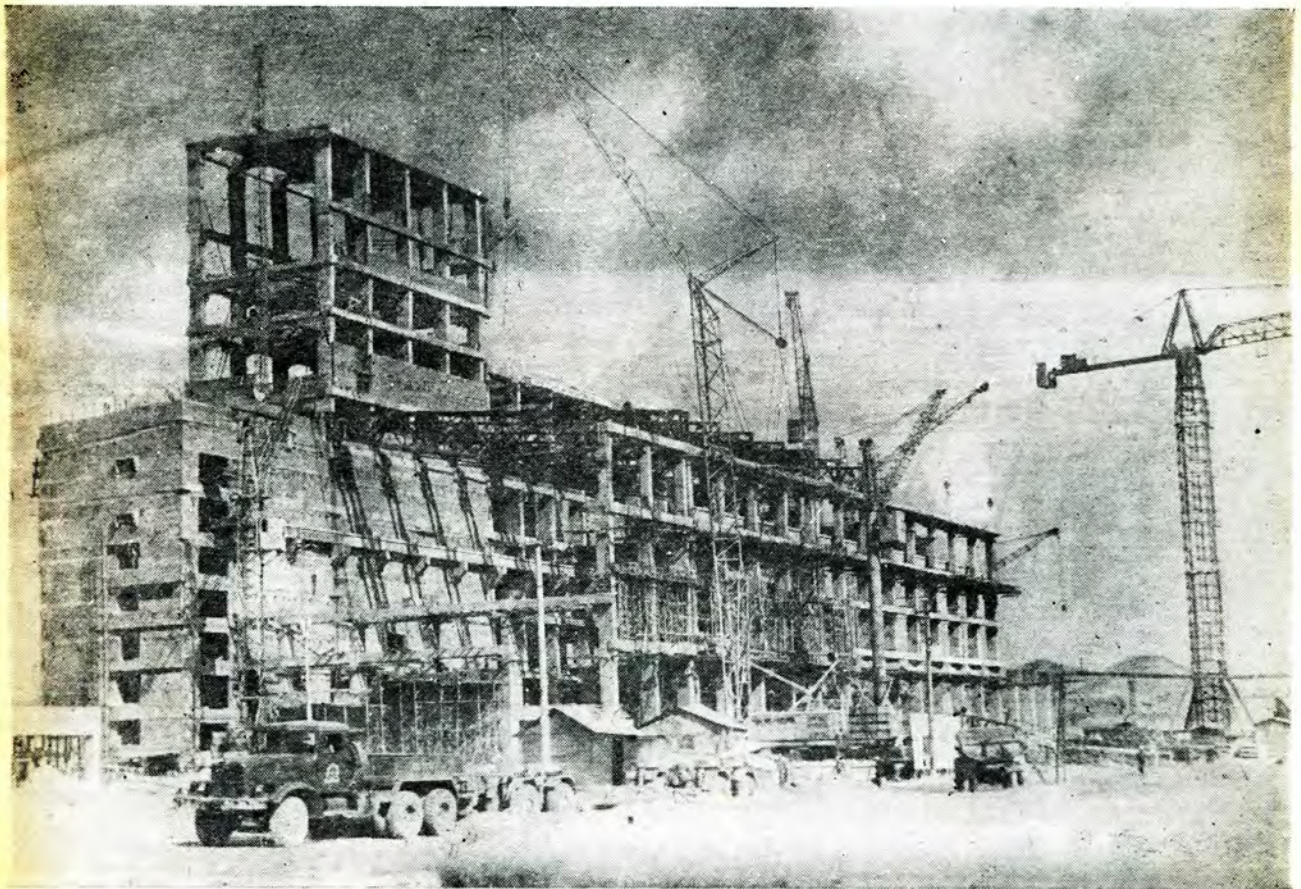


Vietnam Courier

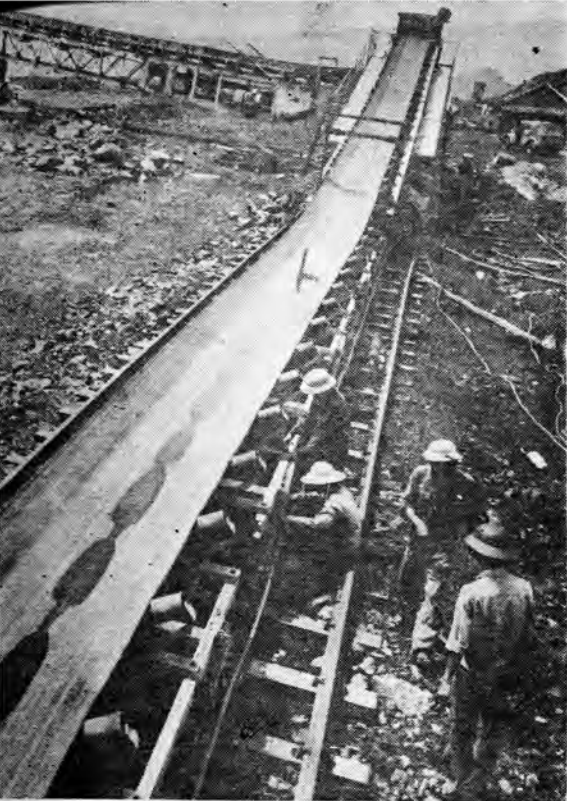


A MONTHLY REVIEW

Volume XVIII No. 5



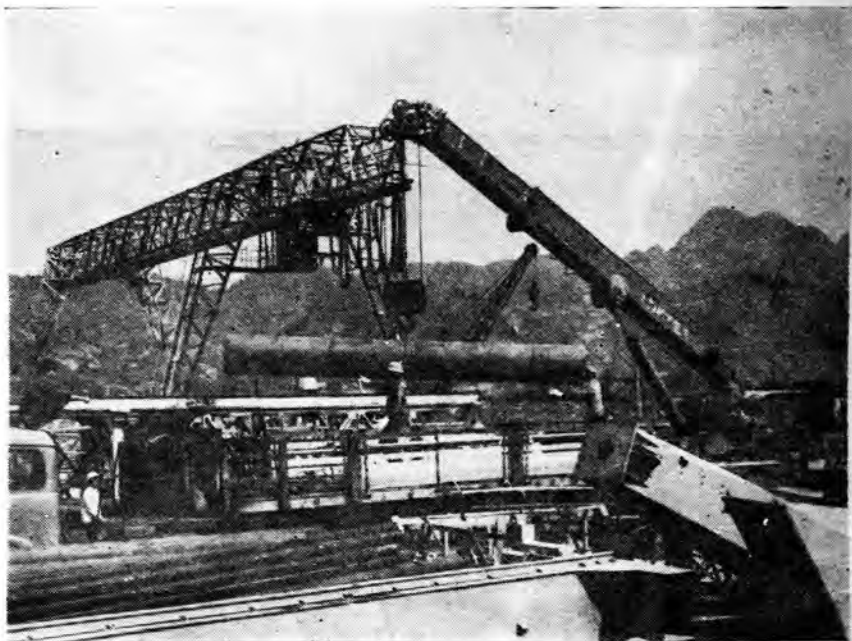
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Assembling a coal conveyer-belt at Cua Ong port.

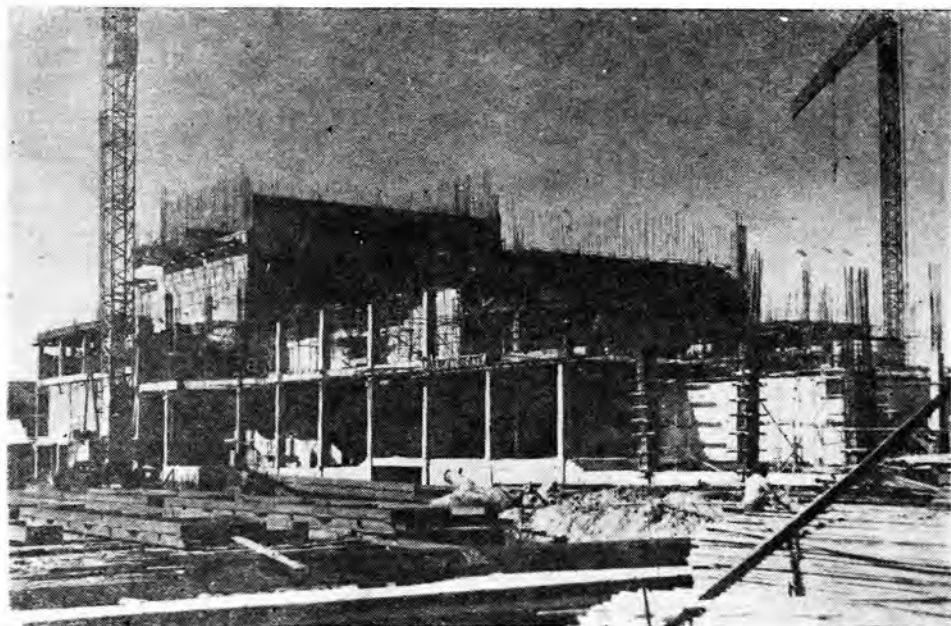
Photo: VNA

EMULATION DRIVE TO GREET THE 5th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM



Transporting building materials to the Da hydro-electric project.

Photo: VNA



Building the worker's cultural centre in Hanoi.

Photo: DANG DUC CUONG

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Front Cover:

— At the construction site of the Pha Lai 640,000KW thermo-electric plant.

Photo: DANG DUC CUONG

**Vietnam
COUPLER**

5 — 1982

OUR MONTHLY COMMENT

1,033 delegates representing more than a million and a half Party members from over 35,000 grass-roots organizations gathered in Hanoi late in March for a major event in the political life of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam: the Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

This was an event awaited by all for it gave answers to questions related to Vietnam, and also to this part of the world. How will the revolution in Vietnam continue to develop? What are its prospects? From this its impact on the situation in Southeast Asia will be gauged.

With unity of mind, the Congress gave an accurate estimation of the present situation in Vietnam as well as of what the Party and the State have done since 1976, that is since the country was reunified and the Fourth Party Congress convened. "The last five years are recorded in national history as a period of glorious victories for the Vietnamese revolution." This appreciation by the Party Central Committee was approved by the entire Congress. This victory was materialised first of all by the rapid reunification of the country as one State and the smashing of the US imperialists' hope of causing disturbances even after their withdrawal; then by the victories of the two wars of national defence on the southwest and northern borders, checking the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists' designs over Indochina and Southeast Asia — just imagine what the situation in this area would be had the Pol Pot regime stayed in Kampuchea or China's aggression against Vietnam in February 1979 succeeded —, and also by notable achievements in economy and culture.

However, the Congress did not only record our successes. It openly examined the difficulties and the acute problems in economy and daily life, the roots of which are the aftermath of the past coupled with

(Continued on page 5)

- GENERAL SECRETARY:
LE DUAN
- POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Full members:

1. LE DUAN
2. TRUONG-CHINH
3. PHAM VAN DONG
4. PHAM HUNG
5. LE DUC THO
6. VAN TIEN DUNG
7. VO CHI CONG
8. CHU HUY MAN
9. TO HUU
10. VO VAN KIET
11. DO MUOI
12. LE DUC ANH
13. NGUYEN DUC TAM

Alternate members:

1. NGUYEN CO THACH
 2. DONG SI NGUYEN
- THE SECRETARIAT OF THE
PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE
1. LE DUAN
 2. LE DUC THO
 3. VO CHI CONG
 4. NGUYEN DUC TAM
 5. NGUYEN LAM
 6. LE QUANG DAO
 7. HOANG TUNG
 8. NGUYEN THANH BINH
 9. TRAN KIEN
 10. TRAN XUAN BACH

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM



PHAM HUNG



LE DUC THO



VO VAN KIET



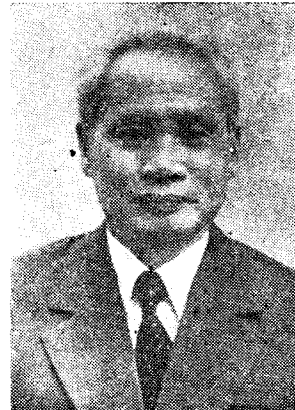
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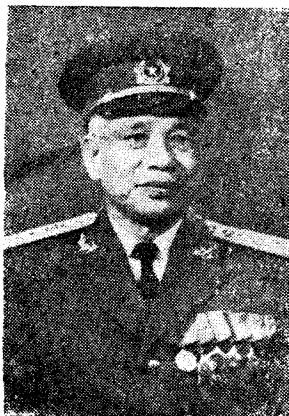
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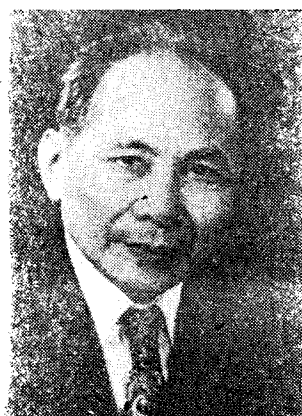
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PHAM VAN DONG



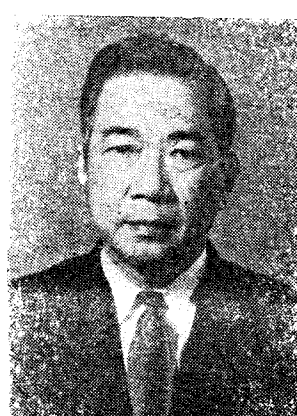
VAN TIEN DUNG



VO CHI CONG



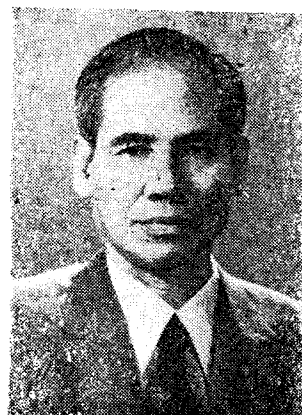
CHU HUY MAN



TO HUU



LE DUC ANH



NGUYEN DUC TAM



NGUYEN CO THACH



DONG SI NGUYEN

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS TO THE CONGRESS

Forty-seven communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements attended the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Below is the list of delegations with the name of the delegate or head of the delegation:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The People's Revolutionary Party of Laos

The People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

The French Communist Party

The United Workers' Party of Poland

The Bulgarian Communist Party

The Communist Party of Cuba

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia

The Romanian Communist Party

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The Workers' Party of Korea

The Party of Labour of Albania

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

The Algerian National Liberation Front

The MPLA — Party of Labour of Angola

The Communist Party of India (CPI)

Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI — M)

MIKHAIL SERGHEEVITCH GORBACHEV, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

KAYSONE PHOMVIHANE, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee

HENG SAMRIN, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee

PAUL LAURENT, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

MIROSLAW MILEWSKI, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

MILKO BALEV, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

JESUS MONTAÑE OROPESA, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

KONRAD NAUMANN, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, First Secretary of Berlin Party Committee

MAROTHY LAZLO, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, First Secretary of Budapest Party Committee

TUMENBAYARYN RAGTCHA, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mongolia

ION COMAN, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

MILOS JAKES, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

KIM IL TE, member of the Party Central Committee

GAFUR CUCI, member of the Party Central Committee

MOHAMMAD ASLAM WATANJAR, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, member of the Revolutionary Council, Minister of Information and Liaison

DJELLOUL BAKHTI NEMICHE, member of the Party Central Committee, Minister of War Veterans

AMBROSIO LUKOKI, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee

PREM SAGAR GUPTA, member of the Party National Council, Secretary of New Delhi Party Committee

HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee

(Continued on page 20)

OUR MONTHLY COMMENT

(Continued from page 1)

natural calamities and enemy destruction. The Congress was most concerned about analysing the subjective causes of such a situation i.e. shortcomings and errors in appraising the realities, estimating the advantages and particularly the difficulties, as well as in concretising and applying the line of the Fourth Congress, in organizing and guiding its execution — including plan-making and management.

While reaffirming the correctness of the line of socialist revolution and that of socialist economic building laid down by the Fourth Congress for the whole period of transition to socialism, the Congress stressed that out of subjectiveness and hastiness and conservatism and slackness we failed to carry out these lines effectively mainly because we did not know the right way to manage economy and society.

Carrying on its tradition of responsibility to the people as at the time of errors in land reform (1956), the Party Central Committee made a severe self-criticism before the Congress. This serious attitude alone portends forthcoming advances.

Concentrating the wisdom of the entire Party, the Congress analysed measures to redress the shortcomings and promote strong points. These measures have been partly revealed since the second half of 1979 with the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee which, in the recent past have had promising initial results, albeit not yet forceful and widespread. Elements of a dynamic mechanism of management have begun to appear — a crucial question upon which the Congress concentrated its attention.

While keeping a vigilant eye on the task of national defence, the Congress set as its foremost task socialist construction aimed at reaching the four global targets of socialist economic strategy in its first stage during the eighties, to settle the burning questions of the moment: to stabilise and improve to some extent the people's material and cultural life; to continue building the material and technical bases of socialism; to boost the socialist transformation of the national economy; to ensure the needs of national defence and security.

To reach these four targets is to effect a fundamental change in the country's economic situation. To this end we have to create a new productive force, a higher social productivity while a relatively developed big industry is still lacking. On this matter, the Congress put forward 10 major economic and social policies.

The Congress also passed directives on the State plan for 1981-1985 along with the renovation of the managerial system and the raising of administrative capacity. These directives were followed by basic indicators laid down after considerable discussion.

To ensure steady advance the Congress looked at the Party itself. It affirmed the necessity to promote the high merits of the Party, firm in its Marxist-Leninist line, overcoming all trials and imbued with revolutionary spirit. At the same time, the Congress stressed the necessity of remedying the weaknesses of the recent past when the Party led socialist construction on the national scale.

The Congress pointed out the urgency of raising the Party and its members' knowledge and quality in every domain, particularly in economy. Equally pressing is the need to improve the leadership of the Party and the Party-led State, to streamline their apparatus, do away with bureaucracy and conservatism; to consolidate the Party base while building the district level, the organs of production and business, the combat units, and to boost mass movements. Changes must be made in the training of cadres, while appointing hard core cadres and forming a contingent of deputies with good qualities, competence and firmness for all circumstances, must be done.

A new Party Central Committee was elected by the Congress. Beside veteran revolutionaries of the Party-founding period were cadres forged in the two patriotic wars and — worthy of notice — younger militants responsible for economic, cultural, scientific and technical affairs, ensuring the continuity between generations, according to the requirements of the Vietnamese revolution.

With such a leading body the policies set by the Congress already have one important condition for the materialisation. Not that everything was settled at this Congress but at least, through the review of the past five years, as General Secretary Le Duan said in concluding the Political Report, "We have a deeper comprehension of our country and people. We have identified the enemy and clearly seen the obstacles in our path. We have a more accurate and more concrete appraisal both of our possibilities and strong points and of our difficulties and weaknesses". In this sense, the Fifth Congress is another landmark on the long and arduous road of struggle of the Communist Party of Vietnam, for national independence and socialism in order to achieve the motto "All for the socialist Homeland, and for the happiness of the people."

25 April 1982



SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (27-31 March 1982) discussed and approved three reports of the Central Committee:

— The Political Report, presented by Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV;

— The Report on the Orientation, Tasks, and Essential Objectives of

Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the 1980's, presented by Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

— The Report on Party Building, presented by Le Duc Tho, member of the Political Bureau.

From those reports we have culled the following information:

— The market and prices are subjected to complicated fluctuations;

— In some respects, capitalist and socialist elements have made inroads into the domain of socialism;

— Managerial and planning mechanisms remain heavily bureaucratic and still rest on budget subsidies;

— There is a persistence of negative phenomena in economic and social life.

In short, production develops but slowly while population increases rapidly; the national income does not cover national consumption; the economy is still unable to engage in a process of accumulation.

In fact, many of those difficulties are unavoidable for *objective reasons*: our economy, one of small-scale production, has been subjected to the devastating effects of prolonged wars and of colonialism; new wars have been imposed on us even during the last five years and have inflicted new wounds; for three years we have endured severe and continuous unfavourable weather conditions; the enemy has engaged in unceasing sabotage in many fields. How could an economy such as ours grow equal overnight to these three pressing fundamental exigencies: defence of the country, stabilization of the people's living conditions, gradual building of the material and technical bases of socialism?

The Central Committee affirms that the line of socialist revolution and that of socialist econo-

I— ASSESSMENT OF ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1976 AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

On the credit side

Over the past five years

— We have quickly reunified the country on the State level;

— We have won glorious victories in the two patriotic wars on our southwestern and northern frontiers; strengthened the militant alliance of the three Indochinese countries, and established positions of unprecedented solidity for the revolution in these countries; strengthened solidarity and co-operation in all fields with the Soviet Union and extended our co-operation with the other socialist countries;

— On the economic front, we have recorded noticeable achievements: we have overcome the grave sequels of the wars of aggression launched by the US imperialists, the Chinese expansionists, and their agents; consolidated the new relations of production in the North and recorded initial results in the socialist transformation of the South; increased

to a certain extent the productive capacity of the various sectors of the economy in spite of tremendous difficulties;

— Many achievements have also been gained on the cultural front: education, health care, science and technology, art and literature, etc.

— A new Constitution has institutionalized the line of socialist revolution and the working people's right to collective mastery.

Shortcomings and mistakes

We are faced with critical economic problems:

— The people's living conditions have run into many difficulties, especially with regard to workers and government employees;

— Supplies of energy and materials and the means of transport do not guarantee an efficacious exploitation of our existing productive capacity;

— Exports are a far cry from balancing imports;

AS SEEN BY THE CONGRESS

mic building charted by the Fourth Congress are correct and reflect the laws governing the period of transition from small-scale production to socialism in our country.

However, in the years from 1976 through 1980, shortcomings and errors occurred in the assessment of the situation and the implementation of the Party line. Serious insufficiencies and mistakes also happened in the organization and guidance of policy implementation, including planning and management.

At the source of the shortcomings and errors

The Party has not envisioned all the difficulties to be met and all the complexity of the road leading to socialism from a small-scale production economy. By the same token, we have not completely assessed the serious economic and social sequels of a long war. We have not foreseen the difficulties and complexities we would be facing as we tried to improve our economic and social management. Lastly we have failed to grasp the magnitude of some unfavourable developments in the world situation.

Consequently we have shown *subjectivism and haste* in setting some over-ambitious objectives, in determining the scope and speed of capital construction undertakings, in fixing the growth rate of production, especially for the initial period. This is also manifest in the excessive expan-

sion of farming co-operatives in certain regions and in the planning and construction of some projects while surveys and preparations were still inadequate.

On the other hand we have also shown excessive *conservatism and sluggishness*. Many Party and State organs, from the grassroots to the central level, have not seriously and thoroughly implemented the line laid down by the Fourth Congress and in a large number of resolutions of the Central Committee. They have not correctly estimated our strong points and potentialities, especially with regard to manpower; land forest and sea resources; material and technical bases; and the various sectors and trades producing consumer goods and articles for export. They have not shown enough resolve and imagination in seeking to turn those strong points and potentialities to good account. We have stuck too long to administrative bureaucratic management which relies on budget subsidies, and have only belatedly brought changes to policies and regulations which hampered production. In production and economic management, over-reliance on other people is a very serious problem.

In the last analysis, those defects stem from our insufficient grasp of the law governing the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production as reflected in the Party line, our insufficient grasp of the realities of the country, and our insufficient knowledge of economics. Hence the rather irrational

character of economic and investment structure, inadequate planning at the grassroots, regional and central levels, the tendency not to proceed from the base in planning work, and insufficient attention to the principle of economic accounting. We have not paid adequate attention to productivity, product quality, and economic efficiency. This results from the fact that we have not succeeded in bringing into full play the power of all the elements of the general line and the economic line, especially the strength of the working people's collective mastery and the principle according to which the Party gives leadership, the people exercise their right to mastery, and the State does the work of the manager. Lastly we have failed to achieve a good coordination of the three revolutions and to launch a vast mass revolutionary movement.

The implementation of policies has been hampered by bureaucratism, the lack of realism, insufficient sensitivity to realities, conservatism, sluggishness, and irresponsibility in economic and social management.

The ideological and cultural front has been neglected. We have not attached enough importance to giving proper education to Party members and the masses concerning the struggle between the two roads. In our endeavour to oppose the enemy's psychological warfare, reactionary ideology and depraved culture, our ideological and cultural work lacks combativity.

Socialist legality has taken much time to get reinforced. Law enforcement suffers from slackness and indiscipline. The struggle against legal offences and social evils has not been conducted with sufficient energy and thoroughness.

In Party building, we have been slow in working out solutions to some problems and have not tackled in time the new tasks, especially with regard to the *transformation and building of the economy*. Cadre work in particular suffers from delays and conservatism in all respects: training, promotion, appointment, remuneration...

The above-mentioned shortcomings and errors prove that in a certain number of questions, *we have not held firmly to the dictatorship of the proletariat, whose global content had been clearly defined at the Fourth Party Congress. Those shortcomings and errors are consequently very serious. The Central Committee engaged in severe self-criticism before the Congress.*

The first encouraging changes in 1981

In 1981, the first year of the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan, encouraging changes were recorded in certain fields, particularly in agriculture, industry, small industry and handicrafts. The implementation of the resolutions adopted at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee and of new Party and State policies gave rise to new phenomena.

In agriculture, the system of quotas assigned to each production group and each individual farmer was becoming a prime mover for stepping up production and increasing economic efficiency. In industry, building, and transport, by extending the initiative of enterprises and regions in socialist production and undertaking, by applying piece-work and

contract remuneration, by combining bonuses with other stimulants, workers were encouraged to work harder and overcome difficulties, and initial results were obtained.

Those changes, though still lacking in thoroughness and scope,

none the less bear witness to the fact that our abundant manpower and the creative ability of our workers and scientific and technical cadres have begun to be enhanced by managerial improvements.

II — MAIN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TASKS FOR 1981-1985 AND THE 1980's

At present our country has peace but has to face the efforts made by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their American imperialist confederates to undermine us in many fields. At the same time we must be prepared for a large-scale war of aggression which may be launched at any time by our enemy.

Under those circumstances the consolidation of national defence must not be neglected. However, top priority must be given to the task of building socialism, for not only is socialism the goal of our endeavour but it is also the soli-

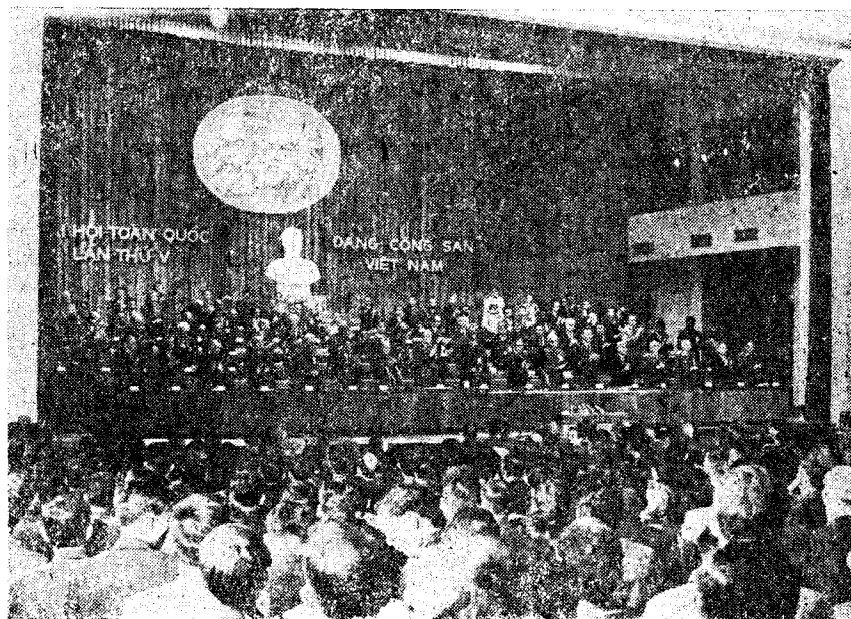
dity of the socialist regime which will guarantee our independence and freedom.

The implementation of the socialist revolution line and the line for building our socialist economy, as charted by the Fourth Congress, will be pursued. These lines constitute a whole which comprises the following components: firm enforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercise by the people of their right to collective mastery, and carrying out of socialist industrialization.

They are valid for the whole period of transition. The first

The Presidium of the 5th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Photo: VNA



stage, which includes the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan and extends as far as 1990, assumes particular importance.

For the 1980's, our global economic and social objectives are the following :

1. To satisfy the people's urgent and vital needs; gradually stabilize and improve their material and cultural living conditions, first of all solve the food problem and give better satisfaction to their needs in clothing, study, health care, housing, travel, child care, and other necessities.

2. To carry on the building of the material and technical bases of socialism, mainly with a view to giving a boost to agriculture and the production of consumer goods and exports while supplying the other sectors of the economy with more technical equipment so that heavy industry could be vigorously developed in the next stage.

3. To complete socialist transformation in the southern provinces, continue the efforts to perfect the relations of production in the north, and consolidate socialist relations of production in the whole country.

4. To meet our defence requirements, consolidate national defence, ensure security and social order.

We must generate new productive forces, and reach for a higher social labour productivity even now, in the absence of a relatively developed industry. To this end, we must correctly define our major economic and social policies :

1. The first and decisive aspect is a judicious combination of industry and agriculture. Our efforts will be focused on a vigorous development of agriculture, the first frontline so to speak, and take it one step further toward large-scale socialist production. We will step up production of consumer goods and continue our efforts to build some major sectors of heavy industry. We will combine agriculture, consumer

goods industry, and heavy industry into a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

2. To judiciously combine the building of the centrally-run economy with a vigorous development of the regional economies.

3. To ensure an adequate relationship between productive forces and relations of production.

4. To combine economy and defence, and vice versa.

5. To develop the home economy while seeking to expand economic relations with other countries; step up exports to compensate for imports.

6. To perfect the division of labour, redeploy our work force and make the best use of it so as to increase labour productivity; practise a judicious demographic policy.

7. To give a boost to scientific and technical work.

8. To establish a proper relationship between accumulation and consumption. To practise economy as a State policy.

9. To establish a new, socialist order in the distribution and circulation of goods. To concentrate goods in the hands of the State. To pursue the readjustment of prices and the improvement of the system of wages and salaries.

10. To set up an efficacious managerial and planning system. To use all means to turn to good account the existing productive capacity and material bases. To carry into effect the principle of economic accounting and socialist enterprise. To put planning work on an ever more scientific basis. To make good use of economic levers. To pursue the reorganization of social production. To reorganize the managerial apparatus.

During the 1981-1985 period, we must focus our efforts on the following major tasks :

1. To find solutions to the most urgent problems with a view to bringing some improvement to the people's living conditions.

2. To step up and readjust production.

3. To reorganize capital construction.

4. To improve the distribution and circulation of goods.

5. To step up socialist transformation.

6. To ensure good economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, and the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries. To completely reorient imports and exports.

7. To practise strict economy.

8. To promote quick and wide-ranging application of the achievements of science and technology in production and daily life.

9. To bring some improvement to the managerial system and operate a change in planning work.

10. To give a boost to cultural and health-care activities in harmony with the needs and possibilities of the economy.

11. To strengthen social management.

12. The economy must answer the requirements of the consolidation of defence and security. The potentials of the defence industry, and of the army, must be mobilized to serve the proper economic activities.

For the 1981-1985 period, the point is to achieve initial progress in economic development, restructure our economy, and step up socialist transformation. These three aspects, which are closely bound together, must contribute to stabilizing the economic and social situation, satisfying the most urgent and imperative needs of the population, reducing the most serious imbalances in the economy, remedying the abnormal situation now prevailing in the distribution and circulation of goods, and creating the necessary premises and conditions for more vigorous and steady progress in the years to come.

In view of the fact that after the Fifth Congress of the Party, there are only 3 years to go before the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan must be completed, the targets set must be very realistic.

III — SOME TENTATIVE TARGETS FOR THE 1981-1985 FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Cereals and other foodstuffs

Average annual production: 17 million tons of paddy and paddy equivalent, of which 3.5 million tons to be collected by the State.

1985 production: 19-20 million tons.

Percentage of subsidiary food crops in total food production in 1985: 18-20%

Soybean production in 1985: 250,000 — 300,000 tons.

Industrial crops in 1985:

Rubber: 150,000 — 160,000 hectares.

Coffee: 30,000 — 40,000 hectares.

Tea: 60,000 — 70,000 hectares.

Cattle and poultry in 1985:

Pigs: 13 million head.

Oxen: 4.7 — 5 million head.

Poultry: 100 million fowls.

Forestry

Afforestation: 300,000 more hectares of forestland between 1981 and 1985.

Logging: 8 million cubic metres of timber.

Fishing and fish breeding

For 1985: 700,000 tons of fishing products, including 470,000 — 500,000 tons of marine products.

Consumer goods in 1985:

Fabrics: 380 — 400 million metres.

Sugar and molasses: 350,000 — 400,000 tons.

Cigarettes: One million packets of 20 cigarettes each.

Paper: 90,000 — 100,000 tons.

Heavy industry in 1985:

Electricity: 5.5 — 6 billion kWh.

Coal: 8 — 9 million tons.

Rolled steel: double the 1981 figure.

Phosphate fertilizer: 350,000 — 400,000 tons.

Cement: 2 million tons.

Transport and communications

Freight carried: up 10 — 12% per year.

Freight north-south and exports: a threefold increase in 1985 from 1981.

Capital construction

State investment: for 1981 — 1985, 16 — 18 billion dong.

Demography

In five years 4 million people will settle in New Economic Zones. Population growth rate in 1985: 1.7% (2.4% in 1981).

Imports and Exports

In five years' time, exports will have doubled, compared with the 1976-1980 period.

Growth rates in five years:

Average annual production

— Agriculture: up 6-7%

— Industry: up 4-5%

National income: up 4.5-5%

Production in 1985 as compared with 1980

Food: up 30%

Pork: up 30%

Fish: up 25%

Sugar and molasses: up 100%

Paper: up 87%

Fabrics: up 119%

Electricity: up 51%

Coal: up 54%

Cement: up 184%

Chemical fertilizers: up 23%

Timber: up 14%.

(Let us recall that the Fourth Congress set the following figures for 1980:

Food: 21 million tons of paddy and paddy equivalent.

Fish: One million tons.

Fabrics: 450 million metres.

Paper: 120,000 — 130,000 tons.

Electricity: 5 billion kWh.

Coal: 10 million tons.

Rolled steel: 300,000 tons.

Chemical fertilizers: 1.3 million tons.

Cement: 2 million tons.

Average annual growth

Agricultural production: up 8-10%

Industrial production: up 16-18%

National income: up 14-15%

Those figures have been estimated by the Fifth Congress to be "over-ambitious").

IV — DATA ON THE PARTY

A few figures quoted in the Report on Party Building: Total Party membership as of December 1981: 1,727,784.

Member admitted since the Fourth Congress: 375,000; of these 85% are drawn from the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Organization, and 59% from the armed forces.

In the period between the Fourth and the Fifth Congress, lower-echelon congresses were twice held. Each time, one-third of the membership of the Party committees at those echelons was renewed.

Cultural standards of members of Party committees:

— Province, and the three major cities of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and Hai Phong: 27.7% have a college education (42% for the north; 81% for Hai Hung province).

— District: 24.6% have a college or secondary vocational education (32% for the north).

Total number of Party grassroots organizations: 35,146, comprising nearly 150,000 cells, of which 39,766 have been created since the Fourth Congress.

Nearly all the members of the Central Committee elected at the Fourth Congress had been Party members before or during the resistance to French colonialism.

Of the members of Party provincial committees, 90% had been Party members before the resistance to U.S. aggression, and 62% before 1954.

Cadre training:

During the last five years, one million Party members have attended political courses; 340,000 cadres have graduated from colleges or secondary vocational schools or classes.

Nearly 30% of enterprise managers have attended economic management courses; more than 50% of directors of centrally-run enterprises have attended economic or technical colleges or secondary schools.

During the last five years, 100,000 cadres have been sent to southern provinces or cities, to border districts, or have been engaged in internationalist tasks (Kampuchea, Laos...).

OUR INTERNATIONAL TASKS

(Excerpts from the Political Report presented to the Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam).

Over the past five years, in carrying out the Party's principled foreign policy, we have recorded great achievements, strengthening the solid position and force of our people in the fight to defend our homeland, and creating further favourable conditions for our socialist construction. In spite of all attempts by the enemy to encircle and isolate our country, the role and position of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has been increasingly enhanced in the international arena.

In the coming period, our foreign relations work must strive to secure favourable international conditions and substantial international aid for the building and defence of the country, thereby helping to ensure the success of the tasks laid down by this Congress. In particular, it must become an active, dynamic front in the struggle to defeat the policy of the Chinese big-nation expansionists and hegemonists colluding with the US in attempting to weaken and annex our country; as an immediate step, it must aim at defeating the many-sided war of sabotage started by them and check their schemes to wage a new war of aggression. At the same time it must consolidate peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Loyal to their international duty, our people have always united with the revolutionary and pro-

gressive forces in the world, and strongly supported the resolute struggle of all peoples against the bellicose and aggressive policy of imperialism headed by the US for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To strengthen friendship and broaden co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is a prime objective in the foreign policy of our Party and State.

Our people are extremely happy with the development of the militant solidarity and the co-operation between our country and the Soviet Union since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation in 1978.

As the most powerful and firmest ally of Vietnam, the Soviet Union has been firmly on our people's side, giving a timely and generous response to our requirements in the consolidation of national defence. It has supplied our economy with technical assistance and goods which are vital for our production and livelihood, and given us, by way of aid, a series of major projects forming the first important material-technological basis of socialism in our country.

The co-operation and assistance extended us by the Soviet Union in

the fields of culture, science, technology, training of cadres and skilled workers are being further and further expanded and strengthened. The annual exchange of goods through trade between the two countries is developing favourably.

Solidarity and all-round co-operation with the Soviet Union is the key-stone of the foreign policy of our Party and State. In the interests of the two peoples, we shall in the future strive for an even greater development of the Vietnam-Soviet Union militant solidarity and all-round co-operation. In our view, this is a guarantee of success for defending our homeland and building socialism, and for the consolidation of national independence and of the positions of socialism on the Indochinese peninsula. At the same time, it is a positive contribution to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system and of the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

Close links and all-round co-operation with the Soviet Union are a matter of principle, strategy, and revolutionary sentiment. Our Party is duty-bound to educate all Vietnamese generations in this principle and strategy, making them a mighty force to bring our revolutionary cause to complete victory.

This year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics commemorates the

sixtieth anniversary of its foundation. Our people sincerely wish the fraternal Soviet people under the leadership of the great CPSU new outstanding achievements in the implementation of the historic Resolutions of the 26th Congress to advance to their glorious anniversary.

Recently, *the militant Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea solidarity* has entered a new stage of development, and brought about unprecedented changes in the revolutionary situation of the three Indochinese countries. We hail the Lao People's Democratic Republic, our staunch friend and loyal comrade in-arms, which has recorded outstanding achievements in economic restoration, transformation and development along socialist lines and in national defence.

We hail the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole genuine and legitimate representative of the heroic Kampuchean people, which has had great success in national revival and in the struggle to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Between us and the two fraternal countries, friendly relations on State and popular planes, and political, economic, and cultural co-operation have shown a fine development, while exchanges of goods have kept increasing. Following the Treaties of Friendship and Co-operation between us and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, our Party, State and people have done everything in their power to support and help the two fraternal countries with dedication and in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. All

feats of our peoples in national defence, all achievements in the building of socialism are closely linked to the valuable assistance of the fraternal peoples.

Mutual affection and assistance, association in weal and woe have been clearly manifested and continue in the life of each of our peoples.

The special Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea relationship is a law of development of the revolution in the three countries, a matter of vital significance for the destinies of the three peoples. From one generation to another, our people must preserve the friendship and the tradition of solidarity among the three nations, unceasingly consolidate and strengthen their special relationship and militant alliance, in a determination to defeat all schemes and acts of sabotage, division, and aggression of the common enemy — the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists acting hand in glove with the US imperialists and other reactionary forces. We regard this as a firm guarantee for the cause of defending independence and freedom and successfully building socialism in each country on the Indochinese peninsula, and also an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

On the principle of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and legitimate interests, equality and mutual trust, we have always striven with all our force to fulfil our international duty towards the two fraternal countries; at the same time, we endeavour together with them to achieve close co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields with a view to furthering in

an increasingly more effective way each country's cause of consolidating national defence and security and building economy and culture.

The militant solidarity and fraternal co-operation between us and the other countries in the socialist community have undergone a new qualitative development since our country became a full member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We have received strong support and many-sided assistance from the fraternal countries. Under the treaties of friendship and co-operation and the agreements signed between us and the fraternal countries, co-operation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields has been unfolded and has achieved heartening progress and results.

In the coming period, we shall do our utmost together with the fraternal countries to achieve good co-operation in the framework of bilateral treaties and agreements and promote an unceasing development of this co-operation in the process of plan and policy co-ordination among the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We warmly support the correct and resolute steps taken by the Military Council for the Salvation of Poland to defeat the reactionaries' plot of seizing power, to restore order and security so as to resolve the economic and social difficulties of Poland. We strongly protest against the brazen interference of the imperialist forces in Poland's internal affairs in an attempt to hinder the recovery process of socialist Poland. We reaffirm our solidarity with the Polish United Workers' Party, the communists and

people of fraternal Poland. We firmly believe that our Polish brothers and sisters will smash all reactionary forces, overcome all difficulties, preserve and develop their revolutionary gains. The People's Republic of Poland will forever be a solid link in the world socialist system.

Our people resolutely stand on the side of the fraternal Cuban people and strongly support the Republic of Cuba, an independent and sovereign country, member of the socialist community, and chairing the Non-Aligned Movement, who are now struggling against the US imperialists' schemes of aggression and threats of attack. The Cuban people, who have risen from a life of slavery, carry aloft the banner of freedom and socialism, for the independence of their homeland and for their own happiness. They are a heroic, dauntless nation that no aggressor can vanquish. Hands off Cuba!

Our people unswervingly support the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country without any outside interference.

We actively contribute to the strengthening of solidarity in the international communist and workers's movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Through the historic and epoch-making victory of the patriotic fight against US aggression, through the glorious victory of the two recent wars of national defence and through the present staunch struggle against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, our Party has made and is making positive contributions to the struggle against Maoism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

As a nation which was once oppressed by imperialism and which has waged a protracted fight against the forces of aggression, our people fully support the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to remove from world life all forms of colonialism, to regain and defend national independence, and to build a new international economic order.

The Vietnamese people thoroughly practice the line of developing Vietnam's co-operation with the other members of the *Non-Aligned Movement*, contributing to bring into play the active role of the movement in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for world peace, and the independence and sovereignty of all nations. Our people support the active efforts of the non-aligned countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

We warmly hail the initiative of the People's Republic of Mongolia on the signing of a convention of non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between Asian and Pacific countries.

Our people highly appreciate the great role and increasing prestige of India in the Non-Aligned Movement as well as its contributions to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and elsewhere in the world. We rejoice at the current fine development of the Vietnam-India relations, and believe that the friendship and many-sided co-operation between the two countries will consolidate and strengthen further with each passing day.

We resolutely support the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the fraternal Afghan people who, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the

other socialist countries, are fighting against the undeclared war of the imperialists and international reactionaries, to defend the gains of the April Revolution.

Our people resolutely stand on the side of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada who are struggling against the US imperialists' threats of aggression. We fully support the heroic fight of the Salvadorean people against the fascist dictatorship and US interventionists. We strongly support the peoples of Chile and Guatemala who are struggling against fascist rulers and the intervention of the US imperialists as well as supporting the struggle of the Panamanian people for sovereignty over the Panama canal.

We condemn the US imperialists' use of Israel as a shock trooper against the Arab people, and encouraging it to launch savage attacks on Lebanon and Iraq, to occupy Jerusalem and annex Syria's Golan Heights, thereby bringing about an extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East. We support all efforts to achieve a fair and lasting peace in the region on the basis of Israel's ending its occupation of all Arab territories and respecting the fundamental, inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, of whom the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole genuine representative, including the right to establish a State of their own.

We resolutely support the Libyan people and Government in their staunch struggle against the hostile policy of the US imperialists, to preserve their sovereignty and national independence.

Our people express deep sympathy with, and warm support for, the Namibian and other peoples in Southern Africa who are fighting against the domination of South African racists, for independence, freedom and national equality. We sternly condemn South Africa's piratic attacks against Angola, and fully support all steps taken by Angola to deal fitting ripostes at the aggressors.

With deep sympathy, our people follow the struggle of the working classe and labouring people in the developed capitalist countries. For over a year now, there has emerged in almost all countries of Western Europe, Northern Europe, and in North America a mass movement of unprecedented depth, scope and strength against the Reagan Administration's bellicose and interventionist policy which is causing international tension and making the situation in Europe extremely dangerous. Recent developments in a number of European countries such as France and Greece have proved that the banner of peace, democracy and social progress has the ability to rally broad sections of the working class and labouring people to the fight, causing State monopoly capitalism to fall back step by step, winning partial successes and creating favourable conditions for a continued advance of the people's revolutionary cause. Our people hope that in the coming period, the working class and labouring people's movement in the developed capitalist countries will record bigger successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people stand for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with ASEAN countries, which they are always prepared to join in a coordinated effort to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. Nevertheless, the relations of Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries

with the five ASEAN countries are now encountering obstacles set up by Beijing and Washington in an attempt to seek advantages for China's expansionist and hegemonistic policy and the US imperialists' interventionist policy in this region. The so-called "International Conference on Kampuchea" stage-managed by China and the United States constituted a crude interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country with a view to opposing the revival of the Kampuchean people, and is a product of the hostile policy pursued by China and the United States with regard to the three Indochinese countries. We hope that for the sake of their fundamental interests, and of peace and security in this region and elsewhere in the world, the ASEAN countries will enter into dialogues with the Indochinese countries in order to settle problems in the relations between the two groups of countries, and eventually bring about a Southeast Asia of peace and stability, friendship and co-operation.

The Vietnamese people resolutely struggle to defeat all aggressive and annexationist schemes of the Chinese authorities against our country, but we maintain intact our friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people. Maintaining the policy of friendship and good neighbourhood with the Chinese people, we stand for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and settlement of disputes through negotiations. We have repeatedly proposed a resumption of the talks which have been unilaterally suspended by China, but the Chinese side has adamantly turned down our proposals. The Chinese leaders have all along been frenziedly pursuing big-nation expansionism and

hegemonism. They have not yet given up their scheme of placing Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea into China's grip, they regard the three Indochinese countries as primary targets for aggression and annexation on their path of expansion into Southeast Asia. And now they are making new steps forward in the collusion with the United States for the purpose of carrying out this strategic design. That is the real cause of the increasing tension in the relations between the two countries, it is also a factor undermining peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The Chinese rulers must bear full responsibility for the serious consequences of this situation.

We stand for establishing and broadening normal relations in the State, economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields with all countries, irrespective of political, or social system, on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. Such relations have been established between us and many countries in Western Europe, Northern Europe, South America, and other parts of the world; with regard to the United States, our relations have not been improved due to Washington's hostile policy. As a member of the United Nations, we entertain relations with many international organizations under the aegis of the United Nations Organization.

Our people will forever hold in high esteem the valuable support and warm sentiments extended to us by the peoples and governments of friendly countries and by many international organizations. We are confident that, in the future, our country's relations with the above-mentioned countries and organizations will be maintained and further developed for the sake of peace, friendship and co-operation among nations.

ON PARTY BUILDING WORK

Summary of the Report presented by Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member, at the Fifth Party Congress.

PART ONE

The situation of the Party since the Fourth National Congress and the tasks of Party building work

The strengths and weaknesses in the Party political leadership are linked, ideologically and organizationally, to the strengths and weaknesses in the Party building work.

We have made considerable efforts in these fields, constantly encouraging the Party's working class and vanguard character while raising its leading ability and fighting capacity. Over the past five years, Party organizations have held their assemblies twice. Each time, about one-third of Party committee members have been replaced. The number of Party committee members from working-class backgrounds, experienced in leadership and management, and trained at Party schools has increased. At province and city level Party committee members with university degrees have accounted for 27.7% (42% in the North, 81% in Hai Hung province) and at district level, those graduated from university and secondary vocational schools are 24.6% (32% in the North).

By issuing Party cards many unqualified members have been removed from the organization. Meanwhile, through mass movements, the Party has admitted more than 375,000 people, over 85% of them outstanding members from the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. The recruitment of new members has brought about the founding of new Party cells: 39,766 created since the Fourth Congress out of a total of nearly 150,000 cells

from 35,146 grassroots organizations.

The Party and the State have actively trained cadres to meet the requirements of economic and defence tasks. Nearly 100,000 cadres have been sent to southern provinces and cities, northern border districts, or abroad on international tasks. Lately, refresher courses have been opened to acquaint high and medium-ranking cadres with new knowledge in economic management. In the last five years 340,000 cadres have graduated from secondary vocational schools and universities.

The system of Party schools at all levels have been extended and education in political theory strengthened. The press, radio, television, cultural, literary and artistic work and other propaganda means have contributed to strengthening the Party's ideological front.

However, the Party's ideological and organizational work in various fields, particularly in socialist construction, has been very slack in many aspects.

Ideological work has lacked incisiveness, timeliness and combativity. Education on this new stage and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths has not been profound and incisive. Ideological work has not succeeded in making everybody fully understand the reactionary nature and ideology of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and of the US imperialists. Hence there has been a serious lack of revolutionary vigilance. Moreover, lack of sensitivity, bureaucracy, deep-rooted conservatism, moral degradation, loss of fighting will and lack of unity have been rampant.

Organizational work has also been very sluggish in adapting to the new stage, in catching up with the situation and tasks and in building an integrated and strong organizational structure from the central level to the grassroots. The mechanism of leadership by the Party, mastery by the working people and management by the State has not materialised in the day-to-day activities of Party committees, public services and mass organizations in all branches and at all levels. At present, the organizational structure is weak because its apparatus is cumbersome, efficiency is low and responsibilities are not clearly defined. This also applies to delimitation of function, responsibility and rights between the organizations of Party, State and mass organizations, between high and low level, between managerial bodies and production, business, and professional units, between the individual and the collectivity.

The bureaucratic administration of the economy through State subsidies is damaging in many respects: dependence upon others, irresponsibility, lack of dynamism in the apparatus and of initiative among the masses, leading to bureaucracy and a plethora of personnel.

Cadre work is still conservative and slack in many respects: formation, disposition, recycling, assignment, promotion and remuneration. A revolutionary and scientific working style and regulation is still lacking. The tendency to attend only to day-to-day business, the piecemeal and dispersed style of work, the holding of too many meetings and red tape are still rife. Our apparatus is still fraught with inefficiency and inertia.

The key tasks of present Party building work are:

To continue enhancing the Party's working class and vanguard character;

Strengthening the Party in the political, ideological and organizational fields in order to successfully carry out its line;

Raise the ability and efficiency of its leadership in socialist construction and national defence, so that our Party preserves its revolutionary and scientific character, has a high fighting capacity, is irreproachable in its conduct and maintains close ties with the masses.

The tasks must be linked to the renovation of the State mechanism of management, particularly in the economic and social fields, to promoting the efficiency of the management by the State, and by the exercise of the working people's right of collective mastery, to ensure the all-round development of society, and the Party's apt leadership of the two immediate strategic tasks—socialist building and defence of the socialist Homeland.

PART TWO

How to enhance the quality of leadership and the fighting capacity of the Party

A—Firm Ideology

1. Clearly understand the line of socialist revolution and enhance the working-class stand in the struggle between the two paths.

To fulfil this task we must creatively turn to account Marxist-Leninist theory, the rich experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties and selectively study the experiences of various countries in the world. At the same time, we must pay particular attention to reviewing the actual situation of our country, especially in the economic

field. We must struggle against both empiricism which disregards theory, and dogmatism which mechanically applies the experiences of foreign countries.

We must raise the standard of social, natural and applied sciences, particularly knowledge of economic laws and management for our cadres and Party members at large. It is essential for leading and managerial cadres to study economics and to stimulate such study in the Party and among the masses.

We should further enhance the study of politics, of Marxism-Leninism and the Party line. In the assimilation of the Party line and the organization of its implementation we must unceasingly safeguard collective mastery, build a steadfast revolutionary stand of the working class in the struggle between the two paths, and overcome rightist and leftist deviations.

2. A firm stand against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, US imperialism and other reactionary forces, to be ready to defend the Party and the Homeland.

Maoism, the essence of which is expansionism and hegemonism, has turned the Chinese leaders into renegades of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese people, into cruel and perfidious aggressors and saboteurs against our country. The task of ideological work is to lay bare their vile nature, their perfidy as well as their Maoist reactionary ideology and their present all-round sapping activities. It is necessary to make it clear that this struggle is an arduous, complex, long and intransigent one.

We must show everybody that the struggle against the Chinese aggressors and US imperialism is linked to the struggle between the two paths in our country and the common struggle of the two fraternal countries, Laos and Kampuchea, against our common enemy.

This struggle is also inseparable from the struggle between socialism and capitalism on the world scale.

3. Keeping in close touch with the masses, and with realities, to combat bureaucracy, subjectivism, conservatism, maintaining the principle of democratic centralism, and combatting indiscipline, lack of democracy and irresponsibility.

The present slackness in many fields, particularly in economy, has its origin in subjectivism, conservatism and bureaucracy, a manifestation of aloofness from the masses in the conditions of a ruling Party. There are many reasons for this but in the case of unconsciousness, the insufficient knowledge and studies. In the economic field, conservatism and bureaucracy have clearly manifested themselves in the maintenance of a bureaucratic administration of the economy through State subsidies, in policies and regulations inadapted to the new requirements of production and life.

We must struggle against bureaucracy among cadres and Party members, especially at the higher levels. It is necessary to adopt a working style which is in close touch with the grassroots and the masses, and works with the lower levels and the grassroots in contact with the realities. Leading cadres of the highest level, from the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, the Council of Ministers and the Commissions and Ministries must be present at the "hottest spots", the important links where problems crop up in production or daily life at the grassroots; they must have a better grasp of the situation in various regions, particularly in the South and the highlands, to provide guidance, elaborate policies, solve the problems raised by the grassroots and remove present constraints and serious obstructions.

We must remedy the lack of democracy, first of all in the

stages of preparing and taking a decision by the Party's leading bodies. At the same time we must maintain discipline in implementing the decision taken. It is necessary to consult the lower levels before taking an important decision related to economic activity and life in general.

We must oppose feudal paternalism which is still prevalent. Party committees and organs of control must show firmness and equity. Party cells and Party committees must preserve the purity of the Party, defend the truth and struggle against all manifestations of inequity with regard to cadres.

Inside the Party we must promote both a real democracy and an iron discipline and *strictly carry out self-criticism and criticism*, from the Central Committee, the Secretariat, the Party Committees down to the cells. We have to work out and perfect the rules, functions and regulations on organization, to clearly define the responsibility of each level, branch, organization and each individual.

This task must be done energetically. *In 1982-1983 we must effectively work out the regulations of organization* from the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, the Council of Ministers down to the basic units, and complete the *defining of professional criteria for the main functions* in each organization.

Inside the Party and in the State apparatus, discipline must be equitable without any exception; rewards must be timely and fair, discipline must be all the stricter with regard to high cadres and Party veterans.

4. Cultivate revolutionary qualities and combat individualism.

Party members must unceasingly struggle for their ideals even at the price of their life. They must live a wholesome life and behave as a model of the new, socialist person. Recently,

while the majority imposed self-denial for the sake of the Party and the Homeland, a number of cadres and Party members debased themselves—among them high- and medium-ranking cadres, Party veterans of the struggle against the enemy. We must combat these phenomena. By our deeds we must refute the erroneous argument that bureaucracy and corruption are diseases inherent to a ruling Party. We can perfectly prevent this state of affairs by applying the coherent measures the Party has worked out. We must see to improving economic management, relying upon the masses to control the apparatus, promote education and strengthen Party and State control. We must forbid privileges and prerogatives, prohibit bodies which have materials and money at their disposal from setting up special regulations for them and their cadres. This must be very strictly supervised by Party cells.

It is important to point out that each body has the duty to help its guilty cadres and Party members to redress their faults from the beginning. Party cells and committees must strictly fulfil their responsibility by expelling from the Party those who bully the masses, embezzle State funds, accept bribes or exploit people. This must be done regardless of the post they hold, and all measures must be taken to end this state of affairs.

5. Close ranks and strengthen the unity of the Party.

The Political Bureau and the Secretariat will shortly adopt a program of discussions to review problems needing unanimity and allow the participants to frankly express their views. This is indispensable to strengthen the unity and oneness of mind inside the Party and enhance the quality of Party leadership and must be done in an organized way. The unity and oneness of mind inside the Party requires the entire Party

to strictly apply the Party's principle of organization; for the problems which have led to resolutions there is only *one determination, one voice and one act*. No factionalism is allowed inside the Party:

Some *opportunist* elements are banking on the Party's difficulties to pursue their selfish interests. We must strengthen Party discipline and expel such divisive elements from the Party. We must struggle against Maoism and prevent its influence spreading further into the Party and among the people.

The Central Committee will guide responsible bodies to study in a systematic and more complete manner Maoist thought to enable cadres, Party members and the people to clearly understand its anti-Marxist, non-scientific, fallacious character and its reactionary nature in collusion with US imperialism to oppose the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, and the independence of nations.

6. Strengthen international solidarity and inculcate the spirit of proletarian internationalism among cadres, Party-members and the people

Our Party and people will continue to strengthen the militant solidarity and all-sided co-operation with the Soviet Union as well as fraternal co-operation with other countries in the socialist community. We must constantly consolidate and strengthen the special relations between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

B — Perfect the organizational structure and building up the Party contingent.

1. Strengthen Party leadership in close combination with the promotion of State managerial efficiency and the working people's collective mastery.

The Party leads the State and mass organizations through its line, policies, resolutions and instructions by the measures of political education, organization and motivation for the masses to imple-

ment these line and policies, by the control of administrative and other organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship in the implementation of the Party line, policies, resolutions and instructions, and of the State laws.

The main function of the State is to materialise and institutionalise the line and policies of the Party into State plans, laws, regulations, concrete measures and to organize their implementation.

It is necessary to put an end to the confusion of functions between Party organizations and State bodies. In the ministries, there will be a system of one person in charge, buttressed by a ministry council comprising the minister, vice-ministers, and a few members (according to State regulations) and serving mainly as an advisory council for the minister.

At regional level, Party committees must stop taking upon themselves too much work, and stop attending to day-to-day business allowing State bodies to have the initiative in production, business, organization and management of daily life.

Mass organizations whose function is to organize, educate and mobilize the masses in the implementation of the Party and the State line and policies, work as representatives of the masses' right to collective mastery. It behoves Party committees from the central to the grassroots level to establish a regime of work with the Party members' groups inside the mass organizations. Each mass organization has to inform the Party and the State about the masses' views and aspirations. It is necessary to institute regulations compelling Party and State bodies to answer the masses about the views the latter express through the executive committees of their organizations. Regulations must also be instituted for the comrades responsible for the trade unions, youth and women to take part and express their views in the meetings of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, the standing committees at all levels when they deal with the launching of a mass movement or the work of these organizations.

2. Perfect the organization of the Central Committee and Party Committees.

It is necessary to enhance the quality of the leadership by the Central Committee over economic

and social affairs and lower the average age of its members. -It should include more workers, women and cadres from ethnic minorities.

To enhance the quality of leadership by the Central Committee and promote the efficiency of guidance by the Standing committee of the Council of Ministers, it is necessary to reduce the number of Political Bureau members assuming the functions of Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, to choose relatively young comrades with good health and abilities.

We must radically change the conception about the composition of Party Committees at all levels, regarding Party committees as the places to seek promotions and privileges or to set up a "coalition" structure. There are comrades with many achievements to their credit who should not run for Party committee membership for reasons of health or abilities to give a chance to new, more promising comrades.

It is necessary to strengthen the implementation of Party work and mass work by provincial, city, district, city ward Party committees, by renewing the apportionment of work in the executive committee and the standing board, increasing the number of permanent members in charge of Party work, reducing the number of comrades working with people's committees, and clearly defining the responsibility of secretaries and deputy secretaries as regard current affairs. Secretaries and deputy secretaries must specifically look after Party work.

Particular attention must be paid to perfecting city and urban Party committees. In the first place, the Party committees of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hai-phong and towns in important industrial areas.

3. Perfect the organization of the State apparatus.

The building of a *mechanism of management* is a most crucial problem to strengthen the organization of the implementation of the Party resolutions and to raise the efficiency of State managements. We must perfect the organization of general management bodies, particularly the State Planning Committee, the system of economic information, the institutes of scientific research, the key links in the studies of programs, plans, draft-laws, policies and regulations of management in the ministries in charge of eco-

nomie and technical sectors. We must build an ever more powerful army, perfect the security forces and the bodies ensuring State legislation (Public Prosecutor's Office, Tribunals, Judiciary bodies...). We must also adequately perfect the organization of the bodies managing scientific, informative, cultural, social, educational, literary and artistic activities.

In perfecting the State apparatus we must resolutely streamline it and cut down on staff, particularly the administrative personnel by getting rid of the bureaucratic administration of the economy through State subsidies.

4. Perfect the Party grassroots organizations.

Our Party advocates the building of districts into agro-industrial units (or sylvico-agro-industrial units, or piscico-agro-industrial units) and strongholds for the defence of the homeland. Thus, we have to accelerate the *building of districts in the 1980's*. According to the orientation, in the five years to come each district must proceed from its resources in land, natural resources, manpower, material and technical base and become a vanguard district, while the present pilot districts must reach higher targets in economy and material life.

Parallel with the task of building districts and consolidating production bases, attention has to be paid to building and perfecting the organization of Party cells, Party Committees of communes and co-operatives to make them wholesome and strong.

The perfection of the organization of grassroots Party committees, and in the first place the judicious assignment of secretary and standing members, have a decisive importance upon the enhancement of the quality of leadership by the Party grassroots organization. The Secretariat of the Central Committee, basing itself on the number of Party members and labourers and the importance of the basic units, will define a regime for a full-time secretary. In these places a comrade appointed as secretary will renounce other functions in the State apparatus or in the mass organizations.

5. Improve the combativity and the vanguard role of Party members, and to build a wholesome and strong Party contingent.

At present, our Party has 1,727,784 Party members. Whate-



The delegation of the Hanoi Party Organization.

Photo : VNA

ver their functions, they must be communist militants, inspired with an ideal and acting upon the Party's line.

Province and city Party committees have to control the issuing of Party cards and best guide the review of this work. Wherever the issuing of Party cards has been done unsatisfactorily, the Party cell has to meet to reexamine the work, collect the suggestions of the masses and withdraw the cards wrongly issued. It is necessary to resolutely expel from the Party all the bad, depraved, opportunist, corrupt and degenerate elements discredited among the masses. Those whose fighting will has been blunted and degraded, who run after selfish and family interests while neglecting or bungling their tasks must be expelled from the Party.

To expand the Party ranks is a work to be done regularly and timely. We must diligently look after the recruitment of new members among the outstanding elements in the mass movements, especially workers conscious of the Party's ideal, who have a fair political, scientific, technical and managerial knowledge. In cities and industrial areas the recruitment of new members must be done mainly among the workers.

We must improve the quality of cell meetings, strictly apply the regime of cell meetings. The cell must be truly the place to thoroughly discuss the problems con-

cerning the Party line, policies and viewpoints, to assimilate the Party resolutions and adopt measures to ensure their application, to hold discussions about the viewpoints and principles so as to defend the Party line and organization, to temper the Party members' revolutionary will and leading capacity.

6. Train, assign and renew the contingent of key cadres.

It is necessary to have a plan to train and recycle cadres now and in the future, not only for five or ten years but further. We must build up a big reserve right from the recruitment of students for Party schools and universities to train leading, managerial, economic and technical cadres at the grassroots level.

In the placement and disposition of cadres, we must resolutely carry out changes in organization and personnel wherever they clearly fail to fulfil their tasks, especially in the case of leading cadres at all levels, in all branches and in important bodies and units.

Among the criteria required of Party and State's leading and key cadres at all levels and in all branches, work efficiency must be the final yardstick.

It is necessary to take measures to ally old and new cadres, so as to lower the still high average age of key cadres and ensure the continuity in the building of a

contingent of leading and key cadres at each level and in each branch. We must *renovate the method of selecting and administering cadres*. This has to abide by the following principles: to ensure the collective leadership and decision-making of the Party organization vis-à-vis the promotion of key cadres; strictly apply the principle of democratic centralism in the promotion, selection and sanction of cadres; link the administration of cadres to the management and control of their work; adopt an objective and serious attitude in appraising, contacting and helping cadres timely to develop their strong points and redress their weak points.

7. Build a Leninist style of work for the Party.

In the first place, we must resolutely renovate the method of preparing and adopting decisions. The preparation of decisions must be based on the study of various alternatives, the close co-ordination between responsible bodies at all levels and in all branches, a broad application of results of research by institutes, and a consultation of knowledgeable people. For new, complex and particularly important problems, it is necessary for the Political Bureau and the Secretariat to directly lead experiments and adopt decisions on the basis of their results. We must make careful preparations so as to have the necessary arguments to reach a unity of mind or to choose an alternative before taking a decision. No decision will be adopted so long as data are not yet sufficient, the calculation of efficiency is lacking, or the procedure of decision-making is not complied with.

If the study to adopt a decision is rated one, the *organization of its implementation* is rated ten. It is necessary to have a plan to carry out a resolution, assigning people, body and time for its implementation.

8. Attach great importance to, and constantly strengthen, the Party's control work.

It is necessary to raise the standard of control work to make it scientific, opportune, precise and highly efficient. This is a major task that Party committees, control committees and commissions attached to the Central Committee must undertake in a planned way.

The Party's control work must be closely linked to State's control and a network of people's control.

FOREIGN...

(Continued from page 4)

- Communist Party of Bangladesh
- The Chilean Communist Party
- The Congolese Party of Labour
- The German Communist Party
- The Commission of Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE)
- The New JEWEL Movement of Grenada
- The Arab Baath Socialist Party of Iraq
- The Iraqi Communist Party
- The Communist Party of Italy
- The Revolutionary Vanguard Party of Madagascar (AREMA)
- The Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM)
- The FRELIMO Party
- The Communist Party of USA
- The South African Communist Party
- The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa
- The Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua
- The Socialist Party of Australia
- The Communist Party of Australia
- The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- The Communist Party of Finland
- The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador (FMLN)
- The Syrian Arab Baath Socialist Party
- The Syrian Communist Party
- The Communist Party of Sri Lanka
- The Swedish Left Communist Party
- The Swedish Workers' Communist Party
- The Yemeni Socialist Party
- The Review "Problems of Peace and Socialism"
- MOHAMMAD FARHAD, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee
- JORGE INSUNZA, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee
- PIERRE N'ZE, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- KARL HEINZ SCHROEDER, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Party Central Committee
- KASSAYE ARAGAW, member of the Party Central Committee, representative of the COPWE in Gojjam region.
- JOSEPH EWART LAYNE, member of the Party Central Committee, first Vice-Minister of National Defence
- ABDULLAH FADEL ABBAS, member of the Council of the Revolutionary Command, member of the Party's Leadership
- RAHIM AJING, member of the Party Central Committee
- LUCIANO BARCA, member of the Leadership of the Party Central Committee
- RADAODY LAURENT, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee
- RAKATOMALALA MANAN IGNACE, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee
- MARIANO MATSINHE, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, Minister of the Interior
- JAMES WEST, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee
- MOSES MABHIDA, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee
- STANLEY MABIZELE, member of the ANC Revolutionary Council
- JACINTO SUAREZ, member of the Front Central Committee, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the Soviet Union
- ALAN MILLER, Secretary of the Party Central Committee
- BERNIE TAFT, Co-General Secretary of the Central Committee
- SAMED ABU KUWAIK (KADRI), member of the Central Committee of Al Fatah
- ARVO AALTO, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee
- SALVADOR CAYETANO CARPIO, member of the FMLN Supreme Command, First Commander of the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces
- MOHAMED ZUHAIRAF MASHARKA, Deputy General Secretary of the Party Leadership
- DANIEL NOAME, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee
- K.P. DE SILVA, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Party
- KENNETH KVIST, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee
- JOHN TAKMAN, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee
- ALI SHAYE HADDI, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Head of the Party Control Commission
- LIPKOVITS KAROLY, member of the Review's Editorial Board

US SLANDER ON THE USE OF TOXIC CHEMICALS IN LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA

On 13 April 1982, a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam issued a statement rejecting recent US allegation about the use of toxic chemicals by Vietnam in Laos and Kampuchea. Below is the full text of the statement:

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* *

In his report to the US Congress in late March US Secretary of State Alexander Haig again charged Vietnam with using Soviet-made toxic chemicals in Laos and Kampuchea.

It is to be remembered that in September 1981 the US Secretary of State himself and all the mouthpieces of the US Government launched a campaign around the

so-called use of toxic chemicals in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. The campaign was designed to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, but facts have shown that it was merely a fabrication. Progressive public opinion and many scientists, including American scientists, have pointed out that the evidence produced by the US Government was groundless. On March 15, the PUGWASH conference in Geneva, attended by scientists from 31 countries, affirmed that there was no concrete proof of the use of toxic chemicals as alleged by the US Government. Even health experts in a UN "investigation team" returning from Southeast Asia and South Asia in November 1981 and February 1982 also concluded that there were no facts to back the US claim about the use of toxic chemicals in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. A number of persons in this team even denounced the US for pressuring them into producing false evidence to suit the US allegations.

The US Government's intention in smearing the Soviet Union and Vietnam is to divert public attention from its scheme of stepping up the arms race and the mass production of chemical and bacteriological weapons, delay negotiations for a treaty banning production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and obstruct disarmament talks.

By concocting the story about the use of Soviet-made toxic chemicals in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea, the US Government also seeks to whitewash its crimes against the three Indochinese peoples. All people of conscience can still remember that the US imperialists conducted a large-scale chemical war against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for more than ten years. They sprayed hundreds of thousands of tonnes of toxic chemicals, killing hundreds of thousands of people, destroying hundreds of thousands of hectares of crop land, with disastrous consequences for the environment, for many generations of Vietnamese, and for tens of thousands of Americans who fought in Indochina. Mankind will remember the US aggressors' crimes.

By conducting the biggest chemical war in mankind's history, and by trying to repeat this war with modern means and on a large scale, the United States has seriously violated the 1925 Geneva Convention. The US Government, therefore, is not qualified to speak about justice at all.

The Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again completely rejects the US slander, and demands that the US Government end its collusion with the reactionary Chinese ruling circle in villifying Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries.

Henry Kissinger signed the Paris Agreement on Vietnam in January 1973 with the hope of creating a "decent interval" between the day when the United States withdrew its troops and the day when the Saigon puppet administration might face a danger. The "decent interval" having failed to materialize, between March and May 1975 the pro-US regimes in the three Indochinese countries successively toppled like sand castles: in March the Spring offensive in Vietnam liberated the Central Highlands strategic area while the Saigon puppets' call for help from the US Congress fell on deaf ears; on 17 April US Ambassador John Dean had to furl the US flag and leave Phnom Penh, followed 13 days later by US Ambassador to Saigon, Graham Martin; in May, the population of Vientiane stormed the USAID building, symbol of US domination in the land of a Million Elephants.

Washington's prestige in Southeast Asia fell to a new low and friends of the United States worried whether Uncle Sam had abandoned them before the rising tide of nationalism in the area.

Weakened but resolved to stay

The first act of US diplomacy in May 1975 was to tranquillize the pro-Western politicians in the area. During this tour of Southeast Asia, Philip Habib, US Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, stated in Singapore on 30 May 1975 that the United States would continue to remain a big power in Asia and the Pacific, to maintain its commitments in Asia and its military presence there. In the following months this morale boosting continued so that on 6 February 1976 the Malaysian Prime Minister was convinced enough to declare that he did not think the United States would give up its role or presence in Asia.

Indeed, although the United States Government was compelled, under

pressure from US and world opinion, to withdraw its troops from the three Indochinese countries, and Thailand — and at times thought of withdrawing its troops from the whole of mainland Asia including South Korea — it still sought every means to maintain its interests in this important area. As Richard Holbrooke, an Assistant Secretary of State, admitted before the US House of Representatives on 14 March 1978, Southeast Asia supplies nearly all US needs in copra and coconut oil, 90% in natural rubber and 75% in tin; in 1977 the United States bought more than 7 billion dollars worth of goods from Southeast Asia while selling about 4 billion; US investments in the area totalled over 4 billion dollars, bringing much profit to US capitalists. The numerous, diligent and gifted local population constitutes a huge labour force for US companies to carry out their neo-colonialist policy of setting up assembly and processing plants. This satisfies to a certain extent the desire of the native capitalists to have a share of the cake while seeking to "industrialize" their country — although all key links, main industries and sophisticated techniques remain in the United States or in US hands.

To ensure direct exploitation of the Southeast Asian countries the United States has to keep a tight grip upon them.

On the military plane, in the "post-Vietnam" period the United States has worked out an island strategy and established an arch-shaped defence perimeter which stretches from Japan, Guam through the Philippines to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

The US-Philippine talks, although affected by a wave of nationalism, ended in January 1979 in a compromise, with the United States maintaining its naval base in Subic Bay and its air base in Clark Field, albeit under Philippine sovereignty.

On the political plane, what is important for the United States is to keep local administrations under Washington's influence, it being a constant US policy to rally these governments when necessary. However, the SEATO military alliance was disbanded following a decision of its Ministerial Council held in New York on 25 September 1975. ASPAC which included Australia and New Zealand (but not the United States) could no longer survive in an atmosphere filled with "post-Vietnam" nationalism.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA « POST-VIETNAM »

ASEAN is regarded by the United States as an ideal gathering of pro-Western countries in the area. Founded in 1967, the bloc, which covers 68% of the territory and 72% of the population of Southeast Asia, suddenly drew great concern and support from the United States. The latter also encouraged its allies among the developed capitalist countries, particularly Japan, Australia and New Zealand, to strengthen their relations with ASEAN.

US-ASEAN trade increased rapidly to more than 16 billion dollars in 1979, accounting for 10% of US trade with the developing countries and ranking fifth among US trade partners. Since 1979 a US-ASEAN Executive Committee has been

established to look after economic and trade co-operation between the two sides. In 1978 alone, US officials had three meetings with their ASEAN counterparts, and in August 1978 a conference at ministerial level was convened in a pattern which was to be followed later on.

While pretending to respect ASEAN's "non-military" stance, the United States takes great interest in boosting the armed forces of each and every ASEAN country by supplying them with weapons. US sales of military equipment and

dealt President Ford's Secretary of State a bitter blow.

The day after Saigon was liberated the US Government declared an embargo against South Vietnam to complement the one against North Vietnam. On 26 January 1976 Laos was withdrawn from its list of "most-favoured nations", then on 16 February 1976 the United States announced an economic blockade against Vietnam and Kampuchea. Throughout 1975 and 1976 it used its right of veto in the UN Security Council to oppose Vietnam's entry into the United Nations Organization, although all the other Council members agreed or abstained.

These acts, however, isolated the United States and not Vietnam. Burma which had had Consulate-General relations with Vietnam then established full diplomatic relations (28 May 1975), and on 12 November 1975 Burmese President Ne Win called on other countries to help Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Those ASEAN countries which as yet did not have diplomatic relations with Vietnam set up these relations one after another. Vietnam's four-point policy with Southeast Asian countries put forward by Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh on 5 July 1976 received a favourable response in Southeast Asia.

Confronted with the good relations between Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries as well as many Western countries, US President Carter, on coming to power early in 1977, had to soothe public opinion and declare that one of his goals was to establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam. Then he sent a mission led by Woodcock to Hanoi in March 1977, and withdrew the veto against Vietnam's entry into the United Nations Organization in September 1977.

Carter, however, refused to repeal the trade embargo against Vietnam or to comply with Article 21 of the Paris Agreement which

stipulated US contribution to heal the wounds of war in Vietnam. The Paris talks in May, June and December 1977 on the normalization of relations between the two countries also came to nought.

In 1978 Carter's foreign policy became arrogant and hostile towards the Soviet Union. The United States played the "China card", enlarging on the policy begun by Kissinger and Nixon in 1971-1972 with the signing of the Shanghai communiqué. Deng Xiaoping's return to power in Beijing provided an opportunity for the United States to carry out this policy, because Uncle Sam was fully aware that Deng was pragmatic, opposed to the Soviet Union and keen on befriending the United States. With regard to Southeast Asia, a weakened United States hoped to rely upon China's ambitions in the area to establish a new order under joint US-China domination.

On 11 April 1978 Carter declared his intention of normalizing relations between the two countries, then Brzezinski, the White House Security Adviser used his influence to make it a major move of US diplomacy.

Late in 1977 the border conflict between Vietnam and the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea was brought into the open when Pol Pot cut off diplomatic relations with Vietnam. On 8 January 1978 Brzezinski stated that this conflict was a "war by proxy" between the Soviet Union and China since Vietnam was supported by the Soviet Union both politically and militarily, while Democratic Kampuchea was assisted by China politically and "perhaps militarily" (in fact everybody knew that Pol Pot's divisions were set up and equipped by China).

Only a few months later, China concocted the story of Hoa people being ostracized in Vietnam in order to cut off its aid and withdraw specialists. Vietnam was dubbed a small hegemonist serving a big hegemonist.

weapons to ASEAN zoomed from 1.12 billion dollars between 1970 and 1977 to 2.48 billion between 1977 and 1980. Moreover, mention should be made of the military agreements linking the United States with two particular ASEAN countries: Thailand and the Philippines.

Carter plays the "China Card"

All the above-mentioned US deployment is spearheaded at the revolutionary movement in Indochina in which Vietnam plays a key role.

The rapid collapse of the subservient US regimes in Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane upset all Kissinger's calculations and

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During his visit to China in May 1978 Brzezinski endorsed Beijing's policy of opposing any country seeking world or regional hegemony. He also espoused China's views on the future of Southeast Asia and supported its interests in the area. The two sides agreed to normalize their relations on 1 January 1979, naturally heralding the failure of the talks on the normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam which had been resumed in New York in September 1978. Vietnam had shown her goodwill by not putting forward any prerequisite but a pretext was used to explain away the volte-face, i.e. Vietnam's signing a treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union on 3 November 1978 and mustering of Vietnamese troops on the border with Kampuchea.

An alliance against the Indochinese countries

The situation in Southeast Asia evolved rapidly. With US blessing, China prepared a pincers movement to crush Vietnam militarily: one prong, Pol Pot's 19 divisions from the southwest and the other, Chinese troops from the north.

To cope with this threat, on the one hand Vietnam signed a friendship and co-operation treaty with the Soviet Union which includes Article 6⁽¹⁾ and on the other coordinated its actions with the patriotic Kampuchean people to break Pol Pot's forces, and help the Kampuchean people liberate themselves from genocide.

A new conjuncture appeared in Southeast Asia with the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime and the founding of the People's Republic of Kampuchea: the coexistence of two groups of countries with differing politico-social regimes — the ASEAN group and the Indochinese group. Europe has a similar situation with two groups of countries, western and eastern, coexisting peacefully and co-operating in many

fields. This is also what the Indochinese countries wish for. For its part, Vietnam was glad that in 1978 while Beijing and Washington flirted, the relations between Vietnam and the ASEAN countries fared very well, particularly with Prime Minister Pham Van Dong's visit to five ASEAN capitals in September and October 1978.

However, the Chinese rulers were most upset when they saw Kampuchea slip from their hands, thus losing a bridgehead to attack Vietnam and intervene in other Southeast Asian countries. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping went to the United States and Japan, and declared he would give Vietnam a lesson. Having found no opposition there, China launched 600,000 troops against Vietnam on 17 February 1979. The Carter Administration made a pretence of deploring Beijing's act, but linked the Chinese aggression of Vietnam with the so-called Vietnamese aggression of Kampuchea, thus insinuating that China's act was understandable, and even pardonable.

Collusion between the United States and China grew. In March 1970 US Vice-President Mondale visited Beijing and stated that China would enjoy the "most-favoured nation" clause. In January 1980 US Defence Secretary Brown also visited China and said that the two countries should extend "parallel action where our interests converge", adding that these "parallel acts" would be applied, to Vietnam.

One of these "parallel acts" was precisely to bring pressure to bear upon the ASEAN countries into ending their friendly relations with Vietnam. The United States was in a very advantageous position to help China attain this goal because ASEAN came under American influence.

Under US-Chinese pressure, Thailand adopted an anti-Vietnam stance in early 1979. It let the Pol Pot remnant troops and other

Kampuchean reactionaries use its territory to stage their attacks against the Kampuchean revolutionary power. Having fled to Thailand, the Pol Pot remnants were not disarmed but were resupplied with Chinese weapons through Thai officials. On the grounds of humanitarian aid the United States and China demanded that the relief agencies give half of their aid to Kampuchean refugees living in Thailand, i.e. mainly to the Pol Pot remnants and the refugees picked out to replenish the Pol Pot troops.

With these forces fattened up in Thailand, at the beginning of each rainy season a farce of driving the Kampuchean refugees home is staged. In fact Pol Pot troops are being launched against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Not to mention the continual raids along the Kampuchea-Thailand border with Thai territory as a "sanctuary".

That the other ASEAN countries support Thailand's anti-Vietnam stance is easy to understand. ASEAN is in the first place a political gathering. Its members rely upon Western countries, particularly the United States, for economic and military aid, and have thus to show political unity when their patron plays the China card. Singapore, the most swashbuckling of them, has another motive: to attract Western companies reluctant to invest in Thailand for fear of a possible "Vietnamese aggression" there.

1979 and 1980 witnessed numerous attempts by China, the United States and the ASEAN countries to besmirch and isolate Vietnam in the international arena: maintaining Pol Pot's seat at the United Nations, tabling a motion to demand "the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea"... The United States and China also pounced on the issue of Vietnamese refugees and charged that human rights were being flouted in Vietnam...

However, their efforts were not entirely successful. The Pol Pot clique became more and more despised so that Britain, then Australia, at last withdrew their recognition. Meanwhile, the Heng Samrin Administration has become stronger and within a short time it has been recognized by 30 countries and national liberation movements. As for the story about "boat people", at the Geneva Conference of July 1979 the Vietnam representative clearly stated, his country's humanitarian policy which allows people to leave according to law with UNHCR co-operation.

Reagan: bleak prospect for an erroneous policy

Early in 1981, Regan entered the White House with the ambition of restoring US strength at home and abroad. The United States continued to play the "China card" while striving to control the ASEAN countries for its benefit.

Arms supplies to the ASEAN countries were stepped up. Regan promised Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanond on a visit to Washington that the United States would increase its military aid for 1982 by 60 per cent and even more in successive years. The US bases at Takli, Sattahip, Korat, Ubon, Udom which were closed in 1975 are to be reopened. In November 1981 Thailand officially let it be known that the United States would be allowed to use Utapao base again. The United States organized joint troop-exercises with Thailand as they had with Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Britain.

The United States also publicly stated that it co-operated closely with China to "bleed" Vietnam by carrying out an economic blockade, forbidding both private US organizations and international organizations with a US financial contribution not to send aid, even humanitarian, to Vietnam.

Together with the ASEAN countries, the United States and China staged the "International Conference on Kampuchea" of July 1981 in New York under UN sponsorship, which passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. They strove to amalgamate the three Kampuchean reactionary factions—Khmer Rouge, Son Sann and Sihanouk—into a coalition government to replace the abhorred Pol Pot clique and thus keep the People's Republic of Kampuchea out of the United Nations Organization.

However, all the efforts of the Carter Administration in 1980 and Reagan's plots and acts in 1981 came to nought. Vietnam as well as Laos and Kampuchea overcame their many difficulties and continue to develop steadily. The "International Conference on Kampuchea" did produce an adhoc committee to bring pressure to bear upon Vietnam but many Western and non-aligned countries refused to participate; after meetings in Singapore, then in Bangkok, the coalition government of the three Kampuchean reactionary factions failed to materialize.

Reagan wants to play the "China card", but the two colluding forces have very different motives. The disparity, became apparent when late in 1981 Regan declared that weapons would be sold to Taiwan, raising a storm between Beijing and Washington. In Southeast Asia, China's hegemonic interest is to sabotage peace and stability following the motto of "sitting on a mountain and looking at tigers fighting one another", setting ASEAN and Indochina at loggerheads, pitting the Pol Pot and other reactionary cliques in Indochina against the Indochinese countries but at the same time using the Maoists in Southeast Asia to interfere in the ASEAN countries as well as Burma and eventually to control the whole of Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, the interests of the United States and ASEAN are

mainly to maintain the present Western-oriented regimes in Southeast Asia and US interests in this area. They use China to contain and weaken the Indochinese revolution but they do not want China to expand in Southeast Asia.

The fact that the Thai Government let Taiwan celebrate its national day (10 October) in Bangkok and the Indonesian Government reception of the Taiwanese Prime Minister show that ASEAN wanted to keep Beijing at arm's length and follow the US policy of "one China, one Taiwan".

Although in general the United States and the ASEAN countries see eye to eye, they do have disagreements. Reagan looks after US global interests which oppose the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam and arouse tension in the world. Meanwhile it aims to work from a position of strength in its relations with the Soviet Union. For their part, the ASEAN countries are most concerned to safeguard their interests in the area.

These disagreements surfaced in June 1981 when the Reagan Administration announced an arms-sale to China, without asking the ASEAN countries' advice. The latter are worried that these weapons might fall into the Maoist rebels' hands. In the "International Conference on Kampuchea" in New York in July 1981, they were displeased at the United States' support of China's stand, which prevented the disarmament and neutralisation of the Khmer Rouge before the general elections in Kampuchea. They did not want the Khmer Rouge to seize power again in Phnom Penh because this would restore Chinese domination in Kampuchea, while the United States, for her part, was not firm enough against China in this matter.

(Continued on page 30)

VIETNAMESE-SOVIET

LABOUR

CO-OPERATION

The agreement and protocol on labour co-operation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, signed a year ago, have had positive results which are of great significance to socialist construction in Vietnam. To help Vietnam, tens of thousands of Soviet specialists have been sent here to work in various economic, scientific, technical and cultural establishments where they train Vietnamese workers and cadres. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese students, trainees and technical workers have gone to the Soviet Union to study at various universities, institutes and professional schools. Those who have been trained in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as those trained in this country are becoming the main forces in State enterprises, offices, institutes, universities, and are assuming important tasks in the national economy.

The plan for labour co-operation is a new development based on the

treaty of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

Under the plan, the Soviet Union will help train Vietnamese workers in Soviet enterprises according to Vietnam's requirements, particularly those needed for the stage of socialist industrialization and for the development of various economic and technical branches necessary to the national economy.

Those who have been sent to the Soviet Union will work and receive vocational training for five or six years at different enterprises. During this time, they will become skilled workers, with good technical know-how. Those who work and study in the Soviet Union will, for the love of their country, strive to become able workers in order to build their homeland.

With this agreement, the Soviet Union helps Vietnam train many skilled workers and through it new trades needed for socialist construction are open to the Vietnamese.

One year has passed since the agreement was signed. Thanks to common efforts by both sides, it has been initially implemented with the fulfillment of the 1981 plan on the number of workers trained... Thousands of Vietnamese workers who are now used to the Soviet climate and living conditions have begun their work. Many of them have learnt Russian in a short time, and have begun to grasp the fundamentals of their profession and the process of production. In every engineering plant, coal mine, chemical works or textile mill in Astrakhan, Volgograd, Donetsk, Kemerovo, Rostov, Krasnodar... where they work the Vietnamese have been warmly welcomed. The Soviet Government and people have shown solicitous care for the Vietnamese trainees and of course they enjoy the same rights and benefits as their Soviet colleagues in terms of wages, social welfare and insurance.

Initial achievements are positive and promising, affirming the correctness of the labour co-operation policy.

In 1982, under the agreement reached between the two governments and with the experiences gained in the last year, labour co-operation will be further expanded to new trades and an increase in the number of workers trained. A program of training workers for entire enterprises will be experimented where conditions are suitable.

DAO THIEN THI
Minister of Labour

The First Tet of Independence

(Excerpts from the diary of Comrade H.C., former aide of President Ho Chi Minh)

January 20, 1946

Binh Tuat Tet, the first Tet of independence, was close at hand. The 23rd day of the 12th lunar month—the day the god of the Hearth would go to heaven to make his annual report on the situation in each household—was only one week away, yet the inhabitants of Hanoi were still busy getting glutinous rice and *dong* (arrowroot) leaves to make *banh chung* (Tet cakes).

Having returned from the resistance base, Uncle Ho had been in Hanoi for less than five months. Familiar with the national custom, he had never ceased thinking of a Tet for all, but our country, just freed from colonial rule was very poor, and the French troops were staging a comeback in Nam Bo (South Vietnam) under the protection of the British forces in order to seize power once again.

As soon as he arrived at his office, President Ho Chi Minh read to his secretary a letter to be sent to his compatriots on their preparation for Tet. He used a very simple language as in everyday conversation:

"Our people live in close unity and fraternity. Rich or poor, old or young, we are making preparations to welcome Tet, to welcome spring, together.

"I appeal to all our people to share their joy of Tet with our

fighters at the front, with their families, with our poor compatriots so that everyone may have the opportunity of enjoying the first Tet of independence."

In the afternoon, Uncle Ho read to his secretary another letter to children with the following recommendations:

"In the new year, you must adopt a new way of life to be worthy of being the new citizens of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

February 1, 1946

The eve of Tet. Early in the morning, Anh Ca (Eldest Brother, alias of Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang, later Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ed.) brought in a bundle of clothes at the suggestion of President Ho himself. The President, who on that day worked in his office, told me to leave early so that he could visit the inhabitants of Hanoi on this last day of the year. He told me to accompany him on his visit to people of all situations, whether poor or well-to-do. The visits would be incognito so that he could see the truth for himself. We were four—the President, two body guards and I—so as to use only one motorcar. Detecting my anxiety, he explained: "This is the best way to maintain secrecy."

Past 7 p.m., it was pitch dark, as is usual on the night of the 30th day of the lunar month.

Our car stopped at one end of Hang Dua lane, Sinh Tu street

(now Nguyen Khuyen street, Ed.). The lane was crooked and we had to use a torch.

We knocked at a door. No answer. We pushed it open as it was not locked. The dim light of a paraffin lamp was not sufficient for us to see the arrangement of this cold, tiny room.

"Is anyone in?"

For reply we heard only the cough and moan of a man lying on a bamboo bed covered with a mat.

"President Ho has come to see you," I said.

But Uncle Ho waved his hand as a sign to leave the patient in peace. As I told him that the man had a fever, he gave me orders to rearrange the cover for the man and we withdrew after shutting the door.

In the car. I reported to the President that the man was a rickshaw puller (Rickshaws were used in Hanoi in 1946—Ed.) and lived alone without any support. He said in a low voice as if to himself: "There is no sign of Tet, even on Tet eve."

Our car stopped in Hang Long street (now Nam Bo street, Ed.) near the railway station. We called at a house. Only after a few minutes did a man answer the door. When they saw Uncle Ho, the inmates of the house—the family of a poor public servant—were all embarrassed; they cleared the linen which was hung up to dry in the room.

Uncle Ho wished them a happy new year and asked after the family. They replied that they had finished all preparations to call in the soul of their ancestors to enjoy Tet. When Uncle Ho took leave of them, they were visibly moved at his unexpected visit.

We came to Vai Tham street, which was then deserted and dimly lit. The wind was cold. On knocking at an ajar door, the house was brilliantly lit up. We saw a spray of peach blossom in a big blue and white decorated vase, many pots of yellow chrysanthemum and mandarin trees laden with orange fruit, a set of inlaid and sculpted ancient style armchairs, a finely decorated plank bed near an inlaid cupboard on which were an altar for the cult of the ancestors, a shiny copper incense-burner, a tray of fruit and delicious foods.

A member of this well-off family returned Uncle Ho's compliments of the season by wishing him success in leading the people on the road of prosperity and happiness.

Uncle Ho wanted to visit two other houses, one of a wholesale dealer and one of a mandarin. But their doors were locked and in the car he gave me sign to leave.

We drove past some streets which were unusually deserted. Before the liberation of north Vietnam in 1954, Hanoi people were in the habit of enjoying Tet eve with their families. They did not go out for a walk round the Sword Lake or in front of President Ho Chi Minh's mausoleum, as they do at present — *Ed*).

We returned home at 9 o'clock in the evening. He said we should leave the house before midnight to welcome Tet. He unfastened the bundle of clothes brought by Anh Ca and we found a black gauze tunic, a drab pair of trousers, a turban and a pair of Gia Dinh slippers. With his spectacles perched on his nose, he looked

devilishly like a poor rustic tutor. The bundle also contained a costume for me: a pair of white trousers, a black cotton tunic, a pair of leather sandals. In this dress, I was like a pupil following his tutor.

We set out on foot. A little before midnight we arrived at Ngoc Son Temple just in time for the Tet eve ceremony. Unbeknown to the President, I had concealed a pistol in my trousers and my mind was quietened.

Firecrackers resounded in all streets near the Sword Lake. Arm in arm, we wormed our way through a dense crowd of people who were going to pick the shoots from trees planted near the Temple in the belief that this would give them good luck. The Thap But tower and the The Huc wooden bridge were thronged with people and the Temple was shrouded in a thick smoke of burning joss-sticks. Uncle Ho had a look at everything while I was concerned with following him.

Crossing back over the foot-bridge, we felt much relieved. He told me to pass through Hang Dao and Hang Ngang streets to go home. The explosion of firecrackers was growing scarcer and scarcer.

Nobody living in Hanoi at that time would believe that at the first, Tet of independence, President Ho Chi Minh, disguised as a simple old man, spent Tet in their company round the Sword Lake.

February 2, 1946

On the first day of the new lunar year, Uncle Ho woke up early, even though he must have been tired out by his nocturnal walks to welcome spring. Perhaps this had given him food for thought. He told me to give him writing paper and a pen (according to Vietnamese custom, writing the first words on the first day of Tet is an important event, *Ed*).

His first words were dedicated to his fellow-countryfolk everywhere, including soldiers fighting at the front and their families: he wished them a new year of happiness and success. He concluded his appeal with the following verse:

"In the New Binh Tuat year
Everything will go smoothly
National restoration will soon
be completed,
The war of resistance will
soon be victorious."

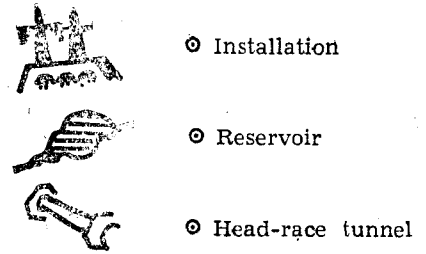
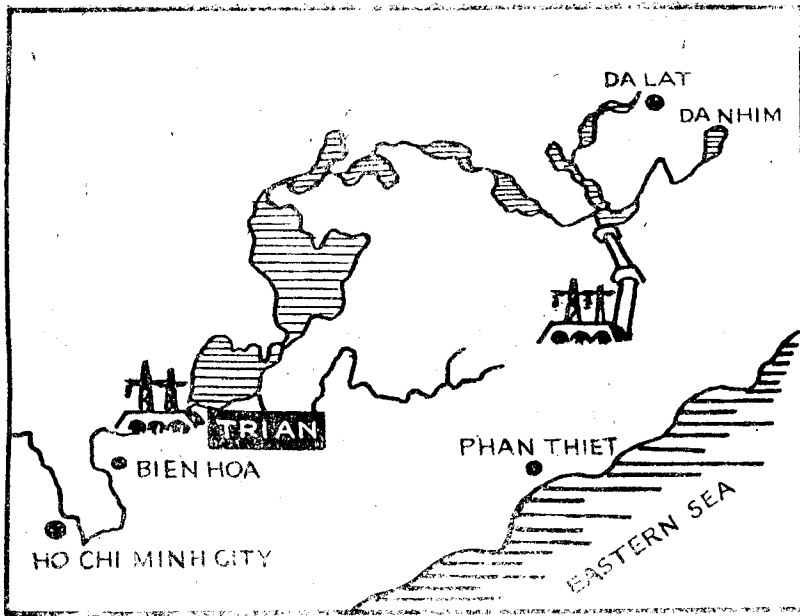
He worked even on the first day of the new year. He sent for the Chairman of the Hanoi Municipal Committee and told him of his previous night's visit to the Hanoi people and suggested that the city administration and other organizations should urge the inhabitants to make contributions, each according to his possibility, to alleviate the suffering of poor people so that they could enjoy the pleasure of the first Tet in independence as he had wished.

In the morning, on his way to his office, he dropped in at Hang Trong police station to wish the men and women on duty a happy new year. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, he paid a visit to the soldiers undergoing treatment at Don Thuy hospital (now Military Hospital 108, *Ed*) and the Headquarters of the National Guard (in Hang Bai street) opposite the August Revolution cinema, *Ed*). At four o'clock he visited an orphanage and gave sweets to the children there.

These were his first Tet days in Hanoi after the country had recovered its independence. He devoted those days to the common people and saw to it that they might enjoy the Tet festival as happily as possible.

CORRECTION

In our issue No. 4 — 1982, page 9, line 33 Theodore Roosevelt should of course read Franklin Delano Roosevelt.



Vietnam Advances

THE TRI AN

HYDRO-

ELECTRIC

PROJECT

Together with the building of the Pha Lai thermal-power station in Quang Ninh province with a capacity of 640,000 kW and the Hoa Binh hydro-power project with a capacity of 1,920,000 kW, construction will soon begin on the Tri An hydro-electric project in Dong Nai province, southern Vietnam, all with Soviet assistance.

This is one of the major construction projects of the Third Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) and the biggest hydro-power project to date in southern Vietnam. It is located on Dong Nai river in Vinh Cuu district, Dong Nai province, nearly 60 km northeast of Ho Chi Minh City. The project will bring major benefits to the national economy, especially with regard to the southern provinces. Its initial planned capacity is 320,000 kW, 3 times that of the Thac Ba hydro-electric plant in northern Vietnam and double that of the Da Nhim hydro-electric plant in southern Vietnam. It will supply from 1.3 to 1.5 billion kWh annually. In addition, it will supply water for about 250,000 hectares of ricefields around Ho Chi Minh City, in Dong Nai and Long An provinces, as well as fresh water for the industries, forestry and fisheries and the daily use of the people in the area. It will also help check the invasion of salt water along the Dong Nai river. The reservoirs of the project will become huge fish ponds capable of

supplying more than 2,000 tons of fish a year.

Results of surveys jointly conducted by Vietnamese and Soviet experts show that the natural waterfall at Tri An has the optimal conditions for the building of a major hydro-power plant. The reservoirs will cover 350 square kilometres and have a capacity of one billion cubic metres. Since the plant lies close to major industrial and urban centres like Bien Hoa, Ho Chi Minh City, Vung Tau and Thu Dau Mot, the electricity to be generated can be easily integrated in the common electric grid. The flow of Dong Nai river approximates 1,000 cubic metres per second in summer but drops to less than 100 cubic metres per second in the dry season. Maximum silt deposition is one kilogram per cubic metre of water.

Total cost is estimated at 6,000 million *dong*. The Soviet Union will supply all the technical equipment under an agreement between the two governments. The remainder will be covered by government investments and contributions by the population in the southern provinces. This will be the first major project to be built with joint contributions from the government and the people. It is estimated that construction of the project will require the digging of about 45 million cubic metres of earth and stone, about 400,000 cubic metres of concrete, and vast quantities of steel, sand and gravel.

The ground-breaking ceremony was held on February 19, 1982, with 5,000 workers, young volunteers and soldiers from Ho Chi Minh City joining in laying the foundations for the future plant: roads, riverways, railways, the

electricity supply system. Preparations for the building of the reservoirs require the felling of about 20,000 hectares of forest with an estimated 462,000 cubic metres of timber and tens of millions of cubic metres of firewood. The preparatory work also includes a railway station at Trang Bom, a railway and a parallel transport road 22 kilometres long linking Trang Bom to Tri An and a 15-kilovolt transmission line to cater for the construction work.

Research and surveys were conducted as early as 1977-1978 by Vietnamese scientists. Students and teachers of the water conservancy and geology departments of the University of Ho Chi Minh City under the guidance of Professor Tran Kim Thach studied the geology in the areas of the waterfall and the future dam. They left no part of the Dong Nai river unchecked over a portion of seven kilometres. They spent many nights in the forest in spite of mosquitoes and leeches and crossed fields still littered with mines left behind by the US and puppet troops.

Topographers and cartographers of the General Staff of the People's Army in co-ordination with surveyors of the Ministry of Power and the Institute of Planning of Ho Chi Minh City have completed detailed and accurate topographic maps of the whole area within a short time. Hydrologists have made detailed studies and gathered necessary data about the flow of the Dong Nai river within the past 50 years, a major requirement put forth by L. Gazanova, head of the Soviet experts team, when she first visited Tri An in the rainy season of 1981. Ms. Gazanova has taken part in the designing of major hydro-power plants in the Soviet Union and in many other countries, e.g. Indonesia, Syria and Cuba. She is also one of the planners of the Hoa Binh hydro-electric project in Vietnam. In her four-week stay in Tri An she made intensive surveys on land, water and air to gather more basic data and check the estimates before submitting her final economic-technical program.

News of the construction of the Tri An hydro-power plant quickly spread to the population in the southern provinces. Mass movements were initiated under a variety of names such as "Every branch and everyone supports Tri An",

THE UNITED STATES...

(Continued from page 25)

Neither do they agree with the harsh US opposition to Vietnam. Their present policy is to side with China and the United States in opposing Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries, but they maintain a dialogue with Vietnam and Laos which began with the visit to Hanoi by the Malaysian Prime Minister in December 1979 after many months of frozen relations. Following this there were many visits between ASEAN personalities and Vietnamese and Lao diplomats throughout 1980 and 1981.

In view of the new situation in Southeast Asia, traditional US allies, particularly Japan and France, have altered their attitudes with regard to Pol Pot, as well as to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Japan speaks of Vietnam's "security interests" in Kampuchea. In the Japanese ruling party, some people want to recognize Kampuchea and improve relations with Vietnam. In France the Mitterand Administration, with its policy of winning over Third World countries and its design to restore influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, also wants to improve its relations with Vietnam and Laos.

*
* *

Three years have passed since the Pol Pot clique was overthrown in Phnom Penh. In these three

"One day each month for Tri An", "Let's economize for Tri An", "Communist labour day for Tri An"... The provinces in the Mekong River delta have pledged to contribute 4,500 tons of rice, 2,000 tons of meat, 2,000 tons of sugar and two million litres of fish sauce each year. Ho Chi Minh City and Dong Nai province have loaned 100 million *dong* to the State. Hundreds of public offices, army units, hospitals, schools and individual workers, cadres, intellectuals, artists have sent contributions in cash or gold to the managing committee. Many individuals donated as much as 10,000 *dong*. Vietnamese residents abroad on their visits to the homeland have also contributed

years successive US Administrations have played the China card and induced the ASEAN and Western countries to oppose Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries, even creating an explosive situation which threatens peace and security in the area and goes counter to US interests.

Now it may be said that Washington's playing the China card is far from being a success as far as Indochina is concerned. If Reagan prizes the ASEAN countries most in Southeast Asia while keeping an eye on his Western allies, then the changes, as yet small, in the attitudes of the ASEAN and Western countries toward China on one hand and Vietnam on the other must give him food for thought.

Over three years ago, Vietnam showed its goodwill and readiness to normalize relations with the United States, but the latter missed the opportunity by turning to Beijing.

However it is not too late for the United States to readjust its policy towards Southeast Asia along a more realistic line.

NGUYEN HOANG

1. Article 6 reads: "In case either Party is attacked or threatened with attack, the two Parties signatory to the Treaty shall immediately consult each other with a view to eliminating that threat and taking appropriate and effective measures to ensure the peace and the security of the two countries."

tens of thousands of *dong*. Donors include children and young pioneers—for instance two sisters in Ho Chi Minh City contributed all the 167 *dong* from their piggy bank, and three other sisters sent 720 *dong*. So far, more than 10 million *dong* in donations has been collected.

Each day the Managing Committee of the construction site receives up to 300 letters, pledging contributions in manpower and money.

On the strength of the labour zeal of the workers and with the warm support of the population, the Managing Committee estimates that construction time, which is projected for 6-8 years, may be reduced by two years.

Lieu Doi is a hamlet of average size in the Red River delta with 2,000 inhabitants and 500 houses. It is part of Cam Tuc commune, Thanh Liem district, Ha Nam Ninh province, just over 60 km south of Hanoi, in a low-lying area dotted with earth mounds and boulders.

Twenty years or so ago the area was submerged for most of the year and travellers from the highway had to wade for hours through soggy fields to reach the hamlet. Today, there are tarmac roads. A major cultural treasure was recently discovered in Lieu Doi, consisting of numerous samples of folk literature and cultural relics.

So far the following have been collected: 1,000 folk songs, local sayings and proverbs, 75 folk poems some of which have as many as 4,000—5,000 verses, 17 humorous stories concerning the wrestling festival which was and still is a major annual cultural event of the locality, a long poem-narrative also about the wrestling festival, 120 stories and tales and 1,000 precepts about the military art, in addition to the biographies of many famous families. More significantly still, also collected were fragments of what is believed to be an ancient book entitled "Ballad of One Thousand Nights".

Of the monuments still standing, besides the communal house which is a common feature of all Red River delta communes, there are nine pagodas, shrines and temples each having a name and a story of its own. There are also vestiges of an ancient tomb made of tens of thousands of ancient bricks each measuring half a metre in length and weighing more than 10 kilograms with original designs and patterns not to be seen anywhere else in the region. The sculptural works include statues of heroic personages in the national legends such as a woman lieutenant of the Trung Sisters (40 A.D.), an intrepid fighter of the Doan family and also statues of legendary or imaginary personages like Lady One Hundred Colours or Lady Silk Weaver installed in the shrines of the same names. There has been talk of the possession by a farmer of two ancient cannons believed to belong to the Tay Son leader Quang Trung on his northward expedition to liberate the country from the Qing feudal invaders in 1789. Also found were ancient bronze bell and an ancient stone drawing-

room suite bearing the date of fabrication of the Quang Trung reign.

As in the case with all other rural areas of Vietnam, the literary heritage has been handed down by word of mouth. Any old man you meet in the hamlet would be able to recite for you the old proverbs and local saying. But the folk literature of Lieu Doi has specific traits that distinguish it from any other local literatures. For instance, not one of the 120 tales of Lieu Doi repeats the theme of any tale related in the collection "Treasure of Vietnamese

also assumed that Lieu Doi lay on the road of the military expeditions of the Vietnamese armies starting from Hoa Lu in Ninh Binh, the first capital of independent Vietnam, or from the central provinces, in their northern marches to meet the aggressors from China. There remains in Lieu Doi a significant custom: every year in early spring (February or March) a military wrestling competition is held which draws able-bodied men and women of all ages in the locality as well as from many surrounding villages.

A MAJOR CULTURAL FIND IN THE RED RIVER DELTA

Tales" in four volumes by the scholar Nguyen Dong Chi (Hanoi Social Sciences Publishing House, 1974). The fables of Lieu Doi also have their originality, featuring animals that are characteristic of this low-lying area.

Another particular trait lies in its proverbs and popular songs. Most of them are related to the resistance wars against foreign aggressors. All the tales and legends end with a tragi-epic conclusion as if to put all the generations to come on guard against the aggressive designs of the enemies of the nation. The precepts on the military art are contained in the book entitled "Summing up of Battle Experiences Gained with Blood and Tears" by a general of the Tran Dynasty in the 13th century, who took part in some resounding campaigns against the Chinese aggressors. The book was handed down orally and was recently recited to the chroniclers by a score of old men and women. This leads researchers to assume that Lieu Doi was once a military training and recruitment centre for the wars of resistance. It is

The discovery of the rich cultural treasure at Lieu Doi poses a series of questions to historians and sociologists. How was the Lieu Doi culture formed and developed? Why is it that Lieu Doi has such a voluminous amount of folk literature? What is its relation with the national culture? And, lastly and perhaps most importantly, how to explain the fact that this culture has remained hidden throughout such a long period without being mentioned in any book of history or literature?

The study of the Lieu Doi culture was first undertaken by two teachers of literature from the district. In late 1981 the Hanoi Social Sciences Publishing House published a 400-page monogram entitled "Study of the Traditional Culture of Lieu Doi". This book contains some material of the Lieu Doi folk literature collected by the said teachers together with some explanatory notes. It is certain that further study will be made into this interesting cultural phenomenon in order to have a more comprehensive and scientific understanding of its significance and impact.

VU HONG

CHRONOLOGY

(16 March — 15 April)

MARCH

18. Vietnam attends the 25th session of CMEA (Comecon)'s committee for scientific and technological co-operation and the 28th session for co-operation in planning work in Moscow.

19. A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam leaves Hanoi for the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of India.

— A spokesman for the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry declares: "The bellicose and interventionist policy of the Reagan Administration causes tension in the Caribbean.

21. Vietnam participates for the first time in the International Book Fair in Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany.

22. Opening of the exhibition of Vietnam's economic and technical achievements at the Giang Vo Exhibition Centre. The exhibition shows the results of the Vietnamese people's creative labour in the period between the Fourth (1976) and the Fifth Party Congress (1982).

— Opening at 5 galleries in Hanoi of the 1982 Art Exhibition in honour of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (764 works of art of 578 artists are on display).

— Inauguration of a toys making workshop in Hanoi, a gift from UNICEF.

23. Pierre N'ze, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Congo, pays an official friendship visit to Vietnam. A joint communiqué is published.

— A delegation of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions leaves Hanoi for the International Conference for Solidarity with the working people in Palestine, Namibia and South Africa.

— The Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with Other Peoples and the Peace Committee of Vietnam send a message of support to the International Conference for Solidarity with the Salvadorean People.

26. Signing of an agreement on goods exchange and payment for 1981-1985 between Vietnam and Poland.

— Founding of the Vietnam Committee for the World Environment Day with Professor Ton That Tung as its president.

31. The Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, held from March 27 to 31, adopts the three important reports read by Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and Le Duc Tho and elects the Party's new leading bodies.

APRIL

1. On the occasion of his 75th birthday, Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, was presented with:

⊙ The Georgi Dimitrov Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

⊙ The Klement Gottwald Order of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia;

⊙ The First-Class Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic;

⊙ The Diamond-inlaid National Flag Order of the People's Republic of Hungary;

⊙ The Jose Martí Order of the Republic of Cuba; and

⊙ The Kark Marx Order of the German Democratic Republic.

— Jean Pierre Chevenement, French Minister for Research and Technology, visits Vietnam.

2. VNA rejects the fabrication of the Thai Supreme Military Command that Vietnamese troops shelled Thai territory.

4. Premier Pham Van Dong sends a message to Mohammed Abdelaziz, General Secretary of the Polisario Front and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, reaffirming the Vietnamese people's support for the Sahrawi people's just struggle.

5. Frigyes Puja, Hungarian Foreign Minister, pays an official friendship visit to Vietnam from April 3 to 5. A joint-communiqué is published.

— Opening of the third session of the Vietnam-Mongolia Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological co-operation. The two sides review the implementation of the resolutions of the last session and work out plans for co-operation in the period 1982-1983.

— The Commission for Investigation of Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists' War Crimes issues a communiqué denouncing China's hostile acts against the Vietnamese people over the past three months.

7. Vietnam participates in the International Day of the Elderly "Add Life to Years".

8. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach pays an official visit to France.

— Signing in Prague of a protocol on scientific and technological co-operation between Vietnam and Czechoslovakia.

9. Signing in Hanoi of an agreement on the Kingdom of Denmark's loans to Vietnam for the completion of joint projects.

11. The Ministry of Agriculture holds a conference on silkworm raising in Hai Hung province.

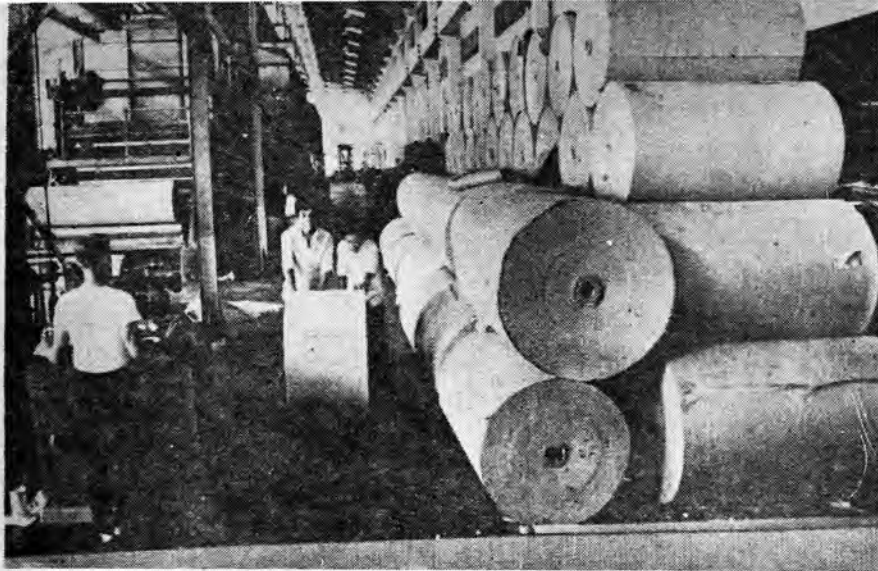
12. The Forestry branch holds a conference to sum up its activities in 1981 and to work out plans for 1982.

— A Finnish Government economic delegation led by Lasse Lehtinen, M.P. and Vice-President of the Commission for Economic Relations with Developing Countries, visits Vietnam.

13. A spokesman for the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry rejects a recent US allegation that Vietnam used toxic chemicals in Laos and Kampuchea.

15. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach pays an official visit to the Kingdom of Sweden.

— The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry announces the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of Vanuatu.



**EMULATION
DRIVE TO GREET
THE 5th NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF
THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF
VIETNAM**

New products from Tan Mai
paper mill (Ho Chi Minh
City).



Digging irrigation canals in
Eastern Nam Bo.

Rice-harvest in the Mekong
delta.

Photos: VNA

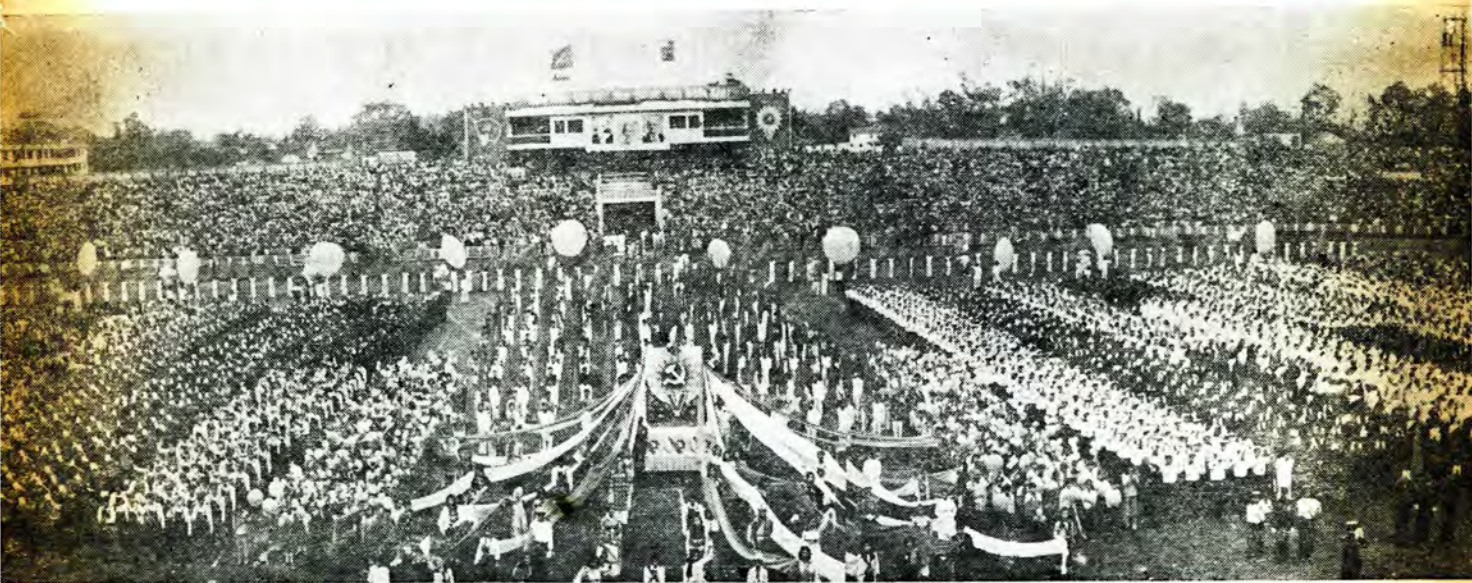




Delegates unanimously adopt the resolutions of the Party Central Committee.

Photos : VNA

SCENES FROM THE 5th NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS



Hanoi people at a rally to hail the Party Congress.

**Vietnam
Courier**

**НОВОСТИ
ВЬЕТНАМА**

**Le Courrier
du Vietnam**

**El Correo
de Vietnam**

Báo đối ngoại

TIN VIỆT NAM

Ra hàng tháng bằng các ngữ Anh, Pháp, Nga, Tây ban nha

Tòa soạn: 46 TRẦN HUNG ĐẠO, HÀ NỘI

Điện số: 53 998

In tại Hà Nội

Chi số 12462