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17 April 1975

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 1667

Hoc TAP, No. 2, 1975



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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO BUILD A STRONG PARTY IN ORDER TO LEAD OUR COUNTRY'S  
REVOLUTION TO TOTAL VICTORY

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 1-11

[Editorial]

[Text] Our party, which was founded and trained by President Ho, is the foremost decisive factor in each victory of our country's revolution. Our party is the vanguard unit of the Vietnamese working class, the loyal representative of the interests of the working class, laboring people, and the entire nation of Vietnam. Our party is the most active element of our society, it is the central force in the progress of our society. For our country's revolution to be victorious and our society to develop continuously, we must make every effort to make our party strong.

Our party is a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a party which has met many challenges and is highly experienced. Our party is a determined corps of the international communist movement. Under the leadership of our party, our people rose to overthrow the lackey government of the Japanese imperialists and establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they defeated the French imperialists, they won victory over the U.S. imperialists, and they are now carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in North Vietnam and continuing the struggle to liberate the nation and reunify the country.

Our party has an independent and creative revolutionary line. The party is always faithful to Marxism-Leninism, to the interests of our country's revolution and the world revolution. The party has summarized the rich experiences of our people in their struggle and selectively utilized the experiences of the fraternal parties. The party represents the most beautiful traditions of the nation of Vietnam. As a part of the international communist movement, the party firmly adheres to the truth of the age and fully complies with the principles of proletarian internationalism. Through the art of skillful organization, the party has transformed its line into the revolutionary actions of the masses and mobilized the abundant forces of the nation to create the combined strength needed to defeat the enemy.

As the child of the Vietnamese workers' movement and patriotic movement and following the course charted by Marxism-Leninism, our party clearly understands the aspirations and basic requirements of the masses and knows how to organize and mobilize the masses to carry out a revolution to liberate themselves. Even when they have had to endure many hardships and sacrifices, the masses have wholeheartedly trusted the party and bravely fought under its banner.

The party has a complete top-to-bottom system of organization. The party's base has been established everywhere. The party has a large corps of cadres who have been trained and challenged in the national democratic revolution and the armed struggle and begun to gain experience in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Countless members of the party have bravely sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the nation and the ideals of the party. These noble examples will live forever in our party, our people, and our country.

In addition to its strengths, which are basic, the party also has weaknesses and shortcomings.

The revolutionary line of the party is basically correct; however, in the socialist revolution in North Vietnam, this line is incomplete, it is inspecific in a number of areas, and it has not been expressed as specific stages of development; many economic organization and management programs are unclear. This shortcoming is partially the result of the need for the party to concentrate its efforts on leading the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and partially the result of the fact that the socialist revolution and socialist construction are things which are new to our party; efforts to equip party and state cadres with knowledge of the social sciences and the natural sciences are not commensurate with the political task; appropriate attention has not been given to researching lines and policies.

As regards organizational leadership, there are several shortcomings in the organization of the implementation of party resolutions; the implementation of a number of work programs and a number of campaigns is not being thoroughly supervised. Work methods are decentralized and handicraft in nature. The combined strength of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat has not been fully developed. The relationship among the party which leads, the state which manages, and the people who exercise ownership has not been concretely defined; jobs overlap and duplicate one another. Many party committees have taken it upon themselves to replace government organizations and provide loose leadership in many areas. State agencies have several shortcomings in social management and economic management. The various mass organizations have not upheld their role and their activities are administrative in nature. Many party committees have not done a good job of conducting propaganda, educational, inspection, and cadre activities which are the key elements of supervising implementation. The present weakness in the organizational leadership of the party is that each part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not fulfilling its function well and the relationship among these parts is neither smooth nor close.

In several areas, the organization of the party lacks initiative and some units have stagnated. At some places, the basic organization of the party is weak. The number of unqualified party members comprises more than a small percentage. The qualifications of leadership cadres and management cadres do not meet the requirements of their tasks. A number of cadres of limited ability who find it difficult to fulfill their tasks have not been given other jobs. The number of cadres who have good qualities, are competent, and have a desire to make progress but have not been promoted is high.

The strengths and weaknesses of our party are closely related to the circumstances surrounding the birth and growth of our party. Our party was born and has grown in a backward country with an underdeveloped economy based primarily on small-scale production, a country which was once a semi-feudal colony; although small in size, the Vietnamese working class, which was born before the capitalist class, was oppressed by three strata, quickly accepted Marxism-Leninism, rapidly became an independent political force, has the ability to carry out the historic destiny of the nation, and has an ally in the class of farmers, is rich in patriotism, has very much confidence in the party, and wholeheartedly follows the party.

Our party was born after the victory of the great October Revolution under conditions in which Marxism-Leninism occupied the predominant position in the international workers' movement and the opportunism of the 2nd Internationale had been bankrupted; our party also received wholehearted assistance from the Communist Internationale and many fraternal parties. President Ho, the first communist in our country, was the person who founded and trained our party.

Our party was born and has grown in a country whose people have a tradition of ardent patriotism and a continuous, feverish patriotic movement; as a result, the party has not only inherited the revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese working class and the tradition of struggle of the international working class, but it has also inherited and enhanced the nation's tradition of brave, determined struggle against foreign aggression. President Ho, the leader of the party, was also the very revered leader of the entire nation.

Since its founding, the party has had to spend the majority of its time and effort leading the people in the armed struggle and leading the revolutionary war against powerful imperialists and colonialists. This struggle was long, difficult, and fierce. There has not been much time to develop the country.



After the successful August Revolution, the party became a party leading the government; following the Geneva Convention, this government in North Vietnam was developed on an increasingly large scale.

During the past 2 decades and for some time to come the party has had to and must continue to lead the struggle to complete the national democratic revolution throughout the country and advance North Vietnam to socialism; our country has become a focal point of the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism in the world.

The special characteristics mentioned above have been and are leaving their mark in the life of our party. Only by having a clear understanding of the circumstances surrounding the birth and growth of our party and a clear understanding of the positive and negative aspects resulting from these circumstances can we develop our party well.

Over the past 14 years and more, in keeping with the resolution passed by the 3rd Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau, party development activities have achieved important results thereby helping the party increase its strength and carry out the revolutionary tasks of the recent past. However, in addition to the achievements which have been recorded, there have also been shortcomings in party development activities, such as the failure to closely link party development to the struggle to carry out the political task, the failure to closely coordinate ideological activities with organizational activities, the failure to closely coordinate efforts to improve the quality of party members with efforts to improve the quality of the basic organization of the party, and the failure to widely apply the experiences gained in relying upon the masses to build the party.

As regards party development, we have, over the past 14 years, recruited hundreds of thousands of party members and promptly supplemented the forces of the party. However, we have made one major mistake, namely, we have brought unqualified people into the party and, in reality, reduced the standards of the party member.

As regards cadre activities, we have, during the past 14 years, trained hundreds of thousands of scientific and technical cadres and economic management cadres to meet the requirements of socialist construction in North Vietnam and a large corps of military cadres to meet the requirements of the resistance against the United States for national salvation. However, we have been very slow to develop a contingent of leadership and management cadres.

In a number of aspects of ideological and organizational activities there are manifestations of rightism and looseness. Political and ideological education within the party and among the people is lacking in effectiveness, lacking the necessary militant spirit, and gives much attention to bolstering the spirit of national independence but little attention to bolstering the spirit of thorough class struggle. Appropriate attention has not been given to inspections.

It is necessary to overcome these weaknesses in order to do a better job of building the party, increasing its fighting strength, and making it possible for it to successfully complete its weighty and glorious tasks in the new stage of our country's revolution.

Our country's revolution has entered a new stage, the stage in which it is necessary to resolve the problem of "who defeats whom" which exists between national independence and neo-colonialism and between socialism and capitalism. The people of our entire country must further heighten their revolutionary will and continue to overcome each hardship and sacrifice in order to achieve the targets of our country's revolution of rapidly, strongly, and steadily advancing North Vietnam to socialism, achieving independence and democracy in South Vietnam, and advancing to the peaceful reunification of the country. The new situation and the new task of our country's revolution demand that we strengthen the leadership and increase the fighting strength of the party. When discussing the development of the party in the new stage, the Party Central Committee decided: it is necessary to intensify party development activities to insure that our party always understands and creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism under the new conditions of our country's revolution, adopts correct lines and policies, has a thoroughly revolutionary ideology, a strong organization, and the ability to lead and supervise the full implementation of its lines and policies, and is deserving of being the leader and truly loyal servant of the people.

In party development, attention must be given to further strengthening and heightening the working class nature of the party. The party is the organized vanguard unit and the highest organization of the working class, the most progressive class, and symbolizes the development of our society and the excellent traditions of our nation; the party represents the interests of the working class, laboring people, and nation of Vietnam and, at the same time, is a part of the international communist movement and is responsible to this movement. The party is the leadership nucleus of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has the task of providing unified leadership of each activity of the state and society. The party uses Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation and the compass for its actions; the party has summarized and applied the experiences of our country's revolution and applied the intellectual essence of the age to set forth its lines and policies in an independent and creative manner. The party is a tight organization established on the basis of the system of democratic centralism, our entire party is a united bloc of thought and action which does not tolerate division or factionalism; the party has iron, self-imposed discipline and seriously engages in self-criticism and criticism; the party considers it a law of its existence and development to regularly select and recruit the most outstanding people into the party and promptly expell those elements who lose their good qualities and people who do not meet the standards of party members from the party. The party always maintains a close relationship with the masses, is under the inspection of the masses, and determinedly struggles to stop and overcome the maladies of bureaucracy, subjectivism, remoteness from reality, and remoteness from the masses which is one of the greatest dangers to the party considering the fact that it is leading the government.

The Party Central Committee has set forth the following guidelines for party development:

- Making the party strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally; ideological and organizational activities must be closely coordinated to insure that the political line and task are correctly established, fully understood, and successfully implemented.
- Developing the party and increasing its fighting strength in the revolutionary movement of the masses to carry out the political task of the party; mobilizing the masses to participate in party development and organizing the masses to help inspect the operation of the party and the qualifications of cadres and party members.
- The development of the party and the heightening of the party's fighting strength must be closely linked to improving the management ability and streamlining the organization of the state and developing and consolidating the mass organizations in order to create the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- The improvement of the quality of party members must be coordinated with improving the quality of basic party organizations; the improvement of the quality of cadres must be coordinated with streamlining the leadership agencies on each echelon and in each sector.
- In party development activities, attention must be given to quality, not simply quantity; development must go hand in hand with consolidation. On the one hand, it is necessary to recruit outstanding people who truly meet the standards of the party member into the party and, on the other hand, necessary to promptly expell from the party people who have lost their good qualities and degenerated. We must always guard against the infiltration of the party by enemy and opportunist elements.

Party development is a science. It is an integral part of scientific socialism. To conduct good party development activities, it is necessary to study the theory of party development as a science and, at the same time, necessary to summarize the experiences gained in the party development activities of our party and promptly detect and resolve, on a theoretical basis, problems arising in party development activities in order to deepen the knowledge of cadres and party members of these activities. Party development activities are revolutionary activities of particular importance. Only by conducting them well is it possible to increase the fighting strength of the party, strengthen the leadership of the party, and advance our people's revolution to victory.

Strengthening the leadership of the party is an objective requirement of our country's revolution in the new stage. The party's leadership is primarily expressed

in terms of its lines and policies. To strengthen the party's leadership, it is first of all necessary to improve the leadership ability of the party in the area of lines and policies. It is necessary to improve the quality of the research and establishment of lines, policies, tasks, and programs to insure that the lines and policies of the party are always accurate, reflect a revolutionary and scientific nature, and fully and promptly meet the rising demands of the new task. The information system of the party must be reorganized in order to assess the situation in a timely, full, and accurate manner and insure that lines and policies are thoroughly understood throughout the party. We must intensify theoretical research and the summarizing of experiences in all fields. We must rapidly improve the knowledge of cadres and party members of Marxist-Leninist theory, economics, organization, management, science, and technology. The work method of party committee echelons must be improved.

Being constantly concerned with consolidating the state apparatus and improving and strengthening the party's leadership of the state is an important prerequisite to strengthening the leadership of the party. When it was not in political power, the party's task was to enlighten and organize the masses in the struggle to smash the state apparatus of the classes of exploiters in order to win political power. When it won political power, it became the task of the party to build and maintain the state apparatus of the working class and laboring people, crush the opposition of enemy forces, protect the country against foreign aggression, and reform the old society while building the new.

The party leads the state in a comprehensive manner: it establishes major plans, programs, policies, and measures; it determines matters of importance concerning the organization of the administration and the deployment of cadres; it inspects the operation of the state administration; it teaches the masses to enthusiastically participate in the development of the government, fully comply with the laws of the state, and implement the state plan. The party makes it mandatory upon party organizations, cadres, and party members to respect the authority, responsibility, principles, and work systems of state agencies and implement the laws, decisions, and directives of the state in a full and exemplary manner, considering this the discipline of the party. The practice of confusing the function of the party and the function of the state must be corrected. We must strengthen the socialist system of law. In the work of the state, it is necessary to coordinate propaganda and educational activities with strict inspections of the implementation of laws and heightening the discipline of the state; we must force those people who do not fulfill the obligations of citizens to do so and we must punish violators of the law.

The strengthening of the party's leadership of the state must be carried out in conjunction with stepping up the mobilization of the masses and further tightening the relationship between them and the party. The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. The various mass organizations occupy an important position in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and have the task of teaching, mobilizing, and organizing the masses to carry out the political tasks set forth by the party and serve as the base of support of the socialist state. In view of the fact that the party is leading the government, it is even more necessary to intensify the mobilization of the masses, heighten the role of the mass organizations, and guard against and overcome expressions of bureaucracy, bossism, and remoteness from the masses. To record great, sound achievements in socialist construction in North Vietnam as well as in the completion of the national, democratic revolution throughout the country, it is necessary to launch a feverish and continuous mass revolutionary movement.

Positive measures must be adopted to consolidate the trade union, the Ho Chi Minh Lao Dong Youth Group, the Women's Federation, and the other mass organizations within the Vietnam Fatherland Front. The task of each mass organization in the new stage must be clearly defined and the relationship among the various mass organizations as well as the relationship between the mass organizations and the state must be defined. We must summarize the experiences gained in mobilizing the masses during the period of socialist construction; on this basis, we must improve the forms and methods of activity employed by the mass organizations in order to meet the requirements of the political task in the new stage. We must determinedly combat work for form's sake and paperwork in the mobilization of the masses.

In order for the party to complete its task in the new stage, it is necessary to strengthen party ideological and organizational development. As regards ideological

activities, it is necessary to give cadres and party members a deep understanding of the lines and policies of the party, a thorough understanding of the resolutions and viewpoints of the party, and a correct understanding of the situation and task and insure that they correctly evaluate achievements and shortcomings as well as advantages and difficulties and correct viewpoints which are contrary to lines and policies of the party. We must strengthen the party's leadership of science, technology, the cultural sector, the artistic sector, education, the press, publishing houses, and information to insure that these agencies are always effective tools of the party on the ideological front and determinedly struggle against erroneous ideological trends.

Ideological activities within the party must be designed to nurture the revolutionary thinking of the working class, heighten the awareness of communist ideals, and heighten the determination to fight for the total victory of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party, fight against petty bourgeois ideology and the influence of bourgeois ideology, abolish the remnants of feudalism ideology, and stop and eliminate the influences of the various types of opportunism.

As regards revolutionary qualities and virtues, it is necessary:

-- To heighten revolutionary will, the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of responsibility, and the sense of organization and discipline; combat the attitudes of passiveness, relying solely upon others, the fear of difficulties, the fear of responsibility, and the failure to fully implement the resolutions of the party and the laws of the state.

-- To heighten the sense of one's obligation to work, produce, and frugally build socialism; heighten the concept of one's national defense obligation and the spirit of overcoming hardships and difficulties in order to defend the socialist state and fulfill the obligation to fraternal South Vietnam.

-- To heighten the socialist collective spirit and the spirit of valuing and protecting public property; stopping and eliminating the thinking of special rights and privileges and combating each act of vandalism against the property of the state and the collective.

-- To heighten the respect for the right of collective ownership of the masses, uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses, and always be close to the masses; combat bureaucracy, arbitrariness, and despotic behavior.

-- To heighten the sense of loyalty and the sense of protecting the truth and supporting positive attitudes and actions; combat lying, erroneous reports, the habit of seeing the truth but not protecting it, the habit of seeing something wrong but not struggling to correct it, the attitude of humiliating oneself and flattering others, and the attitude of seeking revenge against people who struggle in a forthright manner.

-- To heighten the sense of protecting the solidarity and unity within the party, the spirit of comradely love, and the spirit of self-criticism and criticism; combat division, factionalism, partialism, localism, jealousy, the pursuit of status, the practice of saving face, the habit of doing just enough to get by, and unprincipled struggle.

-- To heighten the desire to study and make every effort to learn new knowledge; combat the habit of being too lazy to study and think.

It is necessary to intensify the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory as well as efforts to raise the cultural, specialized, and technical level and the organizational and managerial ability of cadres and party members.

It is necessary to expand theoretical research in order to help summarize the experiences of our country's revolution, establish the theoretical basis of the Vietnamese revolution, and perfect and concretize the lines of the party as well as help protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and combat the many different shades of opportunism. Each success in theoretical research is the product of many fields of science and contributions by many people; therefore, we must mobilize the mass of scientific research cadres and activist cadres to participate in this research. In theoretical research, it is necessary to heighten the spirit of independence and creativity and all theoretical conclusions which are reached must be sound and firmly based, not simple conclusions.

With respect to organizational activities, we must concern ourselves with building and streamlining the basic party organization, conduct good party member activities, take determined steps to expell from the party those people who do not meet the qualifications of party members, improve the quality of the recruiting of new party members, conduct good cadre activities, and streamline the organization of the various party echelons.

Attention must be given to party inspections.

Strengthening the solidarity and unity within the party is the most important task in party development. To complete its weighty and complex revolutionary task, the party must concern itself with consolidating its solidarity and unity. It must strengthen the solidarity and unity of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the lines, policies, and principles of organization of the party. It must fully comply with the principle of democratic centralism and expand the democracy and strengthen the discipline of the party.

Our party has a very glorious history of fighting. Under the banner of our party, our people have won victory after victory over the past 45 years and changed the appearance of our country. We celebrate the 45th anniversary of the founding of our party at a time when the domestic situation and the foreign situation are undergoing great changes which are very favorable for our people's revolution.

In South Vietnam, the fight of our people against the U.S. imperialists and the compradore, bureaucratic, militaristic, fascist lackeys of the United States to implement the Paris Agreement and protect and build the liberated zone has won great victories. The position and power of the revolution in South Vietnam are completely different. The prospects for the revolution in South Vietnam are very good. The enemy cannot reverse the situation.

In North Vietnam, the economic reconstruction and development and the cultural development of our people have recorded great achievements. These achievements have opened good prospects for the construction of the material and technical base of socialism in North Vietnam and, at the same time, created the conditions for better meeting the requirements of the revolution in South Vietnam.

In the world, the three revolutionary currents are developing their offensive position. Following their defeat in Vietnam, the weakened U.S. imperialists are falling into a comprehensive, deep crisis and pulling the entire imperialist system into a new period of general crisis. Through its strength and ability, our nation is actively contributing to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism in the world.

Enthusiastic over the victories of the revolution in our country and the world, our people are making every effort to strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance, and continue their struggle to maintain and consolidate a lasting peace, accelerate socialist construction in North Vietnam, achieve independence and democracy in South Vietnam, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country, thereby making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

In commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party, let us give everyone a clearer understanding of the brilliant history of struggle, the communist ideals, and the class and vanguard nature of the party and make every effort to insure that our party is always worthy of being the leader and truly loyal servant of our people.

Let us implement the resolution of the Party Central Committee well. In the immediate future, we must organize a good political activities drive to transform the resolution of the Party Central Committee into concrete actions on the part of all cadres and party members; we must further reorganize the corps of leadership cadres of the party and state; we must further improve work systems; we must overcome negative aspects and expell from the party those people who do not meet the qualifications of party members; we must launch a strong emulation movement among all the people and the entire army to meet and surpass the quotas of the 1975 state plan.

The year 1975 must be a year of major efforts by our entire party, our entire army, and all of our people to commemorate the historic days of our people in a worthy



manner: the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of our party, the commemoration of the 85th anniversary of the birth of President Ho, and the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the successful August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

As the organizer of each victory of our country's revolution, our party must streamline its corps and increase its fighting strength in order to complete its present tasks and, at the same time, must make the best possible preparations for the coming stage of development of our country's revolution.

Following the example set by President Ho and the examples set by Tran Phu, Nguyen Van Cu, Le Hong Phong, and the other heroes of the party who died in battle, let us move bravely forward and advance our people's revolution to total victory.

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THE VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY IS THE LEADER AND ORGANIZER OF EACH VICTORY OF  
THE VIETNAM REVOLUTION

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 12-27

[Text] Dear comrades and friends:

It has been 45 years since our party assumed the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution. Over these 45 years--a very short period indeed compared with the 4,000-year history of our nation--our people have added the most glorious pages to the history of their fatherland.

This is a history of three revolutionary high tides: The 1930-31 high tide, the 1936-39 movement for democracy, and the 1940-45 revolution--the first successful proletarian revolution in a colony--which abolished the colonial-feudal regime, established a people's democratic state, and ushered in a period of the most splendid uprising, the greatest leap forward in the long process of evolution of our nation.

This is the history of the first small nation ever to defeat a big imperialist power. This historic victory dealt a decisive blow to colonialism, touching off the process of collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. This victory made the names Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and Dien Bien Phu dear to millions of oppressed people throughout the world.

This is the victory of the agrarian revolution which abolished feudal land-ownership, overthrew the feudal landlords who had ruled our country for thousands of years, and translated the slogan "land to the tillers" into reality.

This is the history of a country not large in area or population which defeated the most barbarous, brutal war of aggression in the history of aggressive wars waged by U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of imperialism, the international gendarme and the most ruthless enemy of mankind. The great victory of our anti-U.S. resistance ended the 115-year presence of foreign armies in our country thus creating unprecedentedly favorable conditions for the revolutions in Vietnam and Indochina as a whole. This victory weakened U.S. imperialism, driving its counterrevolutionary global

strategy another big step toward bankruptcy, thereby helping to change the world balance of forces, strengthen the forces and position of the various revolutionary currents in the world, and bring pride, enthusiasm and confidence to hundreds of millions of people. This victory substantiated this truth of our era; U.S. imperialism, however great its material strength, regardless of the cruel war maneuvers to which it may resort, and however cruel and treacherous it may be, can by no means grab even an inch of land in any socialist country, push back the movement for national independence or hinder the development of various countries in the world along socialist lines.

This is the history of a nation that is advancing immediately from small-scale production to socialism, bypassing capitalist development; simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks--completion of the people's democratic national revolution in the south and building socialism in the north--bringing about fundamental changes in the economic, political, and moral life of society; and raising the working people in the northern part of our country to be collective masters.

In their longstanding history, our people have performed countless glorious deeds, brought about many national changes, made our country great and powerful and established and developed glorious traditions, no other period in our country's social life has seen so many deep changes on such a great scale and at such a rapid pace as the recent period--the period since our party, the vanguard of the Vietnamese working class, assumed leadership of the revolution. These historic decades have seen the blossoming of all that is best, the greatest and proudest qualities of our nation.

Our people, who had lost their independence and endured the long night of slavery--even the beloved name of our fatherland had been wiped off the world map--rose up to full height with the extraordinary strength imparted to them by our era combined with their national traditions of heroism and created history on their own initiative. They entered the era of independence, freedom and socialism and joined the ranks of the vanguard nations in the struggle for the lofty ideals of mankind, thus actively contributing to accelerating the world revolution movement.

How proud are our generations which have fought and are fighting in the Ho Chi Minh era--the most glorious era in our glorious national history!

In today's festive mood, we turn our thoughts to President Ho, the founder, teacher and leader of our party, who embodied the quintessence of the Vietnamese people and who glorified our country. His thoughts will forever guide our people in their continuing advance along the path of revolution.

We think of our compatriots and comrades who, for our people and party, fought stalwartly and valiantly sacrificed their lives. Our party, our people, our generation and future generations will be forever thankful to our heroic fallen heroes for their merits, which opened the way for our country to advance toward independence and freedom.

On this occasion, our party, government and people warmly greet the great victories scored by the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples and reaffirm their close militant solidarity with them.

We express our profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, to the international communist and workers movement, to the national liberation movements, and to all nations and world progressive for their considerable, precious support for and assistance to the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

The great victories won by our people over the past 45 years are closely linked with the emergence and activities of our party--a firm, strong and well-tested Marxist-Leninist Party and a staunch contingent of the international communist movement.

A product of the combination of Marxism-Leninism and the seething workers and patriotic movements in our country in the 1920s, our party has been marked from its birth by its inherent revolutionary and scientific nature --the most essential qualities of a Marxist-Leninist party. This nature has increasingly developed with the seething, inspiring and constantly developing struggle of our working class and people, which has been concretely manifested in each revolutionary stage.

In the whole course of leading our revolution, even in its very complicated turning points, our party has always upheld a spirit of stalwart and indomitable struggle, of making heroic sacrifices and of boundless dedication and loyalty to the interests of the working class and the nation. At the same time, our party has solved strategic and tactical problems of the Vietnamese revolution in keeping with the objective laws of historical development. This is because our party has been absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and has followed an independent pattern of thinking; has creatively applied the stand and methods of Marxism-Leninism to the constantly developing and changing specific conditions of our country; has selectively learned from the experiences of other revolutions in the world; and has attentively summed up the extremely rich lessons of our people's revolutionary struggle.

We can quote some events in our party's history to illustrate this assessment:

Immediately after its emergence, proceeding from a scientific analysis of the social situation in our country, our party asserted that the Vietnamese revolution must go through two stages--the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The task of the first stage was to oppose imperialism and feudalism. The main forces of this revolution were the working class and the peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role in the revolution. With the two strategic slogans, "national independence" and "land to the tillers," our party succeeded in rallying the peasants and forming the worker-peasant alliance--a basic condition for insuring the party's leading role and the basis for establishing a united

national front and the armed forces for the ensuing revolutionary high tides. What is particularly important is that our party devised at an early date correct methods of making revolution. While asserting that we must follow the path of revolutionary violence and advance toward an uprising aimed at seizing power, our party did not entertain the concept that violent revolution only amounts to building military forces and carrying out armed struggle. To advance toward an armed uprising, from the outset our party has attached great importance to educating, organizing, and mobilizing the masses to carry out political struggles; building a mass political army of the revolution; and relying on the mass movement in building our armed forces step by step. By correctly following the path of revolutionary violence, our party was able, not long after its birth, to successfully launch in a seething worker-peasant revolutionary movement throughout the country in 1930-1931, which culminated in the Soviet-type uprising in Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces.

From 1936-39, our party successfully utilized the chances for quasilegal and legal activities--a rare case in a colonial country. This was because it had created a revolutionary theater of operations from the 1930-1931 high tide and had undertaken a timely shift in our activities in accordance with the already changing situation at home and outside. At that time, our struggle's direct goal was to oppose the colonial reactionaries, fascism and war and to demand freedom, better living conditions and peace. In accordance with the existing balance of forces, our party created the Indo-chinese Democratic Front, rather than a popular front or a people's united front. The mode of struggle was not simply legal or illegal, but coordinated legal, quasilegal, and illegal struggles and underground and overt activities. As a result of these correct guidelines, our party rapidly launched an unprecedentedly seething mass movement, drawing millions of people from the north through central Vietnam to the south and from the cities to the countryside, creating conditions for broadly rallying all national and democratic forces within the Viet Minh front. This was a great initiative taken by our party and President Ho in the 1940-45 high tide of national salvation and was one of the basic factors contributing to the victory of the August revolution.

The victory of the August revolution marked our party's maturity in the art of leading an uprising aimed at seizing power. The August revolution was a general uprising in which political struggle was ingeniously coordinated with armed struggle, a concerted uprising in both the cities and the countryside which dealt decisive blows in the Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon uprisings. Obviously, if our party had not initiated an armed struggle and limited uprisings in the rural areas in the 1940-45 period and had not built revolutionary bases, we would not have advanced to a high tide of national salvation struggle. On the contrary, if we had merely relied on our armed forces, on armed struggle and on the mountainous and rural areas when opportunities emerged without rapidly mobilizing millions of people to rise up and fielding all our political and armed forces to launch violent attacks on the enemy's nerve centers in the cities, we might have missed the unique opportunity that presented itself in August 1945.



During the anti-French resistance, our party established all-people, comprehensive, protracted resistance, which showed our people the way to develop and use their strength comprehensively in order to defeat the enemy. Our people simultaneously waged a resistance on the military, political, economic and cultural fronts. During the resistance, revolutionary violence manifested itself mainly in military struggle which was combined with political struggle. In addition to developing strong armed forces which comprised three troop categories, conducting guerrilla warfare in enemy-controlled areas and launching major offensives, our party also set up political organizations in the enemy's rear areas, including the cities, inciting the masses to engage in struggle. We also set up revolutionary bases in the mountainous areas and the plains of north, central, and south Vietnam, creating firm military, political and economic positions. The strength of the war of resistance was also increased by the party's correct combination of opposing imperialism and opposing feudalism, and by its mobilization of the masses to demand a reduction in rents and to carry out land reform in the last years of our patriotic resistance. When put into effect, this policy strongly stimulated the fighting spirit and strength of millions of peasants, consolidated the worker-peasant alliance and the national united front, strengthened the administration and army and made a decisive contribution to the historic Dien Bien Phu victory.

The fight of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggression was a major confrontation of our era. In attacking Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists very ambitiously wanted not only to turn South Vietnam into a neo-colony and military base and destroy socialism in North Vietnam, but to strike at the revolutionary currents of our era, check the development of socialism, push back the movement for national independence in the world and achieve their global strategy. It was for these reasons that four successive U.S. presidents stubbornly pursued four war strategies. At one time they mobilized up to 1.5 million U.S. puppet and satellite troops. They mobilized 6 million U.S. troops to fight in Vietnam, sent the most seasoned units of all armed branches and services, used the most up-to-date weapons--excluding nuclear bombs--and poured on our country 15 million tons of bombs and shells and hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals. This was the greatest trial for our people. The consciousness, wisdom and all the potential of our party and people were brought into full play. Immediately after the United States invaded Vietnam, our party correctly appraised the basic problems concerning the guidelines and methods for fighting the United States, ranging from the relations between our two strategic tasks to the guidelines for waging of war and for economic re-orientation. In particular, our party worked out a very effective all-round strategy: firmly grasp the offensive strategy; combine military struggle with political struggle and uprisings with armed attacks and vice versa; wage a three-pronged attack on the military, political and enemy troop proselytizing fronts; fight the enemy in three strategic areas--mountains and jungles, the countryside, the plains, and the urban areas; wipe out the enemy in order to achieve the right of mastership and achieve the right of mastership in order to wipe out the enemy; win victory step by step and

advance to complete victory. The invincible strength of our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance represented the combined strength of socialism and the national democratic revolution, and the strength of our people combined with that of the three revolutionary currents of our era. This was a very important lesson in how to defeat U.S. imperialism.

Dear comrades and friends:

The epochally significant victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has opened up new phase in the struggle to lead the north to socialism, to achieve independence and democracy in the south and to proceed to peaceful national reunification.

With its unchanged aggressive nature, the United States again embarked on the criminal path immediately after signing the Paris agreement, by brazenly violating its various provisions. On U.S. orders, the Saigon administration has sabotaged the agreement, opposed peace, independence, democracy and national concord and continued the war against our people. It has mobilized huge military, political and economic forces; resorted to every brutal war maneuver; and carried out pacification and nibbling operations in the liberated areas held by the PRGRSV in an attempt to deny the existence of two administrations, two armies and two areas of control.

However, the South Vietnam situation has not developed according to the expectations of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Under the banner of justice of the NFLSV and the PRGRSV, the South Vietnam armed forces and people, resolutely defending the Paris agreement, have dealt appropriate punitive blows to the enemy, frustrating his pacification and nibbling plans, firmly maintaining the liberated zone, strengthening the revolutionary forces in every respect and driving the Saigon administration into a serious crisis. Peace, well-being, national concord, and democratic freedoms have become the slogans of the daily struggle of millions of our compatriots and people of various strata in the enemy-controlled areas demanding the overthrow of the ruling yoke of the warlike, fascist, and corrupt U.S. lackey clique. A striking aspect of the present situation is that, while retaliating against the landgrabbers, the southern armed forces and people have developed their struggle on three fronts--political, military, and diplomatic--harmoniously vigorously, continuously, and broadly and have scored great victories. Never before have the forces of the southern revolution been so great and powerful as at present. Its military and political position is firmer than ever. The United States and its henchmen can by no means reverse this trend. The southern compatriots' struggle remains difficult, protracted and complicated, but final victory will surely belong to our people.

The United States must choose one of two courses: peace or war. It is up to the United States which course it chooses. It should, however, remember that if it remains stubborn and persists in sabotaging the Paris agreement and continuing its bankrupt neocolonialist policy, it will meet with more bitter defeats. Without question, time is not on the side of the U.S.

imperialists and their henchmen. Twenty years of clinging to South Vietnam have been years of continuous failure for the United States. It should keep a cool head and ponder the lessons of Vietnam, for the war-seekers will pay dearly if they stubbornly persist in continuing in the old rut.

As long as the United States continues its military involvement and interference in the international affairs of South Vietnam and the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique stays in the saddle, the war will go on; the Paris agreement will continue to be sabotaged; and the South Vietnamese people's urgent desires for peace, national independence, democracy, a better life, and national concord will not be achieved. Our people's stand is quite clear: We fully observe and strictly implement the agreement, while urging the United States and the Saigon administration to do the same. A complete end to U.S. involvement and interference and the formation in Saigon of a new administration which stands for peace and national concord and will scrupulously implement the Paris agreement are the important conditions at present for reaching a settlement of the South Vietnam issue.

At this solemn ceremony, we convey to the NFLSV Central Committee, the PRGRSV, all southern compatriots, the PLAF combatants the warmest and most profound sentiments of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, the DRV National Assembly and government, the VFF, and all northern compatriots and combatants. We pledge to our southern compatriots and comrades that as long as there is no peace and national concord in South Vietnam and as long as our country is not reunified, our northern people will continue to struggle shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal southern compatriots and soldiers to achieve these objectives.

Dear comrades and friends,

Over the past 2 years, our northern people have recorded considerable achievements in economic and cultural rehabilitation and development. The people's life has been stabilized. Everyone has adequate food and clothing and the opportunity to receive an education. Meanwhile, the north has continued to meet all the requirements of the southern compatriots' struggle. These achievements are eloquent proof of the correctness of our party's leadership, the socialist regime's supremacy and our people's great strength. However, these are only initial achievements along the road to socialism and communism. Our people must fully use the favorable conditions created by the victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to step up socialist construction. The advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a new event in our history and is extremely difficult. It requires that our party firmly maintain the Marxist-Leninist stand and endeavor to conduct laborious, careful, and creative research and study in order to conscientiously, purposely and actively create all the necessary factors of a socialist society--from production forces to production relations, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, and from the economy to politics, culture and ideology.

Mankind is now living in an era in which all nations, regardless of their level of economic development, have the chance to progress from the system of exploitation of man by man--which has lasted several thousands of years --to the system of, workers collective ownership. This is mankind's highest form of mastership--mastership over society, nature and oneself.

Under the circumstances of our era and as a result of our success in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are fully capable of developing, on the basis of the right of political mastership, the right to be masters in the economic, cultural and social domains; of mastering the most advanced knowledge of our era in social science and technology; and of determining and consciously applying the laws governing the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in order to turn this advance into a revolutionary process in which the masses display a high sense of voluntariness. This is a process of firmly upholding the proletarian dictatorship, bringing into full play the working people's right of collective ownership, and at the same time carrying out the three revolutions--in production relations, in technology and ideologically and culturally with the technical revolution as the key component--with a view to building a new regime, economy and men. Obviously, this is a logical process of development for our country in accordance with the universal laws governing the development of human society at the present stage.

In order to advance our country to socialism, we must above all build a new economy, large-scale socialist production and an independent and sovereign economy with modern industry and agriculture and advanced science and technology. The greatest difficulty, and also the greatest contradiction, is that from the outset, while our economy is still based on small-scale production, we must carry out a large-scale socialist distribution system consistent with collective ownership in order to insure the material and cultural life of the people. At the same time, we must carry out socialist industrialization--our central task in the whole transition period--in order to build the material and technical bases for socialism.

The way to solve this difficulty and contradiction is to build the most appropriate economic structure in which we combine industry with agriculture, giving priority to the national development of heavy industry based on the development of agriculture and light industry, combine a centrally run industry with regional industry and economy with national defense, and widen international exchanges and cooperation.

This difficulty and contradiction should be overcome by bringing into full play our labor force--one of the sources of all social wealth. With the collective ownership system, the labor force has been improved qualitatively. It is composed of men who are masters of the collective, have had their creativity liberated and are capable of mastering the most advanced scientific and technical knowledge. On the basis of the public ownership system, the labor force can be deployed and utilized most rationally in the entire society as well as in each individual production unit and can be appropriately coordinated with the tasks to be accomplished and the constantly improved tools of labor.

The method of solving this difficulty and contradiction also lies in correctly solving the relationship between production forces and relations in production, between the use-value and the prices of goods, between production plans and market outlets and between centralism and democracy.

The year 1975 is of great significance. It is the year in which, the period of rehabilitation ends and preparations for a new stage are begun--the stage of accelerated socialist industrialization in the northern part of our country.

To fulfill the tasks of the 1975 state plan, we must mobilize the revolutionary zeal and spirit of the masses and launch a vigorous and continuous emulation movement in all branches, localities and establishments, trying by all means to draw into production all people able to engage in production, making the best use of the labor force and available materials and equipment to improve labor productivity and turn out more products for society. We must see to it that everyone has a job and that our fields, orchards, lakes and ponds are put into production. We must avoid wasting raw materials and fuel.

Under the socialist regime, labor is a sacred duty and a source of life and happiness for us. We must examine our deeds every day to see what we have done for the fatherland, whether our labor output and work efficiency are high or low, and whether the quality of our work is good or bad. This is the way to gauge the ethics of the new men in the socialist regime. The worst, most shameful thing is to be lazy or to want to enjoy much while refusing to work or working little. Administrative organs and economic organizations must strive to improve the management and organization of labor so as to insure that every worker achieves high labor output and produces much wealth for society. We must strictly observe the principle of working according to one's capability and on the basis of the principle of distribution according to labor.

Along with launching the emulation movement for productive labor, we must concentrate on properly organizing the people's life in terms of food, housing, travel, business, education, treatment of disease and so forth. We must find appropriate ways to organize a socialist life in our whole society and overcome the phenomena of spontaneity and lack of uniformity resulting from the failure to properly organize the care for the people's life. All stores, railroad stations, bus depots, hospitals, and so forth must improve their operational methods; overcome conservative thoughts, fear of difficulties and overbearing attitudes; and strive to better serve the people. Our regime's noble objective is to endeavor to satisfy all material and cultural needs of our people. This objective can be gradually achieved in accordance with the development of our production. At present, we are facing many difficulties, but with our existing capabilities, if we know how to properly organize our tasks, we will be able to reduce these difficulties, prepare better meals, satisfactorily serve the people in their businesses and travel, build more homes, hospitals and schools, and insure healthy and joyful cultural activities.



Socialism results from the voluntary, organized, and planned activities of millions of people. We must strive by one means or another to make the activities of all organizations of our party and state as well as of all of us constantly reflect enthusiasm for the revolution, a spirit of responsibility, and activeness. At the same time, these activities must be carried out with a scientific and objective spirit and on the basis of an increasingly high level of knowledge and organization. Revolution and science are a moving force that advance our people's socialist construction.

Dear comrades and friends,

Forty-five years ago, when our party came into being, there was only one socialist country, the Soviet Union, offspring of the October Revolution and the first socialist state in the world. It was encircled by the imperialists. Today, the face of the world has changed radically. One-third of the world's population has embarked on the road of socialism; tremendous achievements have been recorded in socialist construction; and the strength of socialist countries has increased rapidly in all respects. More than 2 billion people of various oppressed countries have successively stood up to smash colonialism and are struggling resolutely against neo-colonialism. The movement of the working class and the democratic forces against monopolist capitalism has developed on a large scale and is dealing heavy blows to the imperialists, even in their strongholds. These three revolutionary currents are determining the main content, main orientation and main characteristics of the development of world history in our time.

Following World War II, imperialism, headed by the United States, frantically counterattacked the revolutionary forces in an attempt to take back all positions they had lost and to hinder the successful development of socialism and the national independence movement. But, in the face of the enormous strength and heroic and powerful struggle of the world's revolutionary forces, imperialism has sustained defeat after defeat. U.S. imperialism has many times been forced to readjust its global strategy. The failure of the United States in its aggressive war against Vietnam marked a turning point in its decline. The deep and overall crisis of U.S. imperialism has driven the whole capitalist system into a new period of general crisis.

The struggle between the revolutionary forces and the counterrevolutionary forces to decide who will win is still hard and ruthless. But the present state of the world revolution is infinitely splendid. The three revolutionary currents of our time are in an offensive position. The possibilities for stepping up the revolution for national liberation and social emancipation are greater than ever. The world people's movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism enjoys very favorable conditions. Though still hatching many perfidious schemes and planning further counterattacks, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, cannot reverse the trend of historical development.

The invincible might of the world revolution at present is the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times and the strength of the revolutionary movement in each country combined with the strength and the common offensive position of the revolutionary forces throughout the world. By closely combining the strength of the various revolutionary currents in the world and by accurately spearheading their struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, the revolutionary forces as well as the peoples of various countries will definitely be strong enough to repulse all counter-attacks of imperialism; foil all their schemes; win solid victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism; and carry out step by step the transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world.

From the apex of 45 years of our party's activity, looking back on the past we rejoice to see that the growth of our party and the victorious processes of the Vietnamese revolution have all been linked with the leaping strides of world revolution. At the same time, we are very proud of our party's and people's contributions to the common victories and the constant growth of the revolutionary forces in our times.

Faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our party always considers solidarity with the revolutionary forces in the world--first and foremost with the fraternal socialist states and the international communist movement--as the basic content of the foreign policy line of our party and state.

Our party and our people consistently apply the policy of solidarity and mutual support for all forces struggling for national independence, democracy and social progress in all countries. We attach importance to the establishment and strengthening of relations of mutual assistance with those countries which, together with us, are struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism to gain and maintain their full independence.

Our state undertakes to establish normal relations with all countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, of equality and mutual benefit.

Acting upon President Ho's last behests, our party and people are resolved to do all they possibly can to make still worthier contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world's people. We firmly believe that with the support and assistance of the socialist countries, the communist parties, and brothers and friends on all five continents, our people will successfully build socialism; achieve national independence; safeguard peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the rest of the world; win complete success for their just cause; and at the same time fulfill their lofty international obligations to the peoples of other countries.

Dear comrades and friends;

The vigorous development of our country's revolution, the growth of our regime and our people, the increasingly great requirements of the struggle

to achieve the two strategic tasks in the new stage, and our party's responsibilities to the international communist movement require that our party's leadership and struggle ability be strengthened.

To fulfill the party's historic mission assigned by the working class and the nation, it is necessary to step up the building of the party and to insure our party's thorough grasp and creative application of Marxist-Leninist theories, correct lines and policies, thoroughly revolutionary ideology, strong organization, and ability to lead and direct the full implementation of these policies, so that it will prove worthy of its role as the leader and loyal servant of the people.

Our party is an organized vanguard team and is the loftiest organization of the Vietnamese working class--the most advanced and strictly revolutionary class representing the development of our society and the fine traditions of our nation. The working class nature of our party is concretely and vividly reflected in all its activities and actions as well as in its ideology, political line and organizational principles. Our party is not only the loyal representative of the interests of the working class but of those of all working people and of the Vietnamese nation. As the representative of the legitimate and long-standing interests of the working class and the nation, our party has done its best to wage the struggle for independence and freedom and for a prosperous and happy life and equality for all the Vietnamese people. As part of the international communist movement, our party has always actively contributed to the world revolutionary cause and taught genuine patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism to the Vietnamese cadres, party members, and the people as a whole.

Today, our party is a ruling party. As the nucleus and leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our party is dutybound to unify the leadership of all organizations within the system of proletarian dictatorship and leadership over social life in all spheres, and to concentrate all efforts of our people on achieving the objectives of successfully building socialism in the north, achieving the national democratic revolution in the south, and moving toward national reunification. Our socialist state is the most effective tool for implementing our party's line and policies. It manifests our party's leadership and our people's collective ownership right. It is also a tool for achieving socialist reforms, building socialism, and insuring the complete success of socialism in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. Enhancement of the leading role of the party when it is in power consists of improving its capability to lead and improving scientific standards of research in order to develop and substantiate its lines and policies, especially those related to economic construction and management; improving the party's leadership over the state and increasing the efficiency of the state apparatus; and further tightening the relationship between the party and the masses with a view to developing most extensively the combined strength of the proletarian dictatorship and vigorously developing the people's collective ownership and tremendous creativity.

The party must be the highest revolutionary organization possessing the greatest voluntary spirit in society. The party has adopted Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation and guide for its actions; it has reviewed and applied the experience gained from the revolution in our country, and striven to absorb new scientific know how in order to set forth independent and creative lines and policies.

The party has constantly striven to raise the level of understanding of Marxist-Leninist theories and to improve its political leadership and organizational abilities, and has regularly inculcated knowledge of social and technical sciences and economic management in its cadres and members.

The party is a tightly knit organization patterned after the system of democratic centralization. The entire party is a united bloc, ideologically and in action. It does not tolerate disunity or factionalism. It observes ironlike, yet self-imposed, discipline and strictly practices criticism and self-criticism in order to develop its strengths and overcome its shortcomings and errors. The party considers it a rule governing its existence and development to regularly select and admit the most outstanding elements while, at the same time, expeditiously expelling those who have disqualified themselves and those who no longer meet the membership criteria. Revolution is an undertaking of the masses under party leadership. The sole purpose of the party is to serve the interests of the working class and people. Therefore, the party constantly and firmly maintains a close relationship with the masses, submits itself to the control of the masses and resolutely prevents and overcomes bureaucracy, subjectivism and alienation from reality and the masses--one of the greatest dangers to the party in power.

The party may be likened to a living body. Its organizational forms, the system governing its activities, the methods of exerting leadership, and the quality of party cadres and members must be improved in accordance with the evolution of political tasks. Party organizations from the central to basic levels must be active and closely and scientifically organized. Only in this way can we insure the correctness of party lines and policies, preserve and promote revolutionary ideology, and translate the party's lines, policies and guidelines into the revolutionary action of millions of party members and the masses and into effective activities of all organizations in the proletarian dictatorship system.

At present, urgent requirements for further enhancing the party's fighting strength and leading role is to expeditiously and resolutely effect organizational improvements ranging from streamlining more rationally the party apparatus at various levels and in various sectors, supplementing the various systems governing the party's internal activities, improving the methods of exerting leadership and working methods of the party committee echelons, and strengthening and improving the cadre corps to purifying party ranks and improving the quality of party members. These tasks must be carried out with a truly revolutionary spirit of resolutely opposing



conservatism and empiricism and resolutely changing what is obviously backward and obsolete.

Party committees at various echelons must deeply concern themselves with strengthening the basic-level party organizations and party chapters, which must be consolidated so that they will actually become the party's basic combat units in the struggle to firmly maintain the proletarian dictatorship and in simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in all sectors and all fields of activity of social life, so that they will truly represent the people's collective ownership and their spirit of being and ability to be masters, and so that they will deserve to be representatives of the working class at the basic level. Basic level party branches and party organizations must base their actions on the party's lines and policies to lead all organizations of the administration and in the masses in successfully carrying out the political tasks set forth by the party, with a view to strictly enforcing state laws and directives and correctly associating the long-term, common interests of each collective and each laborer.

They must consider it one of their most important tasks to build and strengthen the administrative apparatus and create favorable conditions for administrative agencies to carry out their activities more and more effectively. Basic level party organizations must firmly grasp the party's control over all activities of administrative agencies and struggle resolutely against bureaucracy, all violations of the people's right to be collective masters, and manifestations of localism and regionalism. Party organizations must correctly perform their leadership functions; uphold the state management principles and system; and should draw a line of distinction between the party's political leadership role and the administrative, managerial, and professional activities of the administrative agencies and cooperatives.

It is necessary to carry out political and ideological education satisfactorily, to bring into full play the activeness and initiative of all party cadres and members and to accelerate the mass revolutionary movement. The quality of the party organizations is always gauged through the mass movement, the effective activities of the administrative agencies and mass organizations, and the results achieved in fulfilling planned production and combat and other tasks.

Indeed, our party--the ruling party of the working class--is an organization of revolutionary combatants and the most outstanding and enlightened members of the Vietnamese working class and laboring people.

Party members must be imbued with revolutionary ethics, struggle selflessly for the party's ideals, devote all their strength and talents to the independence and freedom goals of the fatherland and the socialist and communist goals, and place national interests above individual interests. They must necessarily be exemplary; take the forefront positions in production, fighting and performance tasks; and labor selflessly and well. They must have a



high degree of militancy; not shun hardships, sacrifices, or difficulties; take the forefront positions in supporting and implementing what is new and progressive; and struggle intensively to eliminate backward thoughts and customs. They must closely coordinate with their organizations, voluntarily observe party discipline, correctly apply party principles and systems of activities, and observe state discipline and laws in an exemplary manner. They must represent the new socialist men who are collective masters; are imbued with the party's vanguard nature; will not allow admission into the party or maintain as party members those who are not revolutionary, adopt an indifferent and passive attitude in the face of the fierce struggle by our entire party and people, are speculative and desire to join the party to seek privileges and favors and take advantage of their positions as party members and government authorities to work for their own interests, or who shun hardships, sacrifices, or responsibilities and do not observe discipline.

They must be imbued with revolutionary ethics and revolutionary knowledge, discharge duties in keeping with their abilities, and have leadership ability. To insure that they can properly play their role as vanguard soldiers, party members must know how to use Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concepts and scientific methods as a guide for their thinking and daily activities; must thoroughly understand the party's lines and policies; and must have the ability to carry out propaganda and motivate the masses which do not have the necessary degree of knowledge and capability.

If party members do not clearly understand the party lines and policies, they will be unable to distinguish right from wrong, will not have firm confidence in the party's lines and policies, will lack enthusiasm in carrying them out, will be unable to contribute their collective leadership to party organizations and will be unable to provide guidance for the masses' thoughts and actions in face of new and difficult tasks of the revolutionary undertaking. Therefore, striving to study and improving knowledge is one of the gauges for assessing the communists' revolutionary qualities.

To preserve the purity of party ranks, it is necessary to oust those who do not deserve to be members and eliminate the opportunists, the degraded and denatured elements, and those who have seriously violated party discipline and state laws. This task must be carried out regularly, because our party, despite the fact that it is the highest and most closely knit organization of the working class, inevitably has a few members who are backward and have been unable to withstand the trials of the revolutionary struggle.

The enhancement of the party's leadership over the implementation of its political tasks, the strengthening of the socialist state, and the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship depend to an important extent on the quality of the party and state cadres. A key task in the party's leadership is to adopt a cadre policy consistent with the new situation and tasks and to satisfactorily select, improve, and use cadres.

The most important problem in carrying out the present tasks related to cadres is to improve and raise the standards and capacity of the existing leading and managerial cadres; continue to train and promote new, young cadres; correctly coordinate old cadres with new and young cadres in improving the party committee echelons and the state management agencies; and develop firm and strong leadership collectives in the various production sectors.

The party's fighting strength and internal unity and unanimity can only be insured when the party organizations and committee echelons, from the central to the basic levels, strictly implement the principles governing the organization and building of the party. In our party, democracy and discipline are closely interrelated. All party organizations must comply with the principle of collective leadership: promote internal democracy in discussing, adopting, and implementing guidelines and policies; prevent or overcome bureaucracy, authoritarianism, and paternalism; and regularly practice criticism and self-criticism at the party committee echelons and branches. Expansion of democracy must necessarily be linked with strengthening discipline, with scrupulously implementing the provisions of the party statute, and with strictly implementing all party directives and resolutions--from resolutions of the party Central Committee to those of the basic-level party branches and organizations. Our party holds power. Its cadres and members have been entrusted with broad responsibilities by the people. It is all the more necessary to uphold the party's ironlike discipline and not tolerate any unorganized and undisciplined action or any manifestation of liberalism. As far as our party cadres and members are concerned, failure to observe discipline and strictly implement the resolutions of party organizations is a most serious fault.

The party's very heavy responsibilities to the working class and people in the new stage require that every organization, cadre, and member must vigorously strive to advance; devote all their energy to strengthening the party's militancy; to improve its leadership ability; develop its traditions of solidarity and unity; and further strengthen the close relationship between the party and the masses. Every cadre and party member must be worthy of being revolutionary combatants fighting in the party's vanguard ranks. We should never forget President Ho's recommendation: Let us keep our party perfectly clean and let us be worthy of being the leaders and loyal servants of the people.

Comrades and friends,

Looking back at the great victories that our people have scored over the past 45 years, we are all extremely enthusiastic and proud.

Not blinded by its successes, our party has always looked far ahead and has recognized the heavy and complex duties facing our people. Our revolutionary undertaking has enjoyed basic advantages but, at the same time, has encountered many difficulties owing to the poor, backward legacy we

inherited, the consequences of the war of aggression waged by the imperialists and the fact that our people have had to simultaneously discharge two very heavy strategic revolutionary tasks. However, we do not shun difficulties. On the contrary, these difficulties have made us vigorously strengthen our determination to fight, our energy and revolutionary valor. Displaying their willpower, our party and people successfully achieved the August revolution and defeated the French and U.S. imperialists. We are not determined to develop our revolutionary offensive spirit so as to successfully fulfill our new tasks.

The glorious successes achieved so far by the Vietnamese revolution are proof of the close cooperation between all our people and their vanguard party. They are also the result of the invincible strength of the solidarity among the various strata of our people, the various nationalities, and the various religions represented in the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

Our party is determined to be worthy of the people's confidence, to achieve unswerving and lasting cooperation with the Vietnam Democratic Party and the Vietnam Socialist Party and, together with the people's groups in the VFF, to increasingly strengthen our all-people solidarity bloc.

Let all of our northern people strengthen solidarity; eagerly take part in the emulation movement to engage in productive labor and to diligently and economically build socialism; endeavor to fulfill the 1975 state plan norms; fulfill their duties to the southern revolution; and score merits to greet the DRV's 30th founding anniversary, the party's 45th founding anniversary, and President Ho's 85th birth anniversary.

Let all of the working class eagerly take part in the emulation movement to engage in productive labor, constantly increase labor productivity, produce great wealth, improve product quality, lower production costs and fulfill or overfulfill the 1975 state plan norms. Let them strive to enhance their socialist consciousness, improve their cultural and technical knowledge and be worthy of their role as the revolutionary vanguard class.

Let all the collective peasantry, a very great revolutionary force in our country, eagerly take part in the movement to reorganize agricultural production in accordance with the guidelines for large-scale socialist production, diligently and economically develop the cooperatives, produce more and more products, serve the socialist industrialization undertaking, meet the national defense requirements and gradually improve the people's livelihood.

Let all the brother and sister socialist intellectuals, who have made many contributions to our people's anti-U.S. undertaking and to building socialism, bring into full play their talents and contribute to satisfactorily solving the scientific and technical problems arising from reality; let them strive to rapidly advance our country's scientific and technical levels.

Let all the sister women develop our women's tradition of heroism, un-submissiveness, loyalty, and diligence; let them enthusiastically implement the "qualified in discharging state and family duties" slogan; strive to achieve equality between men and women; and contribute to bringing about prosperity for the fatherland, happiness for their families and a bright future for their children.

Let all our male and female youths, the efficient arms of the party and the state and the revolutionary shock force, develop the fine tradition of "living, fighting, working and studying like the great Uncle Ho" and devote all of their youthful fervor to building socialism and protecting the fatherland.

Let all the heroic Vietnamese armed forces, which have been organized, educated and led by the party and Uncle Ho, constantly remain loyal to the country and the people; score glorious feats of arms; further uphold revolutionary heroism; accelerate the "determined-to-win" emulation movement; and constantly remain vigilant and combat ready while making positive contributions to the rehabilitation and development of the people's economy.

Let all our people advance valiantly under the invincible banner of the party and great President Ho Chi Minh! Ever greater victories await us!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, wealthy and powerful Vietnam! Long live the Vietnam Workers Party, the leader and organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution! Great President Ho Chi Minh will forever live with our undertaking!

CSO: 4909

BOOK REVIEW: THE 45 YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF OUR PARTY

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 28-37 and 43

[Article by Truong Linh]

[Text] On the occasion of the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party, the Department of Party Historical Research of the Central Committee compiled the book "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party." The book was compiled on the basis of revising and supplementing "The 40 Years of Activity of the Party" which was published in 1970 and the history of the party since 1970.

The book confirms that 1920 was a very important milestone in the history of our people's patriotic movement. That was the year in which the revered Nguyen Ai Quoc helped found the French communist party and led it to the Communist Internationale. It was also then that he tried to spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam and prepare the Vietnamese working class for founding its own party.

In the process of the long struggle to defend and build the country, the Vietnamese developed the sense of nationhood and an ardent spirit of patriotism at an early date. During the slightly less than 1 century they were under the ruling yoke of the French colonialists, the Vietnamese constantly rebelled against the country-robbers and traitors. But, until this time, all of the campaigns against the French colonialists ended in defeat. The basic reason for these defeats was the failure of the Vietnamese people to develop a correct revolutionary line, one suited to the new age, the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, and the absence of a strong force to lead the revolution.

"The great Russian October Revolution (1917) ushered in a new age in the history of man: the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world wide scale. The national liberation revolutions in colonial and vassal countries became an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. In this situation, the Vietnamese working class, a class which was oppressed and exploited by three strata, the imperialists and the feudalists and capitalists within the country, a class which represented the most progressive productive force and worked in the economic centers of the enemy, naturally became the only class capable of gaining political superiority throughout the country.

Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is President Ho Chi Minh, was the first Vietnamese to see this potential and position of the Vietnamese working class"(page 9).\*

Ho Chi Minh, who distinguished between the French imperialists and the French people, quickly came to see French imperialism as the common enemy of the French working class and people and the peoples of the French colonies. He established a relationship of mutual help between the Vietnamese revolution and the French revolution and laid the foundation for establishing unity between the peoples of the French colonies and the French working class and laboring people. He considered the revolutions in the imperialist countries and the revolutions in the colonies the same as the two wings of a bird. At the very outset, he closely coordinated patriotism with proletarian internationalism.



The coordination of Marxism-Leninism and the vanguard thinking of the age with the decisive struggle of the Vietnamese working class and the Vietnamese patriotic movement led to the founding of the Vietnamese communist party in each 1930 which marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.

As soon as it was founded, our party set forth a correct basic political line: "The Vietnamese revolution must go through two stages. The first stage involves carrying out the bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists, achieve national independence, and give land to the tillers. The two tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists are closely interrelated. The primary forces of the revolution are the workers and the farmers. The party must establish an alliance of workers and farmers and use the revolutionary force of the masses to stage an uprising and win political power.

After the tasks mentioned above are virtually completed, the revolution will shift to the second stage, the stage of advancing Vietnam directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development"(pages 15 and 16).

Through each period of history, "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" records many specific events which prove that the party taught, organized, and mobilized millions of people to participate in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors, build socialism, and brilliantly implement the greatest truth of the age, namely, that national independence, democracy, and socialism are inseparable today; at the same time, they also proved that correctly coordinating matters pertaining to the nation, democracy, and class in the process of leading the revolution in order to advance the revolution to victory is not a simple task. In 1930, our party set forth the correct line of simultaneously resisting the imperialists and the feudalists in the people's national democratic revolution. In 1939, when World War II broke out, our party pointed out that of these two strategic tasks, resisting imperialism was the primary task and national liberation was the foremost task of the Indochinese revolution. This change in strategy, which began with the 6th Party Plenum (November 1939), was developed during the 7th Party Plenum (November 1940) and completed during the 8th Party Plenum (May 1941). The 8th Party Plenum pointed out: "If we do not resolve the problem of national liberation and do not demand independence and freedom for the entire nation at this time, not only will the entire nation and all our people be forever enslaved, but we will also be unable to win back the rights of the parts and the class for 10,000 years"(page 31).

During the time national liberation was the task of foremost importance, the task of resisting the feudalists was extended over a longer period of time in order to gradually coordinate it with resisting the imperialists. To begin with, while overthrowing the ruling yoke of imperialists, our people had to simultaneously overthrow the lackey ringleaders, the feudal officials, and the hoodlums in the countryside, totally abolish the government of the imperialists and feudalists in our country, and establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our people's independent and democratic state, the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia. After winning political power and during the initial period of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, our party led the farmers in a struggle against landlords for the reduction of land rents and interest rates in order to start training a portion of the force of farmers. But, when the war of resistance became decisive, reductions in land rents and interest rates could no longer satisfy the requirements of farmers and it became necessary to train forces for the war of resistance; as a result of which the party mobilized the people to arise and overthrow the entire class of landowners, abolish the feudal production relations, and implement the slogan "land to the tiller." This step was taken during the final years of the war of resistance when there were all of the conditions needed to carry out the task of liberating the nation "together with carrying out the land revolution."(1)

Carrying out land reform during the war of resistance was a somewhat creative program of our party. It was a great source of strength which made an important contribution to the victory of decisive significance in the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, the highpoint of which was the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu.

After the war of resistance against the French imperialists won victory and North Vietnam was totally liberated, the land reform program was continued throughout North Vietnam and recorded great and fundamental victories, thereby helping create favorable conditions for North Vietnam's rapid advance toward the collectivization of agricultural production.

In the Vietnamese people's national democratic revolution, the correct coordination of the task of resisting the imperialists with the task of resisting the feudalists was a matter of very important strategic significance. Through concrete, accurate facts, "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" proves that: "Correctly coordinating the two tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists was necessary in order to insure the victory of the people's national democratic revolution; the separation of these two tasks would cause the revolution to encounter difficulties and even be defeated and the failure to coordinate them correctly would lead to mistakes or rightism or leftism."(2)

It was a matter of decisive significance in the victory of the revolution that our party, by means of correctly coordinating the two tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists in the people's national democratic revolution, "successfully established a strong alliance of workers and farmers to serve as the main force army of the revolution which was the key to insuring the sole leadership authority of the party of the working class."(3)

In September 1954, following the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, the Political Bureau pointed out the primary characteristics of the situation at the time when the revolution entered the new stage, namely, the shift from war time to peace time, the temporary division of the country into two zones, the shift from the countryside to the cities, and the shift from decentralization to centralization.

In January 1956, the temporary division of the country into two zones was further analyzed by the Political Bureau:

-- Vietnam is temporarily divided into two zones with two different social systems; North Vietnam is under the people's democratic system and South Vietnam is under the dictatorial system of landowners and compradore capitalists who serve as the lackeys of the United States.

-- This division will continue because the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are determined to sabotage the Geneva Accords and transform South Vietnam into a colony and military base of the U.S. imperialists. The struggle of the Vietnamese people to reunite their country on the basis of independence and democracy and by peaceful methods will surely be a long, difficult, and complex struggle.

-- The people's democracy is the stage of transition to socialism. North Vietnam, which has been totally liberated from the yoke of imperialism and is about to complete its land reform and destroy the power of the feudalists, must move forward to carry out the task of the socialist revolution. Regardless of the situation, North Vietnam must be consolidated and must advance to socialism.

The problem faced was whether or not the working class could simultaneously lead the two strategic tasks of carrying out the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in a country during the same period of history? A Political Bureau document of January 1956 states:

"Speaking from the point of view of the entire country, we must complete the people's national democratic revolution...however, from the point of view of North Vietnam, we have shifted to the socialist revolution since the restoration of peace, begun to carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution, and are now in the stage of transition to socialism.

Thus, at present, our party must simultaneously apply two different strategies: the strategy of the people's national democratic revolution and the strategy of the socialist revolution."(4)

As regards the dialectical relationship between these two revolutionary strategies, the Third National Congress of Party Representatives held in 1960 confirmed: "Carrying out the socialist revolution in North Vietnam is a task of decisive significance to the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution and to the cause of reunifying the country."(5) The people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam "has the task of overthrowing the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to liberate South Vietnam."(6)

In the party's leadership, the correct coordination of the socialist revolution and the people's national democratic revolution which are being carried out simultaneously in our country is an extremely important strategic guideline.

"Whereas in the preceding stage of the revolution the correct coordination of the task of resisting the imperialists with the task of resisting the feudalists had the effect of making a decisive contribution to the victory of the revolution, today, the correct coordination of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam and the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam has a no less important effect."(7)

The simultaneous implementation of the two greatest revolutionary strategies of the age permitted our people to develop the combined strength of the national, democratic, and socialist forces throughout the country in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarme, the common enemy of the Vietnamese people and mankind. "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" states: "With the combined strength of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam and the people's democratic national revolution in South Vietnam, our people will surely build a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity, and power"(page 80).

As regards the socialist revolution in North Vietnam, the book points out something which is in the nature of a law of the revolution in our country, namely, after defeating the French colonialist aggressors, North Vietnam was totally liberated and shifted directly to the stage of the socialist revolution without having to experience another political revolution.

The party has pointed out: "Our greatest characteristic in the period of transition is that we are progressing from an agriculturally backward country directly to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage of development."(8)

Under these circumstances, correctly determining the appropriate methods, forms, stages of development, and rate of development of the revolution is a matter of particularly important significance. The book states that after the virtual completion of the people's national democratic revolution and post war economic reconstruction in North Vietnam, the party advocated immediate large-scale socialist reforms in order to establish socialist production relations. The key area was agrarian reform. As a result, the party advocated carrying out the collectivization of agriculture before the industrialization of the state. Whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of socialist collective ownership are normally the results of a revolution within a system of large-scale industry, in Vietnam, they were the natural result of the national democratic revolution and the start of socialist reform under the conditions of no large-scale industry.

"The party's line of the socialist reform of agriculture is to gradually advance private farmers from mutual help teams (which contain the rudiments of socialism) to low level agricultural production cooperatives (semi-socialism) and then to high level agricultural production cooperatives (socialism)...agricultural collectivization will help stimulate the process of socialist industrialization and, conversely, socialist industrialization will create the conditions for consolidating the developing agricultural production cooperatives"(page 87).

The general line of the party in the period of transition to socialism in North Vietnam was set forth at the 3rd National Congress of Party Representatives (September 1960). The congress set forth the central task of North Vietnam throughout the period of transition as socialist industrialization and gradually building the material and technical base of socialism. Through the realities of the struggle to carry out socialist reform and socialist construction, the socialist construction line has been more and more clearly defined by the Party Central Committee in keeping with the guideline of gradually advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The basic contents of this line are: controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat, strongly upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the technological revolution. The spirit of this line is to use the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective ownership to stimulate each revolutionary change within agriculture and industry and stimulate the birth of the system of large-scale socialist production.

The year 1965 marked an extremely serious escalation of the war by the U.S. imperialists; on the one hand, they replaced the defeated "special war" strategy with the limited war strategy in South Vietnam and, on the other hand, they unleashed an increasingly heavy air and naval war of destruction against North Vietnam. In the

face of this situation, the party had to devote the majority of its time and effort to leading the revolutionary war. However, as soon as the second war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists virtually ended, the Party Central Committee issued many resolutions designed to partially restore and develop the economy. The 19th Party Plenum held in early 1971, while confirming that the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was the foremost task of the entire party and all of our people, also set forth the basic requirements of the class struggle and the struggle between the two ways of life during the period of transition to socialism in North Vietnam and resolved a number of problems dealing with lines, policies, and organization in order to further advance North Vietnam's agricultural economy toward large-scale socialist production. The book states: "On the basis of the theoretical matters analyzed in 'Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Liberty, and Socialism' by Le Duan, the first secretary of the Party Central Committee, and on the basis of a serious review of facts, the conference confirmed:

To thoroughly understand and apply the overall line of the party in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism and under the circumstances of the war of resistance, the guidelines for economic development had to reflect the line of giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, simultaneous central economic construction and local economic development, and the coordination of the economy with the defense of the nation"(page 155).

After the Paris Agreement on Vietnam was signed, North Vietnam was at peace although military conflicts continued to occur in South Vietnam. Peace was achieved because the people of North Vietnam, together with the people of South Vietnam, struggled to crush the will of aggression of the United States. "Today, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are still clinging to their ambition to invade North Vietnam but the defeats of the United States in Vietnam and the decline of the United States following the war of aggression in Vietnam have seriously bankrupted this insidious scheme of the United States. In the new stage, we have been able to begin rebuilding our country to be even more grand"(page 173).

The resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum held in late 1973 set forth the overall task of North Vietnam in the new stage. It was "the first important resolution concerning the reconstruction of our country following the defeat of the U.S. pirate aggressors"(page 180).

As regards the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam, "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" clearly explains the extremely insidious plot of the U.S. imperialists to destroy the revolution in South Vietnam, transform South Vietnam into a neo-colony and military base of the United States, use South Vietnam as a springboard for the occupation of socialist North Vietnam, surround and threaten the world socialist system, establish an anti-communist defense line of the United States in Southeast Asia, stop the national liberation movement and the socialist revolutionary movement, and, at the same time, use Vietnam as a test site for the strategies, tactics, and modern weapons of the United States in order to suppress the revolutionary movement in the world.

Therefore, Vietnam has become the focal point of the fundamental antagonisms in the world and our people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation has become a model test of strength and the focal point of the extremely decisive struggle between the revolution and the counter-revolution in the world.

The problem raised was whether a country such as ours, a small, sparsely populated country, could defeat the neo-colonialism of the United States. It has been necessary to coordinate the interests of the nation with the interests of the world revolution in such a way as to win victory in South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, protect the socialist system, safeguard world peace, etc. The book reflects the very correct and creative lines and policies employed by our party to resolve the problems, which are in the nature of principles, mentioned above and strongly advance the revolutionary cause of the people of South Vietnam, in particular, and the people of Vietnam, in general.

After the uprisings in 1959 and 1960, the people of South Vietnam waged a revolutionary war, a war of liberation which defeated the "special war" strategy and the "limited war" strategy and then defeated an important part of the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy of the U.S. imperialists.



The long war of resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors was the most complex stage of development of the Vietnamese people's national democratic revolution. The U.S. imperialists were forced to withdraw from our country but our people's cause of national liberation and the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam have not been completed. On the basis of the new changes in our country and the world, "The 45 Years of Activities of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" makes an important evaluation: "...We can say that following the forced withdrawal of more than one half million U.S. and vassal troops from our country, the Vietnamese revolution, in general, and the revolution in South Vietnam, in particular, grew very greatly in terms of both position and power and new, favorable conditions exist for struggling to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and peacefully reunify the country"(page 168).

The Vietnamese revolution being led by our party is an integral part of the world revolution. "As a result of knowing how to coordinate the revolutionary movement in the country with the revolutionary movement of the international working class (including the struggle of the working class and laboring people in the imperialist countries which invaded our country) and the liberation movement of the oppressed nations, our party has won many allies for the Vietnamese revolution, created additional strength for our country's revolution to win victory, and made worthy contributions to the world revolutionary movement"(page 185).

Today, the world is paying much attention to the people of Vietnam and the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. This is because of many reasons. The first is that the national liberation struggle in Vietnam has been closely linked to the struggle to liberate labor which has developed into the socialist revolution. The second is that the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia was born in Vietnam and has been constantly consolidated. The third is that under the leadership of our party, the victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past quarter century and more, particularly the epochal victory of the August Revolution -- the first successful revolution led by the proletariat in a colonial country -- and the victories of the war of resistance against the French colonialists and the war of resistance against the United States have put our nation in the ranks of the vanguard nations in the struggle for independence and liberty, for the noblest ideals of mankind.

"The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" records many specific events which reflect the dialectical coordination of the struggle to liberate the nation with the struggle for socialism which is taking place in our country. This has been a process of development which conforms with laws and is the great source of strength of our country's revolution. As President Ho said:

"In the present age, the national liberation revolution is an integral part of the proletarian revolution on a world wide scale; the national liberation revolution must develop into the socialist revolution in order to win total victory."(9)

The activities of our party and our country's revolutionary movement prove that our party is endlessly loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Correctly applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, the party has, in the various stages of the revolution, adopted independent, autonomous, and creative political lines and revolutionary methods and successfully carried out very difficult tasks. It has been able to do this because, in the process of its fight, our party has built itself into a new style party of the working class. The principles involved in the establishment of such a party in our country, which were clearly stated in the 1930 political platform of the party, are summarized in "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" as follows:

"The essential condition in insuring the victory of the revolution is having a communist party which has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation, has a correct political line in order to lead the revolution and organize the system of democratic centralism, has strict discipline, is close to the masses, and matures in the process of the revolutionary struggle"(page 16).

In the first stage of the development of a Marxist-Leninist party in a colonial and semi-feudal country, our party gave very much attention to distinguishing between the proletariat and the capitalist class and between the proletarian party and bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties; the party resolutely struggled against each shade of the reformist thinking of the bourgeoisie and, at the same time, struggled against the outmoded revolutionary national thinking of the petty bourgeoisie.



In addition, the party also gave very much attention to teaching party members to clearly differentiate between the proletariat and the peasantry and criticize the peasant thinking within the party.

"The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" sites the major strongpoint of our party as follows: every since it was established, the party, in both its documents as well as its activities, has clearly defined the position of farmers; on the one hand, it considers farmers one of the two main forces who, together with the working class, form the main force army of the revolution; on the other hand, it has established the right of the working class to lead farmers, taken the stand and viewpoint of the working class to resolve the revolutionary problems of farmers, and employed the forms and methods of the working class to organize and lead farmers. The party has creatively applied the party development principles of Marxism-Leninism to propagandize and teach loyal farmers to be communist soldiers. The party has given attention to developing its corps among workers and farmers. The party chapters in the countryside together with the party chapters at enterprises form vital systems of party organizations.

The Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League founded by Nguyen Ai Quoc in preparation for founding the party also advocated that League members from the strata of petty bourgeoisie intellectuals be "proletarianized" in mines, at factories, and on plantations. This policy not only had the effect of stepping up the revolutionary campaign in the working class, but also trained a corps of cadres who, although not from the working class, assumed the determined working class stand and were loyal to the revolutionary cause of the working class and nation.

"The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" presents an important historic fact, namely, since its founding, our party has steadfastly struggled to heighten the class nature and vanguard nature of the party.

Our party has always paid attention to developing the party within the working class; however, our party maintains that the condition which determines the nature of the party is not primarily the background of its members, but the political line of the party and the realities of its revolutionary struggle. Therefore, in party development, in addition to actively recruiting outstanding workers into the party in order to improve its organization, the party concerns itself very much with teaching the ideology and stand of the working class to cadres and party members even in the fires of the revolutionary struggle. Through each period of history, "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" shows the constant attention of the party to teaching politics, ideology, and theory to cadres and party members. As a result of being armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, being deeply imbued with the communist philosophy of life, and inheriting and enhancing the nation's tradition of tenacity and stubbornness, "the members of the party have displayed endless loyalty, they have shown themselves to be brave and intelligent, and they have stayed close to the masses to lead them in each field of production and combat. These are the results of the correct policies in building a party which is strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally to insure that it can fulfill its important historic mission of leading all of our people forward to defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors and successfully build socialism"(page 13).

For the communist, the highest and first standard is to place the interest of the party and the revolution above everything else. The correct political line of the party, the close relationship between the party and the masses, and the self-criticism and criticism within the party are the firm foundations for insuring that the iron discipline of the party is upheld in a serious and self-imposed manner. Under the leadership of the party, each member very clearly understands that he must overcome each obstacle to successfully establish solidarity and unanimity within the party. This lesson in solidarity and unanimity was brought up at the conference which founded the party held on 3 February 1930 which was convened and chaired by Nguyen Ai Quoc who was then a representative of the Communist Internationale.

Throughout his life of activity, President Ho was very concerned with party development because "the party is the primary factor underlying each victory of our country's revolution"(page 147). The addresses of President Ho concerning party development, particularly the words of advice contained in his will, are recorded in "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party":

"Unity is an extremely valuable tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the various party chapters, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the party as the apple of their eye.

Achieving broad democracy and regularly and seriously practicing self-criticism and criticism is the best way to consolidate and develop the solidarity and unanimity of the party. Comradely affection should prevail."

The special characteristics of the activities of the party before and after it won political power have had a very important influence upon party development activities in many areas. Since North Vietnam was totally liberated and began its advance toward socialism, the responsibility of the party as the force leading the whole of society has constantly increased. The new task and requirements of the revolution demand that each cadre and party member firmly maintain the stand of the working class and carry out the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the basic requirements of which are:

"Controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat, strongly upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the technological revolution. They must struggle against the spontaneity of small-scale production, the psychology and habits of the old society, and the ideological remnants of the class of exploiters and not allow them to stage a comeback and undermine the socialist system."(10)

"The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" states: "Through the concern for education of the party and President Ho, the vast majority of cadres and party members have maintained the noble qualities of the communists in the new stage of history"(page 89). However, "a number of cadres and party members have the style of bureaucrats and bosses, violate the democratic rights of the people, and even violate some of the socialist laws. Cadres are not truly concerned with the lives of the people"(page 131). These shortcomings are of an even more serious nature because they are shortcomings on the part of the party members and cadres of a party which is in power. The party and President Ho were and are very concerned with this matter. We are deeply moved when we recall the words of advice of President Ho contained in his will:

"Ours is a party in power. Each party member and cadre must be deeply imbued with revolutionary ethics and truly display industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to public interests, and complete selflessness. They must keep our party pure and deserving of being the leader and truly loyal servant of the people."

Although it is only a summary, "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party" does present the historical and ideological aspects of major events and the internal relationship among these events and, on this basis, shows that "our party is a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a party which has experienced many challenges, a determined corps of the international communist movement."

The book helps us gain a clearer understanding of the brilliant history of struggle of the working class, laboring people, and the entire nation under the talented and clear-sighted leadership of our party and helps us heighten our awareness of communist ideals and the class nature and vanguard nature of our party.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* All passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are from "The 45 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975.
- 1. Resolution passed by the 7th Enlarged Conference of the Communist Internationale Executive Committee.
- 2. Truong Chinh: "Advancing Under the Banner of the Party," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 39.
- 3. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Liberty, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 123.
- 4. Data from the Archives at the Historical Research Department of the Party Central Committee.
- 5. Congress Documents -- published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, Hanoi, 1960, Volume 1, pages 174-175.

6. Ibid.
7. Truong Chinh: "Advancing Under the Banner of the Party,"...
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 772.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "For Independence, Liberty, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 303.
10. Resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum.

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## THE VITALITY OF THE VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 38-43

[Article by Hoang Tue]

[Text] "Language is a permanent and extremely valuable possession of a nation. We must maintain it and treasure it."\*

Ho Chi Minh

The vitality of a language is reflected in its effectiveness in the social struggle and the development of society. In these terms, the Vietnamese language is the cultural language of a people filled with vitality, the Vietnamese.

The effectiveness of the Vietnamese language has constantly grown since the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The "Declaration of Independence" which was read by the dignified President Ho at Ba Dinh Square on 2 September 1945 opened new pages in the history of the nation and new pages in the history of the Vietnamese language.

Ever since then, Vietnamese has been the official language used in the letters of state and the domestic and diplomatic affairs of the independent country of Vietnam.

The independent country of Vietnam has also strengthened and consolidated the relationships which bind the elements of the nation in the fatherland in which the common language is Vietnamese. The various elements of the nation have their own languages but Vietnamese is the language used in each area of social intercourse. The appearance in Vietnamese literary circles of authors who are Thai, Tay, Nung, Dao, Hre, E-de, Katu, Jarai, and so forth is truly significant.

At its birth, the government of the DRV decided to use the Vietnamese language on all general school levels and on the college level. This is an accepted fact now, but it must be said that the use of Vietnamese in all fields, in education and in scientific research, represents a very important achievement. It was a challenge which patriotic intellectuals and all the Vietnamese people faced and met in a very glorious manner deserving of great pride. This victory was an eloquent response to those people who for nearly 30 years have been skeptical about the values and future of the Vietnamese language.

Today, no one can deny the fact that the mass of workers and farmers of all ages and the circle of socialist intellectuals in our country are using Vietnamese to think, to make inroads into each field of ideology, science and technology, the social struggle, and productive labor.

The dream held by our nation for thousands of years has become reality. And, new possibilities filled with promise are opening before us.

The Vietnamese language occupies the position it does today as a result of the work done by successive generations in the long history of building and defending the country and building the national culture.

According to research in the origin of the languages in Indochina, the Vietnamese language has its roots in ancient times in the family of Nam A languages, a family of languages which existed for a long time over a wide area in Southeast Asia, one of the cultural centers of the ancient world. The initial period of the development of the Vietnamese language was undoubtedly a very long period lasting thousands of centuries, a period in which the Vietnamese language developed together with the development of the Lac Viet people who belonged to a community of tribes, the majority of whom spoke languages in the Nam A family.

Today, there is much linguistic evidence concerning the close relationship between Vietnamese and the Muong language and between the Vietnamese and the Muong languages and the Van Kieu, Katu, Hre, Bahnar, Stieng, and other languages. Between the Vietnamese language and other language groups, particularly the Tay-Thai language groups in the Viet Bac Autonomous Zone, the Tay Bac Autonomous Zone, and western Thanh Hoa and Nghe An Provinces, there are also close relationships which could have developed not as a result of the fact that they all belonged to the same linguistic family, but as a result of social intercourse because the community of Vietnam absorbed tribes who migrated from neighboring regions. For example, in Vietnamese, the words river, forest, and bird have been determined to share the same origin as the corresponding words in the Mon-Khmer language group and the words copper, mountain slope, chicken, duck, and so forth have been proven to have the same origin as the corresponding words in the Tay-Thai language group.

Through etymological data and data dealing with other aspects of linguistics, we see that the Vietnamese language has experienced a long process of development which has paralleled the formation of the nation of Vietnam and the progress of the Vietnamese community. It can be said that on the basis of the ancient Viet civilization with its system of agriculture which developed at an early age, in the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ, the Vietnamese language reached a level at which it had its own semantic base and fixed grammar. Without this base, the Vietnamese language could not have stood firm and victoriously struggled against the plots of enslavement and assimilation (including linguistically) of the foreign feudalists. The provincial government of the foreign feudalists opened schools and put into circulation an increasingly large volume of Chinese books in order to disseminate philosophical thought and train a class of intellectuals to serve them. Chinese was used in the fields of administration, religion, and academics and gradually even in poetry. Later on, when national sovereignty was regained and the Nom language was created, the feudal class ruling Vietnam still used Chinese as the official language. Nguyen Hue's fine intentions with respect to the use of the Nom language only had a temporary effect. Generally speaking, the prevailing attitude among the feudal class ruling Vietnam and the majority of the scholars trained by them was one of disdain for the national language and the Nom language.

This negative attitude greatly influenced the development of the Vietnamese language; however, on the other hand, it further accentuated the vitality of a language with deep roots in the rich, ancient cultural life of the mass of laboring people. Their active participation and ardent support was an extremely important moving force in the struggle to protect and develop the national language.

A language can only develop strongly when it is closely linked to a culture. In the face of the insidious plot of assimilation of the foreign enemy and the slow development of the written language, the mass of laboring people in our country used their everyday language to create their own unique spoken literature. "A bit of soil is a bit of gold," "water, fertilizer, labor, seeds," "wounding a man is like wounding a god," "when the enemy comes, even the women must fight," "one tree does not a mountain make, three trees clumped together make a high mountain," and so forth; these proverbs and sayings, which are rich in thought, melody, and imagery, prove the vitality of the Vietnamese language. The Vietnamese language invigorated the spoken literature and the spoken literature purified and enriched the Vietnamese language.

The Vietnamese language also showed its vitality in the long struggle on the written literature front. The historical background of the appearance of the Nom literature, that is, Vietnamese literature written in Nom characters, was the Ly-Tran-Le period, the famous period of feats of arms in which the enemy was killed and the nation was saved. Of course, the prestige of the Chinese language was still great; and many difficulties still faced the Vietnamese and Nom languages. However, the nation's indomitable will was expressed not only in politics, but also culturally.



Whereas "Binh Ngo Dai Cao" was written in Chinese, the spirit of this declaration of independence was the flame which lit the fire for a national "civilization," a literature of a "national language," a "national tongue." A truly great service was performed by those heroes who saved the nation; they bravely picked up swords to kill the enemy and picked up pens to strengthen the first foundation of Vietnamese poetry. Countless generations have heard "the floating soul of Nguyen Trai" in "the rattling sabre, in the poem appealing to tear their hearts out." (2)

After Nguyen Trai, the Nom literary current grew even more. The flame which was lit burst into a fire. The indifferent, belittling attitude of a number of scholars could not extinguish it. The cruel and stupid policy of suppression of the Le-Trinh Dynasty (the printing and sale of Nom books were prohibited and they even destroyed Nom engraving plates) could not extinguish it either. Nom poems and novels became more and more prevalent and were of increasingly high value. Nguyen Du's "Truyen Kieu" written at the start of the 19th century was the pinnacle of the process of the development of Nom literature during the several centuries following Nguyen Trai's "Quoc Am Thi Tap."

In the Nom literary works, it can be seen that contact with the Chinese language resulted in the Vietnamese language having very many words of Chinese origin. This was primarily the result of contact with philosophical and ethical concepts, such as humanity, justice, piety, loyalty, talent, destiny, etc. In addition, there was the influence of Chinese poetry and the very strong attraction of Duong and Tong poetry from which came such terms as spring, flower, wind, moon, bride, beautiful woman, etc.

This contact afforded a linguistic advantage: the Chinese language, as the Vietnamese language does, uses each sound as a basic unit; and Chinese, as does Vietnamese, structures terms by coupling sound and meaning, for example, the terms "beautiful woman" and "destiny" or by duplicating sounds, for example, the terms to linger, to be restless, etc. However, when assimilated, words of Chinese origin had to be patterned after the phonetic and grammatical rules of the Vietnamese language.

The durability of phonetic and grammatical rules is a concrete expression of the inner vitality of the Vietnamese language in its contact with the Chinese language. It can be said that national character in linguistic form was the ultimate test of the success of the Nom literary work. The success of "Truyen Kieu" not only meant that the 6-8 meter style of poetry became accepted, but it also meant that Vietnamese grammar was applied in its pure form despite the assimilation of terms mentioned above.

"Truyen Kieu," in addition to its literary value, was also of great linguistic value; it was deserving of the pride of the Vietnamese people in the struggle for the national language.

However, it must be recognized that the Nom language had its own major limitations. It was still a language based on Chinese and the principles of Chinese; the person who knew Chinese could read and speak the Nom language. Moreover, the feudal dynasty of the House of Nguyen did not have the clearheadedness or the ability to implement Nguyen Hue's plan of using Vietnamese in the administrative and academic fields. Therefore, throughout the 19th century and the start of the 20th century, the Nom language was rather widely used in poems and songs but the majority of prose was written in Chinese; in reality, the Nom language did not meet the requirements of the development of the nation of Vietnam, in general, and the Vietnamese language, in particular, in the new age. The Nom language had to abandon its role and give way to the national language, a language structured on the basis of the principle of expressing sounds by means of Roman letters which expressed the Vietnamese language in simpler and much more convenient manner.

The national language was primarily developed as a result of the missionary and ruling needs of foreigners. In the 16th century, when Catholicism was spread to our country, Western priests used the Roman alphabet to express the sounds of Vietnamese in order to support their study of Vietnamese and facilitate the dissemination of the Bible to their followers. When the French colonialists invaded our country and made it a colony, they also wanted to use Vietnamese and the national language to train a class of officials and civil servants to support their rule. Naturally, the primary language which the colonial regime used in its administrative affairs was French. Therefore, they only taught a limited amount of

Vietnamese as they considered it a secondary subject in their elementary schools. It was considered "insane" to teach more Vietnamese than this because, according to them, the Vietnamese language "does not have the ability to become a cultural language." This argument reeked of colonialism yet it gained the support of more than a few "pro-Westerners" who had forgotten their origin!

Our people's aspiration was just the opposite. The nationalist movement considered Vietnamese and the national language the tools for heightening the intellectual standard of the people and, in the famous book "Van Minh Tan Hoc Sach"(1907), established the national language as one of the primary measures for "civilizing" the people. The scholars of this movement brought the national language beyond the scope of the classics of Catholicism and began to use it in the general schools they opened.

Our party and President Ho further heightened the role of the Vietnamese language in the revolution. In 1925, when he began to introduce Vietnam to Marxism-Leninism, President Ho printed the THANH NIEN Newspaper and wrote the book "Duong Kach Menh" in the national language in order to train Vietnamese patriots. Since its birth, our party has given very much attention to teaching the national language and writing books and newspapers in the national language in order to widely propagandize the revolution among the masses. In 1938, taking advantage of its legal and quasi-legal circumstances, the party led the establishment and operation of the Council for the Dissemination of the National Language in order to start eliminating illiteracy among the laboring people.

Generally speaking, during their approximately 20 years of illegal activities (1925-1945), the communists in our country who were led by President Ho gave their attention to establishing and developing a national language literature of discussion which was an indispensable factor in the revolutionary campaign to introduce Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and policies of the party to the masses. In addition, our party also gave its attention to employing a number of literary and artistic forms, particularly poems and songs, to propagandize and stimulate the revolution. The most notable strongpoints of the literature written in the national language under the leadership of the party during this period was that it was more clear and specific, it expressed the nation's natural character, and it progressed toward scientific standardization.

Parallel to the illegal literary movement, there was also a legal national language literary movement. The truth was that, during the 1920's, the colonial government was unable to prevent the use of Vietnamese and the printing of Vietnamese in public books and newspapers in the face of the development of the national consciousness of intellectuals and students. Gradually, spoken and written Vietnamese were used not only in poetry and songs, but even in literature of discussion and Vietnamese was refined in many different types of prose: news reports, correspondence, short stories, novels, and plays. The linguistic achievement of this legal literary movement was that it caused the artistic prose of the nation to reach an important stage of development which gradually brought it away from the parallel constructions style of literature which was a remnant of essays in the old literature. Poetry also broke the laws which constricted it, assumed new forms, and nudged toward prose.

Finally, academic prose written in Vietnamese also began to appear as translations or scattered articles printed in a number of political or scientific journals. The person who could read Vietnamese began to become familiar with technical terms borrowed from Chinese (Chinese-Vietnamese pronunciation), such as politics, society, economics, and so forth or transliterated from French, such as acid, oxygen, etc. Although they only represent modest efforts, the printing in newspapers of a solution to a problem in geometry or algebra or the explanation of a theory of physics or astronomy in Vietnamese is of great significance because it helps illustrate the ability of Vietnamese to express thoughts in any field.

In this stage of development of the Vietnamese language, a number of deviations also occurred; for example, some people who received their educations in French wanted to introduce French phonetics and style to the Vietnamese language; some people who received their educations in Chinese wanted to incorporate all Chinese terms into the Vietnamese language without determining whether they were appropriate, necessary, etc. Partially in order to struggle against and overcome these deviations, our party gave particular attention in the Vietnamese cultural platform of 1943 to the linguistic problem and it pointed out the pressing need to struggle to maintain the national character of the Vietnamese language while improving its scientific nature.

Looking back over the course followed in the long process of development of the Vietnamese language, the Vietnamese people have encountered trials and tribulations. It has been a process of determined struggle by our people, one with many glories and many hardships. Therefore, it is a source of pride, a great joy to be able to use Vietnamese to "sing the praises of the country today."(3)

However, a problem lies before us which must be faced in all its seriousness: it is the problem of increasing the effectiveness of the Vietnamese as regards present and future tasks and the great tasks necessitated by the scientific and technological revolution as well as the ideological and cultural revolution. In the performance of these tasks, the Vietnamese language will continue to play an extremely important role in every sector and field of activity.

For this reason, President Ho concerned himself with the use and development of the Vietnamese language. His concern has been expressed in an important part of our party's cultural policy.

To implement this policy, each one of us must make personal efforts to "maintain the purity of the Vietnamese language" as we have been frequently reminded by Premier Pham Van Dong. These efforts must ultimately be expressed in an improvement of the teaching and studying of Vietnamese at all general schools, colleges, and vocational middle schools and in the appearance of dictionaries and books on phonetics and grammar of value as well as other high quality works by writers.

By means of these efforts, we can show ourselves to be worthy of extraordinary endeavors, endeavors originating in the ardent patriotism and love of socialism of our people.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Excerpt from speech delivered at the 3rd Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Journalists held on 8 September 1962.
- 2. To Huu: "Song of Spring 1961."
- 3. Ibid.

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A FEW ASPECTS OF THE PRIMARY ELEMENTS OF THE PRESENT DAY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 44-52 and 59

[Article by Nguyen Nhu Kim]

[Text] The elements of the present day scientific and technological revolution are primarily reflected in changes of a revolutionary nature in all instruments of production (energy, materials, and work tools), industrial methods, and the organization and management of production. Let us take a look at each of these changes.

1. Energy

Now and in the future, energy is and will continue to be a major problem to which the world must give its attention because demand is increasing very rapidly as a result of the level of population growth (the population increased 3.8 times in the 27 years between 1940 and 1967), the improvement of the standard of living, and changes in the structure of raw materials and the economy. The structure of energy has also changed rapidly in the past few decades: coal has given up its first place position to petroleum and natural gas.

In the face of this soaring demand, it has become necessary to find ways to provide the needed energy. In the immediate future, it is necessary to explore for energy reserves, step up the development of traditional fuels (coal, petroleum, and natural gas), and develop new sources of energy. The scientific and technological revolution is making a positive contribution to resolving these pressing problems. The exploration and investigation of fuel reserves on land and at sea are applying modern, highly efficient, precise, and rapid methods. The methods of physical geology (seismology, magnetic fields, gravitation) coordinated with modern recording, memory, and processing equipment, such as the electronic computer, ultrasound, the lazer, and so forth are competently helping geologists evaluate fuel reserves (particularly petroleum and natural gas reserves) with increasing accuracy. Manmade satellites, especially orbiting stations, are also playing an important role in the investigation of nature.

The scientific and technological revolution is providing new tools and methods for the development of fuel sources, such as methods for drilling several thousand meters and tapping pools of petroleum under the ocean, large capacity means of transportation, trucks which can haul hundreds of tons of coal, ships which can transport tens of thousands of tons of petroleum, oil and natural gas pipelines thousands of kilometers long, means for transporting and storing liquid gas, etc. Man is also actively researching the application of ultrasound technology, lazer technology, and nuclear explosion technology to mine coal and tap petroleum and natural gas pools.

The major guideline of modern science and technology as regards the energy problem is finding new sources of energy.

In the process of delving into the internal structure of materials, the science of physics has discovered new bonds between the basic elements which form materials, bonds which, when broken, release energy in the form of thermal energy. There are two methods by which this nuclear energy is released: the bombardment of heavy



nuclei (uranium) and the synthesis of light nuclei (hydrogen). Nuclear energy is very great; the thermal energy of the hydrogen nucleus is 10 times greater than that of the uranium nucleus and millions of times greater than the energy of coal. Therefore, it is hoped that nuclear energy can virtually resolve mankind's energy problem in the future. To date, all of the nuclear reactors in the world being used in the energy industry and research utilize uranium fuel because fission is now a relatively stable process in which major advances are being made (for example, reactors using fast neutrons permit the reclamation and enrichment of the primary uranium fuel). The drawbacks of uranium fuel are that it is scarce, difficult to mine, and difficult to handle, it emits much radioactivity, it is difficult to "store," and it pollutes the environment. As regards thermo-nuclear energy and the synthesis of hydrogen nuclei, much research in controlling this huge source of energy has been continuing since the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1952 and noteworthy progress is gradually being made. It is hoped that this energy can be applied in reality within the next few decades. Much hydrogen is available (in sea water), it is easily obtained and processed into fuel relatively easily, and it is less dirty; therefore, thermo-nuclear energy is the primary direction of development in the future. It has been estimated that, by the year 2000, nuclear energy will comprise more than 25 percent of the world's energy, petroleum and natural gas will comprise more than 50 percent, the various types of coal will comprise nearly 20 percent, hydroelectric energy will comprise 2.4 percent, and the remainder will be comprised of other forms of energy.

Very much attention is being given to new energy sources which can be used many times, such as the tides, the sun, and geothermal sources. A number of countries have constructed tidewater electric power plants but this method has not become widespread because of the difficulties encountered in finding suitable sites and because it is uneconomical compared to other sources of energy. The thermal energy of the earth is also being researched and a number of experimental geothermal power plants have been constructed. However, most important is the achievements recorded by solid physics in the development of solar batteries constructed of semiconductor material which directly transforms solar energy into electrical energy. Although the percentage they comprise in the overall balance of energy is insignificant, solar batteries are playing an important role in the field of space research; all manmade satellites, orbiting experimental stations, space ships, and so forth rely primarily on solar energy. This is only the first step and the scope of application is still narrow. The long range guideline is to develop ways to use solar energy on a larger and more economical scale. Scientists are now imitating the photosynthesis of plants and transforming thermal energy into chemical energy and chemical energy into electrical energy with an efficiency of nearly 100 percent as in the storage battery.

The second major guideline of the present day scientific and technological revolution in the energy problem is that of finding ways to improve the efficiency of energy conversion by reducing the loss of and economizing on fuel. In the past, many major technical advances have been made in the area of increasing the efficiency of fuel use: the efficiency of the consumption of coal in the production of electricity has been reduced to 0.35 kilograms per kwh; steam engines, which have very poor efficiency, are being replaced by diesel or electric engines with a resulting 40 percent increase in efficiency; the amount of coke consumed in the production of iron and steel has been reduced 25 percent over the past 10 years (1969), etc. However, much fuel is still being wasted and the highest efficiency being achieved by present thermoelectric power plants is roughly 40 percent.

One technical measure which offers many prospects at this point in time is the direct conversion of thermal energy into electric power (without the use of mechanical motion) by means of hydrodynamics. Air is heated to form a flow of ions within a magnetic field; these electrically charged ions are attracted to appropriate electrodes and cause the flow of electricity in an external circuit. Although the theory is a simple one, many technical difficulties must still be resolved, such as materials which can withstand high temperatures, large magnetic fields, etc. To date, many countries have constructed experimental magneto-hydrodynamic electric power plants which achieve an efficiency of 50 to 60 percent and sometimes as high as 70 to 80 percent. It is hoped that one-half the thermoelectric power plants, including nuclear power plants, will be using the magneto-hydrodynamic method by the year 2000. This would result in the saving of very much thermal energy at electric power plants, nearly twice as much compared to presently.



## 2. Materials.

The problem of materials for modern industry is a problem of no less urgency than the energy problem. Due to the growth of the population and the constant improvement of the standard of living, the needs of man have increased rapidly. In many places of the world, natural resources are slowly being exhausted; farmland is becoming more depleted with each passing day, timber is being harvested faster than it can be grown, minerals such as copper, lead, zinc, aluminum, nickel, and so forth are quickly being used.

Man is shifting his search for natural resources to the oceans and ocean bottoms. According to estimates, the prospects are very great: the oceans have the potential for supplying traditional raw materials for industry for thousands of years and still not be exhausted. However, the large-scale mining of these minerals will encounter very many difficulties and obstacles not only in the area of investments, but also in the area of technology.

The modern metal refining industry is applying many technical advances to rapidly increase the capacity of equipment and the quality of products (for example, it is using high temperature and pressure parameters, it has manufactured large machine systems, blast furnaces with a capacity of several thousand cubic meters, and continuous iron and steel production lines, automated the process of quality control, etc.). As a result, iron and steel production in the world has increased very rapidly over the past 2 or 3 decades, doubling once every 10 years.

However, it is predicted that the production of iron and steel will gradually decline over the next few decades as a result of the strong development of new materials, primarily synthetic materials such as plastic, manmade fiber, rubber, paint, and so forth. Synthetic materials are a type of product which symbolize the scientific and technological revolution, particularly the field of high molecular chemistry. Through theoretical projects dealing with the synthesis of basic organic compounds coordinated with technical advances in industry, man has produced from the hydrocarbons in coal, petroleum, and natural gas a number of plastics which have very valuable technical properties (such as a high degree of mechanical durability, the ability to withstand heat and moisture, and the ability to insulate against electricity and sound, they are light, easily manufactured, attractive, inexpensive, and so forth) which can be used to replace traditional materials. In the past 2 decades, the production of plastics has increased very rapidly (doubling on the average of once every 5 years) and this rate will be maintained in the years to come. Plastics are infiltrating every sector of the national economy with increasingly high economic returns. Synthetic materials have stimulated the development of many modern technical and industrial sectors (the electronic industry, the computer industry, the jet aircraft and missile industry, atomic and nuclear technology, the technology of automation, etc.).

Plastics have begun to replace some of the iron and steel in the mechanical and electrical machine manufacturing industry; it has been estimated that 30 percent of metals will be replaced by plastics in the years to come. Plastics now comprise 25 percent of all building materials; in a number of industrially developed countries, this percentage is as high as 30-35 percent. Plastics are also being widely used in light industry in the form of chemical fibers, manmade rubber, or various types of synthetic paint and resin. Manmade fibers have become an important raw material in the modern textile industry (they comprise 40 percent of the industry's raw materials).

The synthetic chemical industry is based on coal, petroleum, and natural gas. During the 1960's, coal based chemicals yielded first position to petroleum and gas based chemicals, and it has been predicted that petroleum and gas based chemicals will continue to occupy the most important position in the future. Some 55 percent of chemical products are now produced from petroleum and natural gas. Deserving of attention is that man has only been using 2 percent of the total output of products processed for the petrochemical industry in recent years. As a result of the oil "embargo" and the high price of oil and natural gas, a number of capitalist countries, particularly the United States, are returning to the research of coal based chemicals.

The present scientific and technological guidelines within the synthetic chemical industry are improving the properties of materials as regards the indices of physical-mechanical properties, heat, electricity, light, durability, and so forth; developing special plastics such as semi-conductors which can withstand a high degree

heat and "co hoat tinh sinh hoc"; researching new catalysts; researching the scientific basis of treatment processes, the automation of production, etc. Metallography, electronic technology, the metal refining sector, and so forth are coordinating in the research of new manmade materials which have improved properties, such as manmade diamonds, extremely pure semi-conductor crystals, very hard and durable alloys, materials which can withstand high temperatures, and so forth which are very much needed for the development of the modern industrial sectors.

### 3. Mechanized tools and automation

Automation and a high degree of mechanization are the primary elements of the scientific and technological revolution. In terms of expenditures on scientific research, the equipment and machinery (tools, in general) manufacturing sector spends a higher percentage than any other industrial sector. Research, design, and testing are closely linked with the production process in order to improve techniques and improve and rapidly modernize the equipment in the various traditional production sectors. It was estimated that, at the end of the 1960's, 50 percent of the trade goods produced were the direct result of scientific research in laboratories and the other 50 percent was the result of applied research. Obviously, modern science and technology have had a strong effect upon the machine manufacturing sector. For this reason, equipment and tools are constantly being improved and new products with better properties and higher capacities are constantly appearing. In the future, the rate of the improvement of equipment will be higher than it is now. In addition to traditional machine products which are constantly being improved, many modern machines and pieces of equipment are appearing in a number of new sectors, such as the atomic power, electronic, precision instrument and computer, jet aircraft, missile, and space industries.

The present trend of technology is total mechanization and partial automation.

Total mechanization means developing machine systems for all industrial, agricultural, communications, transportation, and service industries. In the developed countries, practically every strenuous manual job has been mechanized. In strip mining, very large shovels and trucks are now in use, such as rotating shovels with a capacity of 10,000 cubic meters per hour, trucks which can transport more than 100 tons, and so forth. In underground mines, there are continuous production lines and high capacity hydraulic tools. In the metal refining industry, there are high capacity blast furnaces with a capacity of several thousand cubic meters and continuous production lines producing several million tons per year. In the energy industry, there are turbines and electric generators which can produce from several tens of thousands to 1 million kilowatts. Man is also manufacturing machines and tools on a large scale and processing metals by applying modern techniques in place of old methods which resulted in a great waste of materials. In the light industrial sectors, there have also been major improvements in equipment and machinery. In agriculture, widespread use will be made of combines for the various types of crops, equipment for livestock production, water conservancy, the storage of grain, etc.

However, the most important element of the scientific and technological revolution at present and in the years to come is and will continue to be the automation of production. Based on total mechanization, the present trend is toward partial automation and eventually total automation.

All pieces of equipment, machines, and production lines will gradually be equipped with guidance, control, and self-regulating components which will take man's place in production. After being adjusted by man, this new equipment will be able to operate by itself, turn machines on and off, transport materials, process products, and so forth in accordance with a pre-established program.

Modern electronic technology has enabled the manufacture of suitable computers and equipment for measure and control purposes which are very sensitive and accurate. Electronic technology coordinated with precision machines and optics have become an important technical foundation of the modern machine manufacturing sector. The electronics industry now ranks first among the various industrial sectors. In addition to increasingly modern communication and liaison equipment, countries are giving particular attention to the manufacture of very large electronic computers which have increasingly high speed, capacity, and reliability and increasingly small dimensions and production costs. During the past several years, there has been a strong trend toward the development of small, high capacity electronic computers manufactured on

the basis of micro-electronic technology and large-scale miniaturization.

In production, increasingly widespread use is being made of machines and tools which operate on the basis of a program and small, totally automated production lines. Many large factories, particularly in the chemical industry, the metal refining industry, the electric power industry, and so forth, are highly automated. There are model automated factories in all production sectors.

Electronic equipment not only has operation and control functions based on a program, but also has the ability to rapidly process data and select the most profitable mode of operation.

Automation is also developing in the communications and liaison sector, in railroad, maritime navigation, and airline systems, particularly in unexpected situations which cannot be promptly dealt with by people. In agriculture, many systems of farmland water conservancy, irrigation, and drainage have been automated.

On the basis of imitating living things, scientists and technicians are manufacturing numerous machines and pieces of equipment which are "intelligent," have very sensitive "sensory organs," can remember complex data, and are able to deal with situations and select optimum plans for acclimating to new conditions. These include machines which recognize forms, automatic translating machines, all-weather aircraft, manmade satellites which combat and protect against forest fires, the Lu-na-khot [Vietnamese phonetics] on the moon which "works and rests" like an independent living thing, etc.

In military technology, more and more research is being directed toward the development of these high level automated systems, such as intercontinental ballistic missile systems, military and reconnaissance satellites, anti-missile systems, bombs which seek out their own targets, laser bombs, television bombs, etc.

Cybernetics is also being applied in administrative and accounting work, particularly in economic management. Automated equipment systems which imitate the brain of man can rapidly handle a very large volume of information, economic relationships among sectors and localities, and statistics on the implementation of plans, propose adjustments which have to be made, etc.

In scientific research and technical design work, the electronic computer and other automated machines have become universal tools. Leaps forward are being taken in the field of automated design methods; the engineer can "exchange ideas" with and "question" the computer concerning his own thoughts and see the process of development and design results on a screen. The relationship between man and machine is becoming increasingly close, and it is predicted that the efficiency of mental labor might increase two to ten times by the year 2000.

#### 4. New methods and techniques.

Techniques, an important technical factor in modern production, have the task of defining a way a product or commodity is made, the production process which must be carried out, the tools which must be used, and the order in which jobs must be done.

The role of techniques is constantly expanding with the advances being made in science and technology. The application of scientific discoveries in production has led to constantly changing techniques and methods. The amount of labor and materials consumed and the efficiency of equipment are primarily dependent upon production methods. The main guideline now is to develop new processing and treatment methods based on chemical, physical, or biological processes and, at the same time, implementing the principle of intensifying production processes by increasing their speed, temperature, pressure, capacity, and so forth. Below are a number of new techniques which are being widely used in production.

In the machine manufacturing and metal processing industry, the cutting and machining technique used to be in wide use; this technique wasted many raw materials and supplies and necessitated the use of many different machines and many operators. Modern production techniques enable the rapid manufacture of tens of thousands of machine parts by means of precision casting, forging, and pressing which are called the die-casting technique. This method has enabled the economization of much metal, labor, and time spent in the operation of machines and raised the efficiency of social labor.

The metal processing industry is also turning to electrical, chemical, and physical treatment techniques and continuous processing procedures.

Electrical treatment techniques are rapidly finding a place within the metal and chemical industries.

Electrochemical processes in the refining of metals allow the production of metals and materials of very high quality needed for modern technology, such as aluminum, titanium, cobalt, zirconium, germanium, and silicon, etc.

Thermal treatment by means of high frequency electric induction is dozens of times faster than heating by fire, the quality of metals is higher, and large savings are realized. Coordinated with electrical presses, this method reduces the consumption of labor and materials even more.

Modern science has researched and developed chemical, physical, and chemical-physical techniques which not only have an effect upon the shape of parts, but also change the internal structures of materials, particularly their molecular structure. These include, for example, the techniques of solid state electronics, the techniques of manufacturing extremely pure crystals, the techniques of micro-electronics, the techniques of electro-plating and chemical corrosion, and the techniques of machining by means of electric arcs, electronic beams, and laser beams. Chemical methods are being applied with great success in the modern metal refining industry. With the technique of oxidation used in Martin furnaces, melting time is reduced from 10 to 6 hours, thereby doubling productivity. In the alloy industry, the use of oxygen has increased furnace efficiency by 70 percent and reduced the consumption of coke by 25 percent.

On the other hand, modern chemical methods have permitted the efficient use of the raw and other materials in industry and agriculture. Synthetic chemical products have enabled the economization of very many raw materials and very much grain and food. The petroleum industry has produced very many organic products which used to require large amounts of such agricultural products as cereal grain and sugar cane. Agricultural technology is also undergoing major changes in the efficient use of land, the improvement of soil, and intensive cultivation through the application of chemistry in the form of fertilizers, growth stimulants, micro-organisms, insecticides, etc.

Modern biology coordinated with the achievements of chemistry and physics is permitting the increasing application of many new methods called biological methods, biochemical methods, and biophysical methods. In the raw material and building material industries, the use of micro-organisms to improve a number of metals is being actively researched and a number of initial results have been achieved. In the food products industry, the raised yeast method is being widely used to create manmade protein and other new products. In agriculture, the return to biological processes is being researched in order to avoid chemical processes which are both costly and harmful. People have begun to use insects to combat other insects which are harmful to crops. Modern science is researching methods of producing nitrogenous fertilizer from the air by using micro-organisms in order to avoid the use of ores and chemical plants. Methods involving micro-organisms are also having the effect of stimulating the technical cybernetics sectors to invent new automated equipment based on the imitation of the nervous system of living things. The above does not include the methods involving micro-organisms which are being used in the pharmaceutical industry, the most representative achievements of which are the antibiotic penicillin. Biological methods also show many new prospects.

##### 5. The organization and management of production.

The strong development of new production forces requires a corresponding improvement in the areas of organization and management. This is a pressing contemporary problem in the developed industrial countries. Today, a new science is being formed: the science of organization and management.

The improvement of the organization of production and labor within an enterprise is closely linked to technical advances (total mechanization and automation), improvements in techniques based on scientific methods, and the increasing speed and expansion of the continuous production process. The main trend at this point in time is to standardize production, establish uniformity in production, specialize and centralize production, and establish cooperation in production.

The standardization and uniformity of equipment and machine parts and configurations have enabled the rapid and economical production of new products. Specialization, centralization, and cooperation in enterprises and production sectors are basic prerequisites of an efficient organization of labor and production. Many countries have organized the production of standard and uniform parts and machines used in production of specific machines and tools which have very narrow uses; this will open great prospects for the popularization of production by means of continuous production lines. The organization of modern industry is also being highly centralized: in many countries, numerous enterprises have been merged into large federations which employ tens of thousands of workers and produce an important percentage of the social product. However, in a number of countries, the development of medium and small-scale, well equipped, highly efficient enterprises can also be seen.

Many improvements in the organization of production have been made at factories and plants with many automated production lines. Various types of delivery machines, conveyor belts, and automated rail lines transport semi-finished products from one production area to another, thereby insuring continuous production from raw material to finished product. Production on automated production lines is one of the primary forms of organization of modern production. In this process, the computer, together with electronic measuring and control equipment, continuously record and adjust production parameters (temperature, speed, pressure, etc.) by comparing them with pre-established programs and selecting the most profitable system of operation.

New techniques not only require a more efficient organization of production, but also require the most profitable and efficient working conditions possible. A newly established field of science -- the science of work attitudes -- has the purpose of researching these working conditions not only in material terms, but also in terms of their psychological and social aspects, such as interior decorating, lighting, color schemes, climate control, music,...all of the conveniences needed to insure a rich and creative work process.

Together with improving the organization within enterprises, particular attention has been given to closely coordinating production installations and scientific research and experimental design facilities in order to rapidly put new technical advances into production. Many large enterprises have separate research and development laboratories and large production-scientific federations have been established in many countries.

The strong development of production requires close management in order to keep all areas of production in continuous operation from those involving raw materials, supplies, tools, and techniques to consumption and the market. In planning and the supervision of production, increasing use is being made of modern calculating and economic information equipment to rapidly process data and statistics, select optimum plans, keep abreast of the implementation of plans, and promptly revise plans. It can be said that it is impossible to manage production today without the use of modern electronic computers. More than one-half the total number of electronic computers in the world are being used in economic management.

Organization and management have become a science which coordinates many other fields of science from mathematics and calculus, statistics and probability, and cybernetics to psychology, sociology, etc.

The science of organization and management is being applied in many fields (agriculture, communications and transportation, administration, scientific and technical research, etc.).

## 6. The organization and management of science and technology.

The organization and management of scientific and technical research is a matter of particular importance. All countries are giving their attention to organizing, building, and managing their national scientific potential. At present, the most pressing problems are the elementary and advanced training of cadres, the organization of the information network, investments in equipment, and scientific management lines, policies, and plans.

The elementary and advanced training of cadres under the conditions of the present scientific and technological revolution is a very complex problem. In the world, people are discussing and arguing about educational reform, reviewing old modes of training, and adopting measures suited to the new development of science and technology.



It is maintained that it is necessary to provide broad-based training at modern scientific facilities, closely coordinate instruction with scientific research and the realities of production, coordinate learning in the school with the dissemination of knowledge by means of information and transmission systems, select talented people and develop their talents, provide occupational counselling on the basis of talent, routinely provide the various types of cadres with advanced training (including managers and supervisors and particularly college instructors), step up the exchange of experts between countries, expand international scientific conferences, etc. The guideline of continuous and planned advanced training is considered by many countries to be the most suitable to present conditions.

Scientific-technical information activities are also being reorganized. The objective is to rapidly make information available on innovations, discoveries, research results, and new techniques and methods to those who will use them in order to avoid circuitous routes and the waste of time. Modern techniques, equipment, and machinery, such as microfilm, microdocumentation, magnetic tapes, electronic computers, automatic retrieval machines, rapid copying and printing machines, photographic films, television, and so forth, are being rapidly put into use to collect, memorize, and process information, answer questions, and disseminate information. The theory of the organization and management of scientific information is part of the theory of large systems. The present guideline for development is to progress from small local networks to large nationwide systems and eventually coordinate these systems into a world system based on uniform classifications, the standardization of information forms, and the use of modern transmission systems.

The problem of investing in and equipping with equipment for science is closely related to the economic line and policy of each country. Providing the equipment needed for science (primarily accurate measuring and testing equipment) is very costly and equipment must be replaced on a routine basis. No country can supply itself with all of the equipment needed for science, rather, countries must specialize and trade with other countries.

Finally, there is the matter of scientific management which includes the establishment of lines and policies, the planning and construction of the scientific management network, research and the coordination of projects, budget distributions, the supervision of the implementation of plans, the appraisal of results, the plan for the training and utilization of cadres, etc. The most difficult problem in scientific management at this point in time, in addition to that of further heightening the returns from research, is possibly that of establishing the most suitable and best lines and policies for each specific country. Modern science and technology involve thousands of guidelines, subjects, and fields. Which guidelines and fields are best suited to the specific capabilities of each country? This is an extremely complex management problem. No country has the ability to research everything. Scientific policies are also dependent upon the major goals of each country in each stage, such as military and economic goals and sometimes even psychological goals (scientific prestige). However, generally speaking, all large and small countries are orienting their scientific policies toward the goals of economic development. For the developing countries, the problem of establishing a suitable scientific policy requires even more careful deliberation and thorough planning, particularly if they want to catch up to the advanced countries in a relatively short period of time.

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## THE MINH SINH COOPERATIVE GRADUALLY ADVANCES TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

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[Article by Xuan Kieu]

[Text] Minh Sinh has been one of the advanced cooperatives in Thanh Cai District, Ha Tinh Province for many years. Minh Sinh has 334 cooperative members, 1,570 people, 442 laborers, and 125 hectares of farmland or an average of 2.3 sao (Bac Bo) per capita. Due to the fact that it has little and many people, Minh Sinh has worked continuously to fully develop its production in order to cultivate three crops per year and bring about significant changes in crop yield and output.

### The Stages of Development and Results To Date

In 1958, in keeping with the agricultural collectivization line of the party, Minh Sinh conducted a campaign to mobilize farmers into a cooperative; by 1960, more than 90 percent of farm families were earning a collective living. The system of socialist collective ownership was established and land and labor were collectivized; however, cooperative members still encountered numerous difficulties in their production and everyday life and the state had to annually sell the cooperative roughly 20 tons of rice. With an average 2 sao of land per capita, drought on 40 percent of its land (which was transplanted with one 10th month rice crop), waterlogging on another 20 percent, and unstable crop yield and output, how could enough grain be raised to meet the needs of cooperative members and meet the grain obligation to the state?

On the basis of the realities of its fields, Minh Sinh realized that if it did not quickly construct water conservancy projects and improve its fields, its production would be no better than private production, it could not stabilize the life of cooperative members, and, as a result, it could not consolidate the system of socialist collective ownership. In the space of 3 years between 1961 and 1966, Minh Sinh completed its water conservancy system and area and plot banks were constructed for all of the cooperative's fields in order to retain water in and irrigate high fields and convert what used to be one rice crops fields into two rice crop fields.

In conjunction with water conservancy, Minh Sinh actively sought new, high yield varieties of rice to replace its old, low yield varieties. The shift from the Nam Ninh variety of rice which was transplanted during the summer (1961, 1962, and 1963) to the Tra Trung Tu and Tran Chau Lun varieties which were transplanted during the spring-summer season and Nong Nghiep 1 which was transplanted during the 10th month season (1964 and 1965) made it possible for the cooperative to increase its rice yield and expand the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops. In 1963, together with changing the allocation of rice varieties, Minh Sinh boldly shifted 6 percent of its land from the cultivation of two rice crops to the cultivation of two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop (Lim sweet potatoes). In 1966, the cultivation of spring rice was expanded, the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops was increased 11 percent, and Lim sweet potatoes were replaced by Hong Quang sweet potatoes which yielded 9.6 tons per hectare (1.5 times more than the old variety).

Although water conservancy and the change in the allocation of varieties only represented the initial step, they did lead to excellent results in the production and life of the cooperative. The average yield per hectare under the cultivation of two rice crops per year increased from 3.7 tons of paddy in 1961 to 4.8 tons in 1964 and 5.2 tons in 1966. Paddy output increased from 357 tons in 1961 to 521 tons in 1966. The level of paddy consumption per person rose from 14 kilograms in 1961 to 23.2 kilograms in 1966. The amount of paddy sold to the state increased 2.1 times in 1966 compared to 1961. Through its struggle from 1961 to 1966, the Minh Sinh Cooperative partially resolved its grain problem.

The facts presented above prove that the Minh Sinh Cooperative did the right thing when it coordinated collectivization with water conservancy and closely linked this guideline with the guideline of discarding the system of one crop cultivation and gradually changing the allocation of crops.

At the Minh Sinh Cooperative, the monoculture of rice used to pose difficulties to the development of production. The seasons of the two rice crops lasted all year which made it impossible to increase the number of subsidiary food crops grown per year in order to develop livestock production and, as a result, posed obstacles to the intensive cultivation of rice and the redistribution of labor within the cooperative.

Between 1961 and 1965, the cooperative, in order to resolve this contradiction, replaced its 5th month varieties of rice with new varieties transplanted during the spring-summer; although these new varieties were short term varieties, they had little resistance to insects and diseases and, as a result, produced low yields. Therefore, over a period of 5 years (1966-1970), Minh Sinh continued to experiment with 17 other varieties of rice and selected high yield varieties of rice with a short growing time which are suited to the weather conditions which exist during the spring and 10th month seasons. In 1970, the cooperative transplanted 100 percent of its land with spring rice and raised new, short term, high yield varieties of rice on all of its two crop land.

As a result of changing the allocation of rice varieties and shifting from 5th month rice to spring rice, the growing time of spring rice and 10th month rice was shortened to a total of 9 months; therefore, the land which was freed during the 3 months of the winter season was used to raise subsidiary food crops. Between 1961 and 1966, Minh Sinh looked for ways to increase the number of subsidiary food crops grown per year by means of the following rotation cultivation formulas: sweet potatoes + summer rice + 10th month rice; sweet potatoes + sweet potatoes + 10th month rice; spring rice + 10th month rice + sweet potatoes. The results achieved over many years showed that the formula spring rice + 10th month rice + sweet potatoes yields high economic returns, does not affect the land under the cultivation of two rice crops or the output of these crops, and has the effect of improving the soil through rotation cultivation. On this basis, the cooperative confirmed that it was most economical to increase the number of subsidiary food crops grown during the winter on land under the cultivation of two rice crops. However, to practice a high level of intensive cultivation on the land under the cultivation of two rice crops and, at the same time, expand the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops during the winter, it was necessary to replan fields and intensify efforts to nourish and improve the soil.

The cooperative had 125 hectares of farmland but this was divided into 2,000 large and small fields which were interspersed among the fields of many other hamlets and townships. This situation posed difficulties to the management and use of land. Therefore, between 1962 and 1967, Minh Sinh merged its three small cooperatives into one large cooperative and traded fields with neighboring cooperatives; it solved the problem of interspersed fields, leveled hillocks, filled in small ponds, zoned areas for water conservancy projects, and redistributed land to production units on the basis of the principle of interconnected fields which are convenient for production. All of Minh Sinh's land was divided into three areas: the high sandy light clay areas, the "van"-clay area, and the muddy soil area (pH 4.5); these areas were subdivided into seven field areas, each of which contains many adjacent plots with similar characteristics.

Minh Sinh also reconstructed its system of area and plot banks and irrigation and drainage ditches in accordance with a uniform plan for the cooperative. As a result of building water conservancy projects in its fields and coordinating with the headwater projects of the district, Minh Sinh virtually overcame the problems of waterlogging and drought; the majority of its land under the cultivation of rice and subsidiary food crops is efficiently irrigated and drained.

The replanning of fields and the construction of water conservancy projects are prerequisites of initiating intensive cultivation to increase the yield of rice and increase the number of subsidiary food crops grown per year. However, the majority of Minh Sinh's fields are heavy clay soil with a high degree of acidity; therefore, in conjunction with replanning its fields and building water conservancy projects, the cooperative stepped up its efforts to nourish and improve the soil. To convert heavy clay wet fields into land suitable for the cultivation of subsidiary food crops, it is necessary to convert some wet fields into dry fields after the rice crop is harvested and transform heavy clay soil into light clay soil. As a result, in addition to making increased use of lime to eliminate soil acidity, the cooperative used each source of livestock manure, green manure, and decomposed garbage as well as a large volume of pond mud which it applied to fields at a rate of nearly 100 tons per hectare. Consequently, the fertility of the soil increased, the surface of fields was elevated, and the amount of area under the cultivation of winter subsidiary food crops increased from 9 percent in 1966 to 19.6 percent in 1970. Rice yield rose from 5.2 tons per hectare in 1966 to 8.3 tons per hectare in 1970. Rice output increased from 521 tons in 1966 to 828 tons in 1970. Subsidiary food crop output in 1970 was the equivalent of 154 tons of paddy. The rapid increase in grain output created conditions for the development of hog production: the hog herd increased from 673 hogs in 1966 to 968 hogs in 1970 and annually supplied roughly 1,000 tons of manure for farming.

The development of farming and livestock production and the initial reorganization of the various trades created the conditions for a rapid increase in the income of the cooperative. Total output value in 1970 was 2.3 times higher than in 1966. Income per workday rose from 0.69 dong in 1966 to 1 dong in 1970. The cooperative's accumulation of capital fund increased 2.5 times in 1970 compared to 1966; the amount of paddy contributed to the state increased from 97 tons in 1966 to 208 tons in 1970.

The results presented above prove that Minh Sinh fully assessed its land at the very outset and implemented intensive cultivation and increased the number of crops grown per year in a manner closely linked to developing livestock production and increasing the sources of fertilizer in order to nourish and improve the soil.

Since 1971, Minh Sinh has been continuing to move forward by practicing intensive cultivation to increase rice yields, and making the winter a main season while stepping up the development of livestock production, expanding the trades, gradually changing the structure of production within the cooperative, and carrying out the redistribution of labor.

By determinedly carrying out the revolution to change the allocation of crops, Minh Sinh now has an allocation of crops for each season suited to each type of soil. On high fields and high "van giap" fields, crops are allocated under the formula Western potatoes and a catch crop of kohlrabi + spring rice + 10th month rice (with 21 hectares of high fields planted under the formula 10th month rice (glutinous) + cabbage and an overlapping catch crop of corn + two 10th month seedling crops); on lowlying, heavy clay "van giap" fields, the formula is tomatoes + spring rice + 10th month rice. On "van" fields, the formula is 10th month rice + duckweed + spring rice seedlings + spring rice. On lowlying fields, the formula is 10th month rice followed by dry-land crop + seed duckweed + spring rice. Implementing this new allocation of crops and growing three crops per year (in 1973, the amount of area under winter crops comprised 70 percent of the cooperative's farmland) was the key factor bringing about a basic change within the farming sector. On the basis of increased crop yield and output and increased labor productivity within farming, the cooperative had a large volume of feed with which to develop livestock production and shift laborers from farming to develop the other trades. As a result, the structure of the Minh Sinh Cooperative's production gradually changed. In 1970, the output value of the farming sector comprised 75 percent of total output value and the livestock production sector and the various trades comprised 11 and 12 percent respectively. In 1973, the output value of the farming sector declined to 62 percent, the output value of the livestock production sector increased to 24 percent, and the output value of the subsidiary trades comprised 13.5 percent of total output value. On the basis of increased agricultural labor productivity, Minh Sinh has transferred 120 young, healthy laborers from farming to other economic sectors since 1970.

Implementing the new structure of production and producing three crops per year requires the efficient organization and utilization of labor. The cooperative



organized five farming production units, one livestock production unit, one trade unit, and various farmland water conservancy and specialized seed teams, it established quotas, work grades, and workpoint standards, and it implemented a system of contracts with appended bonuses and penalties. To insure smooth coordination among the various farming units, specialized units, and specialized teams, the cooperative established a number of technical rules and regulations, a farming schedule, and it established a number of regulations which tie sectors, production units and teams, and laborers together. For example, a person who raises a water buffalo must insure that that buffalo works 210 days per year; for every day during the plowing and harrowing season a buffalo is allowed to rest without a legitimate reason, the person who raises the buffalo is penalized 3 workpoints and the plowman who lets the buffalo rest is penalized 2 workpoints; unless it specifically states that a buffalo can be rested during the plowing and harrowing season, the unit command is also penalized an equivalent number of workpoints. The supervision of the implementation of the farming schedule and the technical regulations for each field, each plot, and each crop variety are considered production orders.

In conjunction with specializing labor, the increased improvement of tools and techniques has had the effect of raising labor productivity and maintaining the farming schedule. As a result of raising three crops per year, work is very hectic and the amount of time available for preparing the ground and planting winter crops is only 10 to 15 days, consequently, the use of tractors (the Cong Nong 7) to prepare the ground is of decisive importance. Through reality, Minh Sinh has confirmed that without tractors to plow and harrow the ground during the winter it could not grow winter crops. The cooperative purchased six Cong Nong 7 tractors which it uses to plow and harrow fields during the winter; it has also purchased more and made good use of various machines and improved tools, such as water pumps, rice threshing machines, rice milling machines, insecticide spray pumps, improved vehicles, and so forth as a result of which it raised labor productivity and meets its farming schedule.

The improvement of tools and the equipping with new technical equipment have been closely linked to the improvement of farming techniques. Since 1971, the Minh Sinh Cooperative has continued to improve its water conservancy system and increase the use of fertilizer in order to nourish and improve the soil while actively implementing the techniques of intensive cultivation. The cooperative has introduced various new varieties of rice, such as Nong Nghiep 5, Nong Nghiep 22, Nong Nghiep 23, and so forth which bear high yields and have short growing periods to replace its low yield varieties. As a result of implementing various technical measures in conjunction with improving tools and redistributing its labor, the rice and subsidiary food crop yields and outputs of the cooperative have increased each year. During the 3 years 1971, 1972, and 1973, rice yields average 8-9 tons of paddy per hectare for two rice crops per year. Paddy output increased from 729 tons in 1971 to 736 tons in 1972 and 937 tons in 1973. The cooperative's hog herd increased from 1,076 hogs in 1971 to 1,111 in 1972 and 1,350 in 1973. The average number of hogs per hectare cultivated was 4.69 in 1971, 3.36 in 1972, and 4.71 in 1973. The cooperative's trades also developed during these several years and produced roughly 100,000 dong in income each year.

The combined results of the more than 10 years of struggle (from 1961 to 1973) by the Minh Sinh Cooperative are reflected in the following specific figures:

	1961	1966	1970	1973
Total Output Value (dong)	156,500	236,345	430,978	690,884
Total Paddy Output (tons)	246	521	828	887.9
Paddy Equivalent of Subsidiary Food Crop Output (tons)		83	154	187
Output of Trade Goods				
Paddy (tons)	54	97	208	260
Hogs (tons)		10.3	20	34.1
Duck Eggs			22,000	82,000
Average Total Output Value Per Hectare of Farmland (dong)	1,252	1,890	3,448	5,527
Real Income of One Laborer Per Month (dong)		26	37	57
Average Amount of Paddy Sold the State Per Hectare of Farmland (tons)	0.44	0.77	1.11	2
The Average Amount of Pork Sold the State Per Hectare of Farmland (kilograms)			33	192



Compared to 1961, 1966, and 1970, total output value in 1973 increased 4.42 times, 2.9 times, and 1.6 times respectively. Total paddy output and the paddy equivalent of subsidiary food crops have increased rapidly, as a result of which the production of trade goods (rice and pork) for sale to the state has constantly increased. The cooperative's accumulation fund increased from 12,000 dong in 1966 to 33,000 dong in 1970, and 32,000 dong in 1973. The average amount of paddy consumed per capita rose from 14 kilograms in 1961 to 23,46 kilograms in 1973.

Although it only has 2 sao of wet rice fields per capita, Minh Sinh has, by improving the structure of production and redistributing labor within the cooperative in a manner closely linked to the improvement of tools and techniques, began to free itself from the monoculture of rice and has formed a new structure of production which is comprised of a farming sector engaged in the intensive cultivation of three crops per year, a livestock production sector which has begun to develop, and trades which have been expanded and reorganized; the yields of farming and livestock production and labor productivity have constantly risen and the volume of products, in general, and the production of trade goods have constantly increased.

The realities of the Minh Sinh Cooperative's production over the past several years prove that our system of collectivized agriculture can, with primarily manual labor, some help from industry, correct guidelines and stages of development, and good organization and management, move forward to lay the foundation for the development of industry.

#### The Struggle Between the Two Ways of Life and the Leadership of the Party Chapter

The process of upgrading the Minh Sinh Cooperative has also been the process of carrying out the decisive struggle between the collective and private ways of life, between the disorganized, decentralized mode of operation of small-scale production and the centralized, larger scale mode of operation.

The replanning of fields, the construction of water conservancy projects, the destruction of certain banks, and the leveling of hillocks abolished the marks left in fields by forefathers; as a result, a number of cooperative members encouraged the present day members of these families to not build water conservancy projects, demand that the banks around the plots of their forefathers be retained, and ask to leave the cooperative. The expansion of the amount of land under the cultivation of spring rice and winter subsidiary food crops and vegetables at Minh Sinh also involved a sharp struggle between the old and the new, a struggle which even took place within the party chapter. In addition, there were also a number of cooperative members who rented land for private vegetable production and were afraid that the cooperative's expansion of the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops would cause them to lose a source of income and a market for their products; consequently, they induced and encouraged other cooperative members to side with them, persuaded and bribed cadres, resisted the resolution of the party chapter, and asked to leave the cooperative.

In the face of this difficult and complex situation, the Minh Sinh Party Chapter determinedly educated and persuaded the masses and mobilized the masses to struggle to differentiate between right and wrong; on the other hand, it persuaded the masses by means of the actual results of the shift from 5th month rice to spring rice, the shift from two rice crops to two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop, and the shift from sweet potatoes to Western potatoes and the cultivation of additional vegetables and beans. In this struggle, the Minh Sinh Party Chapter, which symbolized the new method of operation, defeated the spontaneity of small-scale production through socialist thinking, higher labor productivity, increased incomes for cooperative members, increased accumulation for the cooperative, and meeting and surpassing the obligation to the state.

The Minh Sinh Party Chapter has guided its leadership of agriculture in keeping with the line of the party, made every effort to find and apply the new, brought about a revolutionary change in the allocation of crops, changed the allocation of varieties, made the winter season a main production season, and so forth. Through correct guidelines and stages of development and positive measures, the party chapter has led the cooperative to important victories.

The results which the Minh Sinh Cooperative has achieved are the results of correctly applying the resolutions of the Party Central Committee to the specific circumstances of the locality and positive assistance from the state. At present, the Minh Sinh Cooperative has a number of shortcomings and weaknesses which must

corrected: in 1970, Minh Sinh implemented the system of "the three contracts for families" raising subsidiary food crops and, since 1971, the cooperative has been struggling to overcome this negative phenomenon. However, the management and use of the cooperative's subsidiary food crop land are also inefficient in the areas of harvesting and the distribution of products. As regards kohlrabi, cabbage, beans, and so forth, the cooperative, on the basis of statistical outputs (derived from tests), gives cooperative members a certain amount of land to harvest themselves. This form of distribution has the drawback of preventing the cooperative from managing the entire product; to sell their products, cooperative members have to spend much time traveling, people who are skillful traders earn high profits, and those who do not know how to trade or cannot travel long distances earn few profits or sometimes suffer a loss. The cooperative must vigorously struggle against the mistaken thinking of a number of cadres who are complacent, satisfied with the results which have been achieved, become arrogant, and so forth. Because, this thinking is detrimental to the development of production and harmful to efforts to establish the correct relationship between the upper and lower echelons and among cadres, party members, and the mass of cooperative members. In the process of leading production, the cooperative has failed to adopt measures for shifting laborers to other jobs in order to help expand the division of social labor and has not given attention to training middle level management and technical cadres; the leadership ability of a number of cadres on the management committee is poor; the management apparatus is large.

These shortcomings and weaknesses are, on the one hand, the result of the cooperative's limited organizational and managerial ability; on the other hand, they are the result of the failure to improve the management and assistance of upper level agencies and even the result of these agencies creating difficulties for the cooperative. The economic construction and development task of the Minh Sinh Cooperative in the coming period is a very large one and, in addition to making a greater effort by itself, the cooperative requires very much positive assistance in many areas from concerned agencies, such as building the headwater waterlogging control projects of the district in order to insure stable 10th month rice yields, building small machine repair centers, and providing a full and timely supply of spare parts, diesel fuel, lubricating oil, and so forth. The signing of reciprocal contracts between the cooperative and state agencies must be carried out on the basis of equality and the cooperative must not be pressured to pay in advance without knowing which products it will receive or be made to accept poor quality products. As regards the price policy, there are certain inequities which must be researched and appropriately revised. At the same time, steps must be taken to solve the problem of machinery and tools sold to the cooperative which it cannot use. In addition, it is necessary to conduct research in order to adopt a policy concerning cooperative cadres, etc.

These are the immediate problems which must be resolved in order to create the conditions for the cooperative to continuously advance toward large-scale socialist production.

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RESEARCH: ASSESSING THE BASIC NATURAL FACTORS WHICH FORM THE FOUNDATION FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 75 pp 60-68

[Article by Duong Hong Dat]

[Text] We now have a number of projects conducting basic investigations of land, climate, weather, insects, and so forth in a number of localities as they relate to certain crops and species of livestock. These have provided valuable information which has helped us begin to gain a clearer understanding of our natural conditions and resources. However, the campaign to reorganize agricultural production on the basic level is facing us with new requirements as regards assessing the basic situation.

Fully assessing the basic situation is an indispensable foundation in establishing the production guidelines of an area. Plan management and production management can only be established and carried out well when the basic situation has been assessed well. The organization of production, the establishment of specific measures, the construction of the material and technical base, and other production activities can only yield high economic returns and have the full effect they are supposed to have if they are based on a deep analysis of the natural and economic laws of each area.

In our attempt to gain an understanding of natural factors (climate, land, etc.) as well as socio-economic factors (labor, the material and technical base, etc.), averages help us evaluate the situation in a general manner; on this basis, we can establish research guidelines and delve deeply into necessary areas. However, because survey information is generally only collected at a few sites over a few specific periods of time, this information is only valid in a number of cases and within certain degrees of probability. We cannot be satisfied with assessing the basic situation in a general manner by means of averages, rather, we must give our attention to the specific changes which natural factors undergo in each specific case.

The changes which occur in natural factors generally cover a rather wide scope and form many "areas" which influence each type of living thing; there are areas which are suitable and unsuitable to living things and there are areas in which living things develop constantly as well as areas in which they die. Therefore, the limits of the selection of crops and livestock in the production guidelines of an area cannot be found in averages or in "areas" suited to these living things, rather, they are found in specific data and circumstances which are unfavorable to or cause the death of these living things.

Natural factors not only affect living things in a quantitative manner, but in a qualitative manner as well. The composition of sunlight, rainwater, the minerals in the soil, and so forth frequently determine the yields of a number of crops. Rapid changes in natural factors over a short period of time also have a marked effect upon living things. Sudden changes in temperature, humidity, and so forth generally cause profound changes in the life processes of plants. In many cases, plants cannot acclimate themselves in time to these sudden changes of the environment; this, in turn, disrupts the physiology of life functions of the plants. If prolonged

or repeated many times, these disruptions can lead to pathological states which weaken and sometimes kill the plant. In such cases, the data compiled on natural factors frequently fail to go beyond the limits of endurance of living things but only reflect the sudden changes (in temperature, humidity, and so forth) which damaged them. The distance between the highest and lowest values of the data on natural factors over the space of one change and the frequency at which data outside the scope of suitability of living things appear are also of great significance. The facts mentioned above show: it is necessary to assess and understand natural factors in their multifaceted impact upon living things in order to be able to adopt correct guidelines for the development of crop or livestock production for a given area.

Natural factors constantly change and develop in accordance with given laws. The state of "balance" of natural factors is the natural result of many relationships acting upon one another. By assessing the nature of the relationships and forces which affect one another and the trends of the conversion of energy by means of the specific manifestations of natural forces, we can discern the state of socio-economic factors and forecast the future trends of these factors. The various natural factors affect living things in different ways (favorably, unfavorably, in ways that cannot be calculated, etc.) depending upon the quantity and quality of these factors, their specific ecological relationship, and the nature of the living thing being affected. Natural factors usually affect a living thing as a system of factors and these factors supplement and reinforce one another (one factor helps another multiply its effect many times) or combat one another (by limiting or negating one another's effect). What must be given attention is the fact that man can, in his production and life and by gaining an increasingly deep understanding of the laws of development of nature, change natural factors to benefit himself and make increasingly efficient and effective use of these factors.

Therefore, the reorganization of agricultural production along the lines of large-scale socialist production, beginning with the zoning of areas, planning, and the establishment of production guidelines for each locality, absolutely must be based on a thorough understanding of the natural and social factors of the locality in their complex relationship and the process of their dialectical development; on this basis, it is necessary to determine and gain an understanding of the nature and the laws governing the effects of these factors. Only by assessing the basic situation of a locality in such a correct, sound, and full manner can we predict and efficiently organize each activity and avoid subjective, convenient methods of thinking and resolving problems and their regrettable consequences as well as avoid a superficial attitude in the exploitation of natural resources and natural conditions which would lead us to only pursue immediate interests without giving any thought to the serious long range consequences of our actions.

Of the very large number of basic natural factors which must be understood, we will only discuss a number of primary factors here, such as the climate and weather; the development of farming and livestock production; land and the use of land; terrain and water conservancy.

1. Assessing the factors of climate and weather: no production sector is as closely related to climatic and weather conditions as agricultural production is. Only by taking into consideration the special climatic characteristics of each area and each specific installation is it possible for each agricultural production activity at these places to achieve the highest possible economic returns. Conversely, the climate in the area in which crops and livestock are growing is greatly influenced by production activities from the farming and livestock production schedule and soil preparation and cultivation measures to such water conservancy measures as irrigation, drainage, the removal of soil salinity or acidity, etc.

The climate is the combination of such factors as sunlight, temperature, rainfall, humidity, wind and clouds, dew, and so forth which are closely interrelated in accordance with specific laws and which affect one another and influence other factors, such as the geography and soil. Sunlight, temperature, and moisture are considered the three basic climatic factors because they have a major influence upon the life and yield of crops as well as every other species of vegetation.

Sunlight is the source of energy for the photosynthesis of plants which creates organic matter, therefore, it is the source of everything born by crops. Because our country has abundant sunlight for the life process of crops, a number of people think that we need not take this sector into consideration. In fact, the effect of sunlight upon crops is not only limited to the total amount of sunlight, but also

encompasses the number of hours of sunlight and the intensity of sunlight during the day. And, to make full use of the abundant sunlight in our country, we absolutely must take all three of these factors into consideration in the allocation of crops and the scheduling of seasons.

In agricultural production, we do not take into consideration the quantity and intensity of solar radiation, but the temperature of the air and ground because it is not the amount of solar radiation consumed which is of decisive importance in the propagation, chemical, and physical processes of plants but the specific temperature during these processes. In addition, it must be realized that the intensity of assimilation and the growth of crops under the conditions of full sunlight is proportional to the temperature within certain ranges. In order to be able to make full use of temperature conditions to support the organization of production well, it is not only necessary to know the total amount of solar energy each year and during each period of time, but also necessary to know the average, maximum, and minimum values, the changes which occur during the day and night, and the frequency of the appearance of solar energy values which lie outside the scope of suitability.

However, sunlight and temperature can only have an effect when there is an ample amount of moisture during the growing period of plants. Without humidity, no physiological and biological process can be carried out. It is impossible to evaluate how much rainfall is needed each year for crops. The effectiveness of water is highly dependent upon the processes of evaporation and runoff. Therefore, to calculate the degree of moisture required, it is necessary to know three things: the annual amount of rainfall, the distribution of rain during each period of time, and the amount of water evaporated.

It must also be said that establishing the allocation of crops and the other technical factors of farming, such as the planting season, the quantity of seeds required, the procedures used to prepare the ground, fertilizer, and so forth also require that appropriate attention be given to the changes in climatic factors.

The climatic factors outside the primary ones mentioned above only play a secondary role because their effect is generally limited to small areas, a number of types of crops, or a number of stages of plant development. These factors usually only serve to increase or lessen the effect of the primary climatic factors. For example, fog reduces the effect of sunlight, frost increases the effect of low temperatures, etc.

Making the fullest possible use of the climatic resources in each locality is very important to agricultural production. Skillful calculations and organization are needed to make the most efficient and effective use possible of each small source of sunlight, each temperature, and each millimeter of rainfall. It would be a great waste if we only met the requirements of main crops and main species of livestock but did not consider making use of the remaining potential of the various climatic factors. Values which are unsuited to the main crops and species of livestock (for example, relatively low temperatures for crops which require high temperatures) might be very well suited to other crops and species of livestock (for example, ones which can withstand the cold). This is a primary basis for establishing systems of rotation cultivation and companion cropping in the reallocation of crops. The winter production season was established in addition to other reasons to make better use of our climatic resources. The Minh Sinh Agricultural Cooperative in Ha Tay Province is one of the places which has made good use of the various climatic and weather factors to allocate its crops and make full use of the potential of its land.

In addition, attention must be given to keeping records and carefully analyzing the influence of climatic and weather factors under abnormal conditions, such as typhoons, floods, drought, frost, and so forth, in each area over many years in order to be able to adopt measures for controlling these phenomena and overcoming their aftereffects as early as when production plans are being established.

2. Assessing the stages of development of farming and livestock production: the stages of development of the farming and livestock production of an area are the specific results of the relationship between man and nature within the area, they are living lessons in the processes of man's acclimation to and use and improvement of the natural conditions in this area. The stages of development of the farming and livestock production of each area must be examined in both their social and natural aspects.



Socially, our private, decentralized, subsistence system of agriculture of past years, which was long the foundation of the feudal production relations and political system, was of a colonial and semi-feudal nature during the period of French domination and experienced many wars. To gain an understanding of the development of farming and livestock production during these stages, we must fully see the negative factors which existed and their prolonged consequences in order to learn lessons necessary for the establishment of the new system of production. On the other hand, we must also be fully aware of the positive things expressed by our farmers in the difficult struggle to maintain and develop production.

As regards nature, the stages of development of agricultural production in each area can provide us with many valuable lessons. To begin with, each crop within an area is the result of the specific effect of the natural conditions of the area (primarily climatic and land conditions), particularly when agricultural production has not developed and industry is not having much of an impact upon agriculture. Through the crops and livestock of an area and the situation surrounding their growth and development we can determine the special characteristics of the area's climate and weather. The majority of local crops and species of livestock have a higher resistance to insects and diseases than do new crops or breeds of livestock which have been hybridized or crossbred for high yields. The genes which transmit resistance against insects and diseases, which are accumulated over many generations, are valuable assets which must be maintained and developed in the process of reorganizing agricultural production. By carefully analyzing the process of the formation of the allocation of crops in a locality we can learn many useful lessons. Through their long experience in the struggle against nature in our country and the regular changes of climate and weather, our farmers have established for themselves an allocation of crops and crop varieties suited to the land and climatic conditions within each area and to the level of farming and organization of labor as well as the tools and technical materials used during each stage. The allocation of crops and crop varieties is designed to insure a given level of stability in production and prevent total crop failures even in years of harsh weather and severe natural disasters. This allocation of crops is also designed to prevent the widespread development of insects and diseases. Through the experience gained in production over many years, the requirements mentioned above have gradually been met by selecting crops with different environmental needs and display different characteristics and reactions to the effects of nature. Although the allocation of crops is passive in nature and cannot prevent crop losses and food shortages from occurring during years in which there is significant variation among natural factors and although it is not the way to make the most efficient and fullest use of land and natural and climatic resources, it is a form of insurance considering the fact that science and technology have not developed.

On the other hand, when introducing new techniques, new crops, and new crop varieties into production in order to enrich local natural resources, it is necessary to provide the conditions needed to create a new balance in the eco-system and necessary to have insurance factors designed to avoid a situation in which many disruptions lead to unstable production. To implement the production guidelines and the primary economic norms of an agricultural production area, it is necessary to establish an efficient allocation of crops comprised of crops which have been selected and which allocates a certain percentage of land for each crop and distributes these crops over land (space) and time (rotation cultivation). For an efficient allocation of crops, it is necessary to select main crops which bear high, stable yields and secondary crops which insure the continuous nourishment and improvement of farmland, make it possible to overcome the imbalances (in the nutrients within the soil, labor, water, and so forth) resulting from each crop selected, and insure the efficient use of each local capability and condition in order to harvest the highest amount of products per unit of area with the lowest possible investment of capital and consumption of labor.

### 3. Land and the use of land.

Many scientists have reached the conclusion that land is a living body. Possessed not only of a history of formation and change over time, land also has a dynamic life of its own at each place and time. When we talk about soil quality, we are talking about its fertility. We distinguish between two types of fertility: natural fertility (which is formed as a result of the effects of climatic factors, the activity of microorganisms, etc.) and effective fertility (which results from the development and improvement of farming techniques). The fertility of the soil is dependent upon the composition of the nutrients in the soil, the humus content which controls the special physical characteristics of the soil, the intensity and nature

of the activity of life of soil microorganisms, the alkalinity of the soil solution, and so forth of which we must have a full knowledge.

Making correct use of our limited land is a pressing problem in the process of reorganizing production. Are preparing the ground thoroughly and applying farming techniques designed to increase crop yield the only things involved in making correct use of land? Does each increase in crop yield mean that land is being utilized better? Facts show that such is not the case.

The correct use of land primarily involves the application of a farming system which causes the effective fertility of the soil to constantly increase by means of simultaneously improving all of the primary conditions of fertility. This farming system must protect the soil against erosion and stop the processes of the development of salinity, alkalinity, and the other harmful consequences of man's production. To make correct use of land, it is necessary to simultaneously perform two tasks well: endeavoring to constantly raise the yield of each type crop, expand the amount of area under the cultivation of high yield crops, and increase the coefficient of land use; endeavor to constantly increase the fertility of the soil and protect the soil. In the process of using land, constant attention must be given to the requirement of maintaining and improving the soil. On the other hand, the soil must be improved to constantly improve the system of farming, introduce new techniques in production, and ultimately advance the entire system of agricultural production to new stages of development based on new foundations. To do this, it is necessary to have a correct and full understanding of land. On the basis of gaining a full understanding of the characteristics of land, the Quang Nap Agricultural Cooperative in Thai Binh Province actively improved its saline soil and, at the same time, introduced new varieties and advanced techniques to production; as a result of which, it has achieved high rice yields and constantly increased the fertility of its soil.

The initial data compiled from investigations and analysis of the soil which have been and are being carried out in the various localities help us gain a general understanding of the land situation and characteristics of each area; we must utilize this information correctly and well. However, in order to be able to make a full and accurate assessment of the characteristics and trend of development of land, we must continue to conduct investigations and surveys and coordinate the data provided by the investigation and survey of land with climatic, meteorological, and crop data in order to reach sound conclusions.

4. The terrain and water conservancy. The reorganization of production and the planning of production within an area must meet certain requirements regarding the construction of fields and water conservancy. While meeting the water requirements of a system of rotation cultivation, attention must be given to the different requirements of each crop (crops which prefer dry, well drained ground, crops which prefer flooded fields, etc.). On the other hand, attention must also be given to the effect water has in changing the physical and chemical features of the soil and the different influences it has, as a result, on each type crop. The problem faced is not only that of providing the total amount of water needed by each type crop, but also that of planning the entire water supply system for crops in keeping with the requirements of intensive cultivation during each stage of development of plants. It is also necessary to provide methods of irrigating each type crop. Until now, our system of irrigation has primarily been designed to meet the water requirements of rice and its main task has been to maintain a layer of water in fields primarily by flooding them. It will clearly be difficult for a farmland water conservancy system like the old one to meet the new requirements which will arise when new production seasons are established, when dry crops are introduced into the allocation of crops, or when a new system of rotation cultivation involving both wet rice and dry crops is applied to the same field.

Field construction, in addition to the requirement of being coordinated with the construction of communication and water conservancy projects, must meet the requirements of the various crops in the system of rotation cultivation. It is necessary to plan and distribute crops in the most efficient manner possible and necessary to plan the system of rotation cultivation of crops on given fields so that it forms a complete cycle of rotation cultivation. Only by constructing fields on this basis is it possible to create suitable conditions for the growth and development of crops. Fields must be distributed and constructed in such a way as to make the fullest possible use of water conservancy systems, increase the economic returns from each cubic meter of irrigation water, and, at the same time, stop the practice of flooding fields which causes the soil to become tightly packed, turn into mud,

salty or sour, and so forth. It is necessary to assess water sources and the terrain and evaluate the farmland water conservancy system of each area on the basis of the above mentioned requirements. In addition, it is also necessary to assess related factors in order to create the conditions for applying each measure needed to establish a balance between the water requirements of the various types of crops and the water sources within the area or, it is necessary to establish the most efficient allocation of crops possible in order to make the fullest possible use of the area's water sources and terrain. The deployment of the irrigation and drainage system and the irrigation methods used for each type crop must be based on providing a full supply of water to meet the requirements of the intensive cultivation of crops in an efficient and economical manner.

In the process of reorganizing production within localities, it is necessary to give full attention to and successfully meet the requirement of assessing and making good use of the basic situation.

1. How can basic factors be assessed at a production installation? To begin with, it must be clearly realized that this is an indispensable requirement in the process of reorganizing production. Only by assessing basic factors is it possible to understand and analyze past processes of production, establish correct guidelines for production in the future, and select suitable measures for implementing these new production guidelines. Here, it is necessary to avoid and overcome each tendency to give this matter light attention, each fear of difficulty and hardships, and each convenient or mechanical method of thinking and feeling. As regards each basic factor, it is necessary to clearly define the requirements which must be met as well as the norms which must be compiled and analyzed.

Naturally, it is necessary to organize the collection, selection, accumulation, and analysis of data well. Knowing how to collect data means selecting data on the basis of the requirement of assessing the situation. It is very important to correctly select data but it is of no less importance to know how to reject inferior data. Because it is impossible to collect all data and assess all basic factors at one time, it is necessary to know how to organize and accumulate data. It is also necessary to know how to make use of the data which has been collected and accumulated in the process of production, necessary to organize investigations and surveys to collect data during the present stage, necessary to coordinate tests of the initial observations and conclusions reached in the immediate process of production, and, at the same time, necessary to know how to systematize and collect additional data to support the requirements of analysis and synthesis.

To meet the primary requirements of assessing the basic situation over a short period of time, it is necessary to mobilize a corps of technical and economic cadres within the locality to perform these jobs. This force must be reorganized, assigned specific jobs, and delve into different fields of activity in accordance with an overall plan, by means of a uniform method, and under centralized supervision.

2. How should basic factors be applied to the establishment of production plans?

The production planning of an area is comprised of various stages: the establishment of general guidelines for development and the establishment of the primary targets which must be met during each stage; the establishment of the specific stages of development which will be followed during each period of time to achieve these targets; the establishment of the production plan for each stage of development and the specific measures needed to implement these plans. In each stage of production planning, the basic factors are applied in different degrees, in different directions, and in given relationships with the other factors. However, every stage requires basic data on the area.

The problem faced is that of developing the most efficient and suitable plan for each specific case. This plan must reflect the requirements of the socialist economy as fully as possible, namely, continuously developing production and improving the people's standard of living; developing the locality's natural resources as highly as possible, being consistent with the level of production, labor, and the material and technical base of the area. In the establishment of plans, natural factors cannot be made to conform to the subjective desires of man nor is it possible to disregard the laws of nature which have a constant objective effect. However, at the same time, light attention should not be given to the positive role played by man in production activities and the impact of science and technology as well as industry upon agricultural production. The foundation of each development

and improvement in agriculture is technical advances in production. The various natural factors are assessed in order to learn the laws governing their change and development and create the balance needed for technical advances to have their effect. The laws of nature cannot be changed but we cannot allow shortcomings in our knowledge of nature to limit the development of production. We cannot allow the present state of natural factors (they have not been improved and technical advances have not been used to affect them) to limit production plans and activities to a low level compared to the potential for development under actual conditions.

3. The basic situation in the locality and the model of large-scale socialist production. When we talk about large-scale socialist production we are talking about an advanced system of production which utilizes more and more of the achievements of science and technology in production on the basis of the new socialist production relations. The model of large-scale socialist production in agriculture can only be established on the basis of the basic factors and specific conditions of a locality. Of the many problems which must be resolved, it is first of all necessary to determine the ways by which we can have an effect upon nature. There are many ways this can be done: reforming certain elements of the masses in order to establish new relationships; improving upon the external environment; making large investments in the material and technical base, etc. Depending upon the specific case, one way might be much more profitable than another. The selection of the optimum method must be based on a deep analysis of the situation and specific conditions of the locality.

It is also necessary to take into consideration the intensity and rate of the effect because nature is a complete system and we cannot affect it in a crude manner which shows disregard for the laws and reactions of nature. Land and plant and animal life react in a strong and sensitive manner to each and every activity of man which breaks the laws of the balance and harmony of nature.

Thus, the model of large-scale socialist production, although it is a product of our production activities, must be established on the basis of the knowledge and achievements of science and the experience in production which have been accumulated. It cannot go beyond the natural framework of the locality and, moreover, it is a part of nature. Therefore, it can only exist in a state of balance and harmony with the various natural factors of the locality in the course of their continual improvement.

4. The basic natural factors and the requirement of building the material and technical base: the reorganization of production is designed to develop the existing conditions of localities and create new strengths and potentials for raising labor productivity in agriculture and producing many agricultural products. However, to advance production to higher stages of development, it is necessary to gradually build the material and technical base. This problem is faced in the process of reorganizing production and even when agricultural production becomes a system of large-scale socialist production. In this process, the construction of the material and technical base has four primary objectives: creating the conditions for introducing scientific achievements and technical advances in production; developing the natural resources and natural conditions of the locality as highly as possible and, at the same time, overcoming the difficulties and limitations faced in production as a result of unfavorable factors; constantly raising labor productivity and eliminating some of the very strenuous jobs which farmers must perform; preparing the conditions for constantly upgrading agricultural production and constantly improving nature in order to establish new conditions and potentials. Obviously, capital investments and the construction of the material and technical base in the process of reorganizing production must be based on a deep analysis of the locality's basic factors and the production model established for the locality. As with every other job in a planned economy, the construction of the material and technical base cannot be carried out in a convenient, patchwork manner based on subjective desires but must be carefully considered and planned in order to avoid waste and other regrettable consequences.

Although we have been slow to assess the various basic natural factors and although our efforts have not met the requirements of improving agriculture in keeping with the guidelines of large-scale socialist production, it must be confirmed that we do have the conditions and capabilities needed to perform this job well. The important things are that we have correct understanding, a high level of determination, and good organization. Assessing the basic factors is a detailed job which requires much time, effort, and knowledge. However, we cannot be perfectionists and wait until

every problem is fully and completely resolved in order to begin this work. In the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production, we can assess the basic situation while beginning certain jobs on the basis of the data which has already been accumulated and acquire additional basic data in the process of carrying out these jobs.

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## THE NEW SITUATION ON THE CENTRAL TRUNG BO BATTLEFIELD

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[Article by Tran Minh]

[Text] Continuing to implement the "Nixon Doctrine" and the plot to "Vietnamize the war," immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement the American imperialists and their lackeys endeavored to accelerate the war and committed extremely cruel crimes in the South of our country. Central Trung Bo is one of their key "pacification" and encroachment areas, and is an area where the war was waged fiercely throughout 1973 and 1974. But with resolute revolutionary traditions and a strong spirit of determination to fight and win, the people of Central Trung Bo retaliated for all cruel acts of war of America and its puppets, took an important step toward defeating their "pacification" and encroachment strategy, and created a new situation that is advantageous for us and disadvantageous for the enemy.

### The Plots and Acts to Continue the War of America and Its Puppets After the Signing of the Paris Agreement

Heavily defeated in its war of aggression in Vietnam, the American imperialists were forced to sign the Paris Agreement, but they were still not willing to abandon their colonial aspirations, still sought all ways to continue to implement the "Nixon Doctrine," and endeavored to accelerate their war of aggression by means of the puppet army, with American military and economic aid and with command by tens of thousands of American military advisers and technicians.

As was true all over the South, in Central Trung Bo America's foremost goal was to urgently develop the puppet army into a large army with powerful equipment in order to replace the American and vassal troops who were forced to withdraw. In addition to feverishly sending a flood of weapons into the South just before the signing of the Paris Agreement the American imperialists

left behind all of their weapons and ammunition, endeavored to accelerate troop conscription, and organized the puppet troops in each tactical zone (military zone) into two strategic forces:

Local troops (security troops, popular self-defense troops) and auxiliary troops (civil guards, "newly armed" youths, spies), with the mission of "pacifying" and controlling the local people and coping with our local troops and militia guerrillas.

Regular troops (the Republican Army, the Rangers, etc.), who move about within the scope of the tactical zone (military region), with the mission of carrying out the "pacification" and encroachment operations on a large scale, assisting the local troops, and coping with the main-force troops of the Liberation Army.

Until the end of the first quarter of 1974 the enemy was able to take an important step toward restoring the troop strength of the puppet troops who were annihilated and routed during 1972. On the Central Trung Bo battlefield the number of puppet troops increased to 217,000, with 525 artillery pieces, 525 armored vehicles, and 510 airplanes. Therefore, in comparison to the total number of American, puppet, and vassal troops at the beginning of 1973, in 1974 the number of enemy troops was 24 percent smaller, the number of armored vehicles was 13 percent smaller, and the number of airplanes was 23 percent smaller. But calculating only the puppet troops, in comparison to the beginning of 1973 the number of troops increased seven percent, the number of tanks increased 30 percent, the number of airplanes increased 200 percent, and the number of artillery pieces increased 200 percent.

In addition to strengthening the military forces the enemy also endeavored to militarize the administrative apparatus at the various levels, brought in officers to unify the command of all control forces in the rural areas, armed their reactionary political organizations, and organized an extensive secret intelligence and espionage network in order to destroy the revolutionary movement at the base level.

With the restoration of the reactionary military and political forces, America and its puppets endeavored to strengthen their defense system and control network in order to keep control of the land, win control of the people, oppose the people's revolutionary movement, and create a staging base for their "pacification" and encroachment operations. The enemy endeavored to strengthen its fortifications and strengthen the occupation forces at 154 strongpoints of the regular and security forces. Those strongpoints usually had from one to two companies to one or two battalions of regular, security, or Ranger forces, and from two to three to ten to twelve armed popular self-defense and civil guard platoons. They also established an additional 471 population control points, usually occupied by one or two popular self-defense platoons, bringing the total number of their key points on that battlefield to 1,807.

Brazenly violating the Paris Agreement, the American imperialists and their lackeys launched their "pacification" and encroachment troops, beginning on

28 January 1973, on "territorial inundation" campaigns. In all delta areas of Central Trung Bo, from Quang-Da and Quang Nam to Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, and Khanh Hoa, the puppet troops organized thousands of large and small "pacification" operations. In the contested areas they killed wantonly; plowed up whole areas; moved the people to places near the district capitals, the sub-sectors, and the transportation arteries; carried out the plot of encroaching on land and gaining control of the population; erased the "leopard skin" situation; carried out the sub-dividing of areas and the redrawing of borders; and impeded the travel and livelihood of our people. Deep within the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, in its police operations the enemy endeavored to increase their terror activities, in combination with the insidious psychological warfare trick of pretending to favor concord, bribing with material goods, arresting and killing to "set examples" in order to intimidate the masses, and forcing everyone to enter reactionary political organizations in order to achieve the "neutralization" of the revolutionary bases and the "militarization" of the people. From bases planted deeply in the liberated areas, such as Thuong Duc, Minh Long, Chu Nghe, etc., the enemy launched operations to encroach upon the liberated area, or sent in commandos, or made attacks by airplanes which caused much personal and property damage to our people.

With the temporary results they had obtained in troop conscription and "pacification" and encroachment, the gang heading the White House and the Pentagon were hastily joyful over the "accomplishments" of the puppet army, and spoke out in praise of that mercenary lackey army for having "stood firm" and "fulfilled its mission," especially on the Central Trung Bo battlefield, where they thought their "pacification" and encroachment program had attained the best results. In the joint communique of Nixon and Thieu of April 1973 the ringleader of the White House expressed his "pleasure over the increasingly higher combat capability of the armed forces of South Vietnam, and pleasure over their effective accomplishments and bravery on the battlefield."

But the happiness of America and its puppets was short-lived. In mid-1974 from Washington and Saigon there came panicky cries about the rapidly deteriorating situation of the puppet troops. The White House implored the U.S. Congress to aid the mercenary army, which was weakening before the new developmental step of the revolution in the South.

#### From Preventive Acts to the Strong Retaliatory Blows of the Armed Liberation Forces

The Central Committee of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam often clearly expressed their good will and serious attitude toward implementing the Paris Agreement, and their desire for peace, conciliation, and national concord. For that reason, in the face of the encroachment and "pacification" activities of the puppet army, at the beginning of 1973 the liberation armed forces continually restrained themselves. They did not want to cause a major clash, but restricted themselves to self-defense activities in a number of localities, while also warning America and its puppets about their agreement violations.

But the war-loving gang not only failed to stay their criminal hands, but also took advantage of floods during the rainy season of 1973 in Central Trung Bo to encroach and "pacify" even more insanely.

In October 1973 the Command of the liberation armed forces issued a proclamation condemning the activities of America and its puppets in continuing the war and seriously and brazenly violating the Paris Agreement, and ordered the liberation armed forces to resolutely punish all their "pacification" and encroachment activities, defend the liberated area, defend the property and lives of the people, and defend the Paris Agreement. Carrying out those orders of the Command of the liberation armed forces, the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo resolutely retaliated for the enemy's acts of war, not only in the places in which they carried out "pacification" and encroachment operations, but also in the bases from which they originated. Beginning with the battle to annihilate the Chu Nghe sub-sector in October 1973, the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo punished the enemy in many places, especially in western Pleiku, northwestern Kontum, Quang Ngai, and Binh Dinh. From October 1973 to March 1974 the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo annihilated nearly 24,000 of the enemy (13 companies and 142 platoons). Those resolute actions succeeded in smashing a number of the enemy's operations in a number of areas of operation.

Developing those victories, and simultaneously consolidating and strengthening their forces in all respects, the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo accelerated fighting against the enemy militarily, politically, and by military proselyting in all three strategic areas, the high point of which was the campaign of activities in the summer and fall of 1974, which won great and comprehensive victories.

The main-force troops of the Liberation Army fought relatively large annihilating battles and struck heavy blows against the puppet troops, especially the puppet main-force troops. A whole series of bases, sub-sectors, and district capitals in which from one to two battalions of puppet troops (main-force, Ranger, and security forces) and tens of popular self-defense platoons were stationed and which had relatively strong fortifications and were supported by an important force of airplanes and artillery, such as Thuong Duc, Nong Son-Trung Phuoc, Minh Long, Dac Pet, Duc Phu, Gia Vut, Mang Den, etc., were annihilated. The enemy concentrated mobile forces (including paratroops of the general strategic reserve), which at times amounted to nine regiments (such as at Thuong Duc) in order to counter-attack and break the siege. But all of the enemy's siege-breaking counter-offensive operations were shattered or halted. Battalions of them were annihilated and suffered heavy casualties amounting to regiments and brigades, such as in the area east of Thuong Duc, An Hoa in Quang Nam, northern Binh Dinh, etc.

Coordinating closely with the battles of the Liberation Army main-force troops, the soldiers and people of many localities launched campaigns which combined attacks and uprisings, annihilated the enemy, won control of the people, and retook the liberated areas that had been encroached upon by the enemy. In such provinces as Quang Da, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, and

Phu Yen, in combined campaigns the provincial and district local forces attacked and captured a whole series of key points garrisoned by a security company or a popular self-defense platoon, eliminated the occupation forces in an area that included many townships, and intercepted and annihilated whole companies or understrength battalions (understrength by one company) of the "Republican" main-force troops, or security troops who were reacting in order to break a siege. With the support of the militia guerrillas and the armed task force units, the local people arose and grasped the right to mastery in many forms. They destroyed and abandoned concentration hamlets and zones, returned to their old villages, participated in killing bullies, traitors, and undercover spies, broke up the civil guard forces, surrounded and forced the withdrawal of small outposts, appealed to their husbands, children, and relatives in the puppet army to desert, propagandized in order to create prestige for the revolution, etc. The attacks and uprisings of the local soldiers and people transformed many areas temporarily occupied by the enemy into loosely held areas, contested areas, or liberated areas, or transformed contested areas into liberated, expanded the "leopard skin" battlefield situation in the enemy area, and contributed to further completing the revolutionary base area.

In addition to the victories of the battles of the Liberation Army and of the attack-and-uprising movement in the localities, guerrilla warfare developed strongly in the contested areas and spread to many places. Guerrillas coordinated closely with the other armed forces in surrounding, annihilating, or forcing the enemy to surrender or withdraw from, their small outposts; in intercepting, annihilating, or capturing groups of routed and remnant enemy troops; and in eliminating traitors and spies. Many specialized guerrilla teams won many victories in attacks against lines of communication, and in annihilating the enemy's transportation and supply units. A number of deep-penetration secret guerrilla units operated effectively, such as the Danang and Song Cau (Phu Yen) units. Especially, in the contested areas and in the border areas the guerrillas set up combat villages and coordinated with local troops in fighting very heroically, and intercepted and smashed many encroaching counter-attacks by the enemy's security forces.

During the summer and fall of 1974, in six lowland provinces alone the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo took out of action nearly 35,000 of the enemy (16.7 percent of their forces on the battlefield prior to 1974), annihilated nine battalions, inflicted heavy casualties on 29 battalions of the total of 103 enemy battalions (36 percent of all enemy battalions on the battlefield), inflicted heavy casualties on three regiments and brigades, captured or destroyed 149 artillery pieces and 132 tanks and armored vehicles, and shot down or destroyed 122 airplanes. At the same time, the soldiers and people of Tay Nguyen took out of action 5,650 of the enemy, annihilated or heavily damaged 12 battalions, and captured or destroyed 147 artillery pieces, 52 tanks and armored vehicles, and 84 airplanes. The soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo annihilated tens of district capitals, sub-sectors, and battalion and company bases of the enemy; 610 times annihilated or forced the surrender or withdrawal of enemy key posts (equal to one-third of the



enemy's key posts prior to the surrender of 1974), and liberated and won the right of mastery for more than 140,000 people.

#### The Important Significance of the Victories That Have Been Won

The important significance of the victories won by the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo during the past 2 years, especially during the summer and fall of 1974, lies not only with the removal from action of a large part of the enemy's manpower, the recovery of many land areas, and the liberation of tens of thousands of people, but also in the creation of a new battlefield situation that is very advantageous for us and very disadvantageous for the enemy, and in the creation of new capabilities for the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo to advance to the winning of new, even greater victories.

The puppet troops were heavily defeated, their morale collapsed, and their combat strength was seriously reduced. Contrary to the subjective wishes of America and Thieu, the puppet troops could not stand up against the strong development of the revolutionary movement in the South. In defense, the puppet troops, including the main-force, Ranger, security, and other troops, could not keep the key points, the district capitals, and the sub-sectors, although those base networks had been greatly improved with regard to fortifications and the organization of defense deployment, and were supported by rather large air and artillery forces. In their attacks and siege-relief operations they shifted over from impetuous counter-attacks to gradually bringing in forces to encroach step-by-step; they had to fight continually, which easily resulted in the attrition of much manpower, and in the end they still could not regain a single sub-sector or district capital. The enemy's security troops dared not counter-attack when faced with our local troops, but had to await reinforcements of the "Republican" troops. And the "Republican" troops hesitated and dared not come to grips with the Liberation Army main-force troops without strong reinforcements from the enemy's strategic reserves.

Because the support forces, especially the air force, seriously declined, and because the Thieu clique encountered many financial and economic difficulties, the lives of the soldiers and of officers, from the lowest echelon on up, encountered hardships, and in the face of the strong retaliatory blows of the Liberation Army the fighting spirit and combat strength of the puppet troops seriously declined. They dared not prolong resistance in the strong points being attacked, and went all-out to avoid conflict while counter-attacking. In many battles the number and ratio of puppet officers and men captured alive increased. The civil guards stationed in scattered outposts were usually easily routed and fled. The ratio of those deserting, disintegrating, committing suicide, and wounding themselves increased rapidly, even in such general strategic reserve units as the paratroops, which caused the number of the enemy's combat troops to decline seriously at places and at times.

The liberation armed forces developed strongly with regard to numbers and quality, and their combat strength continually increased. All three types

of troops fought skilfully, the more they fought the more victories they won, and the more they fought the stronger they became. The liberation main-force troops took a new step forward in combined arms operations on a relatively larger scale. The main-force troops of the Liberation Army in Central Trung Bo gained and maintained the initiative in campaigns during a relatively long period, annihilated the enemy in relatively strong fortifications at district capitals and sub-sectors, liberated whole areas, annihilated entire battalions, heavily damaged entire enemy regiments and brigades outside the fortifications, and smashed or halted their siege-breaking operations. The local troops and guerrilla militia joined the people in attacking and arising in combined campaigns, annihilated and forced to surrender or withdraw whole series of small enemy outposts of company or platoon size, retook many areas temporarily occupied by the enemy, and expanded the area in which the people are the masters. After attacking to annihilate the enemy troops, smash entire defense systems and population control systems of the enemy, liberate land, and liberate the people, the liberation armed forces were entirely capable of annihilating and defeating the enemy's siege-breaking and encroaching operations, and firmly maintained the liberated area even in the rainy season, the season the Americans and their lackeys usually believed was the best opportunity to renew encroachments.

With the victories that have been won, the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo took an important step in defeating the enemy's "pacification" and encroachment scheme, struck a heavy blow against America's "Vietnamized war" strategy, pushed the puppet troops into a new decline, and caused the Saigon puppet administration to fall into an increasingly deep all-round crisis. Many areas taken over by the enemy in 1973 have been recovered, their control over many temporarily occupied areas has been loosened, the "leopard skin" battlefield situation has further developed in many areas within enemy areas, and the liberated area has been further concentrated and strongly defended. The armed liberation forces, especially the main-force troops, developed rapidly with regard to numbers and quality, and increasingly took the initiative on the battlefields.

#### The Situation on the Battlefield Cannot Be Reversed

After 2 years of promoting "pacification" and encroachment, the puppet troops shifted from the initiative to a passive position, from widespread attacks and siege-breaking counter-attacks to the defensive on all battlefields, and were forced to be selective in their siege-breaking counter-attacks. From their desire "not to lose an inch of ground or a single person" and to "push the Viet Cong back into the jungles and mountains," America and Thieu were now panicked by the "general offensive of the Viet Cong" and because "the South Vietnamese army rather quickly lost superiority in weapons and technical means. The number of their casualties has also increased." (an admission of John Murray, an American general in Saigon, in NEWSWEEK, September 1974).

Although defeated and in a weak position, America and Thieu are not yet willing to admit defeat and are not yet willing to end their neo-colonial war. They are endeavoring to apply all measures to save the puppet troops, with the three missions "Improve territorial security, improve combat procedures, and recover strength." As on the battlefields all over the South, in Central Trung Bo the Nguyen Van Thieu clique is seeking all ways to brazenly conscript troops. They have forced all men from 17 to 44 years old to enter the army and everyone from 15 to 47 years old to enter civilian defense units, in hopes of making up for the troops annihilated and routed. With continued aid of arms and equipment by its American masters, the Thieu clique is endeavoring to consolidate its defense system; strengthen its fortifications; strengthen its occupation forces in the key points, especially in the contested areas and the border areas; reorganize its command network from the military zone and division levels to the battalion level; and purge the officers who will not connive with them. Those deeds have temporarily served to enable the puppet troops to maintain a large number of troops, they still have large amounts of equipment and weapons, especially artillery, and their defensive network is still relatively strong, especially in the delta region and around the cities, which has enabled them to concentrate a relatively large force to launch fierce counter-attacks in a number of key areas, their "adam's apple" areas.

However, those are only "rob Peter to pay Paul" measures. At most, they will enable the puppet troops to avoid the danger of wholesale route and collapse; they certainly cannot stop the process of weakening and decline. The Americans and their puppets are encountering basic contradictions that cannot be overcome: The contradiction between their desire to continue the war of aggression and their limited capabilities; the contradiction between maintaining a large number of troops and maintaining the puppet troops' combat strength; the contradiction between the obstinate, war-loving attitude of America and Thieu and the high-ranking commanders on the one hand and the declining combat morale of the masses of soldiers and low-ranking officers on the other hand; the contradiction between strengthening mobile forces and scattering occupation forces; and the contradiction between conserving forces and increasing capability to counter-attack. Those contradictions arise from the nature of the unjust neo-colonial war and from the fact that the political, economic, and military crises of the American imperialists and their lackeys are becoming very serious. Those contradictions are being further exacerbated by the rapid development of the revolution in the South. No matter how much America and its puppets try, they cannot reverse the situation on the battlefield. They can only suffer increasingly heavy defeats and cannot avoid complete defeat.

The soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo have a resolute revolutionary tradition and have achieved many brilliant feats of arms. The Ba Gia battle began the decisive victories which defeated America's special war. The Van Tuong battle manifested the heroic spirit of "annihilating the Americans wherever we go," and the strong attacks and offensives of 1968 and 1972 proved that the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo will never retreat before any difficulty or hardship, no matter how fierce, and will always manifest

a spirit of determination to fight and win, make outstanding efforts, and win great victories. After the signing of the Paris Agreement the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo overcame many fierce hardships in opposing "pacification" and encroachment very stalwartly, won great victories in 1974, and created a new, very advantageous situation. Developing the spirit of revolutionary offensive, the soldiers and people of Central Trung Bo, determined to advance strongly, fight the enemy in all three strategic areas, attack the enemy militarily, politically, and with troop proselyting, and fight while building and developing their forces, are certain to contribute greatly to, along with the soldiers and people of the whole South, further accelerating the process of collapse of the puppet army and smash all principal sources of support for the American imperialists' neo-colonial policy in the South.

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THE COMBINE: A NEW FORM OF PRODUCTION ORGANIZATION IN THE AGRICULTURE OF  
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

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[Article by Nguyen Trung]

[Text] In addition to the great accomplishments of the other economic sectors, during the past 25 years the German people, under the leadership of the German Socialist Unity Party, have achieved great agricultural accomplishments.

On the basis of the new production relations, the scale of agricultural production has been increasingly expanded with a high level of organization. Modernized agricultural production has an increasingly industrial character.

With 880,000 agricultural workers (of a total of 7.8 million workers), in 1973 the collectivized peasants of the GDR produced a volume of production with a value of 32 billion marks, which was 10.4 percent of the gross social product. Today, a peasant cooperative member can produce enough grain and food products to feed 28 people. Labor productivity is quite high. For example, on the average a worker in Magdeburg District works 7.4 hectares of land and produces 1.8 tons of meat, 6.6 tons of milk, and 3,700 eggs. Crop productivity has attained advanced indices: wheat and barely have attained 36.7 quintals per hectare; white potatoes, 188.6 quintals per hectare; sugar beets, 324.6 quintals per hectare; beets for animal feed, 567.6 quintals per hectare; oil-bearing seeds, 20.6 quintals per hectare, etc. Domestic animals are also very numerous: there are 4.8 million cows, 8.5 million pigs, 12.2 million laying hens, and 1.3 million sheep. The material and technical bases of agriculture have been strengthened: in 1969 the number of tractors amounted to three for every 100 hectares, there were 237 kg of chemical fertilizer (including N.P.K.) per hectare, and 430,000 hectares were irrigated (with controllable irrigation and drainage). The level of cadres and workers in agricultural labor was increasingly high: in 1970, 57.6 percent of the agricultural laborers had college or skilled worker levels.



The appearance of the countryside has completely changed. The lives of the peasants have been improved in all ways. The average income of a worker in agriculture is equal to the level of a worker in industry (cooperative members in an average cooperative had an income of 8,700 marks per year). The difference between cities and the rural areas has been essentially eliminated.

Those results were due, first of all, to the position of agriculture in the national economy being determined with increasing clarity. The Government and people of the GDR are aware that in order for the socialist economy to develop there cannot be industry or agriculture alone, but that there must be both industry and agriculture, and they must develop together and influence each other. The higher the level of industry, the more agriculture must be developed correspondingly, for only then can it satisfy the needs of industry and the lives of the people. Therefore, the Party has strengthened its leadership of agriculture and has encouraged the laboring peasants to produce enthusiastically in order to win great victories in agriculture.

The transformation in knowledge was manifested in the specific organization of implementation. The matter of strengthening the material and technical bases of agriculture and leading agriculture to intensive cultivation and increased productivity was given much attention. From 1960 to 1969 the amount of chemical fertilizer used increased from 950,000 tons to 1.53 million tons, the number of tractors brought into the fields increased from 80,000 to 190,000, etc. The grafting, cross-breeding, and propagating of the various high-productivity plant varieties were carried out urgently and the new varieties were brought into production rather well.

The improvement of the organization and management of agricultural economics was also carried out very positively. The GDR paid attention to improving planning with the implementation of policies to use economic levers and ideological education. Unified organs to guide agriculture and the food-processing industry were established, the agricultural science and technology research and cadre training organs were improved, and the economic management role of the state was strengthened.

Especially, during the past several years the problem of the organization of concentrated and specialized production at a high level has been posed. Industrial methods have been introduced into agriculture. The form of production of the combine type has appeared. A new form of production organization which is appropriate to the specific conditions of the GDR, it has been proven to be effective in accelerating the strong development of agriculture.

The strong, continuous development of the building of socialism has established for agriculture increasingly difficult missions, under the conditions of an increasingly large number of agricultural workers being withdrawn for transfer to the industrial front. Therefore, agriculture must transform production along the lines of a higher degree of concentration and specialization, create conditions for introducing modern science and technology,

increase labor productivity, further raise the level of skill of agricultural cadres and workers, and advance socialist production relations a new step forward. In actuality, that is a process of revolutionary change in all aspects of agriculture.

The development of production forces demands the perfecting of production relations and the improvement of organization and management. During the past several years, although the agricultural cooperatives and state farms were consolidated and equipped to a high degree with equipment and machinery, in view of the new scientific and technical accomplishments, and of the requirement to introduce industrial production methods into agriculture, it became increasingly clear that the scale of production of the cooperatives (on the average, 600 hectares) and the state farms (on the average, 850 hectares) was not appropriate. For example, in cultivation the GDR has eight-blade plows (attached to the Soviet Union's K700 tractors) to replace the three-or-four-blade plows of the past. The new plows can plow two hectares per hour and must be used on an area of about 6,000 hectares if their capacity is to be fully utilized. There are also harvesting combine machines which have much higher productivity than the previous harvesters but which can achieve high economic effectiveness only if they are used on an area of about 2,000 hectares. The same is true with regard to animal husbandry. The GDR has built various types of modern stables and pens that can be used to raise 2,000 milk cows or 5,000 meat cows. But the scale of the cooperative is too small for those types of stables and pens to be used. Furthermore, the cooperatives, even the step-3 cooperatives, do not by themselves have sufficient capital to purchase the new machines and build the various types of modern stables and pens.

On the basis of that actual situation, the Party and Government of the GDR affirmed that production could not be carried out on a small scale. A high degree of concentration and specialization of production is one of the basic ways to increase labor productivity, reduce expenses, and lower the production costs of agricultural products, while also being an indispensable pre-condition for applying the newest accomplishments of science and technology in production.

But how should concentration and specialization be accomplished so that they may be most effective?

In agricultural production there are many ways to achieve concentration and specialization. In the GDR the combining of the cooperatives in order to have a larger scale of production encountered many difficulties because it was expensive, required the mobilization of much capital, it was necessary to resolve at the same time a whole series of problems regarding science and technology which in actuality could not yet be resolved, and it was necessary to overcome difficulties regarding the level of management once the production units had advanced to a larger scale. Furthermore, technology was still evolving, so it was impossible to review the scale of the cooperatives one every few years. Therefore, the Party and Government of the GDR, fully

utilizing the existing advantages and latent capabilities and on the path of studying and enquiring, choose a policy of concentration and specialization which was appropriate to the specific conditions of the country. The Eighth Plenum of the German Socialist Unity Party in June 1971 decided that that was the path of organizing cooperation with regard to production and commercial operations (combines) in agricultural production. The Plenum reached the conclusion that with the conditions of the GDR, the combine was the most rational policy, the path to production with the highest effectiveness in the present stage. There are two forms of such combines: combines of the agricultural cooperatives and the state farms and combines of the agricultural production installations, the food processing industry enterprises, and the commercial organizations in the cultivation and distribution sectors.

How are combines in the GDR organized? Combines are a form of cooperation in the production and commercial operations of many production installations, in order to achieve a production goal on the basis of maintaining the existence and legal autonomy of the installations participating in the combine. According to the requirements of production and their conditions and capabilities, the cooperatives and state farms cooperate with one another in production and commercial operations in many ways: there are combines with a time limit (for the attainment of a certain production goal; there are permanent combines (to use existing machinery or purchase new machinery; there are combines for cooperation in individual tasks (for example, cooperation in irrigation, water drainage, animal husbandry pens, or mechanization) or in individual sectors (for example, in animal husbandry or cultivation); and combines for cooperation in multiple tasks (combining capital, labor forces, and other production facilities to achieve a number of definite production tasks) or in an entire enclosed production line (cooperation with one another from the animal husbandry, cultivation, and processing elements until the completion of the products).

The activities of the combines are aimed toward the plan indices of the state. The legal basis of combines is a contract signed by the production units. The cooperation of the combine is based on voluntariness and is not limited geographically, and the production units may participate in many combines at the same time, depending on their requirements and capabilities. The units participating in the combine elect a Management Council consisting of representatives of the production units, which has the mission of preparing the production proposals and then submitting them to the Cooperative Members' Congress (if there are cooperatives) to be decided upon. If the Congress agrees, the Management Council carries them out. Cooperative cadres participating in the Management Council continue to receive the distribution of their cooperative. The combine has no separate finances. Every year the combine audits all of its receipts and expenditures. Losses and profits are distributed among the component members according to the ratio of their contribution of production capital, land, production facilities, etc., to the combine. Each cooperative is still an economic accounting unit, and the combine is only a form of coordination.

The form of production and commercial cooperation most widespread in the GDR is the cultivation combine (called KAP for short). The cultivation combine utilizes the labor and agricultural implements of the component units, and the organization of production in the cultivation sector is in accordance with the resolutions of the joint conference of leaders of those units. Those combines are responsible only for the cultivation sector. Animal husbandry remains the responsibility of the component units, but the combine provides animal feed by means of economic contracts.

In the process of cooperation in production and commerce, the specialization of production in each sector also gradually takes form. For example, the cultivation combine is in turn divided into a field crops combine, a garden combine, a combine for growing animal feed, etc.

Thus it may be said that the GDR has used the form of units cooperating in production and commerce as a transitional stage, a bridge from each cooperative and each state farm to production that is more specialized, concentrated, and modernized.

Advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production with a high degree of concentration and specialization, and introducing industrial production methods into agriculture are new subjects which the collective peasant class of the GDR is now studying and implementing. How the form of cooperation in production and commerce will progress still depends on the specific situation of future development. To date, after a period of implementation, that process has attained a number of good results.

Labor, technology, and investment capital have, by means of the combines, been mobilized and used to the maximum. The new accomplishments of science and technology have been widely applied. The combine has many additional modern production facilities, such as new-style animal pens, modern milking installations, highly productive transportation networks and draft power, mechanical sprinkling systems, etc., but there is practically no need to borrow additional capital from the state. That is in accordance with the slogan "From each mark, each hour of labor, and each gram of materials, obtain higher utilization effectiveness," which was put forth by the collective peasant class of the GDR.

Another new factor is that in one respect the combine is a form of organization to help the deficient cooperatives catch up with the good cooperatives. The cooperatives participating in the combines differ from one another with regard to productivity and income. The combine's income is not directly divided up among the workers but is turned over to the cooperatives (according to the ratio of participation with regard to the various aspects and the labor productivity that was attained). Thus two cooperative members of two different cooperatives doing the same type of work in a production unit of a combine may have different income levels. That situation affects the cooperative members and the cooperatives, and stimulates the deficient cooperatives to go all-out to keep up with the good cooperatives. Furthermore, in the process of developing combines the deficient cooperatives are given priority in assistance so that they may keep up with the common leap forward.

Another new feature is that in vertical combine cooperation the various elements -- agricultural production, the processing industry and commerce -- are integrally related to one another. The composition of this type of combine consists of the agricultural production installations (cooperatives and state farms), the industrial enterprises (slaughter houses, meat-processing plants, canneries, tanneries, etc.), and the circulation and distribution organizations. Thus it may be said that it is an embryonic form of the combined industry-agricultural teams, a future step on the path of agricultural development of the GDR.

At present, the combines account for about 70 percent of the cultivated area of the GDR. Although the cooperatives still develop production on the basis of separate economic accounting and still own their production facilities, the production function and ownership of means of production of the installations participating in the combines have begun to change. In fact, some combines have developed into an economic unit with tight structures. That is also a new embryonic form of organization in the agricultural production of the GDR, on the path of advance to large-scale, modernized production.

The process of promoting the introduction of industrial production methods into agriculture is also a process of further strengthening the alliance between the working class and the collective peasant class. In this process those two fraternal classes are more tightly bound together. The workers have provided the cooperative peasants with modern production facilities, new scientific and technical knowledge, and advanced experiences in the reform of a whole process of social labor. That alliance was also manifested in the Eighth Plenum of the German Socialist Unity Party in approving a budget of 26.5 billion marks to invest in agriculture during the 1971-1975 plan, which is 15 percent of all capital invested in the economic sectors throughout the country. That is a favorable condition for the collective peasant class to advance further and to develop agriculture harmoniously and in balance with the development of industry.

Another important change in the process of achieving cooperation in production and commerce is the great change on the part of the peasant cooperative members. With work by shifts and the receiving of salaries, the peasant cooperative members have begun to enter a new phase: the phase of agricultural production in accordance with industrial methods. That situation requires that the thinking and responsibility of the cooperative members no longer be restricted to the sphere of a single cooperative, but that they be expanded. Their understanding must be more comprehensive, their level of mastery of science and technology must be higher, and their organization and management must be better. They will gradually become accustomed to the new scale of production, have more confidence in their capabilities, and resolutely follow the leadership of the party of the working class.

In recapitulation, determining the position of agriculture, strengthening the leadership and guidance of the Party and state with regard to agriculture, strengthening the material and technical bases of agriculture, and improving the organization and management of agriculture -- including the improvement



of the forms of production organization -- are important elements in the development of agriculture in the GDR. During the past several years, due to those elements, especially with the organization of highly concentrated and specialized production, and promoting the introduction of industrial production methods into agriculture, the Party and Government of the GDR have manifested the superiority of the socialist production relations, increased the positiveness and initiative of the production bases, and promoted a great leap forward in the development of agriculture.

The present direction of agricultural development of the GDR is still to continue to promote intensive cultivation, concentrate and specialize production, and introduce industrial production methods into agriculture. Under the conditions of the cultivated land being relatively poor in quality, the average per capita land area being small, and the land area being reduced because of basic construction, the strengthening of the material and technical bases of agriculture in order to create high economic effectiveness is extremely important. For example, with regard to chemical fertilizer the GDR will increase the level of fertilizer from 73 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer per hectare (in 1970) to 100 kg of nitrogenous fertilizer (in 1975). With regard to irrigation, although it has encountered many difficulties regarding water sources and has very inadequate equipment, the GDR is striving to increase the area with controllable irrigation and drainage from 435,000 hectares (in 1970) to 800,000 hectares (in 1975). The mechanization and breeding stock elements have also received attention. Especially, the GDR believes that its seed stock work is backward, so it has paid all-out attention to cross-breeding new varieties which have high productivity and good quality and are suitable for mechanization, and has kept abreast of the new developments in seed stocks in the world. On the basis of strengthening the material and technical bases, the production combine form will be further perfected and will gradually increase to a higher form.

Organizing scientific and technical research and training agricultural cadres has continued to receive attention. The Academy of Agricultural Science and the other research institutes, with rather large research staffs and installations, are entering into the planning and accounting of the scientific research topics and are rapidly bringing the results of research into production. The improvement of the contents and methods of instruction in order to improve the quality of cadre training has received much attention. Schools are becoming places for the comprehensive training of cadres. The schools have also signed contracts with the production bases to train cadres so that they may be appropriate to the requirements of those bases.

We are extremely happy over the great accomplishments in the sphere of agriculture, as well as in the other spheres, of the people of the GDR, and sincerely wish the people of the GDR the winning of many even greater victories on the path of building and developing socialism.

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## THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS PASS THROUGH A DARK YEAR, ENTER A GLOOMY ONE

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[International Commentary article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] Many American presidents have regarded the reading of a "State of the Union Message" before the U.S. Congress at the beginning of the new year as an occasion to flaunt their accomplishments and outline bright prospects for the future.

For Gerald Ford, that was not easy. The writing and reading of the "State of the Union Message" at the beginning of 1975 was a difficult matter, a heavy burden. Many American newspapers called it "capital punishment."

Throughout the first days of January 1975 Ford assembled his most trusted advisers to plunge into that wretched task. Ford also solicited the opinions of a number of Congressmen in hopes of finding a few miraculous solutions. On 13 January Ford read a speech on television in which he proposed a so-called 16 billion-dollar tax cut for the American people, while at the same time proposing the taking of 30 billion dollars in increased taxes on imported oil for use as investment capital -- a cheap magic trick intended to create an artificial atmosphere of optimism so that American public opinion would be less bitter and angry when listening to the President's beginning-of-the-year message.

### Rising From the Muck of Watergate

Traditionally, in America each newly elected president begins his term of office with a "State of the Union Message."

But Gerald Ford had taken office 5 months previously. The American people had yet another occasion to shake their heads and disgustedly think of America's 38th president. They could not but remember that Ford was a

president who had entered the White House without a single vote from the American electorate, and that he was a president who had risen from the ignominious muck of Watergate in 1974, a year recorded in the history of America with the ugly name "the year of Watergate."

Ford's entry into the White House was the result of a long series of American tragedies. Because Vice-President Spiro Agnew was accused in 1973 of a series of ugly crimes, it was necessary for someone to replace him. Ford was installed in the empty space left by a criminal. Then it was the turn of Nixon to be discarded, and Ford had the "good fortune" of rising from "the Vice-President nobody voted for" to "the President who did not have a single vote of confidence," "the President appointed by the criminal Nixon himself."

Gerald Ford was "famous" in American leading circles as a politician-bureaucrat of the mediocre variety, a person who lacked ability. In the past, there was a time when Senator [sic] Ford aspired only to become, at most, the leader of the Senate; the presidency came to him truly unexpectedly. In August 1974 the American newspapers called Ford "the half-term president," "the provisional president," "the president for more than 2 years" who "will survive only until the presidential election at the end of 1976, if nothing unexpected happens."

During more than 5 months in the presidency Ford has taken a whole series of "blind," "stupid," and "infantile" stands. One was the unconditional pardoning of Nixon, which was contrary to the intentions of the people heading the American legal apparatus and to the desires of the vast majority of the American people, who demanded that all criminals in the Watergate affair had to be fully tried. Another was the promulgation of 31 economic measures which the American press called "ineffectual cosmetic measures" and the issuing of tens of thousands of WIN (Whip Inflation Now) buttons, which many financial specialists and a large number of American youths wore upside-down so that they read "NIM" (No Immediate Miracles). Another was his attitude of stubbornly denying that there was a recession in the American economy after it had become evident. Many American newspapers disgustedly complained that Gerald Ford had no fiber, had no ability, and lacked the wise judgement and imagination necessary for a president. The president's cloak did not fit him -- it was much too large.

Indeed, Ford has revealed many deficiencies and many weaknesses in his new office. But they were not entirely the fault of the person who had suddenly arisen from the muck of Watergate! The difficult, dark situation of America, the leader of the capitalist world, during the past year originated from many deep roots and had the nature of following an inevitable law.

#### The Worst Year

With regard to the situation in America in 1974, in the "State of the Union Message" he read before the U.S. Congress on 15 January 1975 Gerald Ford was forced to admit in the very first paragraphs that "I must say to you that the present state of the union is not very good; "Millions of Americans are unemployed, recession and inflation are creating monetary erosion. Prices are

increasing excessively, and the amount of goods sold is too small"; "The deficit in the American budget this year will be about 30 billion dollars. We are dependent on others for essential fuel," etc.

Indeed, 1974 will be recorded in the history of the American imperialists as a bad year.

First of all, with regard to economics and finance, the material foundation of the American imperialists, it was a year of rampage by three wild devils, as Ford admitted: inflation, recession, and the energy crisis.

The budget suffered a deep deficit; the dollar lost value as it declined steeply; America in 1974 was advancing to the 200th anniversary of the United States of America with the blackest "records": the record number of unemployed--7.5 million people unemployed, equal to 7.1 percent of all workers; record inflation, with a rate of increase of nearly 13 percent; record price rises, with sugar and cooking oil increased 400 percent; there was a record in the rapid decline of purchasing power, etc. Inventories on hand amounted to 250 billion dollars.

The recession which began in November 1973 entered its 15th month and was the longest one in more than 30 years, and no one knows when it will end. The principal sectors of America's industry, automobile production and housing construction, have stagnated. The aeronautics and space industry has suffered heavy losses. The household appliances production sector, which had been booming, is now seriously threatened because its products cannot be sold.

With regard to energy, America is still heavily dependent on imports. In 1974, although it economized to a high degree and made the fullest use of domestic reserves, America still had to grit its teeth and import 2.2 billion barrels of oil at a price four times higher than in the past.

One year ago, when Nixon ascended the lectern before the U.S. Congress on the night of 30 January 1974 to read his "State of the Union Message," he boasted that "I would like to say calmly and with careful thought: America will not have a recession." He stupidly blurted out, "I pledge to you that all powers and capabilities of the Government will be fully applied to assure that the American economy continues to produce and protect the jobs of American workers." In his spiel of boasting, Nixon promised that "We will break the back of the energy crisis in 1974," and "We will halt the escalation of prices without having to use the bitter medicine of recession, and we will propel the economy into a period of continual, high-level development." How facile and shameless the empty promises of the Watergate president!

Gerald Ford and Rockefeller themselves warmly applauded that glib, pie-in-the-sky message of Nixon, and they were disillusioned. One year later, when subjective desires became reality, there was a terrible reverse for the American leading circles. At the beginning of the year Nixon determined that



"breaking the energy crisis is the No 1 priority of the American Government and legislative branch," but in September Ford had to declare that "ending inflation has become the No 1 priority," and in January 1975, after a long period of refusing to admit the true situation of recession of the American economy, Ford had to bitterly promote recession to become the "No 1 enemy of America"! The results were that all three wild devils grew rapidly and in unison bared enormous, sharp teeth to threaten the American economy, foreshadowing the prospect of a frightful depression.

American commentators, after evaluating the situation in America in 1974, usually tend to stress or speak of the stalemated difficulties regarding economics and finance. Naturally, those difficulties are a very basic feature of America. But an outstanding characteristic of America at the present time is that the economic-financial crisis is accompanied by a political crisis of the American political system. That is a very important difference in comparison to the 1929-1933 period. With the Watergate affair the crisis of confidence of the American people toward the American president, toward the American system of government, and toward the American political system, developed to the highest degree ever. "The best American," "the most talented," and "selected from more than 200 million Americans by more than 40 million votes of the American electorate," had become his old self -- a scoundrel! Most American voters felt that they had been betrayed by the head of the American Government. Therefore, who could be trusted any longer? And would the people who succeeded that criminal, selected by that criminal himself, be worthy of confidence?

In 1974, within America the gap between the American people and the clique of rulers widened terribly. The contradictions between the vast majority of the various categories of people, especially the workers and youths, and the ruling capitalists developed at the highest rate and to the highest degree. In the mid-term elections at the beginning of November 1974 only 38 percent of the American electorate voted; the remaining 62 percent would rather remain at home than do something they felt would be useless. At present, American-style democracy has in actuality been rejected by the great majority of Americans.

At the same time, the contradictions among the American monopoly capitalist cliques and among the other forces in the American governmental apparatus also developed strongly and were manifested in the contradictions between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, the contradictions between the American president and the American Congress, the contradictions among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and the contradictions among the capitalist groups in the Northeast, the South, the West, and the Midwest of America, etc. All of those contradictions created on the political stage the greatest confusion and infighting ever.

#### The Decline of America With Regard to Foreign Relations

The year 1974 was a bad year for America domestically and was also a bad year for America all over the world. Ford deliberately avoided that matter.



Its already ugly face having been made even dirtier by the Watergate affair, America appeared to the world to be a nation that was ill, weak, and crippled, and one with a rotten and chaotic political system. What attractive features of American democracy that had at one time been praised in the West had come to an end. The European politicians freely criticized American democracy for having "created the dogmatism and abuses of the presidency, with a Congress that has no real power."

Another important matter was that in 1974 American imperialism was struck squarely at one of its vital points by the sharp spearpoint of attack of the nations of the Third World, which proudly demanded true sovereignty over all their natural resources and that the imperialist nations, especially America, must end their plunder in all forms of their natural resources. The oil-producing nations united in using the oil weapon very effectively. A whole series of countries in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East decided to nationalize -- with indemnification and without indemnification, immediately or gradually -- the monopoly bases of America and the multi-national corporations controlled by America. Many oil fields, copper mines, and bauxite and chromite mines, and many plantations growing bananas, coffee, and other fruits were partly or entirely transferred to the countries possessing those resources. That effective attack spearhead is now reducing the sources of raw materials and markets of the imperialist nations and is striking an incalculable blow against the neo-colonial commercial operations of imperialism. Kissinger was forced to openly speak of the "mutual dependence" between the rich nations and the poor nations and between the nations with resources and those with investment capital and technology, while also bringing up America's strength regarding technology and investment capital in hopes of maintaining America's outmoded plunder. That colonialist argument has been angrily rejected and denounced by the Third World.

In the United Nations, in 1974 there occurred an important turning point in the balance of forces. The Third World bloc of nations united closely with the socialist nations to create a strong majority in making decisions of great importance: recognizing the right of legal representation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, throwing out the South African rascals from the meetings of the Security Council during this year, defining the term of "aggression," and condemning the crime of aggression. America and a number of other imperialist countries and American vassals fell into the isolated position of a very pitiful minority. An American diplomat complained that "In the United Nations a majority is now opposing American control," and lamented that the time when America monopolized the voting apparatus of the United Nations has past.

"Misfortunes never come singly" -- in 1974 America was also the victim of many other painful blows. The American lackey military dictatorship in Lisbon rapidly collapsed during the last days of April, which led to the collapse of the last large system of colonies of the Portuguese colonialists, consisting of 2 million square kilometers of land and with more than 15 million people. In fact, it was secondary American colonies that had been liberated--

a blow struck directly against the American capitalists who were exploiting oil, natural gas, diamonds, and other valuable minerals in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, etc. The rapid collapse of the decadent military dictatorship in Ethiopia was another heavy blow struck against America, which had nourished a whole corrupt, extremely rotten feudal system and which had given military "aid" to that regime that amounted to nearly half of the military "aid" for all African countries. Washington was enraged over great events: the Portuguese Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party began to operate openly, Ethiopia and Greece began the process of building democracy, etc. In Asia, the people of Thailand began to struggle strongly in demanding that America get out of Thailand and that the American military airfields there be dismantled, and condemned the American CIA for sticking its criminal hands into that country. In Indochina, after the Paris Agreement on Vietnam was signed and the American troops and the vassal troops of America had to withdraw from South Vietnam, America's plots and acts of military involvement and intervention in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have been and are being fiercely opposed by the soldiers and people of those countries. The visible decline of the American lackeys Nguyen Van Thieu, Lon Nol, and the right-wing reactionaries in Laos confirms the inevitable situation of increasingly heavy defeat for the American aggressors in Southeast Asia.

America's outstanding defeat in organizing a coup d'etat to overthrow Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, led to war between two nations allied with America in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Greece and Turkey, the military withdraw of Greece from that bloc, and the acknowledgement by Colby, chief of the American CIA, of the criminal role of Kissinger and the White House in overthrowing the constitutional government of Allende in Chile, etc., caused the political, military, and diplomatic situations of America to become increasingly weakened.

With the overthrow of Nixon and his replacement by Ford, the economic, financial, monetary, and other "cracks" between America and its allies in Western Europe not only could not be healed but became deeper.

America is Senile, Crippled, and Ill in the Face of the Steel-Like Laws of the Era

Never has the situation of America fully proved the basic laws of capitalism as during the recent period. The contradiction between the strong development of production and the reactionary, backward production relations is becoming increasingly fierce. During the past year three revolutionary currents of the present era incessantly attacked the entire imperialist bloc, especially the American imperialists.

The defeats of the American imperialists in Vietnam resulted in serious after-effects for America in the "post-Vietnam" period. The fall of Nixon, the great economic and financial difficulties, the increasingly severe contradictions in American society, Washington's counter-revolutionary global

strategy having to be readjusted in accordance with the increasingly disadvantageous retreat of American imperialism, etc., are integrally bound to the after-effects of the criminal war of aggression which four American presidents successively waged in Vietnam and Indochina, a war which was the cruelest, most unpopular, most expensive, and most heavily defeated in the 200-year-old history of America. The defeat of that war created prolonged after-effects and left very deep imprints on all aspects of life in America. The all-round, profound crisis of American imperialism has a new quality in the "post-Vietnam" period: a downward turning point with regard to both the position and power of the American imperialists is clearly taking place. It may be said that the bleak situation of America at the present time is a lively picture of a rear area that has been "ravaged" by the convulsions of a cruel, costly colonial war ten thousand miles from the homeland. Many American historians believe that in the beginning America's war of aggression in Vietnam was only an undeclared war, a small, limited war, but later had the nature of being "truly a major war from the point of view of its terribly deep and prolonged effects on America," and was "even worse than a world war" in view of the incalculable after-effects. That was another steel-like law regarding the relationship between the front and the rear area and the effect of the unjust and defeated war on the whole American society. Ford now must grit his teeth and bear the burden of the harmful effects of the policy of increasing the military budget and the arms race, especially the policy of starting a war of aggression in Vietnam in the waging of which four American presidents -- representatives of the two ruling capitalist parties in America-- were the principal figures. At the beginning of 1975 Ford feverishly requested that the U.S. Congress provide 300 million dollars in emergency military aid for the Thieu clique, and also publicly announced his plan to request more than 1.2 billion dollars in aid for the Thieu clique for the 1975-1976 fiscal year, thus revealing his intention to be involved for a long time in South Vietnam. Ford also must bear the harmful consequences of his having to continue to travel in the old tracks of the preceding American presidents: continuing to increase the military budget, being involved militarily, and intervening in Vietnam and Indochina.

### The Gloomy Path Before Gerald Ford

In Ford's relatively short message dark admissions were not scarce. "The economies of our country and the other countries (of the imperialist camp) are experiencing dislocations," "the increasing dependence of America on sources of supply in foreign countries has also caused America to be more easily harmed," "for many years now we (America) have done nothing to prepare for such an event as the oil embargo," "the future of the industrialized democracies (in the imperialist camp) is being threatened," and "the present international system is in a very perilous situation."

In order to resolve that tragic situation, Ford brought forth not a single effective measure! Ford loudly declared that "The time has come to move in a new direction," "America needs a change of course." Ford's "new direction" and "change of course" lay entirely within the policy of tax reductions: a

reduction of 12 billion dollars in individual income taxes, a reduction of about 4 billion dollars in the income taxes of capitalist corporations. According to Ford's calculations, that sum of 16 billion dollars would enable Americans to have more money to spend, and therefore stimulate production and create jobs for the enemployed. Ford also adopted the policy of increasing excise taxes and import taxes on newly exploited and imported oil (two dollars per barrel), of which 30 billion dollars would be used to lend to commercial circles as investment capital to stimulate production.

One day after Ford read his message American public opinion tumultuously commented that his measures were only a prescription to cure a common cold, at a time when the illness of the economy had already become critical, and that there was poison in that prescription! Many American economists believe that a 16 billion-dollar tax cut would have no effect since the value of unsold goods in America amounted to 240 billion dollars, that the 30 billion dollars obtained from increasing taxes on oil would only "enable the American oil companies to prosper and would be a disaster for the American people," that "the increase in the price of oil will pull up the prices of other goods," and that it "would only cause inflation to worsen," etc. Ford's increasing of the military budget to a record 91 billion dollars was another great challenge for the American people, since the economy and finances of America are in danger. It is clear that because of the class nature of the Ford administration and because of the American president's position of being the loyal agent of Wall Street, Ford's economic measures would only cause the treasuries of the American capitalists to swell up at a time when the ordinary American people were becoming increasingly deflated. It may be affirmed that Ford's "new direction" will only prolong America's economic crisis, and its recovery, in accordance with the normal cycle, will be even longer in coming. During the first few weeks of 1975 American politicians and economists were pessimistic, worried, and disgusted. They believed almost unanimously that at present America is in its darkest situation since the end of World War II. Many people believe that America is returning to the terrible depression of 45 years ago -- the Great Depression of 1929-1933 -- to an even more frightening extent. Ford hoped that within 2 months the American economy would "come back to life" and that "the American house would begin to get in good order," but many American economists who had been the most optimistic had to think that the recession could extend to the middle of this year, even to the end of the year! According to the published reports of the public opinion researchers, as many as 82 percent of Americans do not have confidence in Ford's economic "ability."

The situation has become even more severe because the Democratic Party is endeavoring to take advantage of that situation to attack the weaknesses and ineffectiveness of the Ford administration and delay dealing with the "new program" Ford urgently requested the U.S. Congress to approve by 1 May of this year. The Democratic majority in the U.S. Congress also drafted an economic program, called the "eight-point program against recession and inflation," to challenge Ford, at a time when the Republican Party had become a very small minority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. A struggle between the two parties is certain to take place fiercely during 1975, in preparation for the decisive test of strength in the 1976 presidential election.

While the economic situation was in disarray, at the beginning of 1975 Ford had great difficulty in finding ways to deal with a whole series of other serious events at home and abroad.

A wave of dissatisfaction with the American government and the American CIA intelligence organ is spreading because information has been leaked and confirmed that the CIA carried out illegal spying on thousands of ordinary citizens, principally people opposed to the war of aggression in Vietnam, and violated the rights that had been made into amendments of the American Constitution. On 16 January a jury of the Court of the District of Columbia (Washington) ordered the authorities and police of the District to pay 12 million dollars to more than 1,000 anti-war Americans who were arrested on 5 May 1971 on the veranda of the U.S. Congress. That has caused Ford to be even more perplexed. Ford's vengeful attitude toward more than 40,000 American youths who had resisted the draft and American soldiers who deserted to oppose the war of aggression in Vietnam, and who are now in Mexico, Canada, Japan, Europe, etc., caused American public opinion to be extremely dissatisfied. At the end of January 1975 many American Congressmen angrily denounced the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the American Government for many sordid deeds and for secretly keeping under observation even Congressmen and officials of the U.S. Government, and demanded an investigation into this "new Watergate affair." And the American CIA intelligence organ had just been unmasked in a nefarious plot in Peru. The Arab countries strongly condemned the insolent provocation of Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State, who threatened the use of armed force against the oil-producing countries.

That is truly too many difficult problems for an American president of the mediocre variety, such as Ford. The gloomy year 1975 is taking place in an atmosphere of worry, confusion, and fear in Washington.

### 1975 Beckons Revolutionaries

During the past year the Ford administration encountered accumulating difficulties, America and the entire imperialist camp fell into an increasingly serious crisis, and the three revolutionary currents of the present era grew increasingly and won many new victories in a position of strategic offensive.

The socialist system became increasingly strong in all respects. More than 50 million communist warriors in more than 90 countries are strengthening their solidarity, holding high the peerless flag of Marxism-Leninism, and taking the fore in the struggle to destroy the old world and build a new world. The national liberation movements of hundreds of millions of people in the colonies are gaining momentum in accelerating the offensive, firmly consolidating their political independence, resolutely winning true economic sovereignty, eliminating the old-style colonialism, and gradually repulsing the neo-colonialism headed by America. The persistent and resolute struggle of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries is increasingly causing the lairs of the international exploiters and monopolists to shake violently.



Looking forward into the recently begun year of 1975, we revolutionaries are overflowing with great happiness. The struggle is still difficult and complicated, but there is an extremely favorable opportunity for the world revolutionary movement to develop its strategic offensive posture, develop the combined strength of the three great revolutionary currents of the era, and advance to winning new victories.

The Ford administration is in a very tragic situation. Its prospects are even more tragic. The internal ranks of the American rulers are divided and in disarray. The main supports of American policy -- military strength, the aggressor alliances, the dollar, and America's deceptions regarding "negotiations," "era of detente," and "good will for peace" have been and are being bankrupt and there is no way to save them. Although America's material strength is still great, it has no way to develop that strength in the situation of the comparison of forces being increasingly disadvantageous for them. As long as the American ruling circles continue to nourish the illusion of being the ruler of the world, continue to carry out policies of reaction and aggression, and continue to intervene and commit aggression in Vietnam and Indochina, the American imperialists will continue to experience crises, difficulties, and disastrous defeats.

Steadfast in their posture of the offensive, an offensive that is resolute and is waged with appropriate methods, the revolutionary forces in the present era are determined to rush to the winning of even greater victories for noble goals: peace, national independence, democracy, socialism, and accelerating the process of the inevitable perdition of imperialism, of which the American imperialists are the leaders.

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