, news concerning all aspects of life, even if it is made at remote places on earth, reaches everyone in an instant. Our planet has become small and is gradually becoming what many persons have begun to call a global village.

The birth of the microprocessor and the small computer can be considered an explosion in information! Compact computers have become a tool for collecting, distributing and processing information. They can store a very large volume of information, the equivalent of 470,000 books, each 400 pages thick. Today, some countries are using computers and laser beams to set newspaper type and lay out newspapers.

In the 1970's, a new concept emerged and enriched the world political vocabulary: a new international order of information.

Due to the strong development of communications, the relations and exchanges among the nations and countries of the world today are stronger than ever before in every field, thus creating the conditions for man's life to become more beautiful with each day that passes.

However, there are currently serious imbalances on an international scope in the production and transmission of news and programs. The developing countries account for 70 percent of the world's population but possess only a small percentage of the means of communication: 22 percent of the book

titles published, 17 percent of the press materials circulated, 9 percent of the news print, 27 percent of the radio broadcasting stations, 18 percent of the radio receivers, 5 percent of the television stations and 12 percent of the television receivers.

One of the obstacles faced by the developing countries in achieving free access to information is the very high price of new telecommunication technologies. The United States and the Western industrial countries monopolize the means of communication and usually impede the transfer of information technology to the developing countries. And, because they monopolize the means of information, the capitalist imperialist countries also monopolize the transmission of news. The four Western news agencies alone (UPI, AP, Reuters and AFP) transmit slightly less than 90 percent of world's news each day, no more than 20 percent of which is news on the developing countries. The news produced by Western news sources usually does not reflect the truth and frequently distorts and blurs the image or creates an unattractive, incorrect image of the developing countries.

Therefore, the developing countries strenuously oppose this one-way flow of information, calling it imperialist information, and have been fighting for the establishment of a new, freer, more balanced and more effective international order of information.

At first, the imperialist countries strongly opposed the view that a new international order of information need be established.

However, in the late 1970's, due to changes in the comparison of forces in the world, the imperialists were forced to recognize the need to change the structure of information in the world.

In 1978, as a result of a steadfast struggle by and close coordination between the socialist countries and the developing countries, the General Council of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the 20th session, adopted a progressive document: "The declaration of basic principles related to contributions by the mass media to the strengthening of peace and mutual understanding in the world, to the development of human rights and the struggle against racism and apartheid as well as the provocation of war."

Prior to then, in 1976, at the 19th session of the UNESCO General Council, the overwhelming majority of member countries agreed to establish a new international order of information.

Gradually, however, the imperialist countries found a way to change the name of this order, their aims being to lessen the class and anti-imperialist nature of the name first chosen and steer this struggle of a political nature toward purely technical objectives. At the Tarare Conference (France), they argued for a global order of information, demanding that the word "new" be dropped and that "international" be replaced with "global."

At present, documents of the United Nations use the concept "a new world order of information" while documents of the non-aligned movement use the concept "a new international order of information."

Not only do the names of these concepts differ, their definitions differ as well. In recent years, in addition to the concept "information," a new concept has emerged--"communication." And, the new order was at one time called the new order of information and communication.

To this day, there are still many different definitions of "communication."

--Some persons maintain that "communication is the interaction between one person and another through signs and symbols."

--Some persons define "communication as the medium of broad exchange of preconceptions and concepts between one person and another."

--And still other persons say that "communication is a category dealing with the interaction between one person and another through symbols. This interaction can take the form of behavior, gestures, drawings or written words."

Because of these disagreements and in accordance with a decision by the UNESCO General Council, 19th session, the International Commission To Study Communication Related Issues was established. The commission consisted of experienced journalists and news agency personnel from 16 countries and was headed by Mr. MacBride, and Irishman, a lawyer, former minister of foreign affairs and recipient of the Nobel Prize and the Lenin Peace Prize. Due to the commission's complex makeup, it encountered very many difficulties in its work and the final report of the MacBride commission (as it was called) represented a compromise.

Raising the question "what is communication?", the report gave the following definition: "Communication can be a tool of power as well as a revolutionary weapon, a commercial product or a means of education." Thus, the report simultaneously advanced four different definitions of the same concept.

Besides its several drawbacks, the report of the MacBride commission also contained many positive points, such as criticizing the stand of the Western superpowers in the field of information; criticizing the multinational corporations that monopolize information; proposing that the mass media create a good atmosphere for mutual understanding; and proposing that the mass media not be used for the purpose of war or to spread national, race or religious hatreds.

It was not surprising that, at the 22nd session of the UNESCO General Council in Paris in 1983, the "communications in the service of man" program sparked a sharp debate between progressive and reactionary forces, because the establishment of a new order of information is a matter of important significance in intensifying the class struggle in the international arena with the aim of resolving the basic issues of the times that exist among countries with different social systems. During that session, the United

States and a number of Western countries stressed the need for and sought to impose a "free dissemination of information" formula with a view toward evading their responsibility. Vietnam's representative and the representatives of the socialist and non-aligned countries pointed out: while the four Western news agencies (UPI, AP, Reuters and AFP) transmit more than 40 million words of news each day, the Organization for Cooperation Among the News Agencies of the Non-aligned Countries only transmits 60,000 words. In view of this situation, placing too much emphasis on "freedom of information" will only lead to a one-way flow of information. We demanded that the current imbalance in information be corrected and that a new order be established, a balanced order characterized by a two-way flow of information. We demanded that freedom of information be closely tied to holding persons accountable for the information they make available. We also waged an active struggle against the mistaken view that news be presented in an "objective" manner while actually presenting news that is inaccurate and biased. For example, when reporting on the Cambodian situation, some countries only report news on the Pol Pot genocidal clique or the international reactionaries who vilify Vietnam. Therefore, we demand that information be accurate, true, faithful and completely objective.

The concept of a new international order of information will remain nothing more than a concept if concrete and positive steps are not taken to make it a reality.

For the first time in history, the Conference of the Heads of State of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Algeria in 1973 issued an appeal for the decolonialization of information activities, the purpose being to help win economic independence and the right of political self-determination. Following that conference, a number of news agencies of the non-aligned countries began to exchange news with one another. However, the Organization for News Agency Cooperation Among the Non-aligned Countries (Pool) was not actually established until the Conference of Ministers of Information of the Non-aligned Countries in New Delhi in July 1976 and was not officially given approval until the 5th High Level Conference of the Non-aligned Countries in Colombo in late 1976.

Pool has organized a news transmission network among the countries within the non-aligned movement with a view toward presenting a true picture of their actual situation in the developing countries and combating distortions of the situation by Western news agencies. Pool marks an important step forward in the struggle to establish a new order in information.

Since its establishment, Pool has shown itself to have made a clear impact. Among the news agencies of the non-aligned countries, the exchange of news and mutual assistance in the acquisition of technical equipment and the training of cadres in the spirit of collective self-reliance have helped to increase the information capabilities of these countries with the aim of effectively contributing to the struggle against the huge propaganda apparatus of the imperialists and reactionary countries, an apparatus replete with distortions. Thanks to the assistance provided by the socialist countries and the non-

aligned countries that possess more highly developed material and technical conditions, many developing countries have been able to establish their own national news agency.

Each day, the member agencies of Pool promptly transmits into the common news broadcasting network political, economic, cultural and social news of their country. A number of these news agencies, which have a more highly developed technical base, included among which is the Vietnam News Agency, have assumed the task as "rebroadcasting centers" that rebroadcast news received from countries within the region, as a result of which news concerning the non-aligned countries is transmitted further and more widely.

In its 10 years of operation, Pool has steadily grown. At first, it consisted of only 12 news agencies. Today, 93 countries participate in Pool and the news broadcast into the Pool network is growing in volume and being improved from the standpoint of quality with each passing day.

On each continent, regional organizations have also been established, such as the African news agency (PANA), the Organization of Latin American News Agencies (ASIN) and the Organization of Asia-Pacific News Agencies (OANA).

In addition, the Radio and Television Organization of the Non-aligned Countries has also been established.

However, these are only initial, encouraging steps. Because, there are still 13 non-aligned countries that do not have a national news agency and more than one-half of the members of Pool lack equipment and thus do not have the means to receive news or broadcast news on their country into the Pool network.

Technological advances in communication are occurring at a rapid pace. This demands that we constantly keep abreast of scientific and technical knowledge. The processing and dissemination of information also demand increasingly sophisticated and modern technology. One question that has been raised is: what must the attitude of the developing countries toward the importation of new science and technology be?

At the Mass Information Conference of the Non-aligned Countries (NAMEIA) held in New Delhi in December 1983, two approaches were evident: to close a country's doors and not allow Western technology in, for fear of harming existing domestic means of communication, or to open the doors to new achievements in order to quickly modernize without taking the country's actual capabilities into consideration.

In his speech, the Vietnamese representative observed: the technological revolution is now on our doorstep. Therefore, in a display of a high spirit of collective self-reliance, the developing countries must first cooperate with and assist one another. On the other hand, they must demand that the developed countries transfer science and technology to the countries of the Third World without any political preconditions. Because their socio-economic conditions do not permit them to equip the mass media with modern technology all at once, the developing countries must centralize their existing capabilities and help one another to resolve those problems that they can

resolve on their own. On the other hand, light attention cannot be given to gradually achieving modernization and importing new technologies that are compatible with needs, capabilities and the ability to utilize these technologies with a view toward applying the new scientific and technical advances of our times.

At the conferences of Pool, the issue of shifting to electronic operations has become a subject of intense debate. A number of news agencies of the non-aligned countries have begun to shift to electronic operations in the receiving and broadcasting of news (such as India) or the editing of news (such as Malaysia). The Vietnam News Agency is conducting a test and has begun to achieve good results in the establishment of a new Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City news transmission line utilizing micro-computer equipment that transmits news copy in Vietnamese complete with diacritical and tone marks at a speed at least 12 times faster than conventional equipment now in use.

Pool has also taken concrete steps to accelerate the training of cadres and improve the contents, quality and form of news in order to increase the effectiveness of the information activities of the developing countries.

The U.S. imperialists have spent huge sums on information and will spend 1 billion dollars to modernize radio stations in the next 5 years. The CIA annually allocates 300 million dollars, and 2,000 personnel (at the information nerve center and overseas), for mass information services. The United States, constantly brandishing the banner of its anti-communist "crusade" everywhere, has made psychological warfare a part of its strategy to undermine the opposition and is using information and propaganda as a tool to poison minds and exert global pressure.

The regular conference of the secretaries of the party central committees of the socialist countries on ideological issues held in Bucharest in December 1985 decided that it was necessary to expose the ambitions of the United States to disrupt the strategic balance and achieve military superiority as ambitions that cannot be achieved and expose the bellicose nature of the "star wars program" of the United States and the danger to the cause of peace posed by this "crusade" thinking and policy as well as imperialism's provocative campaigns against socialism. The conference also decided that ways must be found to improve the technical aspects of propaganda work. In particular, consideration must be given to the direct transmission of television programs through space.

In the cause of building and defending the fatherland, in the struggle against the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, we cannot give light attention to the impact of hostile information. Because, the Chinese reactionaries, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and domestic and foreign reactionary powers, are directing the thrust of their psychological warfare effort against our country every hour of every day, their purpose being to have an impact upon the spirit and psychology of the masses. Supporting their psychological war are dozens of Vietnamese language radio stations operated by the imperialists, the Chinese reactionaries and other reactionaries of all types.



Information is a tool that serves politics and is, in turn, under the impact of politics. Information is a vital force in economic development. With each day that passes, information is being utilized more widely in educational and cultural development. Information makes a positive contribution to increasing the understanding among nations with a view toward maintaining world peace and security and building international cooperation.

The field of information and communications is opening new prospects. At the same time, the struggle to establish a new, freer, more balanced and more effective international order of information remains a sharp struggle.

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## THE ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

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[Article by Vu Tien]

[Text] In the early 1960's in conjunction with the nationalization of the economic component of fascism, the GDR completed the socialist transformation of the capitalist economy within industry and agriculture. With that, socialist production relations were established and assumed the dominant position throughout the national economy. The economic strategy during this period was designed to eliminate the serious imbalance within the economy due to the partitioning of the country into two Germanies(1) while making every effort to develop production forces and improve the standard of living. Under this strategy, the material and technical bases of socialism were built and a number of important industrial sectors that were previously very weak developed strongly. The aftereffects of the war and the serious imbalance within the economy were virtually overcome. Thus, the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism were virtually completed during the early years of the 1960's. Socialist society began to develop upon its own base. In the 1960's, the party set the task of consolidating and developing the new social system in every respect. In the early 1970's, the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] established the strategic task of building developed socialism, considering the performance of this task to be an historic process of profound political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual transformation, to be the stage of transition to the building of communist society.

In the early 1980's, the SED set forth the strategy for economic development in the 1980's, the aim of which is to achieve developed socialism under the specific circumstances of the domestic and world situations during this period. At present, the SED is reconfirming the correctness of the strategy that has been adopted and incorporating in this strategy new elements that are consistent with the new situation.

The most important element of the new economic strategy is the thorough development of existing scientific and technical potentials at home and in the world in order to increase the strength of the economy to the maximum degree possible.

Considering science and technology to be the decisive factor in the economic and military struggle between the two opposing social systems, the GDR is struggling to bring its scientific research into the ranks of the most advanced scientific research in the world. Only in this way can it find solutions of the highest possible quality to production problems. At present, and in the future, the GDR is concentrating on those sectors that employ high technology, considering this to be the key to the GDR retaining its position as one of the 10 industrial superpowers in the world. These sectors are microelectronics, robot technology, biotechnology, high grade ceramic materials, etc. Of these sectors, microelectronics and robot technology are the key industries in stimulating the development of the entire national economy and achieving the highest possible efficiency. In 1984, the GDR put 10,800 robots into use. Today, 46,500 robots are in use within the various sectors of the economy. In 1984, 43,000 (automated-programmed) production lines were put into operation. In September 1985, the GDR equipped general school students with personal computers and appropriate programs. The exportation of microelectronic equipment accounts for 50 percent of the total profits generated by exports.

More than 90 percent of the increase in national income, the increase in labor productivity, the reduction in the consumption of materials and the increase in the competitive position of the products of the GDR on the world market is the result of science and technology.

Another important element of current economic strategy is the full utilization of domestic natural resources. The GDR is poor in raw materials. It has no anthracite coal, petroleum deposits, iron ore, chrome or manganese and very little copper, timber, bauxite, cotton, gold, silver... With the tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and through cooperation within CEMA, the GDR has been able to virtually satisfy its needs for these raw materials in past years and continues to do so today. However, in the early 1980's, new price changes occurred on the international market. The GDR has therefore called for an intensified effort to make full use of domestic raw materials and energy and reduce the importation of raw materials and fuel while still increasing the value of exports. To accomplish this, each economic, scientific and technical activity, from basic research, the application of technology and industrial science and the development of standards, architecture and the fine arts to elementary and advanced vocational training for the worker and the organizing of the entire production system in accordance with the strictest standards of quality, has the aims of increasing the output of domestic raw materials and fuel, including substandard raw materials, utilizing domestic raw materials within many different fields of production technology and, in particular, creating many products of high value from every kilogram of domestic raw materials through refining.

The GDR has done very much work in the process of meeting the objectives mentioned above. It was once projected that the GDR would not be producing 300 million tons of lignite (lignite is a type of low-calorie coal found in very large quantities in the GDR) per year until the year 2000. Today, the GDR's annual production of lignite exceeds 300 million tons. Due to the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, the GDR has been able to refine and enrich lignite, as a result of which it can use

lignite to operate all electric power plants that were previously powered by oil and also use lignite in place of oil in many other fields. It has now been projected that there is enough lignite to last the power sector for 50 years. The established goal is to use lignite as a fuel in all fields of social production. Under the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, the GDR allocated 70 percent of the capital invested in industry to the development of the lignite sector to meet this goal. Household furniture once made of wood is now manufactured mainly from sawdust and veneering. Optical fibers and high-tech ceramics are now being manufactured from domestic raw materials in place of imported raw materials. As regards livestock feed, the GDR once had to import 4.5 million tons of grain each year. Now, primarily as a result of raising its grain output and making full use of domestic grain, it only imports 1.5 million tons while still maintaining the development of livestock herds and the output of meat and milk.

One of the most important elements of the GDR's economic development strategy is to carry out expanded reproduction in depth. Carrying out expanded reproduction in depth means increasing the volume of products produced through the rational use of existing material bases without using additional labor.

There are many measures that can be taken to carry out expanded reproduction in depth. However, it is first of all necessary to carry out the scientific and technological revolution, apply scientific-technical advances and rationalize production. Secondly, labor must be utilized in the most rational and efficient manner possible in accordance with the principle that labor productivity must increase at a faster rate than product output. Thirdly, full returns must be achieved from fixed capital. On the basis of the trend in the world to upgrade technology, timely steps must be taken to upgrade fixed capital to modern technical standards. At present, more than one-half of the fixed assets of the GDR have only been in use for less than 10 years, one-third have been in use for less than 5 years. This represents a rather high rate of upgrading fixed assets. To achieve this rate, the GDR has raised the percentage of the capital invested in fixed assets used to upgrade equipment and reduced the amount of capital invested in new construction. Fourthly, practicing frugality must be considered a long-range strategy. The slogan of the GDR is to practice thorough frugality in production and consumption, in the processing of raw and building materials, with full importance attached to productivity, quality and efficiency.

The practice of frugality in production is governed by a system of strict ceilings on the consumption of raw materials and energy. According to the latest regulations, the consumption of raw materials and energy per unit of product must decline by 3 to 7 percent per year. At present, 92 percent of the economic activities in the GDR are governed by raw material and energy consumption ceilings. This percentage is the highest among the socialist countries.

The mobilization and use of scrap materials have been established as a plan norm, are encouraged by prices and are made possible by a widespread procurement network. Adults and children nationwide are very interested in this effort and actively collect scrap materials and products.

Practicing frugality in consumption has been established as a very strict requirement, especially with regard to the consumption of petroleum products and raw materials that must be imported.

On the other hand, utilizing work time in the most rational way possible is considered a measure of utmost importance in practicing frugality. This requirement has been established for society as a whole as well as for each individual worker. In 1983, as a result of increased labor productivity, some 543 million work hours were saved, the equivalent of the amount of time worked by 300,000 persons in 1 year.

The intensive development of production strategy has been in effect in the GDR since the early 1970's. In the case of the GDR, the economy must reach a certain level of development before intensive development can be carried out. Most importantly, the GDR must have a corps of highly qualified scientific and technical cadres and workers who are independent and creative, an important portion of whom must meet or exceed advanced world standards. At the same time, it must have a very strong material-technical base upon which the entire economy can develop in a stable manner. In addition, labor productivity and economic efficiency must reach unprecedented levels on a society-wide scale.

In the GDR, the development of consumer goods production on the basis of domestic raw materials or raw materials received from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is one of the most important elements of economic strategy. To implement this strategic guideline, the state requires that not only the light industrial sectors, but also the industrial sectors that manufacture machinery and equipment for the production of consumer goods directly produce a number of necessary consumer products. Scientific and technical advances must be directly reflected in consumer goods. Microelectronics must be applied in consumer goods production with the aims of raising the quality, reliability and convenience of use of these products and making them energy efficient. The production of some consumer goods demands the effective combination of modern technology and the talents of artisans, demands keen interest, attention to detail, creativity and enthusiasm on the part of the worker. Together with supplying grain and food products and building housing and on the basis of closely tying the improvement of the standard of living to increases in productivity and economic efficiency, supplying consumer goods to the people is also part of the unified economic and social policy of the SED.

The strategic targets of the SED for agriculture are: systematically raising the yield and output of all agricultural sectors, including crop production, livestock production and forestry, with a view toward providing a stable but increasingly large supply of increasingly high quality grain and food products to the people and raw materials to industry while boldly carrying out the industrialization of agricultural production and the urbanization of the countryside with the aim of gradually eliminating the basic differences that separate the cities and rural areas.

To achieve these goals and in view of the fact that the amount of area under cultivation cannot be increased (at present, the GDR has 4.7 million hectares of farmland and 1.6 million hectares of grasslands), the agricultural

development strategy of the SED is to make every effort to increase output per unit of land and raise crop and livestock yields by raising soil fertility, modernizing agricultural machinery and equipment, strengthening and improving the material-technical bases within agriculture, reducing expenses and production costs, improving product quality and using land as efficiently as possible so that agriculture can provide the fullest possible supply of grain, food products and raw materials to society.

The SED maintains that agricultural production is of pressing economic significance as well as important political significance. Modern agricultural enterprises that specialize in crop production and animal husbandry and are closely linked through cooperative relations have been established within the GDR. These enterprises supply the people with their primary food products, such as meat, milk, butter, eggs, bread, sugar and potatoes. In 1984, the GDR produced a record output of 11.5 million tons of grain at an average yield of 4.5 tons per hectare. However, the GDR must still import grain each year to maintain its livestock herds. Agriculture (including the forest industry) only supplies a little more than half of the raw materials used by the national economy. Meanwhile, imperialism is making increasing use of grain as an instrument of political and military pressure.

In the face of this situation, the GDR must use every scientific and technical capability it has to accelerate the intensive development of agriculture and raise the output of grain, food products, livestock feed and the various types of raw materials, with the production of grain and livestock feed being given the position of foremost importance within the agricultural economy.

In conjunction with stepping up production within the agricultural cooperative and state farm sectors (state farms primarily specialize in animal husbandry and the selection of breeding stock), the GDR attaches very much importance to developing the role played by private agriculture, household animal husbandry and the Association of Gardeners. Private production currently accounts for roughly 5.5 percent of the land under cultivation. This production component is assisted by state economic agencies. The 1.3 million member Association of Gardeners and Small-Scale Livestock Producers supplies a large quantity of vegetables, fruit, honey and rabbit meat, about one-fourth of poultry output and 40 percent of the egg output of the entire country.

Together with the private handicraft trades, which represent some 260,000 laborers and supply 59 percent of output and services (handicraft cooperatives supply 41 percent of output and services), private agriculture and the subsidiary household economy are playing an increasingly large role.

Concerning education and training, the economic strategy of the SED takes the view that the laborer is the production force of most fundamental and decisive importance, even in the face of the continuous advancement of science and technology. Facts have increasingly shown that only persons who are highly specialized, who possess creative minds, are aware and disciplined can be the masters of science and technology. These persons are the only and the inexhaustible source of the economic strength of a country.

In the GDR, education and science are becoming more a part of each field of economic and social life with each day that passes. Therefore, the GDR has attached full importance to the education system, from the general school to the college levels, its aim being to train fully developed socialists who possess knowledge of culture, science and technology, and possess both socialist awareness and the spirit of industrial discipline. Besides its very well developed system of general schools, colleges and vocational middle schools, the GDR also has a system of technical and professional training schools for workers. At present, 95 percent of the workers in the GDR have attended these schools.

Under its line on educating the worker, the GDR considers it important to build discipline and intensify the teaching of politics, ideology, the spirit of responsibility and the obligations of the citizen. The SED stresses that the labor force of a developed industrial country must possess discipline as strict as the discipline of an army in combat, the only difference being that, in the economy, regulations and persuasion must be used more than orders. On the other hand, material incentives are provided at high rates in the GDR and are backed by the necessary material base.

Due to its policy of attaching importance to the human factor in the ways described above, the GDR today has a labor force whose technical skills and spirit of industrial discipline are among the best in the world. With 3.2 million industrial workers, the GDR has created an industrial output value that has brought the country into the ranks of the 10 industrial superpowers in the world. Agriculture (including the forest industry) has only about 800,000 laborers but produces a grain output large enough to support a population of nearly 17 million at a high standard of living (the average agricultural laborer feeds 21 persons). Agriculture also raises nearly 6 million head of cattle, more than 13 million hogs..., produces nearly 11 million cubic meters of wood and supplies numerous raw materials for industry, not including exported agricultural products.

As regards the GDR's economic management mechanism, in contrast to a number of countries in which the trend is toward "liberalization," the policy of the SED is to continue to perfect the management mechanism based on the plan along the lines of improving the quality of central planning while broadening the authority and responsibility of the combines within the scope of the plan. The state has introduced a category of four norms that are legally binding upon enterprises. These are: a norm on the output of goods, which includes the percentage of goods allocated for exportation; a norm on total output; a norm on profits; and a norm on the output of consumer goods for the people. The combines defend their plans before the Planning Commission in the presence of a representative of the concerned ministry. The combine is responsible to the national economy for balancing the products that the combine is assigned the task of producing. Deserving of attention is the fact that the enterprises within the combines practice complete economic accounting, are permitted to establish material incentive funds and have the status of an individual under the law.

Recently, the Vietnam Journalists Association sent us to visit the GDR. While in our friend's country, it became even more apparent to us that the decisive

factors in the success of the above mentioned economic strategy are the leadership provided by the SED, the spirit of creative labor and self-reliance of the laboring people of the GDR and the close and comprehensive ties between the GDR and the Soviet Union and other members of CEMA. We rejoice over the large results achieved by the people of the GDR in the process of implementing the SED's economic strategy. This year, the party and people of the GDR will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the SED (21 April 1946) and hold the 11th Congress of the Party. On the occasion of these major holidays, the communists and people of Vietnam extend to the communists and people of the fraternal GDR our best wishes. We are confident that, under the light of the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress, the people of the GDR will surely record even larger achievements in their cause of building developed socialism in the GDR.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Before Germany was divided, the eastern portion, the present day GDR, received 45 percent of its industrial and agricultural products from the western portion, the present day Federal Republic of Germany, where practically all the raw material, metallurgy, energy and heavy industrial installations of the entire country of Germany are concentrated.

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## CUBA'S STEADY ADVANCE INTO THE FUTURE

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[Article by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] The victory of the revolution of Cuba, a country that lies in the Caribbean Sea near the United States, made a very strong impression upon the other nations of the world. Everyone anxiously followed developments there and more than a few persons asked themselves: can the Cuban people survive? Can the Cuban revolution survive and develop? More than one-quarter century later, the pride and stability of Cuba today provide an eloquent answer to these questions. The Cuban people, rich in courage and revolutionary zeal, are living in inspiration and self-confidence. In April 1986, Cuba celebrates the 25th anniversary of the victory at Hiron and the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of the Socialist Character of the Cuban Revolution. The country is changing itself to meet the new demands raised by the needs of our times. The 3rd Congress of Cuban Communist Party, which was held from 4 to 7 February 1986, was an event of great significance in the country's political, economic and social life. At the congress, Fidel Castro, 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, 1st vice president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, declared:

"Every congress must be an opportunity to conduct a review with the aims of praising achievements that have been recorded, harshly criticizing shortcomings that have been committed and establishing optimistic and bold guidelines for the future with confidence in our revolutionary strength, in our revolutionary spirit and in the extremely large capabilities of socialism."

The most significant achievement of the Cuban economy during the past 5 years (1981-1985) was the growth of the gross social product at an annual average rate of 7.3 percent. Industrial production increased at the annual rate of 8.8 percent, with the production of a number of important sectors increasing at a high rate, such as 16 percent in the mechanical engineering sector and 9.5 percent in the building sector. During the past 5 years, the number of industrial projects increased 45 percent compared to 1980. Some 335,000 apartments were constructed. Cement production reached 16 million tons, a 3 million ton increase compared to the previous 5 years. Total electricity output increased seven times compared to the period preceding the revolution,

thus enabling 85 percent of households to use electricity in their daily activities. Agricultural production (excluding sugarcane) increased at the average annual rate of 3.8 percent, with milk production increasing by 21 percent, chicken egg production by 23 percent, chicken production by 30 percent and hog production by 33 percent. Compared to the previous 5 years, the production of sugar, the key product of the Cuban economy, increased by 12.2 percent during the past 5 years and reached a stable output of approximately 8 million tons per year. The other sectors of the economy also recorded encouraging achievements. For example, during the past 5 years, the merchant fleet transported 21 percent more cargo and reached a total tonnage of 1,160,000 tons.

Cuba has recorded these achievements within the context of the world economic crisis that has become increasingly serious and exerted a major influence upon the economy of the Latin American countries and the countries of the Caribbean basin, a crisis that has kept the per capita production of the countries of the region at 1977 levels. From 1980 to 1985, the economy of Latin America only grew at the rate of 0.5 percent per capita per year. In the case of Cuba, the United State has also implemented a policy of economic encirclement, an embargo, military threats, etc. However, Cuba has remained stable, because, at Cuba's side stand the countries within the socialist community and friendly countries. Cuba's economy is a planned economy. Stable economic development has permitted the party and government of Cuba to raise the standard of living of the laboring people. As of 1985, there were 50 refrigerators, 91 television sets, 152 radios, 59 washing machines and 69 electric fans in every 100 households equipped with electricity. The Cuban party and state have given special attention to public health, culture, education and sports. All the achievements recorded in these fields are outstanding achievements.

Cuba currently holds a distinguished position in the world in health care. Today, there is 1 doctor for every 443 Cubans. The average lifespan of the Cubans is 74 years. At the start of the recent 5-year plan, doctors and public health personnel conducted a successful campaign to extinguish the hemorrhagic fever epidemic unleashed by the U.S. imperialists against the Cuba people.

In 1959, when the revolution won victory, more than 1 million of Cuba's 6.5 million people were illiterate. Today, a 9th grade education (under a 12 year system) has been popularized among all Cuban laboring people. At present, one-third of the country's population is attending one form of school or another. Some 280,000 students are enrolled at the 46 domestic colleges and thousands of persons are studying in the fraternal socialist countries. Cuba has trained 258,000 teachers and instructors, an average of 1 educator for every 12 students.

Cuba's teachers and doctors have not only fulfilled their task of providing education and health care to the people of Cuba, but have also fulfilled international obligations by going to teach and provide health care in Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia and many other countries.

The cultural life of the people has been steadily improved. Cuba prints more than 40 million copies of books each year. The country has 319 public libraries and more than 3,000 libraries at colleges. In the fields of art, such as cinematography, painting, literature and dance, Cuba has achieved major successes that have been recognized in the world.

Cuba is one of the countries in the western hemisphere that invests the most in the development of sports. In international competitions, Cuban athletes regularly record outstanding achievements.

To defend the gains of the revolution, especially in the face of the constant threat posed by the U.S. imperialists to the Cuban revolution and the revolution in Central America, the Cuban party and state have given their full attention to strengthening its national defense system. Cuba has made enormous efforts to build a well trained armed force that is always in a state of combat readiness and possesses high mobility, strong firepower and a brave and tenacious fighting spirit. Today, Cuba's national defense potentials are strong enough to defeat every enemy that invades Cuba.

During the past 5 years, Cuba's armed forces have fulfilled their task of defending the fatherland well while sending some 100,000 persons to fulfill international obligations.

Today, the men and women of Cuba are very proud of their country, of their people, who consist of many different races and skin colors but live as equals and in harmony within one family. Latin America is a place where racism has persisted for centuries. However, in Cuba, this phenomenon has completely disappeared forever. This is one of the most important achievements of the Cuban revolution.

Cuba begins 1986 with the strength, stability and self-confidence for Fidel Castro to frankly and clearly discuss its shortcomings and weaknesses from the rostrum of the 3rd Party Congress. The deficiencies in economic management were presented in detail and thoroughly analyzed in order to give everyone an understanding of the harm they cause so that efforts are made to correct and avoid them and develop new and more effective management methods.

Confirming achievements, praising progressive thinking and creative workstyles while pointing out existing weaknesses and criticizing attitudes that are conservative and slow to change, these steps make it possible to gain a clear and correct understanding of oneself, to correctly evaluate oneself in order to mobilize all strength for the cause of building and defending the fatherland. The draft of the Basic Guidelines for the Socio-Economic Development of the Country During the 5 Years from 1986 to 1990 was presented for the people to discuss. More than 3 million laborers contributed their thoughts to this draft. At the 3rd Congress, the intelligence of the entire party and all the people was tapped and crystallized and a major plan for the future was adopted. One of the important tasks of this 5 year plan is to further raise labor productivity and make better use of production potentials with the aim of achieving an average annual rate of growth of 5 percent in the gross social product and 5 percent in exports while holding the rise in imports to only 1.5 percent. Cuba will invest 23,140,000,000 pesos in the

economy, a 29 percent increase compared to the previous 5 years, 45 percent of which will be invested in the industrial sector. One of the objectives of the country's economic strategy is to accelerate the process of industrialization. According to the plan, electricity production will increase by 4.3 percent, the production of the machine industry by 9.3 percent and nickel and cobalt production by 14 percent per year. Steel production in 1990 will be 57 percent higher than in 1985. Oil production will reach 2 million tons by 1990. Agricultural production (excluding sugarcane) will increase at the annual rate of 4.5 percent, with sugar production increasing 15 percent, over the next 5 years. The food products industry will grow by 3 percent. The fish catch will be increased to 248,000 tons by 1990 compared to 220,000 tons in 1985. The tonnage of the ocean fleet will be increased to 1,360,000 tons.

Public health work, cultural activities, education and sports will continue to be promoted and improved in order to record even more outstanding achievements. In its plan for the next 5 years, Cuba gives special attention to the various aspects of the standard of living, such as food, shelter, clothing, health care and relaxation. By 1990, daily per capita food consumption will rise to 3,100 calories and 83 grams of protein. The state, cooperatives and private individuals will build 400,000 new homes. Per capita cloth output is projected to reach 23-24 square meters. Twenty-seven hospitals, 45 general medical examination offices and 113 convalescent centers will be constructed and put into use.

With the experience gained in the more than one-quarter century that they have been building socialism, with their innate spirit of diligent and creative labor together with the assistance of and economic cooperation with the countries within CEMA, the Cuban people turn their hands to these large tasks with confidence in victory.

The posture of Cuba today is very proper, very stable. This stability stems mainly from the fact that the 10 million people of Cuba have absolute confidence in the Cuban Communist Party--the heroic vanguard unit of the working class. The Cuban Communist Party currently has 532,639 official and alternate members, 60 percent of whom are directly engaged in productive labor and combat on the basic level. The glorious feats of arms and achievements of the country are closely tied to the leadership provided by the party.

In combat, labor and their studies, the revolutionary zeal of the Cuban people is clear, specific and robust: they want to do everything that they can to protect the gains of the revolution, to stimulate the continuous development of society. In its leadership of the process of building and defending the fatherland, the party has maintained and raised the people's zeal during the early days of the revolution to a new pinnacle.

Today, the urgent and decisive need for change demands that a correct decision be made concerning cadre work. The policy adopted by the party is to reduce the average age of the corps of cadres. The Party Central Committee elected by the 3rd Congress consists of 146 official members and 79 alternate members, 20 of whom are between the ages of 28 and 35, 91 of whom are between the ages of 36 and 45, 86 of whom are between the ages of 46 and 55 and 28 of whom are more than 55 years of age. Veteran revolutionary militants who have served in

the supreme leadership organization for many years, while still able to excellently fulfill their tasks, have now volunteered to turn their positions over to younger cadres.

The Cuban Communist Party has boundless confidence in the young generation, in this stratum of competent, educated persons who possess critical minds. Speaking at the Congress of the Union of College and Vocational Students, Fidel Castro said: "Yours is a large responsibility. Soon, by the year 2000, there will be more of you than there are of us! The future is in your hands."

The young generation of Cuba, building upon the fine traditions of their fathers and older brothers and forging, cultivating and improving themselves in the bosom of socialist society, is undertaking large responsibilities. Cuba is in the midst of profound change. It is as though the entire country is turning things over to a new generation.

In the land of Cuba, urgent steps are being taken to implement the resolution of the 3rd Congress. It is in this atmosphere of urgency and excitement that the Cuban people commemorate the 25th anniversary of the victory at Hiron and the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of the Socialist Character of the Revolution. In the more than one-quarter century that it has been leading the revolution, the Cuban Communist Party has become one of the staunchest and most highly experienced vanguard units of the international communist and worker movement. With its correct line, its dynamism and creativity and its valuable experience, the Cuban Communist Party, headed by Fidel Castro, the wise leader blessed with talent and revolutionary zeal of the Cuban people, will steadily lead the country of Cuba, this free island, into a brilliant future.

A relationship of warm and close militant solidarity has long existed between the communist parties and peoples of Vietnam and Cuba. The two parties and the peoples of our two countries deeply understand each other and always stand by each other's side in the cause of building and defending the fatherland, in the struggle for the ideals of communism.

On this occasion, the communists and people of Vietnam extend to the communists and people of Cuba our heartiest congratulations! We wish the fraternal Cuban people many larger victories in firmly defending and making the country of Cuba--the outpost of socialism in the western hemisphere--more beautiful with each passing day.

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## CONCERNING THE CURRENT MILITARY-STRATEGIC BALANCE IN THE WORLD

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[Article by Phan Doan]

[Text] What is the military-strategic balance, how is it formed and why is it the prerequisite to peace and detente in the world? These are burning questions of our times. Shedding light on these issues is a matter of very important theoretical as well as practical significance in gaining an understanding of the world situation, international relations and the trend of development of these relations.

A balance of military-strategic forces is a concept that is rather complex and is very widely used in modern political language. As commonly understood, this balance is parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, which can also be called parity between the Warsaw bloc and NATO bloc, between the East and the West, between socialism and capitalism, in all military forces, which include conventional forces, tactical nuclear weapon forces and strategic nuclear weapon forces. Of these, parity in nuclear weapons is the most important.

Because it takes the view that the use of military power is the basis of foreign policy and practices hegemony, imperialism holds that military power is the most decisive factor in the comparison of forces. Conversely, socialism holds that when evaluating the comparison of forces, it is necessary to examine overall strength, which includes the economic potential, military potential and political, ideological and spiritual strengths of the system and the strength of the times, that is, the strength of the forces of revolution in the world. Imperialism can never acquire these strengths.

Likewise, the comparison of military forces is also not only related to factors that can be calculated, such as troop strength, the quantity and quality of weapons, equipment and so forth, but also related to factors that cannot be calculated, such as the fighting spirit and level of training of the army, command, rear service, information and intelligence capabilities, special characteristics concerning the organization and structure of the army...

In this article, allow us to render all these incalculable factors in abstract form so that we can concentrate on analyzing the balance of military-strategic forces in depth.

Following World War II, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries always attached importance to moving forward on both feet in the field of building national defense forces, that is, developing conventional forces while also developing strategic forces. Major advantages existed following World War II for the development of the conventional armed forces of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Having crushed the resistance of the German fascist army in its very stronghold and wiped out the Kwantung Army, the best trained force of the Japanese fascists, the Soviet Red Army emerged from World War II with the stature of an invincible and ever victorious army. It was the strength of the Soviet Red Army that thwarted the sinister scheme of bellicose powers in the United States and Great Britain to unleash a war against the Soviet Union following the conclusion of World War II. Against this background, the United States dropped the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki chiefly to intimidate the Soviet Union. The world thus entered a new era, the era of nuclear weapons. The above mentioned nuclear holocaust faced mankind with a choice: to accept U.S. rule in a U.S.-style peace or be annihilated by nuclear weapons. There was no other option. Because, following World War II, the United States was the strongest imperialist power in the world and held an exclusive monopoly in atomic weapons. This situation demanded that the Soviet Union quickly put an end to the nuclear monopoly of the United States and quickly equip the forces of peace and revolution with weapons as modern as those of the imperialist camp, including strategic nuclear weapons. The imperialists had to be shown that there will not even be a "cemetery" for them on this planet should they recklessly unleash a nuclear war against mankind. Profoundly aware of its responsibility for the survival of the human species, the Soviet Union carried out plans, even during the final years of World War II, to manufacture nuclear weapons. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has spared no effort to successfully establish a military balance with the United States and NATO, most importantly in terms of strategic forces. This process, which took 25 years, was marked by memorable historical milestones. In 1949, the Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb, thus bringing the U.S. monopoly in nuclear weapons to an end. In 1953, the Soviet Union developed the hydrogen bomb. In 1956, the Soviet Union successfully tested an intercontinental missile. This achievement by the Soviet Union stripped the United States of the inviolability its territory enjoyed in World War I and World War II. The year 1957 marked a new stride forward by Soviet science and technology in the effort to surpass the United States in the conquering of space. The 1960's were marked by extraordinary growth on the part of the Soviet Union in strategic weapons, growth in terms of the number of these weapons and their destructive power and accuracy, growth that led to the establishment of balance with the United States and NATO.

At first, in the 1970's, the United States had to acknowledge the existence of this military-strategic balance. This was the basis for the signing of a series of treaties by the Soviet Union and the United States aimed at recognizing this balance from a legal standpoint. These treaties were: the treaties between the two countries on the principles underlying the relations

between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning the first stage of the limitation of strategic arms (SALT I) and the second stage (SALT II) and the negotiations held in Vienna in 1973 on the mutual reduction of conventional forces in central Europe. It has been on the basis of this balance that the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact have continuously proposed many peace initiatives with a view toward ending the arms race and improving the world situation. Of these initiatives, the most significant are the proposals made by the Soviet Union in the current negotiations with the United States on military disarmament, such as a mutual 50 percent reduction in the number of strategic weapons capable of being fired on the territory of each other's country. The unilateral cessation of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union and, in particular, the proposal made by General Secretary Gorbachev on 15 January 1986 concerning a comprehensive program aimed at the total elimination of nuclear weapons on the planet by the end of this century. Clearly, these are proposals that stem not only from good will, but also from the real capabilities made possible by the East-West military-strategic balance. The efforts being made by the United States and NATO countries to undermine the agreements previously reached with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact on the limitation of strategic arms and their slowness to reach new agreements on military disarmament show that they are very afraid of the existence and increasing consolidation of this balance. The Reagan administration is making every effort to disrupt this balance and win military superiority for the United States.

Bellicose elements within the U.S. administration are always inventing stories about the "military threat posed by the Soviet Union," saying that the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States and NATO in strategic arms. Recently, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger produced some fabricated figures showing that whereas the national defense expenditures of the Soviet Union equalled 1 and U.S. defense expenditures equalled 1.4 in the early 1960's, the United States dropped to 0.65 in 1981 and is projected to only reach 0.95 in 1986. These arguments are only designed to provide reasons for defending and concealing the current insane arms race policy, especially the exceedingly dangerous and costly SDI program being developed by Washington, the aims of which are to disrupt the existing balance, achieve superiority for the United States and plot ways to engulf the Soviet Union and all mankind in an annihilating nuclear war. The strategic military balance is the prerequisite to international peace and security. Maintaining this balance is the most pressing task of today.

The present balance of military-strategic forces in the world is an historic achievement of socialism. For nearly 70 years, ever since the emergence of the first socialist country in the world, the development of the international situation and international relations, most importantly the ability to safeguard world peace, has been closely associated with the growth and strength of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system.

In the first stage (1917-1945), although the world imperialist system had only been perforated at one place, in Russia, thereby bringing to an end the unrivaled rule of imperialism in the world and leading capitalism into the general crisis, socialism only existed in one country and was encircled by capitalism. In that situation, anti-war forces, the only base of which was



the Soviet Union, were not strong enough to prevent the outbreak of World War II.

In the second stage (from 1945 to 1970), the situation underwent major changes. Socialism, once found in only one country, became a world system. The three currents of revolution were continuously on the offensive and constantly grew. Against this background, although the United States still enjoyed a temporary superiority in nuclear weapons, it did not dare unleash a new world war. However, the United States and other imperialists used this temporary superiority to unleash the cold war and hundreds of regional wars, the three largest of which occurred in Asia.

In the early 1970's, following the defeat of the United States in Vietnam, a totally different situation emerged. With the Soviet Union and the member countries of the Warsaw bloc having established military-strategic balance with the United States and NATO, the United States and the imperialist camp lost their military-strategic superiority over socialism. The formation of this balance was primarily the result of extraordinary efforts made over a period of many years by the heroic Soviet people. In 1917, the industrial output of the Soviet Union only accounted for 3 percent of world industrial output. Today, this figure is 20 percent. The national income of the Soviet Union compared to that of the United States was 31 percent in 1950, 50 percent in 1957, 59 percent in 1965, 67 percent in 1975 and 75 percent today.

These gains have been made in a short span of history. These gains have enabled the Soviet Union to strengthen its national defense forces while constantly raising the standard of living.

The strength of the Soviet economy also stems from the fact that the Soviet Union is the only developed superpower that can achieve self-sufficiency in practically every natural resource, while the United States and other superpowers are becoming increasingly dependent upon external sources of natural resources.

The Soviet Union leads the world in a number of important fields, such as the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, laser technology, space technology... In a number of other areas, the Soviet Union is on a par with the United States. This is not to mention the fact that, because of the superior nature of socialism, the Soviet Union is able to mobilize the manpower and material of the country more effectively than any capitalist country.

By the end of this century, under its new program to perfect socialism, the Soviet Union will possess an economic potential twice as large as today's. This will open a fine prospect for the cause of the Soviet people and the entire world.

Bellicose elements of imperialism and their hired hands in the press are always falsely accusing the Soviet Union of spending much more on the military than the United States, but they also tear down the Soviet economy. They say, without thinking, that the Soviet economy is in crisis, is weak and in chaos! Those who do not know the truth always say things that are contradictory!

Without a powerful economic potential and advanced science and technology, how could such a powerful national defense potential have been achieved? What is the truth? As history shows, the Soviet Union has built an economy that is fully capable of continuously raising the standard of living and providing a strong national defense system, one that is on a par with imperialism from the standpoint of strategic military forces and capable of meeting any of their challenges and preventing the United States from disrupting the existing balance. Moreover, the economic potential of the Soviet Union also permits it to raise the level of the strategic balance when the situation requires in order to maintain this important material base for a lasting peace in the world.

The factor that stands out the most today, a factor that is of enormous epochal significance, is the growth of peace forces and the ability of mankind to prevent a new world war. A seemingly contradictory situation has emerged. Never before has the scale of the arms race, in both conventional forces and strategic nuclear forces, been as large as it has during the past 15 years. The number of nuclear weapons currently in the world has reached the point where life on this planet can be annihilated 20 times. However, it is precisely in this situation that the ability of mankind to maintain peace is greater than ever before and has become a real capability. Why is this? Clearly, the establishment of military-strategic balance by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact has, as Gorbachev once said, faced the imperialist camp with a choice, coexistence or mutual annihilation. This has stimulated the formation of a worldwide anti-war movement, one that includes individuals and groups within the imperialist ranks. As regards the forces of peace and revolution, the establishment of the East-West strategic balance created for them a totally reliable base for continuing the struggle for the goals of our times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The realities of the past 15 years have shown that the ability of imperialism to unleash wars has been markedly reduced. Some circles within the imperialist camp have also begun to see that the comparison of forces has changed in a manner unfavorable to them and it would be suicidal for them to recklessly unleash a world war. Moreover, their ability to start a limited war or cold war is also limited. The clearest indications of this are the hasty U.S. withdrawal from Lebanon following heavy casualties and the failure of U.S. allies to support the U.S. economic embargo against the Soviet Union. The Reagan administration is very aggressive and bellicose. Yet, only 4 months after taking office, it was forced to lift the ban on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. The cause of this diminished capability is not, of course, a change in the aggressive character of imperialism, but the growth and strength of the Soviet Union and the world socialist community. Today, with a solid strategic balance having been established between socialism and capitalism, a new assemblage of forces is developing in the world in the form of an international anti-war front that even includes persons who have never had any liking for communism. This situation has profoundly changed international relations. Due to the establishment of this balance, the comparison of forces in the world has changed in the favor of socialism. Consequently, good possibilities have arisen for rebuilding the entire system

of international relations that formed during the post-war era and basing these relations on peace and democracy.

The dominant feature of international relations today is the fact that, in the face of the threat of "mutually assured destruction," more and more countries are recognizing that the most correct course, the most rational choice is peaceful coexistence between countries with different socio-political systems. This was predicted by Lenin long ago but only became a universal reality with the formation and solid establishment of the East-West strategic balance. Relations based on mutual coexistence in Europe, which began in the early 1970's and have withstood the challenges of the recent 7 years of cold war, have now been further strengthened with the Stockholm Conference on European Security and Cooperation. Now, relations based on peaceful coexistence are starting to spread to Asia-Pacific.

During the remaining 15 years of this century, the class struggle in the world will continue to be an arduous and bitter struggle. The danger of nuclear war will continue to be very large. But the ability to safeguard peace will be even larger. The danger of a world war has been reduced. The possibility of mutual coexistence has begun to become a reality. But limited wars and revolutionary struggles will continue to occur. With peaceful coexistence, better conditions and new capabilities exist for the forces of revolution and peace to continue the struggle for a just society, for an international order of equality, democracy and progress. In this struggle, the people of the world have a solid base of support, the powerful Soviet Union, the country that is preparing to take huge strides forward under the light of the 27th Congress of the glorious CPSU.

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