

Le Duang - Pham Van Dong



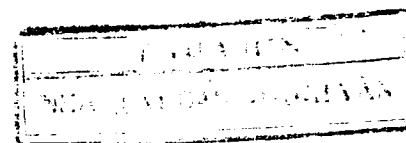
**TOWARDS LARGE-SCALE  
SOCIALIST AGRICULTURAL  
PRODUCTION**

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1975



LE DUAN — PHAM VAN DONG

# Towards a Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture



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## **Foreword**

A classic land of periodical famine and permanent food shortage, North Viet Nam has all possible conditions for raising to the maximum the acuteness of the problem of agricultural development: small area of cultivated land (one-tenth of hectare per inhabitant), rapid population growth, magnitude of natural calamities, a very low technical level to start from, not to mention the war which has practically not ceased since 1945.

In the accomplishment of the national democratic revolution, then of the socialist revolution, deep socio-economic transformations have been achieved under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. A thorough-going land reform, carried out from 1953 to 1956, did away with the age-old regime of feudal exploitation. After that, in 1958, the movement for agricultural co-operation was launched.

When the US war escalation began in 1965, almost all peasants had been regrouped in agricultural co-operatives; the first steps of an all-round technical renovation had been taken alongside the application of appropriate modalities of organization and management. The new structures were put to the test in the anti-US war of resistance: they stood firm, and one can say that it was thanks to the agricultural co-operatives that the North Vietnamese countryside

was able to fight effectively and to contribute so actively to the national victory.

The war, however, has obstructed agricultural development by

- slowing down industrial development ;
- drawing away a great part of the rural labour force and forcing the co-operatives to devote part of their activity to defence work, and
- diminishing the State's investments in agriculture.

Moreover, the US bombing raids destroyed many dams, dykes and other projects or installations serving agriculture.

A new stage began following the restoration of peace in 1973. Industry has been able to resume its advance, the State to increase its investments, and the agricultural co-operatives to devote more efforts to the development of production. Over the past few years, much theoretical and practical research has been carried out concerning various agricultural techniques, strains of rice, and cross-breeding in animal husbandry. Many front-rank co-operatives and areas have applied modalities and formulas of organization and management that can now serve as models.

A national conference on the problems of agricultural development was held in Thai Binh in August 1974 to draw experience and map out orientations for agricultural development in the years ahead. The documents of this important conference are published below. They will help our readers understand better the development of agriculture in North Viet Nam and grasp both the general and concrete aspects of a crucial problem for our country's future.

Hanoi, March 1975

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## Towards a Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture

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## BALANCE-SHEET AND PROSPECTS

Since 1965 we have had to fight an arduous war which created very great difficulties in our lives. In spite of the war, our Party decided to give a great impulse to agriculture and regional industry so as to meet the requirements of the front and improve the people's life. One of the most important problems in wartime is that of labour. However, although since 1965 a great number of the able-bodied young men in the countryside have gone to the front, the agricultural labour force has not been reduced, but has rather increased. Yet, it is to be noted that the cultivated acreage had diminished by some hundreds of thousands of hectares as a result of capital construction and the building of roads and water-control works. Therefore, despite a considerable growth in yield, the total production of food still fluctuates around the same level with no considerable increase. Meanwhile, the population has grown by more than four million, i.e., a yearly increase of half a million. Every year agriculture sells an important quantity of food to the State, but the State has to return part of it to a number of peasants during the pre-harvest period. As regards clothing we still have to import raw cotton and textiles from foreign coun-

tries. Moreover, in the movement for co-operation and the organization of agricultural production and labour, irrational aspects and negative factors still remain. At this conference you have said that the price problem is one of the causes for the co-operatives' lack of enthusiasm in production. It is true that some State purchasing prices of agricultural products are irrational. The State must resolutely readjust them. But we should note that the State sells industrial goods to the peasants at fairly cheap prices. Normally, if the State purchasing prices of agricultural products are raised, the prices of a number of industrial goods must also be increased. And in fact, the amount of commodities sold by the peasants to the State is smaller than that sold by the State to the peasants. In the relationship between the State and the peasants, it should be noted first of all that the State has shown the greatest concern about providing food, clothing, educational facilities and medical care for the peasants and their families. While a fierce war was being waged in which the American imperialists dropped millions of tons of bombs on our country, despite many difficulties and hardships, the children were able to go to school and everyone was provided with adequate food and clothing even in areas severely affected by flood and typhoons. In the history of war this is a rare occurrence, the result of immense efforts; it will stand as a tremendous achievement of our people, our Party and our State. Generally in wars, besides the sacrifices in lives, the people suffer from hunger and cold. At certain places and times it has happened that the majority of the death toll was made up of people dying from starvation. Thanks to the

efforts made by our people and the assistance by our brothers and friends in the world we have avoided any such situation.

This is to help you understand the situation better and I hope that in your turn you will help our peasants understand better our Party, our State, our system. I have the feeling that some among our cadres and people have not fully realized this. Is that right?

There is no denying that the peasants in our country have made great contribution to the revolution. They have sent their children to fight for national salvation: This is a very precious contribution, a very judicious thing to do, consistent with the outlook of every Vietnamese who loves his country and the new system. It fully deserves the praise of future generations. However, this is also the common duty of all citizens in the face of the life-or-death problem confronting the country. It does not allow anybody — whatever his position and whatever contribution he has made to the national salvation cause — to use it as a pretext to demand special rights and privileges. We must show ourselves worthy of those who have laid down their lives, who have joyfully accepted all sacrifices, even shedding their last drops of blood, to ensure lasting happiness and glory for the nation.

Are we not all feeling great pride, now more than ever before, because we have won this victory? Just recently, Nixon had to resign his position as President of the USA. What was the reason for this? The deep cause of Nixon's downfall lies in the US defeat in the Viet Nam war. Our victory has not only safeguarded our own independence and freedom, but also contri-

buted to foiling the US strategy of world hegemony and bringing about a new world situation favourable to the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Having achieved such a great, extraordinary exploit, we have the right to be proud! Moreover, in the struggle for national salvation, our people have become more revolutionary. There is a seething revolutionary movement, a firm determination to win, in our entire people, from old folk to small children. Under the watchword of the "Three Readys"<sup>1</sup>, our young men are rushing to the front to fight the enemy while our young women stay in the rear area to assume theirs "Three Responsibilities"<sup>2</sup>. Can there be a loftier image of the revolution? With this, we can defeat the US imperialists, bring about a technical revolution in agriculture and cope with the aftermath of so many natural calamities. Over the past few years, the weather has not been favourable; floods and typhoons have been particularly severe. In 1971 and 1973 alone, natural calamities caused the loss of more than one and a half million tons of rice and a great quantity of other goods. However we have been able to overcome all those difficulties.

Revolution is a festive day for the masses, the time when they feel proudest and most enthusiastic. We must correctly assess the situation and help everyone understand it fully so that he will feel inspired and a

1. Ready to join the armed forces, ready to fight and serve the fighting, and ready to go anywhere the Homeland needs us.

2. To take on jobs in place of men enlisted in the army; to perform household work; to encourage husband and sons to go to the frontline.

new revolutionary movement can rise from this victory.

On the other hand, we must also realize that we have had not a few shortcomings in the recent past. Had it not been for these shortcomings, if no individual, no Party cell, no Party Committee at village, district, and provincial level had shown any shortcomings and if the Central Committee itself had not had any, our history would undoubtedly have been still greater. The shortcomings are due to the fact that we have not fully and firmly grasped one aspect or another of the revolution, that our capabilities are limited, that our spirit of criticism and self-criticism is not yet high, and that the sense of responsibility and the revolutionary will of a number of our comrades have dwindled. Our shortcomings have prevented progress in some places and caused disorder and even damage in others. For instance, a comrade has just reported that in the carrying out of the triple revolution<sup>1</sup> in the countryside, a survey has shown that zealous Party members only made up 30-40% of his Party cell, "average" members more than 40%, while more than 10% were weak and bad elements. It is a big shortcoming on our part to have allowed such a situation to develop. Supposing we can eliminate all the bad elements from the Party, and reduce at least by half the number of "average" Party members, the picture will be completely different: zealous Party members will constitute the majority and the Party cell will become an active one. On the other hand, if the bad elements

1. Revolution in the relations of production; technical revolution; cultural and ideological revolution. (Ed.)

are allowed to stay on, and nothing is done to reduce the number of "average" Party members, then the Party cell will remain an inactive one and its leadership will remain sluggish and inefficient. Thus, whether or not action is taken on, one single point may change the whole picture, a bad situation may change into a good one, or a potentially good situation may worsen overnight. How dangerous it is indeed! If all Party cells act as I said. I can assure you that bad Party cells will become good ones, inactive leadership will become active leadership, and the movement, from a state of stagnation, will move forward or even make a big leap. Failing to act will be a big shortcoming.

Let us take another example. Our State is an organ of power and at the same time, an apparatus for building and managing the national economy. The Ministry of Heavy Industry, for instance, is first of all an economic organization whose function is to build and manage heavy industry throughout the country, and supply new equipment to the whole national economy: the same remark applies to State organs at the provincial and district levels. They are not just organs of power, but also organizations for running the economy. Management by the State aims at ensuring the right of the masses to be the collective master of the country. How then will the State manage its affairs so as to ensure this right of collective mastery? How to exercise the right of collective mastery in the whole country? How to do it in each locality and in each basic unit? These problems could not be understood overnight. Only decades after the birth of the first socialist State have we gradually come to

understand them. To correctly determine the role and nature of the socialist State is to make full use of its inherent important influence on social and economic management, to increase the power of socialist legislation and of all orders and instructions of the State administration, to build a State apparatus composed of men and women able to meet the need not only of administration but also of developing production, the economy and technology. This question is very complicated on the theoretical plane, and particularly from the point of view of practical organization. Yet many of us have taken a simplistic view of this question and have consequently committed many mistakes when called upon to direct work.

Agriculture has been beset with difficulties and complications, which are due not only to objective causes, but also to shortcomings and weaknesses committed from top to bottom, from the Party's leadership to the organs of State direction and management. For this reason, notwithstanding the good results obtained in increasing yields and creating model co-operatives, we must make severe criticisms and self-criticisms of our shortcomings if we want to make greater progress.

The method of historical materialism precisely consists of constant criticism and continuous revolution. Things never stay at the same place but always move forward. That is why, only by upholding our critical and revolutionary spirit can we catch up with this development. If not, we will mark time, lag behind realities and sometimes even go counter to realities.

The reports presented at this conference by co-operatives, regional administrations and scientific and technical workers mention new and stable aspects which may serve as a basis for important conclusions on the possibilities of agricultural development in the years ahead.

*First* after a long period of study and experimentation concrete conclusions have been reached on a number of scientific and technical problems of cultivation and animal husbandry. The practical value of these lies in the fact that they are the results of an application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the "green revolution" in the ricefields of Viet Nam, in a way suitable to the climatic, meteorological, geological and hydraulic conditions of Viet Nam, and our country's existing potentials in manpower and materials. Our labour force is mainly manual but if it is organized suitably and on a great scale, we can satisfactorily carry out hydraulic work, soil improvement and intensive farming, and complete work in the fields in time to ensure a good crop. With nothing but manure, lime, phosphate and azolla pinnata we can already obtain high yields. If we reserve a reasonable acreage for the development of animal husbandry, production will not be reduced but on the contrary increased, for a sufficiently large pig herd which can supply us with not only meat but also manure is doing the work of a nitrogenous fertilizer plant. Cross-breeding and improvement of animal feed have yielded good results. The seed revolution has brought not only new high-yield rice varieties adapted to our climate and resistant to disease

and insects, but also short-term varieties which allow the planting of three crops in a year and a scientific crop rotation. This makes possible a balance between cultivation and animal husbandry on a new basis suited to the natural conditions of our country, its large population and small territory.

These scientific conclusions are no longer abstract theories nor laboratory experiments but can already be widely applied to production, provided that we have the right organization, a good system of technical management, and strict production discipline. Each locality and each co-operative must study these general scientific conclusions and turn them into concrete conclusions and concrete formulas suited to their specific conditions.

Besides having drawn many important scientific conclusions, we have trained a fairly large contingent of technical agricultural workers. The question now is how to assign them the right tasks in the right places. In my opinion, while consolidating the organs of scientific research and of scientific and technical management at the central level, we should send an important part of these cadres to the countryside. For example, we can send to each district some scores of technical cadres to create a capable technical staff to help the local Party and administrative organs in their work of guiding the application of science and technology to production, and to find quick solutions to scientific and technical problems arising in the co-operatives' practical production work. This is a necessary measure to introduce science and technology into

agricultural production and to acquaint scientific and technical workers with the realities of the situation. In this way they will rapidly come to maturity and have the opportunity of contributing to the noble revolutionary task of modernizing our countryside from its traditional backwardness.

*Second*, the model co-operatives which exist in different regions constitute good schools for our agriculture in its initial stage of development. The immediate practical question is the problem of developing agriculture along the line of large-scale socialist production. These model co-operatives no longer remain in the domain of research, they are now the deeds of the masses in the fields.

They are not only the experience of one specific region, but have become realities in many regions which are quite different from one another. The co-operatives which have done well enjoy no particular advantages in matters of land, labour force or State investment. On the contrary, some of them are even in unfavourable conditions. Here it is a question of leadership and guidance by the Party and administrative organs at all levels and the organization and management ability of cadres. Here lies the persuasive power of those model co-operatives. As the comrades of Quynh Luu (a district in Nghe An province *Ed.*) have rightly said: "When Quang Nap with its acid soil, Minh Sinh with its difficult situation and Tri Chi with its swampy, waterlogged fields can get a yield of 6-7 tons of paddy per hectare, grow winter rice in most of their fields, and bring in 6,000 to 7,000 *dong's* worth of products from one hectare, it is certain that most co-operatives in the

plains and the midlands can do the same". The organization of production and improvement of management by Minh Sinh and Dong Hai co-operatives is not something extraordinary which cannot be imitated by other co-operatives. In a short period of time, Tong Vu, formerly a backward cooperative, has become a good co-operative successful in doing away with such negative aspects as encroachment on the collective land and the habit of working more actively for oneself than for the co-operative. So there is no reason why other backward co-operatives should not become pretty good. These are new, very important factors heralding a new era of agricultural production in our country, provided that we did not indulge in conservatism, that we boldly learn from the new, go deep into the new, adopt concrete policies, plans and measures in order to solve in a practical manner the difficulties and obstacles met by each co-operative and district instead of confining ourselves to making appeals and exhortations in general terms, or applying a common formula to the extremely diversified, multifaceted realities of agricultural production in the present stage.

*Third*, after more than a decade of construction, our agriculture now has some material and technical bases: water-control networks, drying yards, warehouses, stables, breeding farms, machinery, equipment, processing workshops, research institutes, experimental stations and farms, etc. Industry, which is being restored and expanded, will constitute an important force for pushing ahead the development of agriculture. On the one hand, it is necessary to make full use of the existing installations by examining carefully the work-

ing of each establishment or installation, each type of machine, and taking adequate measures to ensure the best results. On the other hand, we must intensify new construction work to complete the water-control network in order to bring water to the fields and ensure rational irrigation and drainage. We must rapidly build a national system of seed production and animal breeding from the central to the local level aimed at ensuring sufficient supplies of high-quality strains and resolutely eliminate low-quality ones; we must also step up the construction of phosphate and nitrogenous fertilizer works and lime kilns as the production of building materials and the processing of agricultural products; and we should attach particular attention to equipping agriculture with farming tools and machines, etc. Good construction work must necessarily be coupled with good management and utilization. We must take into account the economic and technical peculiarities of each category of installation or establishment to apply an appropriate system of management and ensure its most economical use and maintenance.

I propose that the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Water Conservation, the Ministry of Communications and Transport, the Ministry of Building, the Ministry of Engineering and Metallurgy and other branches concerned should coordinate actions with the organs of agricultural management in working out a concrete plan for building not only for agriculture in general, but for each district. *We must determine what must and could be done in the years ahead, what is to be done by the State and what the people in the*

*various localities should be encouraged to do with their own means.*

I think that the founding of the material and technical bases of agriculture should be the common effort of the central, regional and local administrations. The economic branches managed by the central administration should exert the utmost efforts and show initiative in serving agriculture, satisfy the new requirements of agricultural production in good time, modify irrational rules and regulations, severely criticize wrongdoings, and so create the most favourable conditions for agriculture to develop. The regional and local administrations should, for their part, show a spirit of revolutionary offensive and self-reliance and achieve prosperity by their own efforts without waiting for the help of the State. As masters of their fields, all regions and cooperatives should show boldness and creativeness, devoting all their energies and overcoming difficulties and hardships to build up their localities and their co-operatives with a spirit capable of removing mountains and filling up the sea. Those who have machines will use their machines, those who have no machines will work with their hands. But no one will stand back. Everyone should work not 5-6 but 10-12 hours a day in a dynamic and active manner, wage a tenacious struggle against nature and make full use of every plot of land. To go to the midlands and highlands with "a ball of rice, some salted eggplants and a communist heart" so as to open up virgin land — this is what has been done by the people of Quynh Luu. Those of Quang Nap have been working for decades to improve alkaline soils. Those of Minh Sinh

have turned clayey soil into arable land for the cultivation of the winter crop, and those of Tri Chi have delimited its land to cope with waterlogging, etc. These are bright examples of hard work which should be followed by all of us.

*Fourth*, we have essentially completed the task of organizing the peasants into co-operatives and have repeatedly consolidated the new relations of production. The co-operatives have brought into full play their positive aspects in production, combat, and satisfying the people's needs. However, in the movement of cooperation and agricultural production there now appear negative manifestations as illegal encroachment and wasteful use of land, failure to put into practice the principles and system of socialist management and to carry out distribution in a just and rational way, according to the work done. This has, in some measure, prevented the superiority of the new system from being brought into full play. Thus we may say that due attention must be given to consolidating and perfecting the new production relations in three respects: consolidating collective ownership, closely combining collective ownership with ownership by the entire people and organizing rational management and a rational system of distribution. Otherwise we shall find that we lack the necessary prerequisites for the development of production and the stepping up of the technical revolution. On the other hand the new relations of production cannot be steadily consolidated unless we are able to turn their superiority to account so as to re-organize production and the labour force, speed up the building of the material and technical bases, help

the progressive advance of agriculture toward large-scale socialist production and raise the co-op members' living standards.

*Fifth*, the building of a large-scale socialist agriculture is a process of revolutionary struggle in many respects. It requires correct leadership by the Party, strict management by the State and a revolutionary movement of the peasant masses. For this reason, the Party committees at the base must thoroughly grasp the Party line and apply it in a creative manner to the conditions of their localities. Cadres and Party members should remain in the van and set examples in all fields. The State must promulgate a just management system and pass the necessary legislation ; especially, it should exert a powerful economic influence to mobilize the workers and industrial branches to do their best in the service of agriculture. Peasant co-op members must be fully conscious of their role as collective masters ; they must exercise their rights and constantly enhance their capacity to play the role of masters. Only in this way can the co-operatives successfully carry out the triple revolution, develop agriculture powerfully, and become truly socialist economic units. This is a lesson of success learnt from the more advanced co-operatives.

I cite those facts in order to affirm that, though we still have to endure many hardships and meet with many difficulties, we are sure that with the experience, knowledge and "capital" acquired, with the immense revolutionary capabilities of our collective peasantry, our agriculture in the years ahead will undergo new changes, satisfy the vital needs for agricultural pro-

ducts, and make the initial step toward becoming a large-scale socialist agriculture.

Our appraisal of the situation can be boiled down to this : we are highly elated at the great victory of the revolution in all fields, but on the other hand, we also see that our everyday life is still full of difficulties and complexities. We must have a correct viewpoint and standing-ground when assessing the situation as well as determining our road forward. What does this mean ? The chief, most important thing in our viewpoint and standing-ground is revolutionary theory, the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the specific conditions of our country. Even if you are a workingman, your stand will not be a Marxist-Leninist one, the stand of the working class, if you err in your theoretical approach and in the way of solving problems. What then is our viewpoint and standing-ground, that is, our revolutionary theory, on agriculture ? The question of achieving agricultural cooperation and building a large-scale socialist agriculture touches upon many fundamental theoretical questions. Many questions must be answered : why must we Vietnamese carry out agricultural co-operation immediately, even before having built a large industry ? Why have the new relations of production in agriculture been not yet consolidated ? What must we do to take a backward agriculture to the socialist stage and so on... We are adherents of Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly, all our actions proceed from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. But how has Marxism-Leninism dealt with the problem of the peasantry and the problem to agricultural co-operation ? And how should we

apply this theory to the specific conditions of our country? I believe that the majority of you, who have attended courses on or have studied this question, have achieved some understanding of it. But maybe some of you who have not had the opportunity to study it, do not understand it properly. That is why today I want to tell you something about it.

### THE ADVANCE TOWARD LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

According to Marx, socialism and communism can only emerge on the basis of a highly developed big industry. Failing this, there can be no talk of socialism if one does not want to fall into utopism. The realities of history have shown that small production has been negated and replaced by large-scale capitalist production with huge production bases. This is the premise, the necessary material and social basis for an advance to socialism, "Without large capitalist workshops, without a highly organized big industry, there can be no talk of socialism in general, much less of socialism in an agricultural country." He further said that "no insurrection could bring about socialism if on the economic plane, this socialism is not yet ripe." It is precisely for this reason that in the Manifesto of the Communist Party Marx and Engels did not touch upon the question of small farmers' economy or that of industrialization but instead "bring to the front, as the leading question in the revolutionary movement, the property question." Only in other works did the clas-

sics dwell at length on the question of the peasantry, and Engels advised us to wait for the peasants and "give them time to think on their plots of land." Decidedly we cannot use force to compel them to adhere to the new system.

By Lenin's times, capitalism which had moved into the imperialist stage, already posed a series of new questions, both theoretical and practical, for the socialist revolution: whether it was then possible for the socialist revolution to succeed in one country; whether it was possible for the revolution to break out first in some industrialized country of average development where the peasants constituted the majority of the population in which case, the question of who were the allies of the proletariat became a vital question of the revolution; the question of the alliance between the proletariat in the "metropolitan country" and the oppressed nations mainly consisting of the peasant masses, etc.

Lenin found the right answers to these questions, and as a result, found very important creative approaches to the peasant question in the socialist revolution. To take the peasantry to socialism through "co-operation" was a new contribution of Lenin's. Lenin, however, did not depart from Marxism because he made it clear that without a big industry the co-operatives could not be consolidated. These are the directives of our teachers.

What about the realities of the other socialist countries in their advance to socialism? When they began building socialism, all the other socialist countries had a more or less developed industrial base. That is why,

the process of co-operation could closely follow (or somewhat precede) the mechanization of agriculture. Czarist Russia, though economically backward compared with Western Europe and the United States, had however, grown into an imperialist power provided with many big industrial enterprises. Following the October Revolution, the Soviet Union had the necessary conditions to equip its agriculture with machines at a relatively early date, considering socialist industrialization to be the premise of agricultural co-operation. Some other socialist countries were, like Viet Nam semi-colonies or colonies. However, capitalism in these countries had already reached a fairly high stage of development. They already possessed large areas for crop specialization, some important industrial centres (steel, engineering, electricity...) and urban centres where light industry was rather developed. Therefore, when they began building their socialist economy, these countries had what they needed to build quickly their heavy industry, and, before long, to make industry serve agriculture, using industry to boost agriculture.

In our country, production was on a small scale and based on extremely backward technique. In industry, especially in modern industry, we had nothing worth mentioning, not a kilogram of steel or chemicals, the electricity hardly sufficed to light a few cities and engineering consisted only of small repair workshops. The per capita area of cultivated land, the lowest in the world, was and remains an extremely acute problem in developing the economy.

Moreover, our country has had to undergo protracted, devastating wars. How, in such a situation, to advance to socialism, the culminating point of our time, which is marked by a modern industry, a modern agriculture and advanced culture and science? How can we bring a backward and scattered agriculture to large-scale socialist production, build a new countryside and a new peasantry? Speaking of the characteristics of our country in its advance towards socialism, this is indeed the dominant feature. It seems that no country so far in history has been in a situation such as ours. We must lead the peasantry and agriculture immediately to socialism, without waiting for a developed industry, though we know very well that without the strong impact of industry, agriculture cannot achieve large scale production and new relations of agricultural production cannot be consolidated. We should ask ourselves whether, in the present conditions of our country, it is in accordance with the laws of social development to take the peasantry and agriculture immediately to socialism (i.e. without waiting for a developed industry)? And if so, is there any particular law on this problem for our country and countries like ours in the future? Every form of progress has its own laws. If we are animated by high determination but do not act according to the objective laws of development we can never succeed. Hence, it is extremely important to solve the new problems raised by the realities of our country.

To my mind, to solve these problems means to find out laws governing the process of taking small pro-

duction to large-scale socialist production and transforming a backward, scattered agriculture into a large-scale socialist agriculture. Only when we have grasped the general laws and general theory of this whole process can we correctly analyse each element of the process. Likewise, if we do not grasp the general laws and theory on the building of a large-scale socialist agriculture, we cannot correctly appreciate the cases which have been reported on at this conference and which are like the cells of our agriculture, and therefore we cannot multiply and popularize them.

To proceed from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a great problem and a new one. For more than a decade we have been seeking a solution at the same time as we have been carrying on our work. In this way, you and all of us and certainly our specialists in economy and science now have a clearer view of the problem. It is necessary to work and engage in researches at the same time. There is no other alternative. One cannot grasp all problems at a time. Now, how have we perceived this problem?

In the first place, we know that to advance toward socialism we must see what is most progressive in our time, because scientific socialism is the necessary achievement of our epoch, the culminating point of its progress. We cannot rely solely on our own knowledge, sentiments and will; on the contrary we must, by all means, grasp the scientific acquisitions of our time, study social, economic and technological sciences, put them into practice and turn them into realities in the conditions of Viet Nam. On the basis of

this scientific knowledge, which we will apply to the specific conditions in our country, we must try to bring into full play the conditions which have already existed, and create those which are still lacking, in order to progress step by step toward large-scale socialist production. So, in the agricultural field, what are the most progressive factors in our time? In my opinion, it is the system of socialist collective ownership, the science of labour organization, economic management, water control, the use of fertilizers, seeds, new implements and so on. Only by endeavouring to progressively master all these and gradually put them into effect can we take our individualistic backward agriculture forward to large-scale socialist agriculture. The realities of our agriculture provide us with precious lessons of experience in this respect. Ever since it was founded, due to the concrete condition in our country, our Party has been the sole and absolute leading force of the revolution. It has led the workers, peasants and other strata of our people in the victorious struggle against imperialism and feudalism, thus winning back independence for the nation, democracy for the people and land for the peasants, and setting up a people's democratic power, which is actually a worker-peasant power and is now assuming the historic task of proletarian dictatorship. For the peasantry of our country, independence and land are the most precious things, aspirations which have been cherished for centuries. It is our Party that has satisfied these aspirations of the peasants. That is why the peasantry, acting on the call of the Party, has volunteered, together with the working class, to

go forward to socialism and give up individual production, to move eagerly and rapidly along the path of agricultural co-operation and build a new system, the system of socialist collective ownership. Thus, in our country, the successful conclusion of the national democratic revolution led by the working class created the prerequisites for the socialist revolution. Thus, the above-mentioned social relations (proletarian dictatorship and collective ownership) which are normally the products of large-scale industry, in our country are the natural outcome of the process of national democratic revolution and of the initial stage of socialist transformation in the absence of large-scale industry. We therefore cannot sit idly by waiting for the creation of heavy industry before establishing these relations. History enables and compels us to go forward to these relations *immediately*. What Engels felt was very difficult to realize in many countries (hence his recommendation to "wait") can be done in ours. We cannot miss this historic opportunity, we must seize it, carry out agricultural co-operation without delay, and use the worker-peasant power and the cooperative regime as a motive force to push ahead with other revolutionary transformations in agriculture and quicken the birth of a large-scale production and industry. To start the process of socialist construction by establishing the system of collective ownership — this is a peculiarity of the process of our country's historical development, and an important theoretical point of social sciences in Viet Nam.

With socialist collective ownership, with the reorganization of labour on a large-scale to carry out

water-control work, soil improvement, and the building of a number of necessary material and technical bases, with the application of the achievements of the "green revolution" and limited help from industry, we are fully capable of taking our country's agriculture another step forward on the path of large-scale socialist production, at a time when industry is still being built up. Moreover, we may use agriculture as a base for industrial development. Or, to put it another way, we must, after the transformation of individual production into collective production, immediately reorganize agricultural production and labour in the direction of centralization, specialization and co-operation on an ever larger scale, thus creating a kind of socialist "manual work-site." On this basis, we must put industry at the service of agriculture and gradually step up the technical revolution, in order to develop the forces of production, strengthen the new relations of production and build a new countryside and a new peasantry. This is the road of gradual advance toward large-scale socialist production in agriculture, and the way to ensure victory for socialism in our countryside. I think that these are important theoretical concepts regarding the development of our agriculture in its initial stage. Advanced co-operatives are vivid examples proving the correctness of these concepts. They have developed a system of collective mastery, have learnt to some degree to organize and manage along the line of large-scale production, and to apply some achievements of the "Green Revolution" to their plots of land, and have accordingly given a boost to the movement and brought about many practical results :

high yields, high output, big contributions to the State, and improvement of the co-op members' livelihood.

To make revolution is to bring happiness to the whole society as well as to each family. To join the co-operatives and give up individual farming is to build a fuller, brighter and more stable life for oneself.

The superiority of agricultural co-operatives has been demonstrated in many respects, especially during the patriotic war against US aggression and the fight against natural calamities. However, the superiority of co-operatives must in the final analysis be proved by the fact that they bring the peasantry a happier life. If co-operation does not bring the peasants a happier life than individual production, then the co-operatives will not remain strong and the ties binding the peasants to their co-operatives will gradually be loosened. For that reason, if we want to ensure superiority over individual production, the only way is to go forward to *large-scale socialist production*, fully ensure to the masses the right of being collective masters, carry out the technical revolution, combat wayward working habits and illegal acts which are contrary to the nature of the socialist economy and the line and policies of our Party and State.

#### ORIENTATION AND TASKS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

We have affirmed that there are four major tasks for our agriculture: to ensure enough *cereals* and *other foodstuffs* for the whole society; to supply

industry with raw materials, to have more agricultural products for export in order to promote the technical revolution; and to provide manpower for industry and other economic branches, for the cultural field and for national defence. The historic mission of the collective peasantry with the collaboration of the working class is to fulfil these major tasks in their own interest, and in the interest of the life of the entire nation and the future of socialist industrialization. The working class must also work with self-sacrifice and discipline, with technical skill and high productivity in order to produce articles for the people, the majority of whom are peasants.

In the years ahead, we must do our best to solve *the problem of food* in all three regions — the plains, the midlands and the mountains — in order to ensure the people's daily meals. We already have experience in this problem and there are many advanced units in food production. A number of provinces in North Viet Nam have obtained five tons of paddy per hectare on double-crop ricefields, the rice yield in many districts has reached five to six tons per hectare, and in many co-operatives the rice yield per hectare ranges between seven and eight tons. We must give a greater impulse to water-control work, so as to make it a revolutionary movement of the masses and link it closely with science and technology. The acreage exposed to flood and drought should be limited to a minimum; this will contribute to the improvement of the soil and the stabilization of production. With better seed selection and a sufficient quantity of lime, phosphate, especially manure and

green compost, it should not be too difficult to obtain 6-7 tons of paddy per hectare on large areas. Food does not consist of rice only, so great attention must also be paid to subsidiary crops and leguminous plants. The provinces in the midlands and highlands have a great potential and may solve the problem of food without affecting the development of other strong points. They must make the best use of the land to push ahead with intensive farming of food crops over the existing acreage and give a boost to the cultivation of subsidiary food crops such as maize, potatoes, manioc and other starchy foods. To bring hundreds of thousands of hectares of land under maize through a combination of manual with mechanized labour is an extremely important objective, an undertaking of great economic value. To achieve this objective, scientific workers must ensure supplies of sufficient high-quality seeds and the central and regional agricultural services must allocate sufficient land and labour.

The superiority of the new rice varieties should be turned to account and soil improvement work should be actively carried out to *extend the winter-crop rice-fields* wherever possible. This is an important orientation for agriculture which will have good effects in many spheres, enabling more food to be supplied to the people, developing the breeding of cattle and poultry, increasing land productivity, improving the soil and ~~ensuring~~ a rational use of labour by making it possible for the peasants to work the whole year round. Every co-operative and district should follow this orientation in the allocation of land and the

division of labour. Especially, they must equip themselves with enough implements, including a number of necessary machines, such as 12-h.p. tractors.

Drinking is as important as eating, especially in a tropical climate. We should attach great importance to tea planting and rapidly increase its acreage both for home consumption and for export. Sugar-cane is also very precious, giving not only sugar, but also other products of even greater value. We must have great determination and organize ourselves sufficiently to cultivate hundreds of thousands of hectares of industrial crops. The agricultural branches and the food industry from the central to local levels must pay great attention to allocating sufficient land and labour for the cultivation and processing of sugar-cane, fruit (orange, lemon, pineapple, banana), oleaginous plants (groundnuts, camellia, tung, candleberry, etc) which will be very useful for home consumption and for export. In my opinion, the most difficult question and at the same time our weakest point lies not in the shortage of labour or land, but most of all in our lack of adequate organization and of diligence, dynamism and perseverance.

We must provide the people with not only food but also clothing. We have great difficulty in growing cotton in our country and cannot cultivate it on a large scale. That is why we must pay great attention to the planting of mulberry, jute and timber for the production of synthetic fibres. We can either have large mulberry plantations, especially on hill-slopes, or have every household in the rural areas raise silkworms and grow mulberry. But spinning must be done

collectively and good quality be ensured for the yarn. With some tens of thousands of hectares under jute and a processing industry turning out goods in great demand, we are certain to produce a large amount for export and meet an important part of the people's needs in clothing.

To take our agricultural forward to large-scale socialist production means to create a new balance between cultivation and animal husbandry, and to turn animal husbandry from a sideline occupation into a main branch of production which includes the breeding of cattle (buffaloes, oxen, pigs, goats), poultry (chicken, ducks, geese) and fish. In the years to come, we must make every effort to transform animal husbandry so as to increase the amount of foodstuffs for the population and manure for cultivation, contributing to promoting exports and helping the new division of labour. First of all, we must re-allocate land for the cultivation of different crops and determine the number of crops to be grown in a year so as to make a rational use of land, strive to increase the number of crops in order to create more sources of animal feed, at the same time we must build animal feed processing installations in each district. We must decide on the selection of breeds at an early date, make a good choice of breeds and enlarge the network of veterinary doctors to prevent epidemics and stamp out their pockets. The State (and part of the collective sector) must see to the production and supply of selected breeds of reproducers, and the industrial production of animal feed. As for animal husbandry, it may be carried out by the State, the

collective sector or by families. Breeding by individual families, very important at present, should become a component part of animal husbandry in general and put under State organization and management. Thus it will ensure full use of the idle labour force and kitchen waste in each family. The above measures constitute the first step in the organization of animal husbandry in the direction of large-scale production, in a way suitable to the situation of food, materials and manpower in our countryside at present.

To expand our economic relations with foreign countries, the socialist ones first of all, is an objective requirement and, at the same time, a great advantage to us in our advance from small production to large-scale socialist production. It is the same thing with agriculture. We should take into account not only the possibilities and requirements of our country but also the needs for export and import. In order to carry out rapid modernization and achieve big economic results, the orientation and planning of agricultural development must inevitably be aimed also at meeting export requirements. Each co-operative, each district and the whole nation should think of what must be done for *export* and strive to use part of the land and manpower to produce goods for export. To speak of the advantages of tropical agriculture is to speak of its export possibilities; these advantages should be seen in the volume of exported agricultural products. With its role as "the basis for the development of industry" in the initial stage, it is imperative for our agriculture to become an export agriculture. Besides, exports not only contribute to accumulation

for socialist industrialization, but also serve as an important measure for the increase of labour productivity in agriculture and improvement of the peasants' living conditions. Therefore, *to strive to have hundreds of thousands of hectares under industrial crops, leguminous plants, fruit trees and a herd of cattle and poultry for export, to ensure that every agricultural worker reserves a considerable number of workdays for export production* — these are problems to which much thought must be given day and night by planning, agricultural and foreign trade services, from the central to the basic level. Efforts to attain these objectives must become revolutionary acts of the peasant masses under the close guidance of State organs.

In brief, to cultivate four kinds of crops (producing starch, sugar, oil and fibre) on a large scale, to turn animal husbandry into a main branch of production, to raise labour productivity and redistribute the labour force in favour of other trades and to set up new economic areas, first of all in the fertile regions — these are the main responsibilities of agriculture with regard to the people's well-being and socialist industrialization in the present stage.

#### INITIAL STEPS IN THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT

What should we do now in order to carry through these tasks? In the spirit of the resolutions taken at the 19th, 20th and 22nd sessions of the Party's Cen-

tral Committee, the Secretariat has just issued a directive outlining the present task for our agriculture. It is to launch the *initial re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management* in order to turn our agriculture, which has been collectivized but still suffers to a serious extent from a guild character, fragmentation and other negative aspects, into an agriculture in which methods of specialized and intensive cultivation are practised and which is developing all-sidedly in the direction of large-scale socialist production. Without the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management, it will be impossible to consolidate the new relations of production, to do away with the present negative aspects in the movement of co-operation and agricultural production, to push forward with the technical revolution, to make a rational and efficient use of the land and other means of production, to build a new countryside and a new peasant. The achievement of the advanced co-operatives are due to the fact that their production and management are relatively well organized. How should this re-organization be carried out?

First of all, it is necessary to realize that large-scale socialist production is a type of production whose scope and system of division of labour go beyond the limits of a region or locality; its aim is to meet the requirements of the whole country. We should do away with the autarkic character of production. The whole country should become an immense work-site. The whole nation is a single market. Each worker is a cell in the division of social labour, each economic unit is a link in the chain of production.

Each family, each person must work for the whole society, the whole nation. Inversely, the whole society, the whole nation must see to the welfare of each family and to the happiness of each person. Everybody (except the disabled) must do some work to contribute to the common effort, at the same time no one must find his material and spiritual life uncared for by society: "One for all, all for one." The building of a large-scale socialist production must not be the only work of the peasantry, but the responsibility and the effort of the whole State — the peasantry, the working class and the socialist intelligentsia. It must be the outcome of the triple revolution and of the movements of agricultural co-operation and industrialization. Each co-operative, each district engages in production not only in the interests of its members and of the local population but also in the interests of the whole nation. Each co-operative, each district works for the co-op members and the local population but also for the whole nation and is responsible to the central authorities as well as to the local population. The plan of a co-operative, a district, must be an integral part of the plan of the province and of the whole national economy. A co-operative cannot base production merely on its own requirements and abilities; the direction of production and such factors as water control, seeds, processing, must be based on the division of labour, co-operation and delimitation of cropland for the whole agricultural branch in each province and particularly in each district. At present, our co-operatives are socialist economic units but they still have a strong guild character. They

work almost independently of each other and have little relationship with one another and with the whole national economy. The same thing is seen even in each production brigade of the same co-operative. Though collectivized, our agriculture still suffers seriously from fragmentation and small production. Therefore, the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management is an important task for the agricultural branch in general and for each region and each co-operative in particular.

The re-organization of agricultural production means that, having decided and stabilized the direction of production according to the delimitation of agricultural areas and planning made centrally and at provincial level, firstly, the agricultural labour force should be re-organized and redistributed with a view to achieving higher productivity and initially making collective labour a "technical necessity"; secondly the present means of production, chiefly land, should be re-arranged and the building of the new material and technical bases in the direction of centralized, intensive and specialized cultivation continued; and thirdly a rational distribution of equipment and materials and a rational system of scientific and technical research should be arranged so as to serve agriculture in the most rapid and effective manner. So, the re-organization of production and the improvement of agricultural management are aimed both at increasing the productive forces and at consolidating the new relations of production. It is precisely for this reason that we have always assumed that agricultural co-operation must be carried out alongside water con-

trol, soil improvement, re-organization of the labour force, a new orientation of production on the basis of planning, delimitation of agricultural areas and the use of improved farm equipment. During the whole process of the development of agricultural production, constant attention must be paid to the consolidation of the new relations of production and to the gradual perfection of the managerial and organizational system.

In the re-organization of production and improvement of managerial work, the first necessity is for the *co-operatives* to take in hand the means of production, chiefly land, and recuperate misappropriated or misused land. On this basis, production should be re-organized following the line of concentration by discarding the system of organization of production and distribution of profits by individual production brigades and by unifying the utilization and management of land on the scale of the whole co-operative. It is necessary to redistribute land to the production brigades in a way convenient for cultivation and domicile and to farm the land on a large scale so as to avoid scattering and fragmentation. The close relations between land, water and crops must be determined by a strict farming system and technical plan. Intensive farming and crop multiplication must be promoted and the cultivated area expanded. The co-operatives must switch from scattered and autarkic production to planned production under unified direction at district level. For the time being average size of co-operatives can be stabilized at around two hundred hectares of cultivated land, but the crops must be

multiplied, so that the acreage under crops will be equal to some five hundred hectares.

Parallel with the re-arrangement of the means of production, it is necessary to re-organize and redistribute the labour force in the direction of specialization. According to the concrete conditions, we must organize basic brigades and form a number of brigades or teams specializing in seeds, irrigation, manuring. There should be a division of labour and close co-operation between these brigades which should be bound by collective contracts under the guidance of the co-operative managing committee. By setting the labour norms, classifying the tasks and fixing the work-point scale, we shall readjust the contractual payment of jobs in the co-operative with regard to each type of plant and animal, each type of work and branch of activities, and highlight the responsibility of each production group and each co-op member toward the fruits of labour and production work. Hand in hand with the establishment of production brigades, the co-operative managing committee must do its best to build the new peasant. Though the struggle between the two paths—socialism and capitalism—the work of transformation, the organization and management of the co-operative and ideological remoulding and the movements of labour and production, we shall gradually train new peasants and advanced co-op members fully capable of becoming masters of the large-scale socialist agriculture.

In the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management, a very new, most important problem for us is *the organization of pro-*

duction and agricultural management on a district scale. As realities have shown, the re-organization of production within a co-operative is not enough to do away with the scattered and guild character of small production and the conditions it creates are not sufficient for the co-operative to develop production with rapidity, high labour productivity and great economic results. If all the factors of production and consumption needs are "hermetically confined" within the limits of a co-operative, this will simply be an autarkic economy under another form. It is quite erroneous to take a co-operative or an enterprise as unit when speaking of large-scale socialist production. This must be carried out not just in each economic cell and each economic unit taken separately but in a whole branch, in the whole of social production. That is why the reorganization of production in a co-operative along the line of large-scale production and the transformation of the co-operative into a truly socialist economic unit *must necessarily go hand in hand with the organization of production and management on the district scale*. We are all aware that agricultural co-operation is a process of socialization of labour and the development of gradually enlarged relations of division and co-operation in the labour force ; it is the process of organizing agriculture on a large scale and on the basis of intensive and specialized cultivation, of the formation of specialized production units co-ordinated within a definite structure, making each co-operative organically connected, through the process of production itself, with other co-operatives and with the State economic sector. The

problem to be solved is, from what standpoint can we re-organize production and proceed with a new division of labour along this line ? It is obviously impossible within the framework of a co-operative covering some hundreds of hectares of land and employing a few hundred people as is common at present. This can be realized only with a co-operative of a larger size. I think that in the present conditions of mechanization it is possible for a locality handling about ten thousand hectares of agricultural land and employing about forty thousand people, that is the scale of one district, to carry out such a division of labour and organization of production in a better and more rational way.

To carry out agricultural production on a large scale, a balance in the relations of production is necessary that is a balance in the division of labour, a balance between cultivation and animal husbandry, between the various aspects of cultivation and the various aspects of animal husbandry. It is not possible to establish such a balance within a cooperative. On the contrary, we must first start from the economic and technical plan for a whole district, from the delimitation of its farming areas, from its own planning and the establishment of balanced relations on a district level which are included in the framework of the province's plan and delimitation of farming areas. From this we may determine the direction of production for each co-operative and establish balanced relations within each co-operative *on the basis of the division of labour and collaboration in production between various co-operatives and between them and*

*the State.* Only on a district scale is it possible to distribute the land rationally between cultivation and animal husbandry and make animal husbandry a main branch of production, to rationally apply the necessary techniques for cultivation and animal husbandry; to organize a rational division of labour between agricultural work, other economic activities and national defence at grassroots level.

It is the same with the establishment of the material and technical bases. There are problems which can be solved within a co-operative, but there are many others, which must be settled by a district and even by a larger region. The planning, construction, management and utilization of the irrigation system cannot be confined within the framework of a co-operative. Installations for processing agricultural products and animal feed, mechanical repair workshops, workshops for producing building materials (lime, bricks, tiles), indispensable stations, etc., cannot remain scattered in different co-operatives; they will be more profitable if built on a larger scale than that of a district.

The district has the task not only of organizing production and the division of labour, but also of caring for the life of the population, of building a new countryside. With the assistance and unified management of the central government and the province, with the use of natural resources and labour according to the most economical methods and the best technical method, the district is able to satisfy a large part of the needs of its own population while making an ever greater contribution to the requirements of the whole

country. It is able not only to care for the material life of its inhabitants but also to provide cultural activities, education and health, to build a socialist countryside and to closely combine on a rational basis, economic with cultural activities and with national defence. With the reorganization of production and the labour force on the district scale, each district will become a system for the basic division of labour in a large-scale agriculture embracing many co-operatives with a number of indispensable stations and small industrial plants in the service of agriculture. All these units, which are independent self-supporting enterprises, are, however, linked together by a strict division of labour, and a close co-ordination in production. This means that the district will no longer be a purely agricultural organization. *It will become a base for carrying out the triple revolution in the countryside and a centre for the combination of agriculture with industry, production with distribution, State with collective ownership and State investments with the people's own efforts.*

In the present structure of the national economy, when agriculture is the basis for the development of industry, as far as agriculture is concerned, the balance between it and the other branches on the national scale and the balance within each district are very important. The central administration purchases agricultural products from the district while the district is the market for the consumption of industrial goods produced at the central and provincial levels. The central and provincial administrations, according to the needs of each district, supply agriculture with mate-

rials and machines which will be distributed to the various production units within the district according to a fixed plan.

Under central leadership, the provincial level whose economic structure comprises both industry and agriculture, directly steers the district level to ensure the centralized and unified direction of the central level, and to exploit, in the best possible way, the sources of natural wealth and manpower of the locality. Local industry run at the provincial level must, together with central industry, provide new technical equipment for agriculture in a unified and planned way. The combination of the three levels — central, provincial and district — into a unified socio-economic system, in which *the district directly organizes and manages agriculture at the grassroots*, is a rational form of organization ensuring the steady advance of agriculture to large scale socialist production.

Though each has a "life" of its own, agriculture and the other economic branches combine with each other to form a unified structure; they influence one another in many fields, production and consumption, organization of management, and execution of policies, and are closely related to other social activities. Therefore we must not think that the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management are the tasks of agriculture alone and are only concerned with its own internal problems. We must realize that these are common tasks for the whole State, for all branches and levels, from agriculture to

industry, from planning organs to trade, finance and banking, from economic branches to cultural activities, from the health service to the administration. In order to cope with the new organization of production and the new managerial system in agriculture, all branches, according to their tasks and functions with regard to agriculture, must re-examine their regulations and policies and even among their organizations which are linked to agriculture. They must boldly discard what is outdated and rapidly introduce new measures as required by the actual situation. Failure to meet these requirements will impede the agricultural movement and delay the general process of development.

Through the practice of agriculture production, we have seen more and more clearly the rôle and significance of the district in the social production system. This is something very new to us. Above, I only raised some aspects of the problem so that we can study them together. It is certain that realities are much more complex. That is why the Party Central Committee decides to continue the experimentation drive to gather more experience and to draw concrete conclusions in order to improve our understanding of the problem and find out more appropriate steps and forms of organization. After this experimentation drive, on the basis of better knowledge, we shall reorganize agricultural production and improve the management of agriculture in all districts and create a new system of organization for agricultural production that would meet the objective requirements of economic development.

## TO LAUNCH A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES AND STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP

The advance from small production to large-scale socialist production is a process of combining socialist transformation with socialist construction, a deep and broad revolutionary change in all aspects of socialist life, from the economic structure to social labour division, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, from the working people to the working tools, from the level of technique and the level of production to the style and habits of work.

This is a deep-going revolutionary struggle, of very large scope, full of enthusiasm and ardour and also a very arduous struggle. At present, we are building socialism, rehabilitating and developing our economy while a complex and bitter revolutionary struggle is still going on in the South. Therefore, our revolutionary tasks is doubly heavy. That is why, along with the correct application of objective laws, we must decidedly turn the cause of socialist construction into a revolutionary movement of the broad masses of the people. We must know how to mobilize, organize and draw millions of people into a revolutionary movement as strong and continuous as rolling waves. We must see to it that the entire working people — workers, co-operative farmers, socialist intellectuals and other sections of the labouring masses — march forward enthusiastically. We must give full play to the victorious élan and the spirit of self-reliance of the nation, put all our revolutionary zeal into pro-

duction labour and work with all our courage and spirit of self-sacrifice just as we have done at the front-line in the fight to defend the homeland. We must mobilize all our existing capabilities for production with a view to increasing our national product and the national income. We must resolutely check and eliminate all negative aspects of our society and intensify the struggle between the two roads in all fields of activity.

Each factory, construction site. State farm, logging camp and all other production bases must have firm control over their labour force, technical means and materials, organize their work closely and rationally, strengthen labour discipline, contribute as many work-days in a month and work-hours in a day as required by the norms, increase the number of work-shifts when and where necessary and use materials in the most thrifty way in order to achieve ever higher economic efficiency with ever lower consumption of materials. In the countryside, we must speedily consolidate the weak and dislocated co-operatives, carry out an effective campaign for reorganizing agricultural production and improving the management of agriculture, launch movements for building irrigation works, improving the soil, producing more manure, improving rice strains and applying advanced farming methods... and turn these campaigns into stirring revolutionary movements. It is necessary to uphold the spirit of self-reliance and build the co-ops with industry and thrift along the line of crop specialization with high output, ever-growing livestock-

breeding and introduction of more sideline occupations serving the people's life and export.

To ensure success for the reorganization of agricultural production and initial improvement of the management of agriculture, we must work out an adequate system to ensure the right of collective mastery of the masses in order to bring into full play the creative power of the working people, contribute to the consolidation and perfecting of the new relations of production and the increase of the productive forces. We must adopt effective systems and organizational measures to ensure that the co-op members can take part in the management of the co-ops' affairs in all respects, from the charting of production orientation and plans to the harvest and distribution of products, from the election of the managing organs of the co-op to the supervision and control of the work of these organs. The leadership of the Party organizations and the activities of the administrative committees and the various mass organizations, as well as organizational and legislative work, must ensure strict observance of these tasks, and steps must be taken to prevent and duly punish all encroachments upon the right of the masses to collective mastery.

*The consolidation and building-up of the Party in the countryside should be closely combined with the task of developing agricultural production, building a new countryside and forming the new man. Through the struggle between the two roads—collective production and private production; large-scale socialist production and small, scattered production;—through the stirring revolutionary movement of the*

peasant masses, we must heighten the communist ideology and revolutionary qualities as well as the competence and the sense of organization and discipline of Party members and Party organizations.

Small production by itself begets capitalism daily and hourly. However, in our country, the peasants have, at an early date, given up the road of individual farming and quickly taken the path of collective farming.

This is thanks to the Party, to the close ties between the Party and the peasants. The relationship between the Party and the peasants in our country is indeed a decisive factor. This is an important characteristic and also a great advantage of our revolution. The co-operative is a collective economic organization of the peasants. Of course it is the duty and also the right of the State to manage it. However, the Party must go deeper into the peasantry and the countryside, and into this collective organization to lead it and take it forward as a revolutionary movement of the masses. To say that the Party should go deeply into the co-operative does not mean that the Party should unduly assume the functions of the State and replace the co-op's managing committee which is an organization directly elected by the co-ops' members to run its affairs.

In the building of socialism, the basic political task of the countryside at present is to carry out the triple revolution with a view to taking agriculture step by step toward large-scale socialist production. To deserve the trust of the peasants, to fulfil their mission in the new stage of the revolution, all our Party members

and Party organizations in the countryside must form a firm nucleus in the struggle between the two roads. They must have a thorough knowledge and a firm grasp of the content of the triple revolution in their localities and co-operatives, *and the competence and capacity required to lead this revolution.* Leadership of the triple revolution is to be an important criterion for judging both the members and organization of the Party. The Party Committees at all levels, the agricultural, propaganda and education, organizational and control boards should help the Party members go deep into productive activities, organize and manage the co-ops, firmly grasp the techniques of farming and stock-breeding, build a new material and cultural life in the countryside, and train and educate a new-type, socialist, peasant. Special importance must be attached to a rapid selection and training for the co-operatives and the districts of a body of cadres capable of reorganizing agricultural production and improving the management of agriculture in the light of the new directives of the Party Central Committee. Along with raising the Party members' cultural standard and ability, *we must resolutely combat all manifestations of arbitrariness, abuse of power, bureaucracy and aloofness from the people, corruption and misappropriation, fear of difficulties and hardships, violation of labour discipline, State laws, the Party Constitution and the coop's rules, laziness in study.* We must help every Party member understand that the aim of joining the Party is not to seek positions and material advantages but to shoulder heavier duties, heavier responsibilities, endure more sacrifices, and to be a

loyal servant of the people. As leader of the masses, a Party member must set good examples and zealously take the lead in all work. To fight for the independence of the country, to see to it that our people have adequate food and clothing, that all children in our country receive education, that all the sick are duly attended to — such is the ideal of every Party member, and the task of all Party organizations.

Our Party is a living body, subject to the simultaneous process of growth and elimination. On the one hand, we must know how to foster, select and admit to the Party those who are good at working and fighting and are really conscious of the nature of the Party and the communist ideal. On the other hand, we must resolutely expel from the Party all speculators and opportunists, those who have degenerated and lost all qualifications as Party members and consequently are despised and disliked by the masses, in order to make the Party pure and healthy. To fulfil this task, we must carry out criticism and self-criticism within the Party, step up control work in the Party, first and foremost in each Party cell. At the same time, we must initiate a movement to get the masses to join in building our Party, thus strengthening the close ties between the Party and the masses.

*Pham Van Dong*

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Problems of Agricultural  
Development

August 1974

## I

### SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PROCESS OF TAKING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

This is a very important question. It is also a burning question. I will make some observations on the following points :

- To what extent will this agricultural production grow ? What are its limits ?
- How will it grow step by step ?
- By what means will it grow ?
- Socialist industrialization and the development of agricultural production.

#### 1. To what extent will our agriculture grow ? What are its limits ?

First of all, there is a natural limit, the land area, chiefly the cropland that may be devoted to cultivation and stock-breeding. However, if we know how

to practise intensive cultivation and increase the yields of the crops and the live stock and even improve the quality of the products, for instance by creating a strain of protein-rich rice, we shall be able to push back step by step the limits of agricultural production, especially once man has become the master of society and of nature. When I say "cropland", I do not include forest land, even though in a broader sense, agriculture also comprises forestry, and forestry has its own great importance ; indeed, there is a saying that "forests are as precious as gold". As everybody knows, at present, the area under cultivation in North Viet Nam is still very small, very inadequate compared with the population and with our needs in all fields. We must quickly expand this area by many means and in many directions. The main direction consists in opening new farm lands in the midlands and mountain regions, vast areas with still untapped abundant resources. In this connection, the Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Party Central Committee gave very concrete instructions which were later strongly reaffirmed in the Resolution of the 22nd Plenum. There is another direction, the practicability of which we must realize in time : to transform the alluvial soil in the coastal areas into croplands. This "transformation of the seaside into mulberry fields" is a very promising undertaking. It is no novelty since it was already practised long ago by Nguyen Cong Tru<sup>1</sup>.

At the same time, we must realize a very important factor closely related to agricultural areas : the diver-

1. Mandarin and poet, the promoter of land-reclaiming projects in some coastal areas of North Viet Nam (1773-1858). *Ed.*

sity of our farm lands at present as well as in future. In view of the peculiar natural conditions of our country, in spite of the fact that the area of our country (and for that matter of our farm land) is not very large, it consists of many regions with various characteristics with regard to soil composition, topography, gradient, climate and weather, and consequently with different possibilities for cultivation and stockbreeding. That is why, a clear and correct realization of the particularities of these areas — often referred to as "macro-climates" and "micro-climates" — assumes very important practical significance. We must, on the basis of a fundamental survey of the above factors, correctly determine the orientation of production for each area, so as to practise crop specialization and intensive cultivation and give full play to the potentials of each given area.

Many of you often speak of the relationship between soil, water, and crop. That is not sufficient. In my opinion, we should complete the picture by enunciating the following relationship between :

*Soil, water, climate and weather, crops, and livestock.*

This reflects the very close, very stringent and also very complicated, relationship between those factors, the laws governing their balance. From time immemorial, man has tried to find out these laws in his efforts to achieve greater results in farming. Of late, many important new things have been discovered about these laws. But how many other marvels remain to be discovered by science ! We must make very deep studies of these laws and correctly apply them to agri-

cultural production if we want to obtain good results in both respects, first in our production activities, in cultivation and stock-breeding ; secondly, in the continuous improvement of our environment : soil, water, climate and weather, inexhaustible sources of supply for plants and animals. On the contrary, if we contravene these laws, we shall have to pay for our mistakes in two respects ; first, on the production front, where anyone can imagine the misfortune of bad harvest ; Then in another domain, to which some of us have paid but little or no attention at all. That is the damage done to the environment : we may cause the exhaustion of the soil, the drying up of sources of water, and even provoke abnormal changes in climatic and weather conditions.

As far as our country is concerned, as I said above, although our agricultural area is not very large, it comprises many different regions with regard to the soil, weather and climate. Sometimes, a given region is itself divided into many "microclimate areas". This is to say that we should be fully and deeply conscious of the importance of the division of our land into specific agricultural regions, and in each region, we should understand and apply the strict laws governing the relationship between environment, plants and animals.

*It is important and indispensable to learn from the knowledge and experiences of foreign countries. But only Vietnamese can fully and deeply understand and apply in the most appropriate way the laws governing each area, major as well as minor, in our country.*

and chart the most suitable orientation for production in each region.

A general survey of the agricultural areas in our country (North Viet Nam at present) shows that *we are capable of building a comprehensive agriculture comprising farming and livestock-breeding, production and processing, an agriculture fully capable of meeting the needs in food of our people as well as supplying agricultural products for light industries and an increasing quantity of farm products for export.*

## 2. How will our agriculture grow step by step ?

Decidedly, agriculture in our country must be fully developed to meet our needs in the kinds of products I just mentioned. These needs should, of course, be carefully calculated on a firm basis within the framework of our yearly plans and chiefly in the 5-year plans.

To meet these needs, we must solve both aspects of this problem : first, the question of yields (of marketable agricultural products). Secondly, a centralized production in order to make easier the problems of processing, transport and consumption. This is a revolution in our agricultural production at present :

*We must gradually do away with the state of small, scattered, autarkic production and organize an ever larger and more centralized production in order to meet the growing needs of the people's life and of export.*

To organize an agriculture capable of meeting these needs both in terms of output and centralized production, we have favourable conditions as I said : North Viet Nam has large as well as small regions propitious to crop specialization and intensive cultivation. For instance, we can have areas specializing in rice cultivation, and areas for other food crops such as maize, sweet potato, potato, manioc, taro, etc. Then, we can have areas for such food crops as oil-bearing plants, especially soya beans which must receive particular attention. There can also be areas for fruit trees and vegetables, especially in the areas surrounding towns, cities and industrial centres, areas marked out for industrial crops like mulberry tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, anise, rubber, oil-bearing trees, medicinal plants... to say nothing of our forests with abundant products where trees of high economic value could be planted.

I have only drawn a broad outline of areas which can be devoted to food and industrial crops.. As for livestock breeding, we must follow this principle, this law, this policy : generally speaking, *stock-breeding must be undertaken wherever there is cultivation.* Thus, we must practise stock-breeding practically in all places and strive to advance to large-scale and centralized breeding of pigs, poultry, fish, buffaloes and oxen. In addition, many of our midland and highland areas have a favourable climate, and can provide excellent pasture lands almost all the year round or be planted with maize, soyabeans... These are ideal areas for raising milch cows and we may turn them into ever bigger cow-rearing centres and

dairy farms. The same should apply to the rearing of milch buffaloes.

In a word, we have very great possibilities for developing cultivation and stock-breeding with a view to meeting both the present and future needs of our country and our people.

It is urgent to translate these possibilities into reality. How to develop our agriculture? Below I shall underscore a few points concerning the structure and organization of our agricultural production.

— First of all, we must solve this very fundamental question of agricultural production in North Viet Nam, *the structure of cultivation and stock-breeding*. At present, we are only attaching importance to the cultivation of wet rice, but even this has not been done very well and the results have not been as steady as they should be. As for many other crops, especially subsidiary crops and leguminous plants of various kinds, like soya, we have not given adequate attention to them nor have we engaged in crop specialization and intensive cultivation in order to obtain high yields. Neither are industrial crops satisfactorily attended to. As for stock-breeding, we have only paid attention to pig raising and even here we have not obtained very satisfactory results. We have not fully assessed the importance and possibilities of the rearing of domestic animals. Many of us, including members of agricultural co-ops and State farms, have not clearly seen the very close inter-relations between cultivation and stock-breeding. We must practise cultivation well in order to have plenty of fodder for the livestock and inversely, we must practise stock-

breeding well in order to get enough manure for the crops and increase the fertility of the soil. If we do both these jobs well in the direction of crop specialization and intensive cultivation, we will be able to advance steadily. Of course, stock-breeding also gives us many more precious products, which is also its great aim: it supplies the protein so badly needed by our bodies. This is a very basic question which still receive too little attention.

Our country has all the necessary conditions for a comprehensive stock-breeding. If we do well in this field, we will be able markedly to increase the meat ration of the working people in our country. To this end, the first thing to do is to develop cultivation and stock-breeding at the same time and in this process we must quicken our pace in stock-breeding and progressively increase the percentage of stock-breeding in the value of total output of agriculture until the output value of stock-raising surpasses that of cultivation, while the latter continues to grow. This is a major rule in the present development of agriculture in the world. The same can be said of the production and processing of industrial crops such as sugar cane and sugar, mulberry and silk, etc. The output value of these industrial crops may grow fast, and in a number of countries it has made significant contributions to the investments for industrialization.

— Cultivation and stock-breeding, production and processing must go together and should not be separated from one another and still less contradict one another. *We cannot have large-scale, centralized production and turn out goods easy to transport and*

consume if we allow the present state of scatteredness to continue, if the people engaged in production and in processing do not know each other. We have suffered only too long from the consequences of this state of things. We must first of all agree on the above fundamental principle. As for the question of how to link production with processing in the most rational way, we must make careful calculations and proceed step by step.

*In a word, production, processing, transport and consumption should be closely connected, parts of a system placed under the centralized management of the State : only in this way can we achieve high economic results.* On the agricultural front, our country as a whole is like a chessboard, of which each area for crop specialization and intensive cultivation is a square. The areas reserved for cultivation and stock-breeding in the plains, in the midlands and highlands, and in the coastal areas thus form a unified system. If this system correctly reflects the law of balance between the natural conditions on the one hand and the crops and live stock on the other, it will develop in accordance with our desire.

*— This is the process of growth of production bases, first of all of agricultural co-operatives, and of State farms. It is also the process of growth of enterprises serving agricultural production comprising cultivation and stock-breeding, first of all serving agricultural co-operatives.*

With regard to agricultural co-operatives, our conference, while highlighting good and excellent co-operatives, should try to sum up within the shortest

time possible the good experiences of advanced co-ops and popularize them widely and later improve upon them. All provinces must tackle this question under the direction of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and the Central Agricultural Commission. If the majority of agricultural co-ops in North Viet Nam could catch up with advanced co-ops, this would be an important success of the co-ops in the re-organization of agricultural production and in the improvement of the management of agriculture. At the same time, we must strive urgently to boost the productive forces, i.e., in essence, to increase the technical equipment of the co-ops.

With regard to the State farms, everyone of us has seen the necessity of reorganizing these enterprises so that they could perform their function as required by their position and role. These are fairly large agricultural enterprises in our country and are provided with relatively adequate and modern equipment. Along with reorganizing existing State farms, *we must set up a number of new ones with the aim of producing some of the farm products, like meat and eggs, so badly needed at present for the towns and major industrial centres, and other valuable items for export.*

With regard to other State-owned enterprises catering for agriculture, we must realize their great importance. Much remains to be done in this respect. For instance, we now have a sizable number of tractors to serve agriculture. If they are put to good use, they can do many things in many respects. An urgent thing for us is to make better use of this force. At the same time we must strive to develop

quickly many enterprises with the aim of serving agriculture at the most vital links of cultivation and stock-breeding, production and processing. We must work out rational plans aimed at meeting the most vital needs of agricultural production, but these plans must be within our capabilities. It is my hope that the responsible organs will give due consideration to this problem.

### 3. How will our agriculture develop ?

This is the most important question, the key question, the inner law and the motive force which is to take our agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

This is an inevitable process through which we must go and through which the countries with an already developed agriculture have gone, socialist and capitalist alike. There is a difference in the tempo of development. While it took the capitalist countries several centuries to complete this process, the socialist countries only needed some decades. However, the main difference consists in the line of development: *the capitalist line consists in eliminating the peasantry, the small producers in the countryside; whereas the socialist path begins with bringing the peasantry into cooperation in accordance with the celebrated thesis of Lenin on agricultural co-operation.*

Apart from this very fundamental difference, the process of taking agriculture from small-scale to large-scale production, whether it is capitalist or socialist, has a common point: *the increase in the*

*productive forces, which leads to the complete transformation of agriculture from a small, scattered handicraft production into a large-scale, centralized and mechanized production on the pattern of industrial production.*

The same question is confronting us at present. In order to take agriculture in North Viet Nam forward to large-scale socialist production, we must clearly see and systematically solve the key problem of increasing the productive forces in agriculture, increasing the material and technical basis of agriculture, providing it with more technical equipment: to carry out mechanization, electrification and chemicalization of agriculture. Obviously, this is the historic mission of our working class and our State under the leadership of our Party. We must, through the most effective policies and measures, strive to quickly take agriculture in North Viet Nam steadily forward to large-scale socialist production. In view of our limited capabilities, especially those of our present industry (here I means heavy industry: coal, engineering, electricity, chemicals, technical materials like timber, iron, steel, cement, building materials etc.) we can only proceed step by step, part by part, and in a planned way, that is, making careful calculations so as to obtain important economic results with relatively small investments. This is a very important part of the State plan, especially of the coming Five-Year Plan.

Now I wish to stress the necessity of dividing our agricultural land into areas and, on the basis of fundamental surveys, determine which areas are suitable

for cultivation and which for stock-breeding. This is the premise for calculations and decisions as to how much we should increase our productive forces, what specific problems we should solve and for what practical economic purposes, in these different agricultural areas. We must recognise that different agricultural areas require different material and technical bases as well as different types of technical equipment... We must determine with great precision what we must do and after having reached decisions, we must do it as best we can. Only in this way can we go forward vigorously and with the least expenditures.

We have another very basic advantage : the network of agricultural co-operatives in North Viet Nam includes almost the totality of our peasantry. This conference has underscored the urgent need to strengthen the productive forces of the agricultural co-ops so that they could take new steps forward. *Realities in many co-operatives have proved that if in the present conditions of their still very small and rudimentary material-technical basis and technical equipment these agricultural co-ops have obtained such inspiring results, we are certain that when strengthened in that respect, they will obtain much greater achievements in many fields.*

In Part II I shall deal more concretely with the effect of the strengthening of the productive forces on the agricultural co-operatives.

I believe also that we should reaffirm the necessity to increase the productive forces of State farms, thereby to give full play to their increasingly important role in agricultural production in North Viet Nam.

Neither should we forget the sideline occupations of the co-op members' families. It is a "sideline" occupation because it is secondary to the co-operative work. This means that the auxiliary economy of the co-op members' families is an inseparable part of the collective economy of the co-op. At present, this auxiliary economy still plays a fairly important role and it is our policy to make it develop further along a correct line in the interests of the co-op members, of the co-ops and of the national economy : for instance the raising of pigs, poultry, oxen and buffaloes in the midlands and highlands. If our State, the State-managed and the co-operative economies can help this economy develop in the right direction, many a little will make a mickle, and a noticeable contribution can be made to the national economy, to the advance toward large-scale socialist production.

A major novelty in agricultural production in many countries in the past few decades is the increasing effect of many branches of natural sciences, especially biology, on agricultural production. In fact, science and scientific discoveries especially have in many domains become direct productive forces. The well-known "Green Revolution" in the world is an eloquent illustration of this fact. We can draw therefrom conclusions of great practical significance : we must boldly invest in various branches of science, especially biology, so that they may have a direct effect on agricultural production and accordingly step up the progress of agriculture in our country. Undeniably, this is the cheapest and most effective investment. In this spirit, the centres for research and

experimentation of the Central Agricultural Commission, the State Commission for Science and Technology and the various establishments of higher education should work more closely together and have a better division of work and collaboration on the basis of a unified management with a view to concentrating the forces and the intellectual powers of all engaged in agricultural "research and development" and step by step solving the most important and urgent questions on the agricultural production front.

#### **4. Socialist industrialization and agricultural production.**

What I said above brings out this important point: the process of taking agricultural production from a small scale to a large scale is a process of equipping agriculture, applying the gains of industry, chiefly heavy industry, to agriculture, a process of mechanization, electrification and chemicalization of agriculture... aimed at creating a very broad and deep effect on the whole of agriculture, in all its aspects: soil, water, climate and weather, at the same time creating a direct effect on crops and livestock. This is the process of the technical revolution in agriculture, a revolution brought about by industry.

*We must underscore this question so that everyone of us could have a thorough and deep understanding of the strategic significance of socialist industrialization, the central task of our Party in the present stage of socialist construction in North Viet Nam. On the*

*other hand, a comprehensive and strongly developed agriculture will serve as a firm basis for industrial development, for socialist industrialization.*

The effect of industry on agriculture is fundamental and allround in the sense that it not only promotes the technical equipment of agricultural production as a whole but also gradually turns agricultural production into a type of industrial production because agricultural production establishments like agricultural co-ops and State farms will be organized and equipped and will operate like industrial enterprises.

With regard to our country, an under-developed country advancing to socialism in all spheres of the national economy and on the whole of our national territory, this is something which must be thoroughly understood when working out plans and programs for economic and cultural development, and distributing productive forces and labour forces in a balanced way in all spheres of the national economy on the whole of our national territory.

## **II**

### **SOME PRACTICAL AND URGENT QUESTIONS IN THE PROCESS OF TAKING AGRICULTURE FORWARD TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION**

We must solve these problems at the level of the co-operative, the district, and the central organs concerned.

## 1. The agricultural co-operatives

In Part I, I stressed the necessity to increase the co-operatives' productive forces, that is, in essence, to increase their technical equipment so as to stabilize, consolidate and continuously perfect the socialist relations of production and, as a result, to make the fullest use of the co-operatives' possibilities.

The possibilities consist in :

— Crop specialization and intensive cultivation to achieve higher productivity and output, higher living standards for the co-operative members and constantly increase accumulation for enlarged reproduction ; building up strong co-operatives capable of further development, thus contributing to the construction of a socialist countryside.

— Fulfilment of all obligations towards the State, first of all, the delivery to the State of products from the co-operatives and peasant households. This obligation, which should be defined and fixed on a solid basis, constitutes an important policy of the State which must be strictly adhered to.

— Production of goods for export. Those co-operatives which have been engaged in this line of production should strive to make their products better, those which have not should make a start in this field.

The fulfilment of these tasks will contribute to socialist industrialization and the building of a strong and prosperous North Viet Nam and to the advance towards national reunification by peaceful means.

These possibilities will multiply as agriculture progresses towards large-scale socialist production, a process which began with agricultural co-operation after the land reform.

In order that everyone of us thoroughly understand this extremely important question, I would like to quote some of Lenin's very penetrating observations in his article "On co-operation" (published in January 1923).

"The power of the state over all large-scale means of production, political power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured proletarian leadership of the peasantry, etc. is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society out of cooperatives ?

*" (...) A number of economic, financial and banking privileges must be granted to the cooperatives — this is the way our socialist state must promote the new principle on which the population must be organized. But this is only the general outline of the task ; it does not define and depict in detail the entire content of the practical task, i.e., we must find what form of "bonus" to give for joining the cooperatives (and the terms on which we should give it) the form of bonus by which we shall assist the cooperatives sufficiently..."*

*" (...) But it will take a whole historical epoch to get the entire population into the work of the cooperatives through NEP. At best we can achieve this in one or two decades. Nevertheless, it will be a distinct historical epoch, and without this historical epoch, without universal literacy, without a proper degree*

of efficiency, without training the population sufficiently to acquire the habit of book-reading, and without the material basis for this, without a certain sufficiency to safeguard against, say, bad harvests, famine, etc. without this we shall not achieve our object." <sup>1</sup>

And in his "Report on the substitution of a tax in kind for the surplus grain appropriation system", at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party in March 1921, Lenin said :

*"(...) It will take generations to remould the small farmer, and recast his mentality and habits. The only way to solve this problem of the small farmer (...) is through the material basis, technical equipment, the extensive use of tractors and other farm machinery and electrification on a mass scale."* <sup>2</sup>

This is the content of the triple revolution in agriculture ; Lenin has underscored the importance of the technical revolution.

This is the direction in which our Party has always guided the agricultural co-ops in their march forward. However, so far we have not done so well as we had wished, partly because of the war and partly because industry in our country is not yet developed. Nevertheless, our efforts in this direction, coupled with the great endeavours of the co-operative movement, eloquently prove that the path charted by Lenin is the only correct one. Let us make a brief comparison between agricultural production and the people's living

conditions at present and the situation before the August 1945 Revolution. The difference is great indeed : before 1945 our countryside showed utter misery and desolation and, in the French colonialists' opinion, there could be no remedy to that situation ! Their erroneous and reactionary view can be summed up as follows : North Viet Nam has but little riceland and even this little is of poor quality ; accordingly it can only grow food crops and has none the less to suffer chronic food shortage. In a word, its lot is : monoculture and famine. Thus we must recall the dark days of the past in order to fully appreciate the brightness of our countryside at present. Today, in spite of the war ravages and the big population increase in North Viet Nam, the material and cultural life of our people, especially in the countryside, has gone through wonderful, truly inspiring, changes. We must look back to the past to make a comparison. But more important still is to look forward to the future. For my part, at this conference, I was very pleased to hear the reports of advanced co-operatives like Dong Hai, Quang Nap, Minh Sinh, Tri Chi, and others and to learn of the outstanding achievements of these co-ops which, although facing no less, perhaps even more, difficulties than other co-ops, have nevertheless recorded many successes and are striving to continue their advance.

Examining the experience of advanced co-operatives, we have learned the following points :

— These co-operatives regard the soil as an inexhaustible source from which all sorts of agricultural products can be obtained ; they know how to improve

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>. Emphasis by Premier Pham Van Dong (Ed.)

and enrich the soil, making it ever more fertile even though it has never stopped producing, how to turn their fields into a single co-ordinated area and how to combine water control with transport and communications systems.

— On the basis of an overall plan to exploit the land, they have taken a correct orientation towards specialization and intensive cultivation (for higher productivity and an increased number of crops) and given especial attention to, planting and animal husbandry, production and processing of products, and different crafts closely related to agricultural production. In a word, they have determined the structure of production and other branches of activity, which allows full use of the potentials of the land and labour. From this, they can work out production plans with positive, balanced and stable targets.

— In carrying out their production plans, all these advanced co-operatives have done well in one key aspect: *labour management*. *They are able to mobilize the entire labour force of the co-operative, which is encouraged to do any task entrusted by the co-operative with high efficiency, achieving a high quality at low cost.*

Rational labour management means a correct and just management of workdays and the distribution of products. Effective labour management allows the effective management of technical cadres and the most efficient workers.

— The advanced co-operatives can manage all their activities and those of their members — production

work, material and cultural life, customs and habits (marriages and funerals), etc. — in a rational and proper way.

*All this testifies to the important role of the co-operative in our ideological and cultural revolution and is a commendable achievement.*

Another lesson to be learned is *the strengthening of the Party organization giving the Party members a more important role* while the role of the management committees of the co-operatives and the co-operative members' right "to be collective masters" are also enhanced in order to promote the building of strong and solid co-operatives, increase production and be masters of the transformation of the countryside.

Thus, it is necessary to sum up, generalize and propagate the experience of advanced co-operatives. This work, which must be done by each province, will help many other co-operatives in their efforts to catch up with the advanced co-operatives and will allow a large-scale campaign to be launched for the reorganization of production and improvement of co-operative management within the province. This will be a new development of great importance for the movement for agricultural co-operation which will go forward on this basis.

The style of work of advanced co-operatives shows that a co-operative does not simply mean an addition because if it is a mere addition, then, however big it is, it cannot bring anything really new. Still less should the co-op mean a subtraction, because this would mean stepping back and losing. For instance, if we allow co-operative lands to be encroached upon and

turned into private lands, or its soil to deteriorate day by day, or the work time devoted to the co-op to be a mere four or five hours a day, or work to proceed with very low productivity.

*The style of work of these advanced co-operatives convincingly proves that each of them is a multiplier, a magnificent multiplier, quantitatively (productivity, output), qualitatively (relations of production) and on a co-operative scale. In this connection, the productive forces constitute the fundamental factor.*

In the first place, man, the working man, is a productive force playing a great role : this is proved by the achievements of the advanced co-operatives.

*But here we want to speak of the material productive forces, chiefly the means of production, and the technical equipment, which are the most dynamic and revolutionary factors. They push forward the development of production and under socialism they promote the stabilization, consolidation and perfection of the socialist relations of production. Conversely, the socialist relations of production require a further strengthening of the productive forces which then constitute a basis for an ever greater development of the relations of production. In this way we march forward to large-scale socialist production.*

This is the application of the famous law enunciated by Karl Marx on the correlation between the relations of production and the productive forces, a very fundamental law determining the evolution of human history.

Now, let us go back to agricultural production. I just quoted Lenin's words to the effect that we must

find appropriate forms to express the support and assistance of the working class and the socialist State to the co-operative movement.

Up to now, the socialist countries which preceded us have gained rich experience in this matter. We should learn from their experience. However, we have to start from our practical situation and sum up our own experience, in order to solve our problems in conformity with our requirements and capabilities.

## 2. The district

This is a new question. Although it has been repeatedly dealt with in many documents of the Party over the past year, still little has been done about it. Even at this conference, to my mind, the reports on work at the district level have not thrown much light. However, we must warmly hail the spirit of revolutionary offensive of the comrade delegate of Quynh Luu district and the way he approached the question : "With just a ball of rice, some salted eggplants and our communist hearts, we will march forward to build our district !"

We must pay especial attention to the following passage in the Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Party Central Committee : "We must strengthen *the district level* and turn it into an organization capable of giving direct guidance to agricultural production, handicrafts, the building of co-operatives, Party bases, and the administration, and organizing and leading the masses to step up the triple revolution and build

the socialist countryside. The district authorities must directly control and closely guide the agricultural co-operatives, the buying-and-selling co-operatives, the credit co-operatives, the organs for purchasing farm produce and supplying materials... in the district."

A lot of time has gone by since and we are now confronted with an urgent problem which we must solve without delay.

The solution consists in the gradual consolidation and improvement of the district administration for it is in a position to guide directly all activities in the district, with emphasis on economic activities and particularly agricultural production. The district administration must become a centre of technical equipment for agricultural co-operatives.

First of all, we must determine the position, role and tasks of the district administration and from this work out its structure and we must take all these into account in the organizational system of the Party and the State, from central, provincial and district down to village level. So far, the district has acted as an administrative institution with mainly administrative tasks. Now we must have a more correct and broader view: besides its administrative tasks, the district must take up *the management of the economy, of production and of enterprises*. As a result, its different management tasks must be defined. Naturally, in doing this, we must take into account the characteristics of each region—the plain, the midlands and the highlands. These regions differ from one another not only in the structure of their cultivation and animal husbandry, in production and product-proces-

sing work and in the structure of their extra-agricultural occupations, but also in their economic and technical levels, demographic conditions, customs and habits, etc.

In spite of these differences, to which great attention must be paid, we must have a clear understanding of the important position and role of the district administration, for it assumes direct management of all activities in the district, in particular as regards the general economy, production work and the co-operatives. To fulfil these tasks, the district must be in close contact with the provincial administration and the responsible organizations at the central level.

Consequently, we can say that *the role of the district as a centre of technical equipment must be closely linked with its role of economic management. It follows that the district administration is both a level of economic management and a centre of technical equipment. These two roles are inseparable and require the cadres responsible for the district to have economic and technical capabilities and knowledge.*

The term technical equipment covers a very wide field and essentially includes:

— The system of water-control works, transport and communications, electric networks, engineering, tractor and machine stations, centres for seeds, animal breeding and fodder supplies, agricultural product processing plants, warehouses, veterinary services, protection of vegetation, etc. These material and technical bases require a basic equipment which should be fixed and systematic.

— Technical facilities such as machines necessary for production and product processing ; technical materials such as coal, lime, wood, iron and steel, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, mechanical, semi-mechanical and rudimentary instruments, building materials ; means of transport and fuel.

— Research institutes, agricultural research and experimentation stations ; these establishments can make practical contributions to the development of agriculture.

It is important to evaluate, classify and list according to priority ranks the above-mentioned requirements, taking into account our limited resources. We can then draw up projects and plans for the construction of material and technical bases and the supply of technical equipment and materials suitable to the needs of each region in order to ensure fulfilment of the plan for the production of the most important and necessary agricultural products.

A thing which deserves our special concern is the fact that at present the management and use of equipment and technical materials have revealed many serious and widespread mistakes and shortcomings which are known to all of us. *To do away with these is an imperative demand.* This will be the first step toward the planning I have talked of. We must always bear in mind that in this work, as in so many other undertakings, we are still poor and consequently must strive to save every cent, to manage and use our limited capabilities in the most thrifty way, that is, in the most economical way.

Now we can imagine how our agriculture will march forward towards large-scale socialist production.

*It must be achieved step by step and part by part, coordinating industry with agriculture, the State-run economy with the co-operative economy, the administration of economic branches with that of economic regions, the Party leadership and State management with grassroots action by our revolutionary and creative-minded masses.*

Making the district a centre of technical equipment for agricultural co-operatives is at the present time the decisive link in this task. For the 252 districts of the North, the drawing up of practical projects and plans for technical equipment, maintaining a balance between our capabilities and our requirements, is a work of great importance and tremendous significance.

*In addition, the strengthening of the technical equipment of the co-operatives will create fundamental internal factors promoting the extension of the scale of the co-operatives.*

As the material and technical bases develop and the technical equipment is strengthened—for example, when the water-control system, the electric network, the tractor and machine stations and the engineering workshops develop and become productive forces of the co-operatives—the extension of the scale of the co-operatives will become an imperative need. *It will be conditioned by the development of the productive forces* : if brought about too early it is simply a quantitative change, if too late the development of co-operatives is impeded. We should also pay due atten-

tion to the economic and technical management capabilities of the responsible cadres for the co-operatives.

At the same time, *we must foresee the development of each of the key branches of agriculture* : cultivation, animal husbandry, production and product processing. The State, for instance, may set up a system of seed-producing or fodder-preparation centres for collective and household animal husbandry, or a system of factories for processing products supplied by the co-operatives or the co-operative members (sweet potatoes, cassava, tobacco, rush, fish, etc.).

The development of this process depends on the characteristics of each region. It is therefore necessary to make careful investigations concerning economic profitability and consumption demands (output and its quality). For example, we can take special measures to rapidly strengthen the technical equipment of those co-operatives specializing in export products of great value.

To sum up, the march of our agriculture towards large-scale socialist production will gradually take shape in daily realities, in our reflections and in our researches.

Up to now, the district has been an administrative unit ; the boundaries of a district have been defined for administrative purposes only, not for economics and production. This is irrational, but we should not make any hasty changes in this regard. What is necessary and practical is to determine, within the present territorial boundaries of the district and on the basis of the regional characteristics cited above, its range of activities and production structure. Despite the dif-

ferences, at times very great, in structures and regional characteristics, the production structure of a district is generally composed of agriculture, which is the main activity, small industry and handicrafts. In our countryside, as agriculture constitutes the main branch of the economy, its development and its march towards large-scale socialist production naturally leads to the balanced development of other branches : industry, transport and communications and capital construction, particularly in those branches directly serving collectivized agriculture.

In the strengthening of technical equipment to bring into being larger-scale agricultural co-operatives emphasis must be placed on the following two points :

1. *The co-operatives must make necessary preparations so as to be able to use new technical equipment.* These preparations include those made in the fields of production, organization, and management so that the level and capabilities of the co-operatives should be sufficient for the new productive forces. For example, the use of tractors requires the co-operatives to create the prerequisites and favourable conditions for their use such as the re-arrangement of the fields, the construction of better roads and revision of production plans. That is to say, the co-operatives must realize that their fundamental and long-term interests require them to make careful preparations before receiving tractors.

2. *The co-operatives must anticipate the problems that are likely to crop up as a result of the utilization of new equipment and get ready to solve them.* It is impossible to detect these problems overnight.

They will only be recognized gradually through practice. What is essential is to be dynamic, to find out problems and solve them. Special attention should be paid to the problem of the *surplus labour force* resulting from the use of such new equipment. This is an inevitable outcome which will lead to a new division of labour, a rational redistribution of the labour force aimed at pushing forward socialist industrialization and bringing about a more balanced distribution of manpower over the whole territory of North Viet Nam (for instance by setting up new economic areas in the midlands and mountainous regions).

All that has been said gives us a particularly vivid picture of the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, the inter-dependence of socialist industrialization and the march of agriculture towards large-scale socialist production. This is an advance, which has the character of a law, towards socialist construction in North Viet Nam, starting from a backward agricultural economy.

### 3. The central administration

We must strengthen the productive forces of the co-operatives and build the district into a centre of technical equipment for the co-operatives, so as to take agriculture steadily, step by step, to large-scale socialist production. However, the tempo and quality of this work largely depend on the contributions of the services of the central administration, chiefly those

responsible for economic and financial management and for the supply of technical materials.

First, let us speak of the Central Agricultural Commission (formerly the Ministry of Agriculture. *Ed.*). This organ must make a synthesis of agricultural production plans on a national scale including plans of investment, technical equipment and capital construction for agriculture. Together with the State Planning Commission, it should study these plans and discuss them so as to reach an identity of view between the two commissions.

*These plans, once endorsed by the responsible State organ, will become an integral part of the State plan, which constitutes the second Programme of the Party and embodies the revolutionary will of the people.*

Attached to the Central Agricultural Commission is a service with a very important role in the advance of agriculture towards large-scale socialist production: the General Department of Technical Equipment and Agricultural Mechanization. This Department is in charge of the planning of technical equipment for agriculture.

The following tasks must be distributed and co-ordinated among various responsible central organs which will have to fulfil them at all costs, step by step and part by part, thus laying a basis for better and better results:

— To draw up legislation on the protection and utilization of land. This is a vital task which must be done both from the higher down to the lower level and vice versa. Misappropriation, loss, waste and wrecking of land, particularly in the plains, will not be tolerated.

—To determine and stabilize the obligatory contributions of all agricultural enterprises and all individuals who live on agriculture : State farms, co-operatives, co-op members and individual farmers. These obligatory contributions are designed to ensure supplies to the towns, industrial centres, areas of industrial cultivation and forest exploitation and to finance socialist industrialization.

—To carry out the technical equipment of agriculture. This task is of prime importance. As a matter of fact, technical equipment and the building of the material and technical bases for agriculture are the direct responsibilities of certain branches such as water control, electricity, coal, engineering, transport and communications, building, forestry, etc.

—To take all necessary measures to help, support and stimulate agriculture. These measures cover a large field of action, the most essential being :

a) *Prices* : Prices of State-purchased agricultural products, prices of the means of production to be supplied, and those of consumer goods. The price policy should be properly applied so as to have positive effects on agricultural production and at the same time conform to the interests of socialist industrialization.

b) *Exports* : so far, this task has not been carried out well. We should strive for better and better results. The main responsibility again rests with the agricultural producers. Emphasis should also be laid on the measures to stimulate production for export, among them ways and means to create favourable conditions for export production. The responsible

cadres of the Foreign Trade Ministry must pay great attention to this important and urgent problem.

c) *Credit* : this is a lever which helps promote agriculture and develop it in the direction of large-scale socialist production. On the basis of the experience drawn from the past, the branches concerned, above all the financial and banking services, should use appropriate measures and means to facilitate an effective application of the credit policy for agriculture. In this respect, the State Bank should form a specialized organ which must have a deep understanding of the general problems of agricultural production and the specific problems of each region and each link in agricultural production.

—To train cadres in colleges and vocational middle schools. They will become scientific and technical workers and management cadres for agriculture. It is necessary to re-examine the system of training, with a view to a rational reorganization and relocation of schools throughout the country.

This will allow teaching and studying to be combined with agricultural production in each specific region so that after leaving school the students can swiftly adapt themselves to their new jobs.

—To carry out researches on agronomy and agricultural technique. By laying emphasis on this task, we only want to remind the organs concerned of their responsibilities in organizing and overseeing research services and research workers, in order to achieve practical results.

—To carry out economic management of agriculture. Much more attention should be given to this work

which requires the setting up of a specialized organ. This organ should make great efforts in order to solve the complex problems, immediate and future, in the economic management of agriculture.

— To strengthen socialist legislation. The advance of agriculture to large-scale socialist production means the strengthening of State control through socialist legislation. Therefore, strenuous, persevering efforts are required to build up socialist legislation, step by step and part by part, in accordance with its role and function. In this work, the State Legislative Commission must make a concrete and effective contribution.

Besides, there are the numerous tasks which should be undertaken by other branches — interior, culture, education, health, etc. — in relation to agriculture and its development.

## ***Annex***

### **To Reorganize Production and Revamp Management in the Direction of Large-scale Socialist Production**

*(Excerpts from the report delivered by Hoang Anh, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, at the Agricultural Conference held in Thai Binh)*

## ORIENTATIONS AND TASKS FOR LARGE AGRICULTURAL AREAS

Depending on the geographical and other conditions of production, agricultural areas in North Viet Nam can be divided into two major categories:

*The plain and midlands* covering 138 districts most of the area of which comprises relatively even lands, including those in the midlands, the former Fourth Zone, and Quang Ninh and Bac Thai provinces. This is an age-old place of settlement and production activities of our people; its population and labour force account for 77 per cent of the total figures for North Viet Nam. Annual sown acreage accounts for 74 per cent and rice output nearly 82 per cent. The major part of this area is reserved for short-term industrial crops and for food crops.

More than 90 per cent of the food purchases by the State come from this area. Most of the fertile large food-growing areas lie in the plains and midlands. The material and technical basis here is also much better than in the mountain areas. This region is also provided with an abundant labour force and

the people have rich experience in intensive cultivation and stock-breeding. In 1974, 73 districts, all in the plains and midlands, obtained from 2,500 to 4,800 kilograms of paddy per hectare in one crop.

*The mountain and hilly areas* comprise all highland provinces and all highland districts lying in the midlands and the former Fourth Zone. They comprise in all 112 districts and account for 23 per cent of the population and labour force, 80 per cent of the land area, and 25 per cent of the annual cultivated acreage of North Viet Nam.

Apart from a limited quantity of products such as bamboo, timber, cattle and tea, and State farm products sold to the State, most of the other products are for local consumption, but remain inadequate even for this purpose. The mountain areas are the traditional home of ethnic minorities, especially in the border areas. They play a very important role not only on the economic but also on the political and national-defence planes.

Due to the difference in position and character of these two major areas, *agriculture in North Viet Nam has the conditions and capabilities to combine effectively intensive cultivation, crop multiplication and other advantageous conditions of the delta area with the expansion of acreage and the development of the strong points of the mountain areas; it can combine the reorganization and redeployment of the labour force and population in the various areas*

*Position and capabilities of the plains and midland areas in the development of agriculture.*

Although the plains and midland areas have long been cultivated, due to their small, scattered and backward mode of production, it was impossible in the past to make a rational use of the potentialities of these areas. Through a general survey and documents provided by pilot district, it appears that there still are great capabilities for developing agriculture in the plains and midlands.

— We can make fuller use of flat lands, ponds and hills, take back misappropriated lands, reclaim waste land, make a more rational use of ponds and fields to increase the acreage, develop stock-breeding and side-line occupations.

— We can multiply our rice crops from one to two or even three a year, make a rational use of the lands reserved for nurseries, expand the winter crop, and step up the rotation of crops on all our land to two or even three crops a year.

— We can carry out intensive cultivation and obtain ever higher output. On the other hand, we can overcome the present excessive imbalance between the results obtained in various areas, districts and co-operatives, as regards both crops and stock-breeding (at present the most advanced districts obtain 4,800 kilos of paddy per hectare per crop, as against only 1,200 kilos in the least advanced districts. The discrepancy is still greater among the different co-ops (both in cultivation and stock-breeding).

— We can step up the movement of productive labour and thrift, and obtain the objective of one farmer tilling one hectare with an output equivalent to 2,500-3,000 kilograms of paddy or more. The labour force in excess can be used for building irrigation works, improving and re-arranging the fields and building material and technical bases, or can be supplied to other economic branches or transferred to other economic areas...

These tasks can be accomplished only through the enthusiastic participation of the masses in the revolutionary movement under the firm and effective leadership of the Party and with the assistance and management of the State.

The districts and co-operatives in the plains and midlands are endowed with favourable climatic and soil conditions. The material and technical basis in these areas is also better than in many other places. Moreover, the labour force is abundant and experience in production is of long standing, which makes it possible for the farmers to grasp the new techniques more quickly. These districts and co-operatives, therefore, have adequate conditions and capabilities to fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, step by step taking our agriculture from a small, scattered, and one-crop production to a comprehensive, intensive, specialized, and large-scale socialist production. *This is a most thorough-going and deepest revolutionary change.* It changes the pattern of thinking and working and age-old customs and habits of our people, creating great capabilities and opening up great prospects for developing agriculture for a long time to come.

The above are only requirements common to large areas with similar capabilities and characteristics. In the plains and midlands, farm work is mostly done on relatively level ground, the labour force is abundant but land is not plentiful, while in the mountain areas, land is plentiful but the labour force is scarce. But even in the same area, conditions may differ from district to district. For instance, in the plains and midlands, some districts have completely level lands, most of them put under cultivation, while many other districts, especially in the midlands, have both level and semi-hilly lands and also hill-and-forest areas. Most of the districts in the former Fourth Zone and in Quang Ninh province have all kinds of lands : plains, semi-hilly, hill-and-forest, and coastal areas. When carrying out surveys and determining the direction for production as well as the organization and management of production, we must pay adequate attention to the practical realities in each area.

## CONCRETE OPTIONS AND MEASURES

### 1. Principal measures in agriculture.

#### Management, Utilization, Transformation and Im- provement of Land.

Land is an object of labour and, at the same time, the chief, irreplaceable, means of production in agriculture. The area of our country is not very large, about 0.7 hectare per capita for the whole of North

Viet Nam. Still less is the cultivated area. That is why a very urgent task is to control and preserve the acreage and fertility of the land ; to make a proper choice of crops and crop rotation ; and to apply appropriate techniques, with a view to reaping all the advantages of our soil, climate and weather conditions. In the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on the following main tasks :

— To firmly preserve lands under socialist ownership against all forms of misappropriation, of transformation of public property into private property ; to recover areas which have been misappropriated, to prevent productive land from being put to other uses ; to prevent the wasteful use of land and damage to its fertility in the building of communications and transport or capital construction or irrigation projects, and in the building of brick kilns.

— Depending on the types of soil, we must take appropriate measures to improve it in order to unceasingly increase its fertility and improve the conditions of cultivation and oppose all acts likely to damage the fertility of or pollute the soil.

— To carry out a rational distribution and use of all our lands, lakes and ponds and practise intensive cultivation and crop multiplication so as to rapidly enlarge the area under crops, increase the output of both crops and livestock and also that of fish. Under no circumstances should we allow land to lie idle or fallow.

— To focus our efforts on delimiting the various agricultural areas and planning our farm work as a basis for redistribution of cropland, assignment of

production tasks, and planning of production from the grass-roots level upward. The delimitation of agricultural areas and planning of agriculture must be based on the results of the analysis of the soil, weather and climate, and hydrologic conditions in each area without, however, spending too much time on unnecessarily complicated operations.

#### Water Control

Water control plays a foremost part in intensive cultivation. Of course, other measures must be taken too, if we do not want output to drop. But if irrigation is bad, crop failure is certain. Nevertheless, in order to make irrigation serve intensive cultivation more effectively, we cannot speak of water in general terms. Instead, we must clearly see the close relations between soil, water and plants. To do irrigation well so as to promote agriculture, we must base ourselves on the following factors :

— The need for water varies with each plant and each kind of soil. We must use methods that are most effective and least costly. We must also ensure water supply for various kinds of plants through a variety of means such as watering, spraying, preserving the humidity of the soil, etc. We should not consider rice the only crop to be watered, nor use only the method of irrigation by sheer gravity, stick to the old habit of waiting for rain.

— Correct assessment of the potentialities, that is, the weak as well as strong points and the hydrological conditions of each area and even of each field, so as to apply the most appropriate method. It is necessary to effect the necessary changes and transforma-

tions but we should never go counter to nature or disregard technical requirements.

— Concerning the responsibility of producers, both individual and collective, the task of ensuring water supply for the plants, and the assistance that the State may provide, we should not rely solely on the big projects or mechanized means.

Thanks to the experience and knowledge already acquired, the efforts of our people in irrigation work, and the active assistance of the State, we can ensure better water supply for the development of agriculture. But to do so, production in each area must be planned on the basis of a correct assessment of the conditions and possibilities for water supply ; the plans and measures for irrigation must be combined into a unified plan for the area, and the good effects of irrigation must be taken full advantage of in order to develop agriculture allsidedly, practise intensive cultivation, preserve the fertility of the soil and improve it.

An urgent objective of irrigation is to ensure water supply for the enlargement of the acreage under spring-summer rice. We must make the fullest possible use of the lands not yet used rationally such as nurseries left fallow, ensure water for high-lying fields, fill up hollows in the fields and transfer some of the dry crops from the plains to the midlands.

— At the same time, attention must be paid to draining lowland areas, protect winter rice from drought at the beginning and the close of each cultivation season and ensure steady increase of both the acreage and output of rice and other crops. We must also secure water for lands under subsidiary crops and the large

areas under food and industrial crops. We must use all possible means, such as major irrigation projects already built, mechanized means, and hand-operated means of the people, as well as small irrigation works such as reservoirs and wells, in order to expand the areas under intensive cultivation of food crops and short-term industrial crops. It is necessary to ensure water for expanding crop areas and practising intensive cultivation of winter rices.

#### **Selection of Seeds and Livestock Breeding**

Basing ourselves on experience gathered in agricultural production and the results obtained in scientific-technical research, we have selected a large variety of high-yield breeds of animals and plant seeds adapted to the farming conditions of various areas, such as some strains of spring and summer rice, vegetables and peas, plants giving green fodder and green fertilizer, a number of breeds of pigs, cows and oxen, poultry, fish and silk-worms, etc. These newly-selected animals and plants have proved capable of meeting the needs of intensive cultivation and crop multiplication and of bringing much higher economic results than many strains which have existed for a long time in our country and have degenerated.

However, many old species of animals and crops, such as maize, cereals, leguminous plants and citrus fruit are still used in spite of their low output and low economic value. So, we must urgently continue research, experimentation and selection so as to obtain better varieties of animals and crops suitable to the conditions of each area.

On the other hand, to bring into full play the potentialities of each strain of cattle, poultry and crops, it is very important to establish a well-organized system for their multiplication, selection, preservation, control and utilization. Selected breeds and seeds are living technical means, and can be put to the service of production with a high degree of steadfastness. But they are also subject to degeneration. We should, depending on the characters and requirements of each kind of plant and animal, combine the work of the State and that of the co-operatives, in order to build a seed-selection system from the centre to the localities.

Since seeds and breeds are complex technical means, it takes some time and requires certain conditions to determine their strong and weak points. So, each locality must urge its people to make a correct and full use of the already selected species of animals and plants and not indulge in an indiscriminate use of those species the properties of which we do not yet know fully.

Along with the introduction of each kind of plant or animal we must work out concrete technical and managerial regulations as a basis for the guidance of production.

#### **Agricultural Mechanization and Equipment in the Immediate Future**

Initial estimates of the balanced development of various economic branches in the three or four years to come show that the possibilities of industry, chiefly the engineering industry, will remain limited, and so will the import of agricultural machinery and equip-

ment. That is why the line for developing our agriculture is to rely mainly on manual labour with improved implements; mechanized means play only a support rôle and are used especially where manual labour is either impractical or impossible, for instance the irrigation and drainage of large areas or high-lying fields; the ploughing of part of the land to ensure timely cultivation, especially where and when work is urgent; the expansion of acreage over vast areas; the reshaping of the terrain; the filling of lakes and ponds; the processing of agricultural products and fodder; the preservation of agricultural products for export; the production and transport of agricultural technical equipment; and the long-distance transport of agricultural products...

Agricultural mechanization in the three or five years ahead will still mainly rely on the existing capabilities, to be strengthened with new equipment and machines. We must ensure the adequate supply of machines, spare parts and fuel in order to make the fullest use of the machines in support of the huge manpower engaged in agriculture. We must pay particular attention to the rational use of land and natural resources, the fullest use of the available manpower, intensive cultivation and multiplication of crops, and the expansion of sidelines. High-level mechanization, taking the place of draught animals and the major part of manual labour, should be carried out only on a selective basis to draw experience.

To this end, we must again make an inventory of all engineering and mechanical forces in each district including small machines, mechanical pumps, small

and big tractors, and the existing repair facilities, check and correctly evaluate our capabilities and shortcomings so as to work out plans and effective measures to overcome our weaknesses. We will, on the basis of a correct appraisal of the capabilities and concrete requirements of each area, set up engineering and repair stations at district level. We must work out plans for doing repair work and providing supplementary equipment to the present stations so that, even with the present equipment, they can better serve agricultural production while fulfilling the task of doing repair work and training engineering workers for the co-operatives in the districts.

#### Fertilizers and Improvement of the Soil.

The soil of our country, even in the most fertile areas, has not been improved for a long time. It has become acid and saline and has lost its fertility and in some regions, has grown swampy thus affecting crop yields and labour productivity. We should urgently improve the quality of the soil and increase the quantity of fertilizers if we are to meet the requirements of intensive cultivation. In the years ahead, we will mainly rely on such resources as dung, green manure, mud and alluvium, lime and the stubble ploughed back into the fields after harvest.

Farmers in each locality and co-operatives must fully know the nature of the soil and the attendant technical requirements, so as to work out plans for preparing fertilizers and using them properly and in time with a view to intensive cultivation and effective improvement of the soil.

### **Stock Breeding**

Along with improving the breeds of cattle, poultry and fish we must have plans to ensure a steady supply of animal fodder, well-organized stock-breeding and veterinary service. The products of livestock breeding are food for men (meat, eggs, milk), draught animals, and fertilizers. To have more food with lower production costs, we must do equally well in all respects: breed selection, fodder and tending. If any of these fails, the other aspects will suffer.

The main source of cattle and poultry feed comes from the products of cultivation, both the main and auxiliary products. When working out production plans, marking out cultivation areas and drawing up time-tables for cultivation, we must also plan the production of animal feed. We must use part of the land as well as of the main and auxiliary products, practise intensive cultivation and multiply crops, in order to obtain more food for animals.

Along with production, we must process and store food so as to have a steady supply of animal feed.

Concerning the rearing of fresh-water and brackish-water fish, adequate consideration must be given to improving ponds and lakes, dredging them and providing them with more micro-organic food in order to raise quickly the output of fish.

Other technical measures such as the protection of crops, cattle, and poultry must be taken along with production activities. The more we practise intensive cultivation and crop specialization, the more attention we should pay to crop protection and veterinary work.

### **2. Promoting scientific and technical research in agriculture.**

The all-round development of agriculture and the progressive development of intensive cultivation and crop specialization require more and more intense research and timely conclusion on technical problems concerning the main crops and domestic animals. Concrete technical norms must be set for each kind of plants, cattle, crop strains and soil. Next, we must train cadres and guide the people and urge them to strictly observe these norms, considering this to be one of the set rules in production and management. We must do away with the casual style of work, raise the production standard in different areas and co-ops, and make it as homogeneous as possible.

With regard to pending technical problems, we must entrust them to responsible organs. In the immediate future, we must focus on studying, experimenting and combining the people's experiences with scientific analysis so as to have timely conclusions on technical problems relating to seeds, time-tables and techniques for growing winter rice in various areas; the strains, time-tables and techniques for growing maize and potatoes on different kinds of soil; the selection of seeds and techniques for growing soya beans, ground-nuts, sugar cane and the main vegetables and fruit trees; selection of cattle breeds and animal husbandry technique.

The apportionment of manpower and the organization of scientific and technical research, the increase in technical equipment and the setting up of technical

stations must aim at the above goals, and must be combined with the study of long-term basic problems ; scientific and technical studies must be combined with the training and fostering of cadres and technical workers and with the task of serving and guiding production activities.

### **3. Strengthening the material and technical bases of agriculture.**

Experiences from the co-operatives and districts in various zones of production have shown that each technical measure must be guaranteed by material conditions. To carry out the connected techniques in planting and stock breeding, develop sideline occupations, achieve a balanced development of stock-breeding and cultivation, and ensure harmony between processing and consumption of products, there must be adequate and well-coordinated material bases in every stage of the production process.

Besides the above-mentioned material and technical bases we must strengthen the following material bases for agriculture :

— To increase the equipment for the processing of agricultural products, make full use of the products, pay attention to such jobs as drying, processing and storing reserves for various production establishments and districts.

— To build enough storehouses, and ensure good maintenance and preservation of technical equipment, breeds, agricultural products (including the necessary

cold-storage facilities), prevent waste and losses, ensure the necessary quantity and quality of the equipment and farm products. Attention must be paid to ensuring storehouses for the supply department, the selection of seeds and breeds, and the storing and processing of animal fodder.

Concerning transport and communications, there are two major jobs : to ensure long-distance transport of technical equipment and raw materials and to ensure timely consumption of farm products. This must be done by the State transport and communications service from the central to the provincial and district levels. On the other hand, the transport service must be strengthened in various production establishments, to ensure adequate transport within the agricultural branch, within the various co-operatives and farms, and among co-ops in a given area.

— To increase the material bases for scientific-technical research, and for training and fostering cadres, including the necessary technical equipment for experimentation at various production establishments.

The material and technical bases must be effectively managed and utilized as soon as they are built. In the immediate future, we must take an inventory of the existing material bases, work out plans to repair, improve, supplement, manage and use them effectively. Besides, we must build other necessary material and technical establishments.

#### 4. Problems concerning agricultural policy.

The policy of the State concerning agriculture cannot be separated from those regarding the other production branches of the national economy. In the present conditions when the economy of North Viet Nam is not yet fully rehabilitated from war ravages and when the labour productivity, production costs and quantity of products of many branches are not yet stabilized, the study of and decisions on problems concerning long-term policies aimed at ensuring correct relations between national and local interests, and between various branches and localities, still meet with many difficulties. In such circumstances, we must base ourselves on the policies already decreed, grasp their spirit and principles so as to carry them out seriously, put them into effect, encourage everybody to engage eagerly in production and fulfil their obligations.

To help promote agriculture along the line of large-scale socialist production, pending an overall study of the economic policies in general, the Government is considering a number of policies and regulations concerning agriculture, such as :

1. The policy of stimulating and assisting cooperatives to develop agriculture and forestry.
2. The policies on the purchase and prices of a number of farm products, making the sale of farm products to the State a duty and fixing the amount to be sold by production establishments. To raise the purchasing prices of a number of farm products and apply a special price policy regarding products sold to the

State beyond the above duty ; fix prices according to the quality of products, and give a bonus to a number of new products and products turned out in large amounts.

3. The policy and modes of investment in agriculture are aimed at increasing State investments so as to create common economic possibilities for various areas, at the same time heightening the sense of responsibility and encouraging the spirit of initiative of enterprises, with a view to changing most of the agricultural investments from budgetary appropriations into State credit.

4. The policy of supplying technical equipment and the policy regarding the prices of technical equipment supplied by the State to the agricultural sector are aimed at encouraging various production establishments to apply new techniques, especially in areas where production still meets with difficulties, as well as in remote areas.

5. The State policy concerning seeds is aimed at improving material and technical conditions for selecting and providing seeds, raising the sense of responsibility of the State organs and production units in this respect ; ensuring the necessary quantity and quality of seeds and setting rules for the management of seeds.

The policy of encouraging the development of production and processing of farm products for export, encouraging the production of items of high economic value and assisting localities and units that turn out large quantities of farm products for export.

6. To study and prepare for the promulgation of the law on land. In the immediate future, we must seriously carry out Government Resolution № 125 concerning the management of land. We must proceed to a general survey of the use of land, and further strengthen the organization and management of land.

7. To work out a policy aimed at encouraging and assisting technical cadres and economic managers who go to the rural areas to help in production activities, and a policy regarding cadres at the grassroots.

The above policies, once decreed and seriously observed, will effectively encourage the peasants and production establishments to engage enthusiastically in labour and practise economy and will also help everybody realize the need to work with technical skill and in a planned way and to ensure proper management of production.





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