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No. 1943

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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WORDS OF PRESIDENT HO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 1-2

[Text] "My ultimate wish is that our country be totally independent, our people be totally free and everyone is well fed, well clothed and educated."

(1946)

"Unity is an extremely valuable tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee to the party chapters, must maintain the unity of the party as though it were the apple of their eye."

(Testament)

"The party must adopt a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people."

(Testament)

"The only course to follow to save the country and liberate the nation is the course of the proletarian revolution."

(1959)

"Only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and working people of the world from the yoke of slavery."

(1960)

"To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists."

(1961)

7809

CSO: 4909

INTENSIFYING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL ORDER  
IN THE NEW STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 3-19

[Article by Tran Quoc Hoan; also published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Volume IV, No 101, 25 May 77, pp K16-K27. Underlying indicates italics.]

[Text] In history, each different social system has its own "style" of social order and its own method of social management. "Such a social system and order are an indispensable factor for each mode of production if a firm social situation is to be expected for this mode of production."(1)

In light of the fourth party congress resolution, our people are shaping a system of socialist collective ownership, a large-scale socialist production system, a new culture and new socialist men. Along with this task, a network of man-to-man relations in all fields--political, economic, cultural, social... --has been established as an organization and stipulated as a revolutionary and scientific system designed to insure that all society constantly develops in accordance with socialist laws and that each of its members can enjoy a free and happy life. This is a socialist social order.

This social order involves several aspects of life in society. This article deals only with the subject of intensively maintaining political security and social order and safety.

Political security means political tranquility and stability of a social regime and a nation. To maintain political security is to firmly defend the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to insure the internal safety of the party and state organs and the people's revolutionary organizations; to protect political and moral unity among the people; and to actively prevent and be ready to smash all plots and acts of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries. Political security is of great importance in many aspects. It is closely linked to the stability of our party, our administration, our regime and our country.

Social order and safety means stable order in society. It is closely linked to the normal, peaceful, healthy and happy working life of all citizens. To maintain social order and safety is to insure order and safety in the people's life and work, to take the initiative in preventing and actively struggling against all crimes, to resolutely eradicate social evils and prevent accidents and to protect the normal activities of all state organs, legal social organizations and the people.

Under the party's leadership, our people have struggled to insure political security and social order and safety and have achieved glorious victories. Following the victorious August revolution and during the anti-French colonialist resistance struggle, despite countless difficulties believed to be insurmountable, our people, under the clear-sighted and skilled leadership of the party and President Ho, defeated all enemies, maintained the revolutionary administration, protected the new social order, built and consolidated the revolutionary forces and finally won a great victory in completely liberating the northern part of our country. During this period, our party constantly educated and organized the people to struggle against and defeat the enemy's espionage warfare, psychological warfare and war of destruction to smash all uprising plots of reactionary forces and to consolidate the rear in preparation for winning victory in the resistance against the French colonialists.

As the North was shifting to the socialist revolution stage, the U.S. imperialists constantly waged espionage warfare and psychological warfare. They used many cunning tricks, sophisticated technical facilities and modern destructive weapons to incite reactionaries to revolt against the revolutionary administration, to hinder our socialist transformation and construction, to repress our people's revolutionary spirit and to disrupt the aid of the great rear to the great frontline. Along with their espionage and psychological activities, they waged two extremely fierce destructive wars in an attempt to suppress our people's fighting spirit and destroy our rears. Acting in concert with the foreign imperialists, reactionaries in the country resorted to all means to collude with imperialist spies in carrying out activities against the revolution. Taking advantage of the complex war situation, the criminals looted, murdered and violated socialist property and that of the citizens. Meanwhile, some social evils reappeared and disturbed social order and social accidents, especially traffic accidents, also increased, affecting social safety.

During this period, our party educated and motivated the majority of cadres and people to uphold their revolutionary vigilance and impetus and accelerate the struggle to insure socialist social order. As a result of a broad and profound motivation movement, our people tracked down and captured many groups of commando spies, discovered spies in hiding, suppressed all acts of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries and promptly frustrated all enemy psychological warfare activities. They also struggled to oppose other criminals, eradicate social evils, insure traffic order and safety and build new ethics and a new

lifestyle. In all agencies and enterprises, cadres and office and manual workers upheld their vigilance, preserved the secrecy of the state, safeguarded organs and protected socialist property. The task of insuring internal security was increasingly intensified. The mass movements inside and outside organs and enterprises were combined, creating a steady, continuous and strong strategic position in attacking counterrevolutionaries and other criminals and in struggling to educate, reform and convert those elements likely to be exploited by the enemy.

In the South, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen built a very large-scale war machinery with a heavy espionage, intelligence and secret service network and an extremely barbarous and cruel police apparatus to conduct investigations and perpetrate acts of suppression, terrorism and sabotage in an attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement. However, under the party's leadership, our people together with the liberation forces and the people's security forces, upholding their stalwartness and indomitableness, struggled against the enemy's "pacification" and "open arms" operations, psychological warfare and espionage and intelligence activities. They guarded against and discovered fifth columnists, eliminated traitors, eradicated tyrants and broke enemy control in the areas under temporary enemy occupation. Our people defeated all enemy plots and operations and scored great victories in safeguarding the party and leading organs of the resistance and protecting revolutionary and resistance bases and the liberated areas.

Since the complete liberation of the South, the situation in the South has become very complex in many aspects. A million puppet troops and the entire system of puppet administration, police, intelligence and secret service have disintegrated on the spot. Many of them have still sought ways to oppose the revolution. Professional crooks, wicked hoodlums and crooked puppet troop remnants have committed crimes in many places. Particularly serious is that they have committed many murders, robberies and much blackmail. Vices caused by youths behaving like ruffians, by drug and heroin addicts and by prostitutes...are very serious. Traffic accidents and other accidents caused by enemy weapons left behind...have occurred fairly frequently.

However, with the victorious impetus, our people have achieved great successes in establishing revolutionary order, administering the newly liberated areas, developing and protecting the party and revolutionary administration and insuring safety for the activities of the party, state and people. The mass movements, especially those of workers, peasants, youths and students, have been initiated in several localities. Our people have actively struggled to suppress counterrevolutionaries, cleanse the country of cruel hoodlums, eliminate the enslaving, reactionary and decadent culture and eradicate social evils. On the basis of mass motivation, a number of control measures such as control of the population, control of weapons and explosives, control



of special camps...have been applied and have yielded initial satisfactory results. As a result, order and security in the newly liberated areas has become increasingly stabilized.

As the party Central Committee's political report presented at the fourth party congress noted, "in the recent past, in the domain of political security and social order, we have scored great achievements in countering the vicious schemes of the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, and the acts of sabotage by various types of spies and other counter-revolutionary elements."(2)

These great successes have been due to the party's correct and creative leadership, to the superiority of the socialist regime, to the people's revolutionary vigilance and tradition of heroic struggle and to the efforts of the majority of cadres and party members, especially cadres and party members in the armed forces and other sectors of the dictatorial regime, who have thoroughly understood the party's line and policies and have paid attention to motivating the masses to maintain political security and social order and safety.

However, our social life in the recent past has been replete with difficulties caused by the aftermath of a fierce and protracted war and by the harmful vestiges of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist policy in the political, economic, cultural and social fields. These difficulties have affected socialist social order. Meanwhile, a number of cadres, party members and state workers and employees and a section of the people have not yet fully and deeply realized the objectives and requirements of the line, policy and task of building and consolidating socialist social order. For this reason, at times and in certain areas there has been a failure to coordinate the execution of other party and state tasks with the inculcation of revolutionary vigilance and collective ownership spirit into the masses. The mass movement has not been conducted vigorously, evenly and continuously and many localities have not paid attention to preventing and checking crimes and potential negative manifestations. Noteworthy are the occasional failures of certain localities to strictly implement state law. These shortcomings must be resolutely overcome in the near future.

At present, in light of the fourth party congress resolution, our people are striving to conduct socialist transformation and socialist construction throughout the country. However, the U.S.-led imperialists and the counter-revolutionary forces in the country have not yet given up their intention to oppose our people.

The political report of the Central Committee to the fourth party congress points out: "As long as imperialism exists, our people must be vigilant and ready to smash all sabotage and aggressive schemes and acts of any enemy whatever."(3)

The U.S. imperialists have bitterly failed in their war of aggression in our country but their bellicose and aggressive nature has not changed. They are readjusting their global counterrevolutionary strategy in the hope of pursuing their world hegemony scheme. With regard to the Southeast Asian region, they are rebuilding the counterrevolutionary belt in order to encircle and undermine the revolution in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and to check the national democratic movement in this region. The fact that the United States recently instigated a counterrevolutionary coup in Thailand and brought the fascist clique to power was a step toward carrying out this cunning scheme.

The U.S. imperialists are also carrying out plots to undermine our country's revolution. They are intensifying intelligence and psychological warfare to encircle, sabotage and hamper the socialist transformation and socialist construction of our people, to sow dissension between our country and the socialist countries and others and to limit the influence of the Vietnamese revolution in Southeast Asia and worldwide. They are inciting counter-revolutionaries to oppose and undermine us in various ways. International spies are gathering reactionaries among the evacuees into reactionary organizations in the United States and some other countries in order to oppose us; these reactionary evacuees' organizations have published newspapers to spread propaganda and to incite the counterrevolutionaries in our country to rise up and violently rebel against the revolutionary administration. The U.S. imperialists are plotting to choose reactionary elements from among evacuees abroad for training as underground spies and commando spies and to have them infiltrate our country's territories from various areas by different ways, especially over the border and by sea and even by air in order to reestablish contact with former organizations, found new ones, collect intelligence, conduct a manifold psychological warfare with a view to sowing disunity between our people and party and government and undermining the all-people's united bloc and, wherever and whenever we fail to show vigilance and caution, instigate backward elements to create disturbances and even violent rebellion. Therefore, now as in the past, the U.S. imperialists are still the most dangerous enemy of our people and the U.S. spies are still the most dangerous opponents of our country's security and order.

Many other imperialist and capitalist countries also work by all means to carry out spying activities in our countries to collect intelligence to meet their own politico-economic and military requirements and even those of U.S. imperialism.

Though their number is not large compared with the huge forces of our people and though vigorously repressed and divided, many counterrevolutionaries, due to their profound anticclass spirit and their being imbued for many years with anticommunist ideas by the imperialists, are still stubbornly trying to connive with outside imperialism, to contact one another and to gather forces in order to oppose and sabotage the revolution and to disrupt security and

and social order and security, especially in the newly liberated areas. Lenin was right in saying: "After being defeated by the revolution, the counterrevolutionary forces will not vanish but will surely start a new, fiercer struggle."(4)

In the near future, the state of social order and security may become more complex due especially to temporary difficulties confronting our people's economic life. Counterrevolutionaries and other criminals whose organizations still exist may take advantage of such a situation to continue their sabotage activities. Dealing with the noxious and persistent nature of the vestiges of the former society, Lenin said: "We cannot put the bourgeois society's corpse into a coffin and bury it. The capitalist corpse will rot and decompose amongst us, polluting the atmosphere around us and poisoning our life. The old, rotten and dead ways will cling to the new, fresh, young and vital ones by thousands of strings."(5)

However, we have a stable tested proletarian dictatorship and the all-people united bloc based on a solid worker-peasant alliance. If all our people develop their sense of collective ownership, increase their revolutionary vigilance and strictly implement party lines and policies and if the organs of the dictatorship are strengthened and vigorously carry out activities, the enemy and dangerous criminals will surely be defeated and duly punished regardless of how wicked or on how large a scale their schemes may be and of the nature of the plots and intentions they may harbor. But wherever and whenever we slacken vigilance and commit numerous shortcomings in implementing party lines and policies and state law, the enemy and other criminals may then take advantage of such a state of affairs to cause damage, sometimes serious, to the revolution. Therefore, the extent to which the imperialist spies, reactionaries at home and other criminals may carry out their schemes depends not so much on them as on us.

The fundamental long-term requirements of the socialist social order we are building include the firm consolidation of political security and social order and safety; an increasing identity of political views and uniform morale among the people; the continuous building and stabilization of a civilized, orderly, peaceful, cheerful and wholesome life; the gradual elimination of crimes from social life; respect for and strict observance of laws and regulations; the people's criticism and resolute elimination of negative factors from social life; the complete elimination of social evils; and the active prevention and reduction to the minimum of all social accidents.

At the present juncture, the maintenance of political security and social order and safety is still "an extremely important task of the state as well as one of the major tasks in the newly liberated areas of South Vietnam."(6) The guidelines for this task are "to take active precautions against and resolutely struggle to foil all plots and activities of imperialist and capitalist spies, to timely and firmly repress the existing saboteurs, to smash all come-back plots of the exploiting classes and the reactionaries, to wipe out social evils."(7)

The objective of the correct implementation of the above-mentioned guidelines and task is to defend the party, the revolutionary administration and the people's happiness and to effectively promote the socialist revolution in our country. During the process of socialist construction, it is not absolutely necessary for us to wait for the results of economic construction and for large-scale industrial production to come into being prior to building and consolidating the socialist social order; rather, because of the conscientious activity of the socialistically enlightened people as a whole, it is possible, right at the beginning of this process and even as a step in advance, to shape and rapidly develop certain aspects and elements of the socialist social order.

To shape the socialist social order, we must study and fully realize the fundamental ideas contained in the fourth party congress resolution and, first of all, firmly uphold proletarian dictatorship, develop the laboring people's right to collective ownership and thoroughly understand and apply the party's basic line in maintaining political security and social order and safety. This line means party leadership, development of the laboring people's right to collective ownership, increased effectiveness of state management and association of the people's revolutionary eagerness with the tasks of specialized agencies.

Party leadership is an objective requirement for the socialist revolution since it is the source and decisive factor of all revolutionary successes. The direct and all-sided leadership of the party enables the struggle to maintain political security, social order and safety so as to constantly and correctly follow party lines and policies and state law, to avoid all deviations prejudicial to the revolution, to mobilize the strength of the proletarian dictatorial system as a whole and to motivate all the people to eagerly build and maintain socialist social order.

Party leadership is exercised from the central to the grassroots levels and includes the leadership provided by party committee echelons and party chapters. In this respect, the task of party leadership is to closely follow the situation; to regularly hear reports on the struggle to maintain political security, social order and safety; to set forth specific and appropriate policies and measures; to guide the administrative apparatus, mass organizations and especially the forces of the dictatorial regime and also to motivate all strata to satisfactorily carry out these policies and measures; and to constantly supervise, encourage, correct deviations and draw and recapitulate experiences in a timely manner in order to insure that the task of shaping and maintaining socialist social order continuously makes progress and scores greater successes.

We must strive to consolidate and develop the laboring people's right of collective ownership in shaping and maintaining socialist social order.

In this respect, the laboring people's right to collective ownership is part of not only political ownership but also of economic, cultural and social ownership.

Party organizations, trade unions, youths, women and peasants as well as educational, cultural, literary and artistic propaganda organs and schools must help everyone clearly understand the objectives and significance of building and maintaining socialist social order, of one's role as the real owner of the new society and of one's responsibility to shape and maintain socialist social order, and also the need to heighten revolutionary vigilance in detecting the plots, stratagems and activities of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals and in clearly realizing the dangers caused by social evils and accidents. With this understanding, it is necessary to create opportunities for everyone to take the initiative and conscientiously detect and denounce counterrevolutionary activities and other crimes and condemn and criticize infringements of the law, acts contrary to party policies and negative social manifestations. It is necessary to induce everyone to conscientiously and strictly implement party lines and policies and state law, to take the initiative in organizing and shaping a civilized, orderly, peaceful, cheerful and wholesome life and to gradually assume the task of maintaining security and order.

To this end we must vigorously launch and constantly conduct a mass movement for maintaining the fatherland's security, social order and safety. To motivate the masses to carry out this task is a strategic measure and the most appropriate and popular method used by our party to induce, teach and organize the masses to build and maintain socialist social order. Therefore, we must formulate programs and plans to launch, foster and maintain this movement and insure its steady progress and also to strenuously build each agency, enterprise, armed forces unit, cooperative, village and neighborhood bloc...into a solid fortress to firmly maintain political security and social order and safety.

To constantly maintain such a mass movement, it is necessary to closely associate the maintenance of fatherland security and social order and safety with the execution of major party and state tasks. Suitable and specific objectives and correct and realistic watchwords must be set forth in accordance with local conditions and, through this process, it is necessary to train active persons and consolidate core organizations such as those fully or partly responsible for the protection of various agencies and enterprises, city dwellers' defense teams, people's defense units in cities and towns and village security, militia and guerrilla units. It is necessary to continuously set up and develop various kinds of organizations through which the people themselves maintain social order and safety, such as red flag youth units, red star teenager units, people's reconciliation agencies, people's supervisory teams.... Dealing with the immediate tasks of the Soviet administration, Lenin pointed out: "Our objective is to make each laborer,

after he has completed the 8-hour production period, assume without pay state duties. Though it is particularly difficult to put this system into effect, only by so doing can we completely consolidate socialism."(8)

To develop the laboring people's right to collective ownership, all party and state cadres, especially those in sectors having direct relations with the people, must heighten their spirit and improve their attitude of unconditional service to the people, resolutely struggle against all infringements on the people's democratic rights and eliminate all bureaucratic and authoritarian manners which cause trouble to the people. Arrangements must be made to enable the people to periodically contribute constructive views and criticism concerning state agencies. State cadres and personnel must sincerely heed the people's criticism and really correct any shortcomings committed. It is necessary to firmly oppose all attitudes and acts aimed at repressing or taking revenge on persons who have criticized or denounced infringements of the people's democratic rights.

We must increase the efficiency of state management in the field of political security and social order and safety. This is one of the important aspects of party lines in this sphere.

A condition of prime importance for shaping and maintaining political security and social order and safety is to increase the efficiency of state management and to insure respect for and strict implementation of state law. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen the socialist legal system; to gradually improve the legal system; to set forth a series of systems, provisions and regulations on the maintenance of political security and social order and safety; and to amend old regulations and provisions which are no longer suitable to the new situation in order to turn law into a really sharp weapon to be used by our people to struggle against the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals and negative manifestations in society. Simultaneously, it is necessary to permanently, closely and more vigorously urge on and supervise the implementation of party lines and policies and state law on the maintenance of political security and social order and safety, to motivate the masses to shape and materialize new ethical principles and a new socialist life style and to make every citizen clearly realize and fully exercise his right to collective ownership and fulfill his duties. Those who refuse to abide by the law must be coerced into doing so and any lawbreaker must be strictly dealt with. Lenin once clearly pointed out: "We must pay attention to any slight disorder, any petty violation of Soviet law and regulations.... Any slight transgression of Soviet law and order will create a loophole of which the enemy of the working people may take advantage."(9)

It is necessary to enhance the role of the people's councils and people's committees at various levels in the promulgation of regulations concerning the maintenance of local political security and social security and in the supervision of their implementation.

It is necessary to actively develop, consolidate, strengthen and closely coordinate the specialized state organs, notably the people's public security force, the people's procuratorate and people's courts, which are the effective staffs and vanguard assault forces of the party and state, and the devoted and loyal servants of the people in this field of activity.

It is especially necessary to continuously develop the people's public security branch into an effective armed service absolutely loyal to the homeland, party and people, and endowed with a regular, modern, politically stable and professionally efficient specialized force possessing high scientific and technical skills and necessary technical facilities, with a stable and strong semispecialized force, and with a broad network of agents among the masses.

Although socialist social order is the product and result of economic, political, cultural and social activities, it nevertheless can influence these fields of activity. For this reason, all the economic, internal affairs, national defense, foreign affairs, propaganda and training, educational, cultural and art sectors and others...should work in close coordination to insure satisfactory fulfillment of the task of maintaining the fatherland's security and social order and safety. If each sector and unit satisfactorily carries out this task in its own organization, it will not only create favorable conditions for fulfilling its own political tasks, but also actively contribute to maintaining the common political security and social order and safety of the whole country.

Because of the complexity of the struggle and of the enemy's frequent use of several refined maneuvers and sophisticated means, only by coordinating the active struggle of the masses with the work of the specialized organs can we ferret out the enemy, hit strongly at the right targets, and insure total success for the struggle. Paying attention only to motivating the masses while neglecting the work of the specialized organs and vice versa will result in deviations and errors.

While shaping and maintaining a socialist social order, it is necessary to more firmly uphold the struggle guidelines and methods formulated on the basis of actual facts so as to apply them more wisely in the new revolutionary stage. These guidelines and methods are as follows:

1. Closely combine the forcible repressive function of the proletarian dictatorship with its organizational and constructive function.

Our party's ultimate goal is to completely abolish man's exploitation of man and to organize and build a socialist and communist society in which everyone lives in plenty, freedom and happiness and progresses from all points of view. The greatest enemy to socialist social order in our country was the U.S.-led imperialist aggressors and their puppet administration. Though defeated, they are still weaving plots and conducting activities to oppose and undermine us.

Therefore, we still have to repress them to maintain political security and social order and safety. However, we assert that during the process of socialist transformation and construction, the repression of counter-revolutionaries and other criminals is a task which is necessary only in case of need while the shaping of a socialist social order is a permanent and long-term task which must be carried out right from the beginning and along with the repression of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals. The main function of the proletarian dictatorship is to organize and build. Only by satisfactorily organizing and building a new society can we insure complete success for the socialist revolution and create conditions under which the overthrown exploiting classes cannot recover, and also only by doing so can we gradually eliminate all conditions leading to crime and eliminate crime from social life. Lenin pointed out that to win victory and to establish and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must carry out two interrelated tasks: the first is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and completely crush all its opposition and the second is to lead all the people to follow the proletariat in building a new economy and establishing new social relations, a new labor discipline and a new labor organization capable of using the up-to-date achievements of capitalist science and technology. In Lenin's opinion, the second task is more difficult and important than the first because, in the final analysis, the greatest source of strength necessary for vanquishing the bourgeoisie and the sole guarantee of the durability and indestructibility of these successes can only be a new, better social production formula and the replacement of capitalist and petty bourgeois production by large-scale socialist production.

But history has demonstrated that capitalist imperialism and the overthrown exploiting classes have continuously sought by all means to oppose and undermine revolution. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to defend socialism while building it. We must use force in a timely manner to resolutely repress all counterrevolutionary activities and punish other criminals, smash all imperialist plots and plans to sabotage our country's revolution, and firmly defend socialist transformation and construction as well as our socialist fatherland. We consider force not as a goal but merely a method to be applied only when necessary--not a principal or unique method--in order to achieve the objective of building socialism and communism. Though only a method, force must, when necessary, be used firmly, appropriately and without hesitation. The use of force against counterrevolutionaries means not only arrest, punishment and repression but also the use of many other coercive forms and measures. Of course, the form and degree of violence to be used will depend on the form and degree of opposition offered by counter-revolutionaries. Lenin said: "Proletarian dictatorship requires a persistent struggle with and without bloodshed and involving the use of force and peaceful means and military, economic, education and administrative measures against the forces and habits of the former society."(10)



2. Maintain internal security, actively take preventive measures to maintain revolutionary security, take the initiative and launch a continuous offensive against the counterrevolutionaries to annihilate and disintegrate them; actively take precautions and continuously struggle to completely eliminate crime and social evils and reduce social accidents to the minimum.

To foil all plots and activities of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals, especially spies who infiltrate our ranks, we must first adequately protect our ranks and firmly consolidate the hinterlands and frontiers of our fatherland. If we successfully consolidate the all-people united bloc with the worker-peasant alliance at the core and highly develop revolutionary vigilance and the collective ownership spirit of the laboring people, thereby setting a broad network for maintaining political security, social order and safety and if the internal situation of the party, administration and revolutionary organizations is characterized by purity, steadiness and strength...then we will be able to set up a solid defensive position and, simultaneously, an active position which will make it possible to launch continuous offensives against counterrevolutionaries and other criminals, thus driving them into a continuously passive position in which they will have no time or freedom to oppose and undermine the revolution. We must actively take preventive measures in all aspects of the defensive task, take the initiative in struggling against crime, eliminating social evils and limiting social accidents, and take adequate precautions so as not to leave any loophole that will allow criminals to damage the revolution. All manifestations of rightist tendencies, hesitancy and cursory, negative or passive defensive measures will constitute loopholes which the enemy will take advantage of in his counterrevolutionary activities. By taking varied measures and using coordinated forces we will create a stable, continuous front and a combined strength which will put us on strict guard against counterrevolutionaries and other criminals and enable us to effectively attack them. Maintaining internal security and taking strict precautions also involve an eagerness to properly carry out the reform task of eliminating and neutralizing negative and backward elements in society. At the same time, it is necessary to strenuously shape and develop active and progressive elements in order to enable them to gain greater and greater predominance in society and to win over all negative elements that may emerge.

3. Determination and caution must be fully realized in struggling against counterrevolutionaries, usually operate in a very subtle, cunning manner while various social contradictions are intermingled with great complexity. In carrying out repressive and punitive tasks it is therefore necessary to be firmly determined to prevent all criminals from escaping and, at the same time, to exercise caution to avoid harming innocent people by mistake. It is necessary to closely relate these two aspects and to avoid paying greater attention to one than to the other, because a deviation toward either of them will harm both the revolution and the people.

4. Closely coordinate the struggle to maintain political security with the struggle to preserve social order and safety.

Political security and social order and safety are closely interrelated and influence one another. If political security is firmly maintained, favorable conditions will be created for satisfactorily maintaining social order and safety. Conversely, if social order and safety are satisfactorily maintained, the way will be paved for properly maintaining political security.

Experience in the struggle shows that counterrevolutionaries usually take advantage of temporary difficulties and shortcomings in the implementation of party and state policies to induce bad elements to disrupt social order and safety and hence undermine political security. If social order and safety are seriously infringed or if the problem of social order and safety is not resolved wisely, bad influences will ensue and, worse still, may sometimes turn this problem into a political security problem. In assessing the situation and solving problems of political security or social order and safety we must therefore constantly keep awake and ponder the close relationship between those two aspects in order to be able to set forth appropriate policies and measures aimed at properly solving one aspect and effectively enhancing the other without leaving loopholes in any one of them which may allow the enemy to undermine us in the other.

We must also constantly increase vigilance to prevent counterrevolutionaries from taking advantage of penal criminals and prompting them to carry out intelligence, psywar and sabotage activities and also from instigating bad elements to magnify negative manifestations and shortcomings on our part in order to disrupt social order and hence undermine political security. We must also prevent infringements of social order from developing into political security problems.

5. Closely associate the policy of struggling against counterrevolutionaries and other criminals with other party and state policies.

To maintain political security and social order and safety, we must struggle against criminals belonging to various social strata, nationalities and religions in various fields of activity and in various areas. The role, nature, motive and objective of each criminal also differ from those of another. We must therefore have sound policies and strategies to successfully divide counterrevolutionaries; to completely isolate and vigorously hit ringleaders and diehard counterrevolutionaries and to provide education and show tolerance toward persons who have been coerced, cheated and led astray and those who sincerely repent. We must severely punish regular hooligans, brutal ruffians and those who create serious disturbances and educate and convert persons who have temporarily followed the wrong path and violated the law. To do so is to apply the policy of combining severe punishment with leniency and associating repression with reformatory education. Because we have a just cause, a revolutionary humanitarianism, a stable and powerful

people's administration, a very good people and a strong revolutionary enthusiasm we can--apart from repressive and punitive measures--emphasize the educational, reformative and persuasive task with regard to guilty persons, especially those who have been coaxed or coerced into becoming enemy henchmen. We can also be lenient with guilty people who repent. President Ho advised: We must not take revenge. Our people must be lenient with those who have gone astray and use logical arguments to set them right. If we speak with reason, they will surely listen to us.(11) We must closely associate the policy of struggling against counterrevolutionaries and other criminals with other policies such as the nationalities policy, religious policy, economic policy...in order to effectively help implement the party's political task in each specific field, area and period and under different circumstances.

Regardless of whether the revolution is in a favorable or difficult situation, we must combine rigorous principles with strategic versatility to simultaneously promote the party's political task and meet the struggle's requirements.

In short, to more firmly maintain political security and social order and safety with a view to consolidating socialist social order in our country in the new stage is a duty of the entire party and all the people and a responsibility of party organizations and people's administrations at all levels and of all sectors and circles as well. Full-time agencies must act as staffs to effectively help party committee levels and the administration at the same level as themselves to satisfactorily guide and organize the implementation of policies aimed at maintaining political security and social order and safety in our fatherland.

It is necessary to make all cadres and party members in all sectors from the central to local level clearly realize the situation and their duty to maintain political security and social order and safety as indicated in the fourth party congress resolution; it is also necessary to emphasize the responsibility of each cadre and party member for implementation of the party congress resolution.

The various sectors, agencies and enterprises must comprehensively review the situation and task of maintaining political security and social order and safety in the recent past in their specific areas, accurately assess achievements and shortcomings and draw experiences prior to working out plans and measures to intensify the maintenance of political security and social order and safety in their own sectors and units. A clear realization of the close relationship between political, economic, cultural and social activities and the maintenance of political security and social order and safety is necessary for the various sectors to closely and uniformly coordinate their activities and to tightly associate the tasks of their own branches and units with maintaining political security and social order and safety.

It is necessary to comprehensively strengthen such full-time agencies as the people's public security forces, people's procurates and people's courts to enable them to fulfill their functions and duties as effective staffs and hardcore assault forces of the party and state in maintaining order and security.

It is necessary to launch a vigorous mass movement for maintaining national security and to instill into the masses a seething impetus to emulate in maintaining political security and social order and safety. The core forces must be strengthened to permanently maintain, intensify and improve this mass movement to create favorable conditions for our people to exercise their right to collective ownership and fulfill their duties.

In the light of the fourth party congress revolution, due to the close leadership provided by party committee levels and by bringing into play the combined strength of proletarian dictatorship, our entire party and all our people will surely be able to develop and maintain a very beneficial socialist social order in our beloved Socialist Vietnam.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. G. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Book 3, Volume 3, p 247.
2. See TAP CHI HOC TAP, Number 12, 1976, p 93.
3. See TAP CHI HOC TAP, Number 12, 1976, p 56.
4. V. Lenin: "The Two Strategies of the Social Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 40.
5. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 28, p 83.
6. Resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party, TAP CHI HOC TAP, Number 12, 1976, p 131.
7. Ibid., p 131.
8. V. Lenin: "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 110.
9. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 29, p 645.
10. V. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part 2, p 339.
11. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 245.

REORGANIZING SOCIAL PRODUCTION ALONG THE LINES OF LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 20-36

[Article by Doan Trong Truyen]

[Text] The political report of the party central committee presented by Le Duan at the fourth party congress clearly pointed out that reorganizing social production is one of our most important problems, one toward which the continued development and improvement of economic management must be directed.

Over the past 20 years or more, socialist transformation and socialist construction in the north have produced many significant changes in the organization of production; a large number of production factors have emerged and had an increasing impact; the economy is no longer based on small-scale, subsistent production. However, the organization of social production still contains weak points typical of an economy in which small-scale production is still widespread: throughout society and in each sector and locality there is not the most effective coordination possible among manpower, equipment and goals; the national economic structure, mainly at the sector and regional level, is not well balanced and the development of production forces has not been successfully coordinated with the strengthening and improvement of the new production relations; there is not good coordination among the various segments of the economy, especially between state-run enterprises and cooperatives; economic and technical relations (cooperation, federation, and so forth) are underdeveloped and bound by administrative procedures; the process of social reproduction (production--distribution--circulation--consumption) has not been thoroughly organized.

With the reunification of the country, the reorganization of social production in the south has become an urgent need. Although there are a number of large-scale capitalist production factors (in which certain positive aspects exist with regard to the organization of production), in general, the southern economy remains a small-scale production economy. It still bears the

characteristics of a neocolonialist-type economy which develops spontaneously, has a very unbalanced structure, is strongly influenced by the law of the market and is totally dependent on the capitalist world market.

It is obvious that the reorganization of social production in the new phase throughout our reunified country which is advancing toward socialism is an objective demand and a primary task in the 1976-1980 5-year plan and also a strategic measure in fulfilling the plan.

The organization of social production embodies all production elements (labor, work objectives and work tools), which are distributed, organized and operated in relations that are more or less stabilized and closely coordinated; all production units and economic sectors are distributed, organized and operated throughout the country as well as in each locality and region according to an appropriate structure and on the basis of increasingly progressive technical rules and increasingly improved socialist socio-economic relations; all of these factors, units and sectors must form a constantly developing system designed to insure the process of reproduction (production--distribution--trade--consumption) of the national economy, each sector and each unit, a process which must be carried out in a manner that yields the highest possible returns.

The reorganization of production, whether on a society-wide scale or in a sector, locality, region or production unit, consists of the following main factors:

- Establishing an efficient production structure in all production branches (both specialized and integrated);

- Determining an appropriate scale;

- Organizing the production process which includes the technical and equipment system, the economic system and the organization of labor;

- Organizing cooperation and federation within production among units in all sectors, joint sectors, regions and localities.

- Organizing the technical and social infrastructure well;

- Thoroughly organizing the process of social reproduction, from production to distribution circulation and consumption in terms of both material resources and value;

- Organizing an apparatus for directly managing production and business (as well as suitable apparatus for managing the state and economy).

The organization of production is part of the science of economic management and organization. With the emergence of large-scale capitalist production, the capitalist production organization got away from empiricism and gradually developed into the "science of organizing production." F. W. Taylor is regarded as one of the pioneers in the creation of the capitalist science of production management and organization.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin exposed the savage exploiting nature of the Taylor method: "like all the advances of capitalism, it has coordinated the subtle and brutal nature of bourgeois exploitation with abundant scientific accomplishments in every sphere: it has analyzed the mechanical movements in labor, eliminated all unnecessary and inefficient movements, shaped the most efficient working methods and applied the most perfect accounting and control systems..."(1)

While pointing out the nature of the capitalist science of production management and organization, Lenin stressed the need to organize and study the Taylor method and "coordinate the soviet administration and soviet managerial system with the latest advances of capitalism."(2)

The socialist scientific organization of production differs in nature from the capitalist organization of production. The socialist organization of production utilizes the three components of Marxism-Leninism, the natural sciences, technical sciences and social sciences, as well as other sciences, including cybernetics, psychology, sociology and so forth.

Under our country's present conditions, it is necessary in the organization of production to utilize the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people and the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific and technical revolution in view of its very rich content; it is necessary to apply the latest scientific and technical accomplishments to production and the organization and management of production. The organization of production must closely coordinate science with production and put science in support of production

The reorganization of social production (or the organization of production in a sector or enterprise) is the essence of economic management, it does not lie outside economic management. To build a new, socialist managerial system and apply socialist managerial methods, we must first of all organize production on the basis of socialist, scientific principles of organization. However, the organization of production is regarded as the combination of all production factors and units, an object of management and the basis for applying and perfecting the socialist system of economic management in order to step up scientific and technical advances. It is impossible to improve economic management by divorcing it from or going beyond the existing organization of production, because these two aspects are closely related.

In building the socialist social system, we must simultaneously reorganize social production, establish the new socialist mode of management and organize the management apparatus. All three tasks are closely related and interconnected. They combine to form the socialist system of national economic management.

The process of development of our country's social production is consistent with the party's line on economic construction and closely linked to the chief characteristic of the socialist revolution in our country, namely, the direct shift from an economy consisting mainly of small-scale production to large-scale socialist production without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. This line and this characteristic control the entire process of reorganizing our country's social production.

1. To fully implement the party's economic line, the reorganization of social production must reflect the major relations, and according to the guidelines in the 1976-1980 5-year plan, find the most effective measures to achieve the major objectives that have been set.

The organization of social production must reflect the coordinated building of industry and agriculture into an industrial-agricultural economic structure. The national economic structure is made up of several sectors and fields in a certain balanced proportion that creates economic strength and paves the way for the advance of social production; it embraces many aspects: the structure of various production sectors and various fields of reproduction, the material-technical structure of society, the labor and population structure, the structure of various economic segments and so forth. In this national economic structure, the structure of the various material production sectors is the foundation and, within it, the industrial-agricultural structure is the backbone of the entire structure.

According to the party line, the organization of social production must first of all be designed to build a new economic structure with correct relations between industry and agriculture. This coordination must be achieved on a national scale, in the large areas, in every province, district and unit, and in different degrees and ways.

The organization of social production must reflect coordination between the central economy and the local economy within a unified national economic structure.

To properly implement the line of simultaneously building the central economy and developing the local economy, the organization of social production must be designed to fully develop the country's natural resources and labor force, accelerate the redistribution of social labor and insure that all parts of the national economy develop throughout the country and in each locality and unit. It is necessary to organize production well in each province and city



in accord with the country's general plan and the specific conditions of each locality: it is here that the coordination between the central and local economy (also called the combined territorial economy) must be concretely expressed.

The reorganization of social production must insure coordination between the building of production forces and the establishment and improvement of the new production relations.

The realities of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North over the past 20 years and more and in the liberated South over the past 2 years indicate the need to grasp the concept of closely coordinating these two activities in every undertaking, especially in the organization of production.

It is necessary to grasp and vividly reflect the dialectical combination of production forces with production relations; the improvement of socialist production relations cannot be divorced from the development of production forces and the construction of the material-technical base of socialism or vice versa. This combination is reflected in a unified economic structure--a specific type of production organization operating within a specific socio-economic system.

The organization of social production must insure that economic development is coordinated with national defense.

We must take into account the country's terrain, topography and socio-economic characteristics and the need to prepare for a people's war for national protection that may break out in the future and, on this basis, better coordinate economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system, organize the distribution of production forces and labor in accordance with the projects and plans for the economic development of the entire country and each sector and region, taking into account not only economic requirements but also national defense requirements. This type of production organization takes into account the characteristics and requirements of a people's war in the entire country, in the strategic areas and in every locality.

The reorganization of production in the country is also linked with the policy of strengthening our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries, achieving a division of labor, cooperation and mutual assistance in the socialist international spirit and developing economic relations with other countries on the basis of independence, sovereignty and mutual benefit.

By expanding economic relations with foreign countries, we connect the process of independent reproduction within our country with the economies of foreign countries. This has a favorable influence on the process of reproduction of the national economy and of each sector and enterprise. This

requires that we organize export-import relations, and cooperation in production and in science and technology between domestic production sectors and units and foreign countries; moreover, we must strive to insure that the production structure of a number of domestic sectors as well as the organization of their production--distribution--marketing operations meet the requirements of flexibly expanding our relations with the world market.

2. To properly reorganize our country's social production and thoroughly understand the party line, we must understand how to reorganize social production and know the internal laws that govern the shift from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. This is complicated and difficult work and requires careful theoretical studies and practical tests.

a) To reorganize social production, we must use the combined strength of the collective ownership system of the working people, the proletarian dictatorship and the three revolutions: the revolution in production relations, the scientific-technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, among which the scientific-technical revolution is the keystone.

We have built an outstanding socialist economy and a firm proletarian dictatorship on the basis of an economy in which small-scale production still prevails, production forces remain underdeveloped and the material-technical base remains weak. For this reason, we must rely on the advanced social system, on the combined strength of the collective ownership system of the working people and on the proletarian dictatorship to immediately transform old production relations and pave the way for new production relations; on this basis and taking into account some of the large-scale production that has taken shape, we will reorganize social production.

For this reason, in the South, the state can take initial steps to reorganize production, such as planning, zoning, reorganizing the nationalized enterprises of the comprador bourgeois, bureaucratic and militarist groups, and linking the economy of farmers and handicraftsmen with the national economy.

b) To reorganize our country's social production, we must first of all rely on the abundant natural resources and labor of the country and transform them into a strength, considering this the most important objective of the organization of production. To reorganize social production, we must begin with the redistribution of production forces, mainly the social work force, considering this a new strategic deployment, by sending workers from the delta areas and overpopulated cities to undeveloped agricultural areas, including the Mekong Delta, the Central Highlands, the midlands and mountainous regions in the North, sending them to develop the forests and marine products, sending them to the new industrial centers, to extract minerals and so forth. Within this strategic deployment, we must primarily develop agriculture, forestry and fishing--the main sectors which absorb much of the work force and where investments yield relatively quick returns.

For this reason, the reorganization of social production must focus first on agriculture as well as forestry, fishery and the consumer goods industry--including small industry and handicrafts--and immediately coordinate agriculture with industry.

c) Our country's specific circumstances and current historic conditions, that is, the existence of a world socialist system with growing economic potential and the vigorous development of the scientific-technical revolution in the world, allow and require us to gradually shift from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production while immediately embarking on modern large-scale production without any transitional steps. This means that we will have modern techniques and semi-mechanized and improved rudimentary machines and will coordinate large-scale production with medium and small-scale production. These varied methods of development do not cancel one another but can be harmoniously linked if they are adopted correctly and appropriately in the organization of production. For example, in the machinery industry, along with the establishment of big machinery complexes with modern production processes and an advanced labor organization, we must still use existing mechanical equipment, including semi-mechanical and hand-operated tools and reorganize them in product groups, which are specialized and cooperate with one another. In light industry and the consumer goods and food industries, this method of development can be even more widespread to the extent that we can even use small family workshops. However, in the oil and gas industry, for instance, we must immediately advance from nothing to modern large-scale production without any transitional steps.

In agriculture, the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production is even more diverse. It involves all kinds of equipment and levels of technology. While advancing to factory methods, this process still maintains manual methods. Any inflexible mold and any perfect model that could accommodate all existing varieties would only be harmful. From the experiences of our advanced cooperatives with their varied forms, such as those in Binh Da, My Tho and Quang Nap, and from the initial results obtained in Dong Hung, Nam Ninh and Quynh Lau Districts, we see that our agricultural production has not followed the normal course of history that involves moving from simple cooperation to handicraft workshops, and pausing in the handicraft workshop stage for consolidation and development before advancing to machinery workshops (mechanized agricultural enterprises). Instead, under varied forms, in varying degrees and different phases, our production units have progressed rapidly without going through the phase of simple cooperation. While several units still use manual methods, many elements of a machine workshop have emerged. This is reflected in the use of machines, the adoption of the principle of continuous flow in the production process and the division of work in cooperatives based on "objective principles rather than subjective principles as before."

d) To reorganize social production in our country, we must develop and coordinate all economic and social forces: the state operated economy, the cooperative economy, the joint state-private economy, the private economy and even the privately operated capitalist economy to a certain extent in the South. We must also mobilize and organize all forces of the state, collective and individuals into three categories: central, local and privately organized forces.

e) In the organization of production, we must coordinate investments in and the construction of new production installations to create new capacities with complete, coordinated investments to utilize and develop existing capacities. At present, we are moving toward large-scale socialist production, but not with our bare hands. In the North, we have built a certain potential in our heavy and light industries and a network of improved, irrigated rice-fields. In the South, we have taken over a number of light industries with a relatively developed industrial infrastructure.

Apart from making investments in building new production installations, sectors, economic areas and production capabilities in order to gradually create a modern economic structure, we must pay great attention to fully using the available production capabilities and must devote an appropriate percentage of investment capital to perfecting, balancing, synchronizing and improving this structure. This is a very important part of the problem of the reorganization of production in industry in particular. Such supplemental investments bring good results and rapidly have an impact. It is truly a shortcoming to only pay attention to building new factories when we have not yet made full use of all the factory capacity now available, or to only build new state-run enterprises when the production capacity of the artisan and handicraft enterprises has not yet been fully used.

At this point we must talk further about investments "in breadth" and "in depth." Marx made this distinction: "we have expanded reproduction broadly when the scope of production is expanded, and deeply when the efficiency of the means of production is increased."<sup>(3)</sup> We have reproduction--and, by definition, a broad organization of production--when we use more labor, equipment, raw materials, land and natural resources and organize new production sectors and units to increase the volume of production. Reproduction here also means organizing production in depth which occurs when we apply scientific and technical accomplishments, improve techniques, alter technology, save raw materials, improve the workers' skills and reorganize production in existing units in order to increase the volume of production with an amount of labor and equipment which is not increased or which is increased only insignificantly. In each phase of our development, investment in depth, if the meaning is correctly understood, is a constant need. It should not be confused with supplementary investment or with the repair and improvement of equipment which was destroyed, damaged or made defective in previous projects, in construction or at installations. In the present developmental stage of our national economy, when available labor and resources still remain

abundant, expanded reproduction in breadth occupies a very important position. But we must also constantly and highly value and fully use all factors in depth. These two activities are always correlated so that we can constantly and fully use all social production capabilities and increase the labor productivity of each unit as well as social labor productivity.

3. The reorganization of social production must be in accordance with the process of agglomeration, specialization, cooperation and federation in production. These four aspects have a certain economic and technical content, are closely correlated and effect one another. The process of the agglomeration of production, reflected in the scope of production units, can be carried out through major investments by the state in building large production units and through the combination of small production units into large production units. The agglomeration of production (and, together with it, the agglomeration of the population) has objective bases--the level of development of production forces, mainly equipment, the scientific and technical level, and management standards and ability. Only with a certain scale of agglomeration will we be able to use all the progressive methods of technology, step up technical progress and achieve high labor productivity.

An important factor in agglomeration today is that the agglomeration of scientific and technical capabilities permits the rapid application of scientific accomplishments and technical progress to production and the application of advanced techniques to achieve larger economic and technical norms.

Agglomeration must yield distinct economic returns and careful preparations must be made in the economic, technical, organizational and managerial fields, but not in an impetuous manner; moreover, it is necessary to oppose all conservative thoughts, the fear of difficulties and the tendency to stop with small-scale, scattered production and oppose delaying the advance to large-scale socialist production.

The hasty merger of small cooperatives into cooperatives which are too large without making adequate preparations will result in inequities, losses, new difficulties in management and a decrease in economic returns.

Specialization is the process of redistributing labor which leads to the formation of technical and economic sectors. In any sector, there are a minimum of enterprises (which can be under different forms of ownership such as state-run enterprises or cooperatives) that manufacture the same types of products. Specialization requires that management be management by sector, that stabilized cooperative relations in a sector or among sectors be insured, and that the situation in which a sector or enterprise becomes a "closed" sector or enterprise be overcome. This means that a textile enterprise should also be able to mold cast iron and turn out various machine products or fibro-cement bricks; a machine works should also organize a production team to dig clay; a construction corporation should undertake the construction and

assembly of machine enterprises as well as animal husbandry stations, hospitals, schools and houses within an area measuring thousands of square kilometers in which there is no specialization in construction nor standardization in planning.

Due to the conditions and nature of production, specialization in agriculture, as Lenin pointed out, is different from that in industry. It involves the formation of sectors which cannot be completely separated from one another, sectors which are closely linked and develop as an individual entity within a given area. For this reason, in the zoning of specialized farming areas, a very important matter in the organization of agricultural production is that each area or production unit have specialized farming guidelines while developing its economy comprehensively. At present, large specialized farming areas engaged in the large-scale production of such typical agricultural products as rice, tea, cotton, peanuts and rubber, have been and are being formed. Specialization is a prerequisite for coordinating industry and agriculture and for increasing the output of commodities and export products. On the basis of specialized farming areas, each district (reorganized to be more efficient) can be considered as a small agricultural economic area with a coordinated industrial-agricultural system.

Specialization must be linked with cooperation. Socialist production relations create abundant capabilities for cooperation--cooperation by sector, cooperation by zones, cooperation between agriculture and industry, and cooperation among the various forms of ownership. The intensity and forms of cooperation are very varied. Cooperation is possible in each link or task and in many aspects; it can be permanent or temporary and can last for one crop season or for a longer period of time. At present, many agricultural cooperatives need not be merged into big cooperatives, rather, they should develop cooperative relations in each field or organize farming, joint businesses in animal husbandry and water conservancy while and on the basis maintaining the independent nature of each cooperative.

On the basis of agglomeration within each unit, specialization, cooperation and federation in production lead to a higher degree of agglomeration. It can be vertical agglomeration, that is, it can take the form of federations of production units based on the stages of production in the manufacture of a few types of finished goods (such as the mining and processing of ores and the production of cast iron and steel, or the cultivation and processing of tea, sugar and so forth); it can also take the form of horizontal federations, that is, federations of production units which have the same degree of processing or produce the same products, such as machine tools, motors and so forth. The federation of production can also be achieved in the production and supply of materials and in the marketing of goods. At present, industrial-agricultural federations and scientific-production federations have made their appearance. In the socialist system, the federation of production is based on economic and technical principles and differs from the capitalist

mode of federation based on profits which has left its mark in the organization of production and the business corporations in the South under the U.S.-puppet regime.

The federation of production can take various forms. The "trust" combines enterprises which turn out the same type of products or carry out the same type of activity with enterprises which have a complete production cycle. At present, a number of corporations and federations of enterprises in our country are organized on the basis of a similar principle: they are simultaneously sector economic management agencies and business organizations. In the federations of enterprise, management is mostly concentrated in corporations; the subordinate enterprises still maintain the legal status of a corporate body and an independent cost accounting system, such as the federations of textile and tea enterprises. The combine is an economic unit in the field of production sphere whose process of reproduction is under a unified managerial system to insure high efficiency in production; it includes enterprises of various production sectors coordinated vertically to turn out the same type of finished products; for example, the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Corporation is composed of ore mining enterprises, ore-selecting enterprises, limestone-supply enterprises and the entire cast-iron industry, including metallurgical enterprises and auxiliary and support enterprises. The Quang Ninh Coal Corporation includes many coal mines, tipples, wharves, yards, machine repair enterprises and so forth. The enterprises within federations of enterprise no longer maintain the legal status of a corporate body or an independent cost accounting system. They coordinate their operations through the processes of cooperation, trade and support services carried out in line with internal relations, thus achieving an economic efficiency higher than that of separate enterprises.

The reorganization of social production in our country should be carried out in line with the fundamental objectives set forth by the fourth party congress in the economic construction line and the guidelines of economic development of the 1976-80 five-year plan.

1. In reorganizing social production, we must, above all, plan the distribution of the work force and organize production on a nationwide scale in each sector, region and locality. An extremely important political task in the new stage of socialist revolution in our country now that we have achieved national reunification is to strategically organize the national economy and distribute the work force in a way that meets the urgent requirements of our national economy and to start building an economic structure suitable to the new stage. This is the greatest economic organizational task at present.

First of all, we must take the viewpoint of the unified socialist national economy in determining the methods and guidelines for the reorganization of production throughout the country. Social production organized along the lines of large-scale socialist production is carried out in two directions which are coordinated and unified: the distribution of production forces on

a large-scale involving the entire national economy, which leads to the formation and development of production organizations in the various sectors and areas; and agglomeration and specialization in each economic unit, which leads to cooperation among various sectors and areas, federations of production and the development of the sectors and areas. This is the unified development of the division of labor on three different levels---which Marx called the general division of labor, specific division of labor and particular division of labor--or in two different spheres--which Marx called the social division of labor and the manual labor worksite division of labor. We must adopt a correct general viewpoint in determining the most suitable direction to take in order to create a unified, streamlined economic system for the whole country. We must then organize sectors, fully develop the potential of each region, develop coordination and mutual assistance among the various regions and determine the organizational production tasks of the economic units. Our upcoming task consists of stepping up planning to distribute the work force on a nationwide scale and working out plans for sectors and areas (primarily the basic areas) and for each locality, province and district in order to create a unified, vigorous and highly effective national economic structure. We must continue to improve upon the results already achieved in the zoning of production areas and planning on the basis of fuller land, forest, sea, mineral and climate surveys and fuller investigations of economic and social conditions. Our 15-20 year long-range plan and 5-year short-range plan actually are aimed at reorganizing social production and building an economic structure according to a unified plan. Lenin said: "We must turn the entire state economic structure into a single large apparatus, an economic body, which operates in such a way as to make hundreds of millions of people carry out a unified plan. This is a great historic organizational responsibility we have."(4)

2. The large-scale organization of production in all sectors of the society must be carried out in accordance with the principle of coordinating the activities of sectors with localities and regions.

Organizing production by sector and implementing management by sector means organizing and managing on the basis of each sector's economic and technical characteristics in order to insure the smooth, efficient development of all sectors and carry out a unified economic and technical policy in order to fully utilize the production capabilities of the scientific and technical forces throughout the country and avoid duplication in production, research and training. The efficiency of the organization of production and management by sector cannot be measured by the efficiency of each individual enterprise. Instead, the efficiency of an entire sector and its impact on the national economy must be considered.

Included among the separate parts of the economic and technical sector are the state-run enterprises at the central and local levels, joint state-private enterprises, cooperatives and private enterprises. The supporting economic, scientific and technical research installations are an integral part of a



sector. A sector's production organization can also include a number of material supply or marketing units. We must rapidly organize the production of the sectors in accordance with an economic plan and a unified technical policy which efficiently balances production capabilities with the consumption demands of the entire country. Of course, sectors must be organized by territory and divided into the central and local economies. We must organize cooperation and production federations of various forms among production units of all sectors all over the country so they can jointly develop each sector's strengths and concentrate their efforts on solving urgent problems.

In keeping with a Council of Ministers' resolution promulgated in 1976, sector organizational projects which have been worked out are being carried out now and will continue in the future in order to reorganize production in the industrial, agricultural, forestry, fishery, small industry and handicraft, communications and transportation, construction, material supply, trade, consumer goods sectors and others in accordance with the economic and technical characteristics of each sector. In light of the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress, we must further study these projects, make adjustments and complete them in a systematic and uniform manner throughout the country, giving priority to the more important projects, and step up the formation and development of essential sectors in accordance with the main guidelines of the 1976-80 five year plan. On this basis, we must strive to consolidate and develop the sectors' federations of production, such as the federation of enterprises and corporations and the federated enterprises, in order to increase the efficiency of production and business; and we must prevent and oppose any tendency toward formalism.

We must reorganize the various organizations left behind by the old regime in the southern provinces in accordance with socialist production organization principles and unify the organizations of all sectors throughout the country in a well-planned manner and according to sound principles in order to develop production efficiency to the fullest extent possible.

3. The organization of production by territory and locality: the organization of production by sector cannot be separated from the organization of production by territory. We must always adhere to the principle of linking sectors with territories, because all sectors must live in territorial units and in provincial and municipal terrain and cannot stay separate from territorial units or localities.

An enterprise is managed by the central (ministerial) level and has close relations in several aspects with other enterprises and economic organizations and with local administrative agencies in a territory. These relations can be economic, social, administrative or legal and be concerned with material or nonmaterial affairs. We should realize that all the main relations of an enterprise in a territory, such as arranging for investments in building or expanding enterprises, whether by the central or local level, are connected with the economic, social, cultural, national defense and security aspects in

the locality; the operations of an enterprise depend on the technical network or infrastructure in a locality; each category of enterprise has its own operations which depend on the raw materials extracted in the locality, such as minerals, agricultural products, forest products and marine products, and on the availability of manpower; an enterprise is dutybound to protect the local environment by carrying out such tasks as filtering air and water and controlling smoke; since the workers and cadres of an enterprise live in the locality of the enterprise, all problems regarding housing, medical care, culture, education, order, security and community activities must be settled in that locality.

In summary, an enterprise can have economic relations and relations of cooperation in production, technology, supply and demand with other enterprises in the locality. Its daily operations are closely connected with the economic and social activities of a territory in the locality. Because of these relations, production is organized in accordance not only with the principle of organization by sector but also with the principle of organization by territory.

On the basis of the project planning of basic areas, it is necessary to distribute production forces and organize production in each province and develop the strong points each province has in its natural resources and labor force. It is also necessary to build a comprehensive project concerning the infrastructure, communications, transportation, urban development and rural construction on the basis of the plans for industry, agriculture and forestry. This is a complicated, combined economic-technical task. The economy must be closely coordinated with the culture, society and national defense. Under our country's present conditions, each province can be regarded as a major economic unit on a strategic terrain which has or will have an industrial center, one or several specialized production sectors, a relatively large scale of agglomeration, national economic significance or the economic significance of a relatively large area and contributes to the entire country while meeting the local people's needs.

According to general rules (especially in regard to industrial-agricultural projects) in the organization of production within the province we must coordinate industry with agriculture (in those provinces which have forests, coordinate industry, agriculture and forestry) and coordinate the central economy with the local economy in such a way that industry, agriculture and forestry in each province are a structural component and effectively serve the national economy as well as production and life within the province; conversely, agriculture and forestry in each province must, at the same time, be a structural component of the entire country's national economy, serving as a basis for industry in general, and a component of the provincial economic structure which effectively supports the development of provincial industry.

Organizing production within the district involves the coordination of agricultural economic units, primarily collective agriculture reorganized along with the state economic installation located within the district, in order to support the cooperatives and organize material, technical and financial aid by the state and state-run industry for collective agriculture. It also involves the reorganization of the division of labor and the practical redistribution of manpower in each district so as to contribute simultaneously to achieving a general balance of manpower throughout the country and solving in a practical manner the problem of balance in each locality.

We have become increasingly aware of the importance of the organization of production and life on the district level and the establishment in each district of an agricultural-industrial production organization in which agriculture or agriculture-forestry is closely coordinated with industry under a unified socio-economic plan or project planning for the district consistent with the project planning of the central level and province. On the basis of reorganizing production in the cooperatives along the lines of large-scale socialist production and on the basis of the new requirements of cooperatives, it is necessary to efficiently deploy agricultural stations and farms, industrial establishments supporting agriculture, technical equipment installations, organizations in charge of supplying technical materials for production, purchasing units, industrial installations for processing agricultural products and foodstuffs, branch banks and so forth. Thus, a production organization in the nature of a federation of industry, agriculture and forestry and a federation of the state and cooperative forms of ownership emerges and develops.

This organization of production requires that the district level be upgraded from a state level in charge of administrative management which plays an intermediary role to a comprehensive economic management level. The key point is that this production organization can control the process of reproduction in the district in the material, technical and financial aspects and agricultural and forestry production in particular and can direct the process of production, circulation, distribution and consumption in the district and redistribute and mobilize all labor forces in the district for the purpose of developing production, building material-technical bases and improving the people's material and cultural life in the district. At present, in a number of areas and even in some districts, a large-scale structure of production organization with rubber and coffee state farms and processing industrial state farms has been formed and followed by a large infrastructure. Here, it is possible to form the agricultural-industrial federation, which differs from the federation of cooperatives and economic installations run by the state and district. The infrastructure, the economic installations, determines the superstructure of the state apparatus. The administration at the district level is an economic managerial organization. It no longer remains merely an administrative organization but carries out a very large and important organizational and managerial function. However, this does not cause the district people's committee to become an agricultural business

organization or an agricultural-industrial production federation. The district people's committee is a state administrative level that carries out the functions of a state managerial organization in the district, including the management of the state administration and business, most importantly the organization of production and business management.

In a province or district, it is necessary to organize cooperation and the federation of production in varied forms among central and local enterprises, joint state-private enterprises, cooperatives and even private enterprises and create a thriving body in which all of its members are federated and coordinated, supplement each other and are united in a socio-economic organism capable of developing to the fullest all production capabilities of the province. In summary, this is an effective economic organization in terms of the vertical system as well as the individual territory.

#### 4. The organization of production in each basic production unit, enterprise and cooperative:

There are two reasons for reorganizing production in the present basic units of our country. First of all, there is the need for development or the process of development of the socialist enterprise itself. The development of the law of agglomeration and of the process of expanded reproduction and scientific and technical advances have taken place very rapidly in production. This requires the improvement of products; the increase in the quality of products; the improvement of production techniques and technical processes; the perfection of the production line; the achievement of specialization, cooperation and federation in production; and the change of equipment and the increase of capacity. If minor improvements in the production line of an enterprise can help meet a number of requirements during a given period of time, major improvements will often lead to basic changes in technical process, equipment and the production area. This is necessary if the enterprise is to meet the new requirements. Moreover, the requirements concerning the scientific and technical advances of sectors and the multi-faceted relations within the territory also demand a suitable reorganization of production. Reorganizing the production of a basic enterprise is, first of all, a requirement of progress and of the development of the enterprise which it ordinarily must achieve by itself after a certain period of time.

Regarding northern enterprises, reorganizing production is also an urgent task because during the war, many enterprises were subject to enemy attacks and had to be evacuated. Now that they have been returned to their former locations, some difficulties are being encountered with production areas, technical equipment, their relations concerning material supplies and techniques and consumer goods which must be stabilized and reorganized under the new conditions and further improved. The organization of production at enterprises must also be improved in response to the requirements of sector reorganization and the redistribution of the work force in the various areas and localities. In agriculture, production reorganization requirements in the

cooperatives stem from the need for technical improvements, improving the division of labor in cooperatives, fully developing labor capabilities and arable land and coordinating agriculture with industry, forestry, the artisan and handicraft industry and so forth in order to create an industrial-agricultural-forestry economic structure at the provincial and district levels.

The southern enterprises also must reorganize production because of the fact that part of their operations are unsuitable and must be changed by replacing capitalist and neocolonialist relations with socialist economic relations.

Each economic unit of the socialist economy is a cell of a common body. If the production organization of an enterprise is harmonious and streamlined and if this enterprise's operations are effective, the process of socialist reproduction will be harmonious, streamlined and effective. The organization of social production is not detached from that of the enterprise. The reorganization of production in the basic-level units consists of:

On the basis of the planning for sectors and the planning for territorial areas, we must determine the guidelines and tasks for specialized production and select projects and products that meet the demands of society and the national economy and, at the same time, yield high economic returns.

In determining a long-range production guidelines, we must base ourselves on the forecasts of scientific and technical progress, social development and social demands, including domestic and export demands. This is a major requirement that we must meet in order to gradually progress.

We must establish an efficient scale of production units in regard to fixed assets, production capital, the labor force, volume of production, area and so forth on the basis of scientific, technical and economic data.

We must organize the technical equipment and industrial network of the enterprise, efficiently arrange the production line according to advanced industrial regulations and satisfactorily organize technical equipment, machinery, phases of production, machine shops and production units so as to insure continuous production and properly manage various forces in order to coordinate in the most satisfactory manner the work force, labor tools and labor objectives.

We must organize the work force according to the production line, distribute the work force according to requirements and actual specialization capabilities and achieve strict coordination among the various links in order to achieve the highest labor productivity in each phase of the production process and, finally, the highest possible labor productivity for the entire enterprise and cooperative.

We must organize the supply-marketing operations in a manner closely coordinated with the process of production and processing, and insure a regular, continuous and streamlined process of production and reproduction.

We must organize the economic system at the enterprises and cooperatives on the basis of socialist production relations and in accordance with the unified, dialectic relationship between the production forces and production relations.

We must establish correct economic relations with the related economic units within each sector and territory, achieve specialization, cooperation and federation in production and insure a continuous process of reproduction of the installations and increasingly high labor productivity.

In addition, we must determine the direct relationships with the upper level, that is, the relationship between the business management of basic level units and the upper level management agencies (the federations of enterprises--corporations--federated enterprises) and the relationship between state administrative management and upper level state management agencies on the basis of principles of holding the enterprises responsible for their activities and respecting the independence of the cooperatives and the cooperative members' right to collective ownership. After the application of the regulations of higher level agricultural production cooperatives, the state-run enterprise regulations are being applied at pilot centers in order to gain experience before they can be adopted as official regulations after some final adjustments. The process of implementing the state-operated enterprise statutes includes the following: making a series of basic changes in the enterprise managerial system, implementing the financial independence and cost accounting system, applying the manager system, establishing the enterprises' rights to hold themselves responsible for their activities and acquire the legal status of a corporate body and raising their organizational and managerial level.

##### 5. Reorganizing the circulation and distribution sectors:

The organization of social production must be done thoroughly during the entire process of reproduction. To thoroughly organize the process of social reproduction is to insure stable and continuous coordination of various aspects--production, distribution, circulation and consumption. In production, we must take into account distribution and circulation and have adequate manpower, material supplies and capital. Production determines distribution, circulation and consumption; but production is only considered completed when the product is consumed. Distribution and circulation have a reciprocal effect on production: they can stimulate or hinder it. The key is to make distribution and circulation successfully support production. The organization of production must be linked with the market so that the process of reproduction can be thorough. Reproduction of material things can be thorough only when there is an appropriate flow of capital through financial and banking systems.

With the reunification of our country, we must promptly organize thorough reproduction, in terms of both material resources and value for the entire national economic system, from the North to the South, thereby creating conditions for advancing our unified national economy to socialism.

The linking of supply and consumption with production in the organization of production can be accomplished in varying degrees and forms. This consists of organizing the system of material supply and the wholesale and retail systems so that they are closely linked with production and support as well as possible all production sectors and units and consumers.

The current supply and consumption system contains many major shortcomings: too many intermediaries, too much red tape and direct economic relations are held to a bare minimum and changed into administrative relations.

We must reform this system so that supply and demand activities are in accordance with the socialist mode of business and the cost accounting system and carried out in the form of direct economic relations and contract relations based on the state plan.

The material supply sectors must transform the system of corporations (specialized as well as integrated corporations) and the system of area branches to form a network of warehouses and stores, thereby insuring that materials are supplied to production units.

We must reduce to a minimum intermediary material supply agencies of the ministries and organize departments in charge of material supplies at the federations of enterprises, corporations and federated enterprises when necessary; we must develop direct economic relations between the material production enterprises and the enterprises which consume materials (with regard to industrial material supplies) and between the processing enterprises and the state farms and cooperatives (with regard to agricultural, forestry and marine raw materials) without going through any intermediary level of commerce. Under favorable conditions, the production federations can absorb (federate with) finished or raw material businesses into their organization or they can organize themselves into agricultural-industrial federations. In certain cases, through the foreign trade ministry's unified management at the state level, in accordance with the principle of state monopoly in foreign trade and in accordance with the state plan, large domestic production sectors can extend their business in materials to foreign markets in order to import special purpose equipment. The current marketing system of production organizations also has many shortcomings. We must reform the system of wholesale and retail corporations and shops in such a way as to move production nearer to the consumer market. Under favorable conditions, the federation of production can absorb (federate with) marketing businesses (primarily wholesale) into their organization. Likewise, in certain cases, the large-scale production sectors can extend their marketing operations to foreign markets while the foreign trade corporations take care of import-export activities and refrain from organizing domestic trading operations. Regarding marketing, it is necessary to form a material-technical supply force and a network of

corporation warehouses and stores to efficiently supply technical materials and minimize expenditures for transporting goods from production sites or ports to consumers by eliminating the necessity of having goods go through many intermediary warehouses or many unnecessary administrative levels. On the basis of the requirements of supporting production and the people's standard of living, it is necessary to organize the marketing of goods in the most efficient manner possible so as to make the transporting of goods from where they are first raw materials to where they are processed and to the final place of consumption the shortest possible route.

To satisfactorily carry out the supply and marketing operations, the organization of production in the transport sector is a very important problem. Here, the trend of the reorganization of production is to replan the transportation lines in the various economic areas and the various means of transportation (railroads, land routes, waterways, sea routes and air lines); achieve an efficient distribution of work among corporations and central and local transport enterprises (a division of labor by area and territory), among the transport organizations of the communications and transportation sector and among the transport organizations of the ministries, localities and economic units; organize transport corporations according to the principle of cost accounting and developing joint transport organizations.

A socialist system of commerce (product purchasing and the supply of instruments of production) which is coordinated with the socialist system of finance and credit, operates satisfactorily, complies with the law and rapidly meets the requirements of various production units and sectors, plays a very significant and important role in the reorganization of social production. These systems are also an effective tool for combining all small-scale production organizations into a large-scale production network. The production units, although their scale is small, no longer operate separately and independently but are linked with each other and with the socialist state business and production organizations in a large system of production and circulation which is organized according to the principle of large-scale socialist production.

This is presently of great significance in the South. As far as trade relations are concerned, if our system of material supply, commerce and banking operate properly, agriculture in the South, though not yet collectivized, will no longer remain a completely individualistic, small-scale enterprise. Thus, we will be able to lead our farmers along the path of collectivization and large-scale socialist production.

It is very important to apply a basically unified system of currency, financing, banking, prices and wages throughout the country. This is an indispensable activity in unifying the reproduction process. There cannot be a unified system of production and markets in society in terms of material resources if unification cannot be achieved in terms of value. Conversely, the differences in wages, prices and currencies can be rapidly overcome; all possible economic fluctuations which lie outside the plan and beyond the control of the state can be completely eliminated.



Organizing social production is a major task in the implementation of the party's line; its content is both revolutionary and scientific and represents the final coordination of Marxist-Leninist theories and the actual state of construction of our country's socialist economy. Under the light of the socialist revolutionary line and the line on socialist economic construction set forth by the 4th Party Congress, it is necessary to continue determining the content and steps for the organization of production, apply them to practice, and apply them properly in each sector, locality and unit and, on the basis of practice, supplement and improve the content and theoretical foundation of the organization of production.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 325.
2. Ibid.
3. C. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book II, Volume I, pp 225-226.
4. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 106.

## PRESIDENT HO ON BUILDING THE PARTY

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[Article by Pham Thanh]

[Text] In the 1920's, under the light of Marxism-Leninism and through practical revolutionary activities, President Ho became aware of the mission of the international working class in world history and the mission of the Vietnamese working class in the liberation of the nation and the liberation of the class. He confirmed the inevitable need to establish a party of the working class to lead the revolution in our country because, "to win victory, the revolution absolutely must be led by the working class. Because it is the most progressive, most aware, most determined, most disciplined and most tightly organized class. And, the proletarian party is the command staff of the working class." (1) In "Duong cach menh" [The Revolutionary Road], President Ho wrote: "What is the first thing needed for a revolution? To begin with, it is necessary to have a revolutionary party which can mobilize and organize the masses within the country and maintain liaison with oppressed peoples and the proletariat everywhere. As a ship only sails smoothly when it has a strong helmsman, so, too, the revolution is only successful when it is led by a strong party." (2)

With this profound insight, President Ho overcame every difficulty and obstacle and made active political, ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of our party on 3 February 1930. The founding of the party marked an extremely important turning point in the history of our country's revolution. Since it has been under the leadership of our party and President Ho, our country's revolution has overcome countless challenges and difficulties, won great victories and elevated our nation from one known only by a few persons to one of the vanguard nations of the age. The realities of our country's revolution over the past half-century or so have proven that our party has been the basic factor in each victory of the revolution. In his work "Cach mang thang Muoi vi dai mo ra con duong giai phong cho cac dan toc" [The Great October Revolution Has Opened the Way for the Liberation of All Peoples], President Ho confirmed: "It is necessary to have the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party of the working class, a party which wholeheartedly serves the people. Only with the leadership of a party which knows how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of its

country is it possible to advance the national liberation revolution to victory and the socialist revolution to success."(3) Due to the extremely important role played by the party, President Ho considered building the party to be the foremost job, a job which must be performed on a regular basis, in the course of leading the revolution.

In building the party, it is first of all necessary to determine the nature of the party. This is the essence of the party. It determines to which class the party belongs and whose interests it serves. As soon as our party was founded, President Ho, in "Sach luoc van tat cua Dang" [Outline of the Party's Strategy], pointed out: "The party, the vanguard unit of the proletariat, must gain the allegiance of the vast majority of its class and make its class the leader of the masses."(4) President Ho also pointed out the relationship between the party and the working class: "Without the party's leadership, the class cannot carry out the revolution; without the support of the working class, the party can do nothing."(5) However, the party is not the class, the party cannot be considered to be synonymous with the class. Therefore, all the work of the party must be organized in the spirit of teaching and forging the masses, not in a manner that reduces the party to the level of the masses. Confirming the working class nature of the party does not separate the party and the working class from the masses nor put the interests of the working class into opposition with the interests of the working people and the nation. President Ho said: "The party is the vanguard unit of the working class and, at the same time, the vanguard unit of the nation."(6) "Our party has no other interest aside from the interest of the class, the people, the nation."(7)

The ultimate objective of our party is to achieve socialism, achieve communism in Vietnam and struggle for the victory of communism throughout the world. Due to the specific conditions of our country, a former colony and semi-feudal country, to advance our country to socialism and communism, our party first of all had to liberate the nation in order to create the conditions for liberating the class. As soon as our party was born, President Ho pointed out that the Vietnamese revolution must undergo two stages: it was first necessary to carry out the national democratic revolution to achieve national independence and give land to the tiller and then advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The liberation of the nation was an extremely important task of our party; however, it did not signify that the ultimate objective of the party had been achieved. President Ho frequently reminded cadres and party members: "We communists cannot forget for 1 minute that our noble ideal is struggling for the total independence of the fatherland, for the total victory of socialism in our country and throughout the world."(8)

The working class is of an international nature. The historic mission of the party of the working class is not limited to the scope of the party's country but also contributes to the common struggle for the liberation of mankind and the construction of a society throughout the world in which there is no exploitation of man by man. Our party, a component of the international communist movement, has a responsibility to the world revolution.

As a result of correctly determining the nature of the party, ever since it was founded, our party, under the leadership of President Ho, has always firmly maintained the stand of the working class and been loyal to the interests of the working class, the working people and the nation. At the same time, our party has coordinated patriotism with proletarian internationalism, thereby making a positive contribution to strengthening and developing the world revolutionary movement.

The communist party is the combination of Marxism-Leninism and the worker movement. In Vietnam, the birth of our party was the result of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement. As soon as he founded the party, President Ho established Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation and compass of each activity of the party. He stated: "To be strong, the party must have a philosophy as its foundation; within the party, everyone must understand and adhere to this philosophy. A party without a philosophy is like a person without an intellect, a ship without a pilot.

There are, at present, many different doctrines and philosophies; however, the most genuine, the most reliable and the most revolutionary philosophy is Leninism."(9)

In the Political Report delivered at the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party, President Ho again pointed out: "With regard to theory, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party adheres to Marxism-Leninism."(10)

In the process of building the party and leading the revolution, President Ho and our party attached very much importance to teaching Marxism-Leninism within the party, considering this a prerequisite to the victory of the revolution. On the basis of the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, President Ho confirmed that a genuine party of the working class which has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation must know how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the actual circumstances of its country. He frequently reminded cadres and party members: "Learning Marxism-Leninism means learning the spirit in which we deal with every matter, every person and even ourselves; it means learning the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism in order to creatively apply them under the actual circumstances of our country. We must learn so that we can take action. Theory must always go hand in hand with practice."(11) He frequently criticized the practice of learning a number of Marxist-Leninist books by heart but not learning the revolutionary spirit and nature of Marxism-Leninism, the practice of learning solely for the purpose of making oneself look better, not for the purpose of applying what has been learned in revolutionary work. President Ho also taught that we must know how to skillfully coordinate Marxism-Leninism with the valuable traditions and experiences in revolutionary struggle of the nation; at the same time, we must humbly study and creatively apply the revolutionary experiences of the fraternal parties under the circumstances of Vietnam; we must resolutely protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism against every incorrect opportunistic trend, every manifestation of empiricism and dogmatism.

Built in this spirit, our party has applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a manner consistent with the realities of our country's revolution, inherited the traditions and experiences in the revolutionary struggle of the nation and incorporated the good experiences of the fraternal parties. For this reason, the lines and positions of our party have always been correct and creative, always been the origin of each victory of our country's revolution.

The source of the party's great strength is the solidarity within it. This has been and is an essential prerequisite for insuring that our party and the working class won victory in the extremely difficult and fierce struggle to win and retain revolutionary political power as well as in the struggle to transform the old society and build the new society--socialist society, communist society. President Ho frequently stressed: "The strength of the party lies in its solidarity." (12) In his sacred Testament, President Ho advises: "Unity is an extremely valuable tradition of our party and people. Comrades from the Party Central Committee to the party chapters must maintain the solidarity of the party as though it were the apple of their eye." (13) He often reminded us that solidarity must first of all be established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party. Solidarity cannot be solidarity in words alone or in organization alone, it must also be solidarity in thought and action. Because, "the mass organizations are vanguard units. If, in the midst of their assault, one person says one thing and another says something else, if the bugle is calling troops in one direction and the drum in another, there can be no hope of victory. Not only must our mass organizations be of one mind, the army and the people must also be of one mind." (14)

The solidarity of the party rests on broadening the practice of internal democracy and strengthening the discipline of the party while regularly practicing self-criticism and criticism. Solidarity is also based on building the spirit of love for one's comrades and always stopping each manifestation of individualism, localism, partialism, factionalism, narrowmindedness and so forth which damage the unanimity of the party and harm the interests of the revolution. President Ho taught: "Within the party, practicing broad democracy and regularly and seriously practicing self-criticism and criticism are the best ways to strengthen and enhance the unity of the party. We must possess the spirit of love for our comrades." (15)

Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of the party. This principle insures that each organization of the party and each party member displays a positive spirit in their participation in establishing and implementing the lines and positions of the party; it insures that unanimity of will and action within the party is established by means of strict, self-imposed discipline in accordance with the principles of party life. Democracy must go hand in hand with centralism. President Ho said: "We must practice strict discipline, that is, the individual must absolutely obey the organization, the minority must obey the majority, the lower level must obey the upper level, the locality must obey the central level." (16) Within their leadership, the various party organizations must implement the principle

of collective leadership and personal responsibility: "Every job must be democratically and collectively discussed. Once a decision has been reached, the distribution of work must be clear and detailed, one or several comrades must be given the responsibility of thoroughly performing this work."(17)

Self-criticism and criticism are the law of development of the party. President Ho said: "The party cannot conceal its shortcomings nor fear criticism. The party must admit to its shortcomings and take the necessary steps to rectify them in order to make progress and teach cadres and party members."(18) President Ho also pointed out: "In its many years of clandestine activities, our party, despite the facts that it was cruelly terrorized by the colonialists and encountered very many difficulties and dangers, grew and became increasingly strong and led the people in successfully carrying out the revolution and winning victory in the war of resistance. This was because our party skillfully utilized the effective weapon of criticism and self-criticism."(19)

Self-criticism and criticism must be practiced in conjunction with each other and have the objective of helping one another make progress and complete tasks well. President Ho said: "We must demand that each party member, most importantly each cadre, engage in honest self-criticism and rectify his shortcomings. The interests of the party, of the nation, must be placed above everything else."(20) He harshly criticized those cadres and party members who, because they are bound by individualism, become arrogant, overbearing and conceited and only criticize others but do not want others to criticize them; cadres and party members who do not practice self-criticism or do not practice it in a forthright, serious manner and are afraid to practice self-criticism because they might lose face, lose their prestige; cadres and party members who do not listen to the opinions of the masses and have little regard for persons outside the party. President Ho emphasized: "Without listening to criticism and without practicing self-criticism, a person is bound to become backward and regressive. If this happens, he will be left behind by the masses. This is the inevitable result of individualism."(21)

A tightly organized party must be a party which practices strict, self-imposed discipline and whose cadres and party members possess the spirit of discipline and the sense of organization. These are also strengths of the party. President Ho said: "The invincible strength of the party lies in the spirit of self-imposed discipline and the strict sense of organization of cadres and party members."(22) Therefore, "although our party consists of many persons, when it attacks, it attacks as one person. This is because of its discipline. Our discipline is iron discipline, that is, strict and self-imposed discipline."(23) Raising the level of discipline is designed to insure unanimity of thought and action within the party, insure the full implementation of the lines and policies of the party and combat each manifestation of liberalism and the lack of organization and discipline. Raising the level of discipline is designed to protect the principle of democratic centralism within the party. President Ho pointed out that the discipline of our party must be strictly maintained from top to bottom. Cadres and party members must not only uphold the discipline of the party, they

must also scrupulously adhere to the laws of the state and the resolutions of the mass organizations; no one can place himself above the organization, place himself outside the code of discipline of the party. Prompt and appropriate action must be taken against cadres and party members who violate the code of discipline of the party. President Ho harshly criticized cases involving the lack of strict disciplinary action within the party: "At many places, there are comrades who have made mistakes but have not been appropriately punished, comrades who have been demoted at one place and gone somewhere else where they work on the same echelon, comrades who have only been demoted in a form for form's sake manner and continue to work on the same echelon. Some comrades who should be severely punished are only criticized or given a general warning because of concern for their prestige. There are even places at which comrades conceal and pardon one another's mistakes, deceive the upper echelon and hide their mistakes from the mass organizations. Such disciplinary action makes it impossible for these comrades to know how to rectify their mistakes and also causes them to have contempt for discipline. Even more harmful consequences occur if the discipline of mass organizations is lax as this provides an opportunity for reactionary elements to infiltrate our ranks for the purpose of sabotaging our mass organizations." (24)

On the basis of the viewpoint that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses and on the basis of the organic relationship between the leadership role of the party and the role of the masses in the revolution, President Ho pointed out: "The forces of the working class and working people are very large, they are inexhaustible. However, these forces must be under the leadership of the party in order for victory to be guaranteed. At the same time, the party must maintain close contact with the masses and organize and lead them in a skillful manner in order for the revolution to be successful." (25) He also said that all of the victories of the revolution, instead of being the results of the efforts of the party alone, "are the results of the common efforts of all our compatriots throughout the country. The revolution is the undertaking of the masses, not the undertaking of a hero. The success of our party lies in the fact that it has organized and developed the inexhaustible forces of the people and led the people in struggle under the banner of inevitable victory of Marxism-Leninism." (26)

The party must maintain very close relations with the masses primarily because "our party represents the common interests of the working class, of all the working people, it must not seek to satisfy the individual interests of any one group of persons or any one individual." (27) Therefore, each line and policy of the party must reflect the will and legitimate aspirations of the masses; the lines and policies of the party must always be examined in light of the realities of the struggle and production of the masses. Maintaining a very close relationship with the masses means blending with the masses to form a bloc, having confidence in the masses, understanding the masses and listening to their opinions. Through their words and deeds, cadres, party members and Youth Union members must always display confidence in the people, display love of the people and serve the people; they must unite the masses around the party and develop each of the creative capabilities of the working class and working people in order to build socialism, "because socialism

can only be achieved through the full self-awareness and creative labor of tens of millions of persons."(28) Maintaining a very close relationship with the masses means making every effort to uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people; enlightening the masses and constantly deepening their knowledge; insuring that the masses have all of the conditions needed to exercise their right of ownership in an increasingly full manner in all areas of the economy, politics and society. President Ho stressed: "It is even more necessary that cadres and party members display a high spirit of responsibility to the party and the masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. They must love and respect the people. They must truly respect the right of ownership of the people. They absolutely must not become 'revolutionary officials' who do nothing but issue orders and go around showing their authority. They must adhere to the class viewpoint, adhere to the mass line, sincerely learn from the masses, resolutely rely upon the masses and educate and mobilize the masses so that they carry out each position and policy of the party and state. They must be honest and forthright; they cannot hide or conceal their shortcomings and mistakes, they must be humble and close to the masses, not be arrogant; they must request directives, not be subjective. They must always be concerned with the lives of the masses. They must be 'absolutely just' and possess the spirit of 'taking care of everything.' These are the virtues of the communist."(29)

Together with explaining in detail the very rich, profound and practical contents of the very close relationship between the party and the masses, President Ho routinely reminded cadres and party members to prevent and overcome the maladies of bureaucracy, bossism, remoteness from reality and remoteness from the masses. He pointed out: "At present, individualism is influencing some cadres. They consider themselves to be able to do everything well, they are remote from the masses and do not learn from the masses, rather, they only want to be the teacher of the masses. They are reluctant to perform the work of organizing, propagandizing and educating the masses. They are afflicted with the maladies of bureaucracy and bossism. The result is that the masses do not trust or support them nor do they have any love for them. In the end, they are able to accomplish nothing."(30)

Building the party is a process of uniting the building of the party politically, ideologically and organizationally. President Ho always emphasized the unity of these three aspects in the building of our party. These are three aspects which are closely related to one another and which form the combined strength of the party. First, the party must adopt a correct line. Building the party politically is the factor of foremost importance. However, this factor must be closely linked to building the party ideologically and organizationally; at no time can any one aspect be given light attention or neglected, rather, all three of these aspects must always be closely coordinated. Once a correct political line has been adopted, it cannot be successfully implemented without suitable ideological and organizational work. Within each stage of the revolution, President Ho always established lines, policies, tasks and objectives in an accurate manner; he, on the basis of this political task, built the party ideologically and organizationally and insured the successful completion of the party's political task. In the Political Report



delivered at the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party, after stating that the central task of the party was accelerating the war of resistance until victory was won, President Ho set forth the pressing jobs of the party as: "Studying our philosophy, studying our ideology, developing upon our theory and revamping our organization." (31) To carry out the task of socialist construction in the North and the struggle to reunify the country, President Ho pointed out that our party must: "Strengthen itself ideologically and streamline itself organizationally. The party must develop its organization in a cautious, stable and widespread manner among the masses, primarily among the mass of workers, in order to strengthen the proletarian element within the party." (32) At the same time, he stated that each party member must make every effort to "study Marxism-Leninism," "always enhance his revolutionary virtues," "resolutely struggle against individualism, forge himself in the collectivism of the proletariat," "make an effort to study academic matters, study science and technology" and "strengthen the leadership of the party in every field." (33)

President Ho also stressed the impact of inspections in the effort to strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally "because, inspections have the effect of encouraging and teaching party members and cadres to fulfill their task to the party and the state and to set good examples for the people. In this way, they contribute to strengthening the party ideologically and organizationally." (34)

President Ho considered strengthening and developing the party to be a task which must be performed on a routine basis. Strengthening and developing the party must always go hand in hand. Only by building a strong party is it possible to develop the party well. Only by developing the party well is it possible to build a strong party. Our party uses the revolutionary movements of the masses to select and train outstanding persons for acceptance in the party and, at the same time, expel from the party elements who have degenerated and become deviant and persons who do not possess the character of a party member in order to always keep the party pure. In the development of the party, quality must be stressed more than quantity. There is a dialectical relationship between the number and the quality of party members. Only when the number of party members reaches a certain level are the strength and the fighting forces of the party created; however, only on the basis of meeting the qualitative requirements concerning party members does the number of party members assume significance; if this were not the case, adverse consequences would be the result. Therefore, in the recruiting of new party members, importance must first of all be attached to quality and we absolutely must not simply pursue quantity. President Ho said: "It is necessary to consider the strengthening and developing of the party an important and routine job. And, we must adhere to the guideline of placing more importance upon quality than quantity in the development of the party." (35) "We must select new party members in a very cautious manner." (36)

Only when the party became the party in political power, became the true leader of society did the relationship between the party and each aspect of social life become closer and more comprehensive. Seizing political power

and building the state apparatus marked a special stage of growth of the party and the revolution. These are important tools of the party in organizing the implementation of each of its lines and policies. Therefore, closely linking the building of the party organization with improving the management ability and streamlining the organization of the state and building and strengthening the mass organizations was one of the guidelines of party building which President Ho became aware of at a very early date and which he thoroughly understood. Following the August Revolution, in addition to strengthening our party, President Ho gave very much attention to building our young state into a truly democratic state of, for and by the people. He often said: "We must understand that the agencies of the government, from the agencies on the national level to those on the village level, are the servants of the people, that is, they undertake common jobs for the people, they are not designed to suppress the people as were the agencies which existed during the period of French and Japanese rule.

We must do everything we can to do those things which are in the interests of the people.

We must do everything we can to avoid those things which harm the people."(37)

When northern Vietnam was totally liberated and entered the stage of the socialist revolution, the people's democratic state shifted to the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The role of the party during this time has been closely linked to the existence and the stability and strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in general, and the state government, in particular. Within the dictatorship of the proletariat system, the party is the leadership nucleus. Therefore, strengthening the leadership role of the party and increasing the fighting strength of the party are of extreme importance. President Ho said: "A matter of decisive significance in insuring the victory of the revolution is further increasing the fighting strength of our entire party and further developing the leadership role of our party in every area of work."(38)

Strengthening the party's leadership of the state first of all means improving the ability of the party in building, strengthening, utilizing and developing the power and management effectiveness of the state. A strong state is an indication of the organizational level and ability of the party. Therefore, together with intensifying the building of the party, President Ho constantly attached importance to strengthening the party's leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat state.

With the party in political power, we must, together with implementing the right of collective ownership of the working people primarily by means of the state, implement this right of the working people by means of the mass organizations. Therefore, the mass organizations occupy an important position within the dictatorship of the proletariat system. The building and strengthening of the mass organizations were matters to which President Ho gave particular attention and he frequently reminded the various party committee echelons to do exactly this. In the process of implementing this guideline, President Ho

and our party opposed every tendency to minimize the leadership role of the party in the dictatorship of the proletariat system; at the same time, they opposed every manifestation of the party encompassing or taking over the work of the governmental apparatus or the mass organizations.

To increase the fighting strength of the party, it is also necessary to improve the quality of cadres and party members in close coordination with improving the quality of the basic organizations of the party. President Ho also gave very much attention to this matter in the process of building and forging our party. There is a decisive and mutually dependent relationship between the organization and the cadre. The state of an organization influences cadres and party members. Conversely, cadres and party members have a decisive influence upon the organization. As a result, we cannot separate these two aspects, rather, they must be closely coordinated. We cannot perform our jobs in one area while neglecting our jobs in another, we cannot emphasize our jobs in one of these areas while giving light attention to our jobs in another; nor can we perform the jobs in these two areas in a manner in which they are separated from each other. President Ho said: "To lead the revolution, the party must be strong; a strong party is the result of good party chapters; good party chapters are the result of good party members." (39) At the same time, he again said: "To our party, building good, stable and strong party chapters is an extremely important job." (40) "The party chapter is the foundation of the party; only when the party chapter is good can each job be performed well." (41)

Improving the quality and increasing the fighting strength of the party chapter and basic party organization must have the following objective: "making each party chapter a leadership nucleus of the masses at the installation, insuring that each party chapter closely unites with and maintains a close relationship with the masses while developing the great intelligence and forces of the masses. Each party organization must be a strong leadership agency within the locality and provide leadership in accordance with the lines and policies of the central committee." (42)

To implement the guideline of coordinating the improvement of the quality of party members with the improvement of the quality of the basic organizations of the party, it is necessary, in addition to organizing the training and education of party members and ideological activities within the party, to use the daily activities of the basic organizations of the party to carry out the political task and the other tasks of the party as the center of the effort to forge and improve the quality of the party organization and party members. President Ho defined the standards of party chapters and basic party organizations as follows: "The party member must set good examples in each job, maintain close relations with the masses and establish true internal unity; he must implement the lines and policies of the party well and lead production and combat operations well; he must wholeheartedly serve the people and effectively look after their material and spiritual lives; with regard to the party, he must strengthen and develop it well." (43)

President Ho harshly criticized deficient party chapters and set forth specific measures designed to accelerate the building of party chapters and basic party

organizations: "To avoid the situation in which some party members and some party chapters are deficient, the district party committees, municipal party committees and provincial party committees must, from now on, maintain close contact with party chapters and provide them with practical, routine assistance." (44)

In the effort to improve the quality of party members, President Ho always attached importance to the following areas: teaching lines and policies, providing training in revolutionary qualities and virtues and heightening the command of Marxist-Leninist theory and the academic, scientific, technical and professional level of cadres and party members.

To successfully improve the quality of the party member, President Ho coordinated educational and organizational measures, coordinated self-criticism and criticism within the party with the criticism of cadres and party members by the masses. He pointed out: "To insure that all cadres and party members are worthy of being revolutionary fighters, our party must make every effort to intensify its teaching of communist ideals, party lines and policies and the tasks and ethics of the party member to the entire party. Serious criticism and self-criticism must be practiced within the party. We must welcome and encourage the honest criticism of cadres and party members by the masses." (45)

Educated, led and forged by President Ho and tempered in the difficult and long revolutionary struggle, our party, although it was born and has grown within a backward agricultural country in which the working class is small, has maintained the revolutionary vanguard nature of a party of the working class and led our people in great revolutionary undertakings. The successes of our party in the building of the party prove that the viewpoints of President Ho and our party concerning the building of the party are totally correct. These viewpoints involve the correct and creative application of the principles of building the new style party of Lenin to the specific circumstances of the Vietnamese revolution. In each stage of the revolution, President Ho was always sensitive to the changes in the revolutionary struggle; he promptly determined the primary areas in the effort to build the party. President Ho's viewpoints concerning the building of the party are always applicable, always closely linked to the development of the revolutionary movement and designed to achieve the successful completion of the political tasks of the party.

President Ho's viewpoints concerning the building of the party are the theoretical foundation of the building of the party of the working class in our country and help enrich the theory of building the new style party of Marxism-Leninism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang," [Party Building], Su That Publising House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 68 and 11.
2. Ibid.

3. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi," [For Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 301-302.
4. "Van kien Dang 27-10-1929--7-4-1935," [Party Documents, 27 October 1929--7 April 1935], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, p 14.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Nhưng loi keu goi," [Appeals], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Volume IV, p 43.
6. Ibid.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 766.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 138.
9. Ibid., p 11.
10. Ibid., p 59.
11. Ibid., p 79.
12. Ibid., p 126.
13. Ibid., p 176.
14. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"...p 236.
15. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 176.
16. Ibid., p 23.
17. Ibid., p 123.
18. Ibid., p 21.
19. Ibid., p 76.
20. Ibid., p 23
21. Ibid., p 77.
22. Ibid., p 115.
23. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"...p 302.
24. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 17.
25. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi,"...p 185.

26. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 108.
27. Ibid., p 75.
28. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"...p 637.
29. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 114.
30. Ibid., p 77.
31. Ibid., p 57.
32. Ibid., p 98.
33. Ibid., pp 98-99.
34. Ibid., p 133.
35. Ibid., p 131.
36. Ibid., p 122.
37. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghĩa xa hoi,"...p 58.
38. Ibid., p 237.
39. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang,"...p 149.
40. Ibid., p 142.
41. Ibid., p 158.
42. Ibid., p 126.
43. Ibid., p 142.
44. Ibid., p 144.
45. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghĩa xa hoi,"...p 223.

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## HEIGHTENING THE SCIENTIFIC AND REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF PARTY BUILDING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 47-53

[Article by Dao Duy Can:]

[Text] The scientific and revolutionary nature of Marxist-Leninist doctrine is its most basic characteristic. Ever since it was founded, our party has adhered to and thoroughly understood this characteristic in all of its activities, especially in the field of building the party.

Today, our country's revolution has entered a new stage: the stage of the entire country's advance to socialism. Our party has become the party in political power throughout the country, become the true leader of all of society. The responsibility of the party to the working class, the people, the nation and the international worker movement is larger than it once was. The specifics involved in building the party, the laws of the growth and development of the party, the mode and methods of building the party and the relationship between the party and the masses are very much different than they once were. The ideological and organizational building of the party as well as the training and the improvement of the leadership and work ability and the revolutionary qualities and virtues of the corps of cadres and party members involve higher demands.

Moreover, building the party is a science--a science in the laws of the growth and development of the party, the laws of strengthening the leadership role of the party, the principles, mode and methods of building the party internally, leading the state and leading the mass organizations.

The fact that the building of the party is a science demands that it be treated as a science. This means that it demands that the persons engaged in building the party possess a command of theory, possess a scientific attitude and be thoroughly scientific when examining and resolving matters pertaining to the building of the party; they cannot act in a haphazard manner based on their own desires, act in a manner which disregards the laws, principles and line of building the party.

Moreover, the building of the party encompasses special characteristics which every cadre and party member must be thoroughly familiar with in order to, on

this basis, think about and find ways to improve the quality of the building of the party. These characteristics are:

--The building of the party is not restricted to one field but encompasses all three areas of politics, ideology and organization. Building the party in each of these areas is not a simple matter. It is even more difficult to avoid mistakes in all three areas. Whether the building of the party politically, ideologically and organizationally is correct or incorrect has a direct and very large influence upon the course of the revolution, upon the destiny of the fatherland, upon the lives of tens of millions of people, upon the prestige and leadership role of the party.

--The scope of the building of the party is very broad. It extends from the mountainous forests and remote border areas to the islands far off shore, wherever there are people there must be an organization of the party, party leadership. Within the state apparatus, there are numerous sectors and organizations whose operations demand a line and viewpoint of the party in order to guide them in the correct direction and increase their role in the common revolutionary undertaking.

--Organization and man are the objectives of the building of the party. Organization is, at the same time, both very revolutionary and very conservative. An organization has its own laws; however, the building of the party organizationally is dependent upon the political line and task and designed to support the political task, not to simply perform organizational work. An organization consists of persons. Man is the basic factor of an organization. The party member, the vanguard warrior of the working class, possesses a high degree of dynamism; however, he also comes from a background of a semi-feudal society and is not free of the influences of the decadent, negative remnants of the old society. We cannot build the party well if we do not fully practice the science of organization, fully adhere to the laws of organizational work, fully understand psychology, the traditions of the nation and the characteristics of the Vietnamese, in general, and the party member, in particular.

--The results of the building of the party, be they many or few, be they good or bad, not only affect many areas of domestic affairs, but they also, depending upon the position and role of the party, influence the revolutionary movement and the worker movement in the world. As a result, to build the party well, we must have knowledge of many areas and, at the same time, possess a high sense and spirit of responsibility.

Heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of the building of the party is a pressing requirement at this time. This is not a temporary job or one of immediate significance. To the contrary, it must be thoroughly carried out in each field of building the party, from the most basic of matters to specific everyday work.

1. The matter of foremost importance in heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of the building of the party is to provide cadres and



party members with knowledge concerning the party when it is in political power.

Providing training in the theory of the party when it is in political power equips cadres and party members with the principles of the party in a systematic, theoretically based manner and gives everyone a deep understanding that:

--Our party is the party of the working class, the class which represents the most advanced mode of production, the class which is in the center of the age, the class which has the great historic mission and the ability to lead our people to the pinnacle of the development of mankind. As long as society is still divided into classes and classes have not been abolished, as long as the class struggle in our country is still a sharp, complicated struggle to resolve the problem of "who defeats whom" between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism and the class struggle throughout the world is still a profound, sharp struggle, it is absolutely impossible to diminish the class nature of the party, impossible to consider the party a party of many classes, impossible to confuse the party with the class or reduce the level of the party to the level of the class as this leads to negating the class nature of the party. However, it must be realized that our party not only faithfully represents the interests of the working class, but, at the same time, it also represents the interests of the working people and the entire nation; moreover, the party has the responsibility of fulfilling its obligation to the international communist and worker movement.

--The party has Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation and the compass of its actions because Marxism-Leninism is a science capable of transforming the world, transforming society and transforming man. The realities of the worker movement and world revolutionary movement over the past century and more have proven it to be the most effective weapon of the working class and working people in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the exploiting classes and build the new society. The party, which was founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, protects the purity of this philosophy and combats each attempt to distort or negate it while making every effort to develop and help enrich Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, the party attaches importance to reviewing the experiences of other parties and nations in the revolutionary struggle, incorporating the essence of the intelligence of the age and setting forth its lines and policies in an independent, autonomous, correct and creative manner.

--The party has been built on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the fundamental organizational principle of the party. The party attaches full importance to unified, centralized leadership, strengthening its internal discipline and broadening its internal democracy in a manner consistent with the requirements of the new task.

--The party strengthens its internal solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the political line of the party, the organizational principles of the party and the spirit of deep love among communists. The party considers protecting its solidarity the apple of its eye and resolutely struggles against acts of divisiveness and factionalism which weaken its fighting strength.

--The party has made the practice of self-criticism and criticism a law of development of the party and resolutely overcomes such deviations as concealing one's mistakes, hiding one's shortcomings or impeding and restricting criticism, taking action against persons who are critical, etc.

--The party takes action to strengthen its relationship with the masses, always listens to the opinions of the masses and mobilizes the masses to participate in the building of the party; it is concerned with the life of the masses and upholds their right of collective ownership, considering these to be the moving force behind the entire revolutionary undertaking of the party. At the same time, the party resolutely struggles against bureaucracy, remoteness from the masses, arbitrariness, authoritarianism, special rights and privileges and the failure to respect the right of ownership of the masses.

--The party is the leadership nucleus of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is capable of assembling and organizing the various forces within this system to excellently complete the task of building socialism and communism in our country.

--The party correctly coordinates genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism and opposes each manifestation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism.

2. Heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of the building of the party must be thoroughly manifested in the correct establishment of the political task of each locality, level and sector. This is a very important matter because, as we know, a correct political task is the banner guiding the actions of the cadres, party members and masses within each party organization; it is the political, ideological basis of the internal unity of the party; it is the basis for conducting correct ideological and organizational work; it is the standard for distinguishing between the correct and the incorrect when practicing self-criticism and criticism; it is the origin of each victory.

The correct political task must embody the basic requirements of the line, policy and general political task of the entire party as concretized for a locality or sector and meet the demands of the situation and task of this locality or sector while correctly reflecting the will and fundamental aspirations of the masses.

It is clear that the correct political task cannot be based on subjective desires, empiricism or the administrative style of work. To the contrary, it must be the result of the correct application of the lines and policies of the party to the specific situation of the locality and sector, the result of the collective intelligence of the entire party organization and the scientific work method coordinated with a high spirit of responsibility. As a result, it demands that each party organization be particularly concerned with investigating, researching and assessing the situation well. It is necessary to utilize agencies well to assess and research the situation of the party committee echelon and even state agencies in order to perform this

work well. On this basis, we must analyze and evaluate the situation in an objective and comprehensive manner, clearly see our advantages and difficulties, determine which matters are of vital importance and determine the basic trend of development of the situation and the primary obstacles impeding the development of the revolution. Only by assessing the situation is it possible to have the basis needed to establish the correct task. We must correct the practice of assessing the situation in a superficial, one-sided manner and the practice of not relying upon the objective situation to research and establish the political task.

In conjunction with assessing the situation, we must fully understand the lines and policies of the party, especially those matters pertaining to the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy in the new stage in our country as set forth in the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party. It is necessary to have knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the economy and science and technology. On the other hand, we must possess a revolutionary-offensive spirit, dare to think and act and be willing to assume responsibility to the party and the masses; we cannot withdraw in the face of difficulties and obstacles, we cannot be satisfied with the achievements we have recorded; this is the only way to establish a correct political task.

Although difficult, the establishment of a correct political task is only the first step. Endeavoring to successfully perform the political task is even more difficult. Success in this effort is of very important significance because it is the only clear expression of the leadership ability of the party organization.

An important matter in successfully carrying out the political task is that the party organization must be in complete agreement with and be determined to carry out the task that has been established. It must struggle to overcome incorrect viewpoints and thoughts which deviate from the general line and the political task of the party. It must promptly stop and criticize such incorrect thinking as: the fear of difficulties and hardships, a lack of confidence, a weak sense of responsibility and unwillingness to struggle against persons who do not act in accordance with the resolutions, lines and policies of the party. It must establish a clear division of responsibilities, put competent party members and cadres in charge of jobs of central importance and mobilize all party members to endeavor to effectively carry out the task of the party organization. It must utilize and develop the government apparatus and the mass organizations well in the effort to carry out the political task. It must correct that style of leadership in which the party organization takes over the work of the mass organization or does not employ the mass organization well. It must intensify its inspections and promptly detect deviations and mistakes in order to correct them and detect points which are inconsistent in order to supplement and rectify them. It must attach importance to conducting preliminary and final reviews of its work in order to learn valuable lessons for the purpose of continuing to improve the quality of its leadership, etc.

3. The scientific and revolutionary nature of the ideological building of the party:

Heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of ideological work means that we must, first of all, closely coordinate the following three areas: increasing the knowledge which the corps of cadres and party members has of Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and policies of the party; increasing its knowledge of academic subjects, economics, science and technology; improving its revolutionary qualities and virtues. Each aspect occupies an important position and there is a close relationship among these three aspects, none can be given light attention or separated from the others.

Only when cadres and party members, especially the corps of core cadres, have a thorough understanding of the basic matters of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party, have a knowledge of academic subjects, science, technology and economic management and possess revolutionary qualities and virtues can they take voluntary, effective action and correctly resolve the problems raised by the realities of the revolution, thereby helping to strengthen the leadership role of the party.

Therefore, we must, on the one hand, attach importance to education and training; on the other hand, we must resolutely criticize subjectivism, complacency and the practices of having little regard for learning or theory or only learning from books. We must overcome the practices of working in an irresponsible, haphazard manner, doing just enough to get by or working in the style of the "veteran official." We must combat bureaucracy, arbitrariness, authoritarianism, disdain for the masses and violations of the right of collective ownership of the masses. We must combat the thinking of wanting to rest and take it easy, combat the thinking of the self-important, meritorious official, combat the attitude of passively relying upon others, combat the fear of difficulties and responsibility, combat the attitude of having disdain for organization and the failure to fully comply with the directives and resolutions of the party and the laws of the state. We must combat the habits of lying, submitting false reports, not protecting that which is known to be correct nor struggling against that which is known to be incorrect, humiliating oneself and flattering others or enjoying others' flattery, being prejudiced and looking for ways to retaliate against persons who dare to struggle, dare to speak the truth. We must combat acts of deviousness and factionalism, combat partialism and localism, combat the practices of doing just enough to get by, saving face or struggling in an unprincipled manner. We must combat the thinking of some that they have special rights and privileges; combat the practice of trying to arrange things to one's best benefit; combat the practice of using or abusing public property; combat corruption and favoritism; combat the practice of earning one's living in an illegitimate manner, not through the legitimate labor of oneself or one's family, etc.

The scientific and revolutionary nature of ideological work is also expressed in closely coordinating the thorough teaching of socialist and communist thinking with the struggle to overcome petty bourgeois thinking and combat each influence of bourgeois thinking and the remnants of feudal thinking among cadres and party members.

Ideological work must always be based on the political task and support this task well. Otherwise, it will lack militancy, easily fall into idealism and metaphysics and have no positive effect.

Ideological work must be closely coordinated with organizational work. Because, a correct theory, a progressive line of thinking can only have an impact within a strong, stable organization. Only within a good organization is progressive thinking transformed into reality and negative thinking limited.

Heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of ideological work also means that we must practice self-criticism and criticism within the party well. Self-criticism and criticism must truly become an important way to improve the leadership ability of the various party committee echelons and improve the work skills, qualities and ethics of cadres and party members, thereby making an important contribution to the successful performance of the political task of the party, strengthening the unity and unanimity within the party and limiting and promptly overcoming the shortcomings and mistakes of cadres and party members.

4. Heightening the scientific and revolutionary nature of the building of the party organizationally is also something with which we must be fully concerned. Doing this well will make an important contribution to insuring that our party is truly a militant, pure and strong revolutionary organization capable of leading our working class and people in completing the large tasks assigned by history.

The matter of foremost importance is that of implementing the principle of democratic centralism in a manner consistent with the new conditions and circumstances as set forth in the Party Statutes. It is first of all necessary to insure the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee and the various party committee echelons. It is necessary to fully comply with the lines and policies of the party; no excuses can be made for postponing the implementation or incorrectly implementing the lines and policies of the party. No one can take it upon himself to establish positions, policies and regulations which are contrary to common positions, policies and regulations. We must streamline the system of information from top to bottom to insure that the lines and policies of the party are rapidly disseminated throughout the party and among all the people. We must fully comply with the regulations governing reports and requests for directives; reports must be accurate and prompt so that the Party Central Committee and the various party committee echelons can assess the situation of the various sectors and localities.

It is necessary to broaden the practice of internal democracy and create every possible condition for each cadre and party member to actively partake in the establishment of the lines and policies of the party and offer his opinions on how to implement the party's lines and policies well. We must tap the intelligence, the creativity and the experience of the party organizations and of each cadre and party member as well as the masses in order to help improve the leadership of the party. A determined struggle must be waged

against anything which limits the practice of democracy and against democracy for form's sake.

It is necessary to strengthen collective leadership in coordination with establishing a clear, detailed division of personal responsibilities. We must correct the thinking of the arbitrary, dictatorial individual who has disdain for the collective; at the same time, we must combat the practice of depending and relying upon the collective, being unwilling to assume responsibility and being unwilling to make decisions within the scope of one's responsibility.

In conjunction with broadening the practice of democracy, it is necessary to strengthen the discipline of the party. We must heighten the sense of voluntarily complying with the lines and policies of the party, the directives and resolutions of the upper echelon, the rules of internal party life and the division of labor of the organization. The secrets of the party and state must be kept. Determined steps must be taken to eliminate all manifestations of liberalism, the lack of organization and the lack of discipline. We must harshly criticize and take appropriate, prompt steps to deal with cadres and party members who violate the code of discipline of the party and the laws of the state in accordance with the Party Statutes.

Every effort must be made to increase and strengthen the unity within the party. Determined steps must be taken to overcome the individualism which is presently one of the important reasons for a lack of unity at some places.

Every effort must be made to strengthen the various party committee echelons in accordance with the standards that have been established. There must be good coordination between veteran cadres and new cadres, young cadres and older cadres and political cadres and specialized-technical cadres in order to insure that the leadership of the party is strengthened and maintain and develop the continuity within the corps of leadership cadres.

We must thoroughly understand the class line in the cadre work of each echelon and sector. All cadre work, from the selection and training to the assignment, use and promotion of cadres must be based on the political line and task and the task of the organization. We must more thoroughly apply cadre standards to each echelon, sector and job position in a manner consistent with the requirements of the new task. We must correct those mistaken viewpoints which place personal qualities into opposition with abilities or only emphasize qualities or abilities, thereby posing obstacles to the evaluation, assignment and use of cadres. We must bring about a stronger change in the utilization and promotion of young cadres who are capable of undertaking tasks on the various levels and in the various sectors in conjunction with making good use of the corps of veteran cadres who are still able to undertake tasks.

Building a strong corps of party members who possess good qualities and are able to complete the tasks assigned them by the party is, at this time, an extremely important matter in building the party organizationally. There must be good coordination among the following three areas: the training of

existing party members, the acceptance of qualified persons into the party and the expulsion from the party of persons who do not possess the character of a party member. At the same time, we must struggle to correct mistaken viewpoints in the development of the party, such as the following: placing sole emphasis upon quantity and not meeting qualitative standards; the fear of responsibility; being unwilling to accept qualified persons into the party; developing the party without strengthening it; not regularly training new party members so that they soon become fully qualified to be vanguard warriors of the working class. We must combat the rightist thinking of not taking determined steps to expel from the party persons who do not possess the character of a party member; not taking positive steps to train and teach "average" party members to become active party members; and not being vigilant against infiltration of the party by opportunists and decadent elements.

5. The scientific and revolutionary nature of the building of the party are also reflected in the work methods of each level, cadre and party member. We must insure that each level, cadre and party member has a work program and plan which contain a job of central importance during each period of time; insure that they always give their attention to maintaining close contact with reality, with installations and with the masses and always listen to the opinions of the masses. With regard to important matters, pilot projects must be conducted at a few places in order to gain experience for providing general guidance. It is necessary to make good use of the various organizations and not take over the work of them, especially with regard to agencies of the government and the mass organizations. Within the scope of his responsibility, everyone must display a high spirit of responsibility, be willing to assume responsibility and be willing to make decisions. Bold self-criticism and forthright criticism of others are necessary in cases involving shortcomings and mistakes. We must take determined action against the handicraft style of working without a program or plan; performing jobs in a random manner; not adhering to the central task; not completing jobs, lacking foresight and a comprehensive point of view; operating in an administrative, bureaucratic manner; not conducting inspections or research; and not conducting preliminary and final reviews to gain experience.

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## A DISCUSSION OF WATER CONSERVANCY IN SOUTHERN VIETNAM

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[Article Hoang Tien]

[Text] The Capabilities Afforded by Nature and the Limitations Imposed by Nature in Agricultural Production in the South

Southern Vietnam is divided into many areas based on its terrain and hydrology, each of which has its own unique characteristics. Generally speaking, the weather and climate of the South are moderate and temperature and sunlight conditions permit agricultural production throughout the year. Except for the several provinces of central Vietnam, the other areas are not subject to hot winds, they experience frost infrequently and they are only slightly influenced by typhoons. Rainfall averages from 1,800 to 2,000 millimeters per year everywhere with the exception of a few places which receive little rainfall, such as the Phan Rang and Phan Ri area. However, the dry season, during which there is very little rainfall, lasts for 5 consecutive months from the final months of the year to the first month of the following year. This is the major characteristic controlling all activities in agricultural production in the South.

The Mekong River Delta is one of the largest rice growing areas. Compared to the Red River Delta, this delta has three times more natural land (nearly 4 million hectares), roughly 3 million hectares of which can be used for farming. Practically all of the soil here is rather fertile alluvial soil deposited by the Mekong River and the land is flat.

The weather here is uniformly warm throughout the year and there are no major climatic changes, consequently, the agricultural seasons vary only slightly. Average annual rainfall is 1,800 millimeters but it is evenly distributed throughout the year and the intensity of rainfall is not high; therefore, there is no waterlogging caused by rainfall only waterlogging caused by floods.

A rather long coastline encircles the Mekong River Delta from the east to the west; therefore, the influence of the tides is rather strong here and supports both irrigation and drainage if effective projects are constructed. The Mekong



River runs through the Mekong River Delta along with its two main tributaries, the Tien River and the Hau River. The total volume of water flowing in the river is 500 billion cubic meters, four times more than in the Red River. Although the river's silt content is much less than that of the Red River, the total quantity of silt deposited is very large. During the flood season (high flood waters affect production from 15 September to 15 October), the water gradually rises; the highest level reached in 1 year was over 70,000 cubic meters per second. During the dry season, when prolonged drought occurs, the volume of the river averages roughly 2,000 cubic meters per second; during the driest year, it averaged only slightly more than 1,000 cubic meters per second (in April).

Until now, agricultural production here has primarily depended upon the rainfall and flooding in the delta.

The water conservancy projects deserving of attention here are the dense network of 3,000 to 4,000 kilometers of canals and ditches used to support water route transportation. There are few irrigation and drainage projects. The large and small canals and ditches are linked to one another in a dense network but there are no headwater projects to control the flow of water within them and they are seriously clogged because they have not been dredged for several decades. The system of flood control area embankments and salt water retention dikes is neither strong nor complete. As a result, upwards of millions of hectares of land are acidic and salty, some 600,000 hectares of this land are too acidic or alkaline to be used for cultivation. During the flood season, the Mekong River inundates the delta to varying degrees and covers more than one-half the land of the delta. Of this land, approximately 1 million hectares in Dong Thap Muoi, the Long Xuyen triangle and U Minh are so deeply flooded that they must lie fallow.

It was for these reasons that, prior to liberation day, the land under cultivation in the delta only comprised about 2 million hectares; this land was primarily transplanted with one crop of a local variety of rice during the rainy season, a crop which produced a very low yield. Only 10 percent of the rice fields here are two crop fields and most of them are located in My Tho and Tra Vinh, two areas which have many canals and ditches and are only slightly affected by salt water. Due to the inability to control flooding, acidic and salty soil and drought, the agricultural production of the Mekong River Delta has developed slowly and is unstable.

Eastern Nam Bo and the two provinces of Lam Dong and Thuan Hai lie to the south of the Truong Son Mountain Range. Due to numerous changes in the terrain, the weather and the climate vary from one subarea to another. In the southwest and coastal area, where the climate is equatorial, it is sunny and warm throughout the year. The climate of the Lam Dong area is temperate in nature. In particular, the Thuan Hai area has the lowest amount of rainfall in the country, an average of only 800 to 1,000 millimeters per year; as a result, the drought lasts the longest here and is most serious. The entire region is rarely affected by typhoons and high winds. The arable land here totals millions of hectares. The most suitable crops are grain and industrial crops and conditions

exist for the formation of large-scale, centralized agricultural areas producing sugar cane, cotton and rubber.

The Dong Nai River, Be River, Saigon River, La Nga River and so forth, which flow through the provinces within this region, have a rather large total volume of water. However, during the dry season, the basic flow of these rivers is very small. In their middle and upper reaches, these rivers are deep and this makes it both very difficult and costly to irrigate farmland with water from these rivers. In their lower reaches and the coastal area, salt water poses a serious threat. There are no water conservancy projects to provide irrigation and block the flow of salt water. Therefore, prior to liberation, this area only had about 300,000 hectares under cultivation, only 10 percent of which was used to raise two crops per year.

Eastern Nam Bo and former Zone 6 have the conditions needed to build many reservoirs of all types with a relatively large hydroelectric power potential of millions of kilowatts. Several areas which have rich sources of underground water, such as Tay Ninh, Thu Dau Mot, and the coastal areas of Binh Thuan, Ninh Thuan, Binh Tuy, and so forth have dug a number of wells to provide irrigation water and water for everyday life.

The central coastal provinces from Tri-Thien to Phu Khanh and the two provinces of the Central Highlands also have different weather and climatic characteristics. In the Central Highlands, the dry season begins in May and ends in October. The Central Highlands are not affected by typhoons. In the coastal provinces, the rainy season begins in August and ends in December or January; these provinces are under the influence of the northeast seasonal winds, typhoons regularly appear from September to October and strong southerly winds occur during the dry season.

The major rivers, such as the Bo River, the Huong River, the Thu Bon River, the Tra Khuc, the Ba River and so forth are short and have a steep gradient. The flow of these rivers is hundreds of times smaller during the dry season than during the flood season. The headwater forests have been damaged by chemical poisons and indiscriminantly harvested. During the rainy season, flash floods regularly occur causing mud slides and depleting soil fertility in the mountains and midlands while inundating the coastal lowlands. The general characteristic of the entire region is prolonged and serious drought during the dry season. In particular, there is a serious shortage of water during the dry season in the highlands where the headwaters of these rivers are located; many areas lack water for both humans and livestock. Because of these harsh natural conditions, the provinces of Central Trung Bo, although they have several million hectares of land, have only been able to put a very small percentage of this land into crop production, roughly 10 percent. In particular, the midland areas of the coastal provinces and the Central Highlands have put a small percentage of their land into crop production, production is unstable and yields are very low. The people encounter many difficulties in their everyday lives.

There are very few water conservancy projects here. In the Central Highlands, there are only several medium and small-scale water conservancy projects, such

the Lac Thien project, the Phuoc An project, and so forth, the majority of which are temporary projects capable of irrigating approximately 6,000 hectares. There are only three small hydroelectric power stations, the Bau Can, Za Nao and Dray Linh Stations, which have a total capacity of 900 kilowatts. The central coastal area only has a few large projects, such as the An Trach Dam, the Dong Cam Dam and the Vinh Trinh Dam, and nearly one dozen medium size projects which have a design capacity of irrigating approximately 42,000 hectares. In addition, there are a number of small-scale projects and pumps irrigating 54,000 hectares and salt water retention dikes for roughly 52,000 hectares. However, the majority of these projects cannot be used at full irrigation capacity, several were heavily damaged and most of the projects that were damaged were dams, consequently, the flow of water cannot be regulated.

The terrain and hydrological conditions in central Vietnam permit us to construct many reservoirs and dams of different sizes. In particular, there are relatively large sources of hydroelectric power; according to initial computations, it is possible to build in this region hydroelectric power projects with a generating capacity of approximately 3 million kilowatts and an annual electric power output of tens of billions of kilowatt hours which would comprise more than 60 percent of the South's hydroelectric power output.

In summary, the natural, weather and climatic characteristics of the South afford many basic advantages for agricultural production. However, because we do not have systems of water conservancy projects which can effectively regulate, distribute and control the flow of water to meet the requirements of production, agricultural production is still instable and dependent upon natural conditions.

#### The Process of Constructing Water Conservancy Projects Must Be Closely Linked to Collectivization in the Countryside of the South

As in the North in past years, combating drought, combating waterlogging and combating acidic, salty soil in order to increase the number of crops grown per year, expand the amount of area under cultivation and initiate intensive cultivation to increase crop yields are a pressing requirement of agricultural production in the South at this time. This involves a decisive struggle with nature in an area of tropical climate. The various water conservancy measures proposed in the South must encompass a large amount of land and involve an effort to provide adequate water during each specific period of time and gradually achieve the control of water needed to meet the requirements of agricultural development. It is necessary to closely coordinate water with land, with the weather and climate, with crops and so forth. Only in this way is it possible to bring about a fundamental change in crop yields and output. In the agricultural technological revolution, the highest stage of development of which is the green revolution, farmland water conservancy work must involve the effective use of water sources to improve the soil, regulate the climate and weather, meet the physiological requirements of crops and effectively support the strong, comprehensive and steady development of agriculture in keeping with the position that "water is the foremost technical measure in agricultural production."

Of course, the process of building water conservancy projects must be closely linked to the transformation of old production relations and the establishment of the new socialist production relations in the countryside. These two factors are closely interrelated, they depend upon and support each other and they stimulate each other's development. This organic relationship is reflected in the party's line on carrying out collectivization in conjunction with mechanization and the construction of water conservancy projects.

At present, the movement to build water conservancy projects in the South is becoming a mass movement of a broad revolutionary nature which is stimulating other jobs and having a marked impact upon agricultural production. Some comrades think that agricultural collectivization might not be a pressing requirement in the development of water conservancy work in the South. In fact, the pressing requirement of developing agricultural production in the South demands the acceleration of water conservancy work and, at the same time, also demands that agricultural collectivization be carried out. And, as the experience of the North has shown, only by carrying out collectivization is it possible to have all the conditions needed to build water conservancy projects for fields on an increasingly large scale and at an increasingly rapid rate.

Water conservancy work in the South must not be carried out in the "small farmer" style of digging a few canals to irrigate or drain a few scattered rice fields belonging to individual farmers. The water conservancy work performed here must lay the foundation for the agriculture of the South to advance to large-scale production; in particular, water conservancy projects must make combined use of the various sources of water for crop production, livestock production, marine products production, industrial complexes and municipalities, water route transportation, electric power production, the prevention of floods, cleaning the environment, and so forth in order to "harmonize land and water" and transform the destructive forces of water into productive forces, thereby completely changing the face of the fields in the South.

As a result of these demands, we must, in the not too distant future, build large, complete systems of water conservancy projects in the various areas, systems which can irrigate and drain millions of hectares and consist of networks of various types of projects, canals and ditches extending from headwaters to fields. Moreover, a water conservancy system is a project involving certain technical requirements in construction and which is operated and protected like an industrial enterprise. The most important requirement is that a water conservancy project must be systemic and synchronized from its headwaters through its canals and ditches to field surfaces and be consistent with the natural flow of water through the basin without regard for administrative boundaries. The volume of water conservancy work to be performed is very large; In the Mekong River Delta alone, the amount of dirt which must be dug and spread to complete the construction of projects might be as high as 800 million to 900 million cubic meters and millions of cubic meters of concrete might be needed. It is clear that only on the basis of agricultural collectivization is it possible to perform much water conservancy work rapidly, under the correct guidelines and with a high degree of precision which will make it unnecessary to do projects over and which will yield large returns. Collectiv-

ization will create a new division of labor which will enable hundreds of thousands of workers to regularly work on water conservancy projects even on the busiest of days and build small canals and ditches within the field irrigation and drainage systems; tens of thousands of hectares of farmland will be used in the construction of canal and ditch systems. The cooperatives will also organize farmland water conservancy management units to manage, repair and protect projects and irrigate and drain the fields of the cooperative .

On the other hand, the transformation of the old production relations and the establishment of the new production relations, that is, agricultural collectivization in the South, will be carried out under conditions in which industry does not have much of an impact upon agriculture and the majority of labor within agriculture is still manual labor, consequently, it is even more necessary to accelerate water conservancy work in order to create a new strength, develop production forces and create a higher yield and income for the cooperative than the yield and income of the private farmer. As a result of providing stable control of water, the cooperative can successfully increase the number of crops grown per year, use new varieties, improve its soil, gradually implement mechanization, etc. Consequently, water conservancy is the foremost economic-technical base in insuring the advance of agricultural production to large-scale socialist production and is related to the strength and stability of the system of collective ownership within agriculture.

#### The Immediate Objectives of Water Conservancy Work in the South

Accelerating agricultural production in the South is a pressing task of particular significance and importance to the entire country. As a result, the development of water conservancy work in the South at this time and over the period of a number of long term plans involves a very large volume of rather detailed work encompassing many areas. Within this work, the construction of the farmland water conservancy networks supporting agricultural production is considered the most important factor and most pressing requirement. It is also the fervent aspiration of the people of the South. With peace having been established throughout the country, with the entire country carrying out the single task of building socialism and with the experience gained by the North in its socialist construction, the construction of water conservancy projects in the South has advantages which will enable this work to be carried out at a more rapid rate than in the North. On the basis of the comprehensive project planning of areas or basins, we will avoid conflicts between the immediate future and the long-range future, between the part and the whole. In the immediate future, on the basis of proposed area project guidelines, we must restore and develop all existing water conservancy projects and vigorously carry out the construction of medium and small-scale water conservancy projects at places where the necessary conditions exist. However, to develop agriculture in a comprehensive and steady manner, it is absolutely necessary to carry out water conservancy work on a large scale and develop large systems of projects in order to create networks of complete and synchronized projects in fields and utilize and protect, while not disrupting, existing good natural conditions (by, for example, taking silt from

water, raising marine products, etc.). Of central importance is the need to develop surface sources of water; at the same time, we must utilize underground water at places where it is difficult to utilize surface water in order to support the pressing requirements of production, provide potable water for the new economic areas, etc.

However, due to the need for balance between pressing immediate requirements and limited initial capabilities, between the overall capabilities for development of the entire country and the capabilities of the South and between investments in the construction of key production areas and investments in the construction of the other areas throughout the territory, we must research and satisfactorily establish these relationships for the various areas in accordance with the following guidelines:

#### 1. The Mekong River Delta:

In the next 5 to 10 years, we will not be able to thoroughly resolve the problem of inundations resulting from the flooding of the Mekong River; therefore, the main guidelines are: limiting the amount of time and the scope of inundations, zoning areas and building strong systems of area banks in order to protect inundated agricultural areas and areas which should have not been inundated in past years and convert them into areas producing a stable two or three crops per year; building area embankments to control flood waters at the levels they reach in August in order to harvest summer-fall crops and create the conditions for draining water quickly so that winter-spring crops can be transplanted in areas which cannot control October flooding.

Drought and the acidity and alkalinity of the soil here are closely related. We must simultaneously resolve the three problems of drought, soil acidity and soil alkalinity and thoroughly implement the guideline of providing separate irrigation and drainage in order to have a practical effect. Of importance in solving the problems of irrigation, drainage and sulphate leaching in the Mekong River Delta is the need to insure that the flow of water in canals and ditches is uninterrupted, rearrange their tasks and build numerous projects along canals in order to regulate and control irrigation and drainage in a manner closely coordinated with water route communications and transportation. Full use must be made of the influence of the tides to achieve self-regulated irrigation and drainage and it is necessary to establish pump stations (stationary or mobile) and use other irrigation and drainage tools in areas and during times when self-regulated irrigation and drainage cannot be achieved.

Because the sources of water are limited and because there is a serious shortage of water during the dry season, water conservancy measures must be closely coordinated with selecting the suitable time to plant crops in each area and there must be a distribution of water among these areas in order to make efficient use of these sources of water. The general principle should be that areas which are inundated during the 3 months of the flood season (September, October, November) and areas which can produce three crops per year should be given priority in the use of water during the dry season so that they can

irrigate their summer-fall crops. The other areas must develop winter-spring crop and 10th month crop production and raise subsidiary food crops and crops which can withstand the drought during the dry season. Even during one season, it is necessary to arrange the planting times of the various areas within a system in such a way that our limited sources of water can support all land which can be used to raise two crops and upgrade a number of areas to the production of three crops per year. In lowlying areas which are located far from sources of fresh water, have a very low pH and do not have the conditions needed to reduce sulfate buildups and provide a constant supply of fresh water, we should primarily cultivate plants which prefer acidic soil, such as pineapples and cassava, or develop the raising of cajuput trees for timber or firewood and in order to alleviate soil acidity.

With regard to blocking the flow of salt water, it is necessary, in the immediate future, to build a strong system of coastal dikes to protect production areas and open the mouths of the major drainage rivers, such as the Tran De, Dinh An, Cung Bau, Co Chien, Ham Luong, etc. In the immediate future, we must build medium and small drainage sluices and salt water retention dikes. Those areas which do not have the conditions needed to block the flow of salt water, such as several areas in Ca Mau, must reorient their production toward the cultivation of brackish water shrimp and fish, the planting of mangroves, etc.

Later, if headwater flood control projects are constructed and more water is supplied, it will be possible to raise irrigation and flood control standards and do more in the area of water conservancy.

## 2. The other areas:

In the next several years, in contrast to the Mekong River Delta, the problem of creating sources of water in these areas is a very important one.

Therefore, the general guideline for the development of water conservancy in all these areas is to concentrate on the construction of reservoirs (small, medium and large) in order to create sources of water, accumulate rainwater and have water to use during the dry season and in order to generate electricity, reduce the severity of floods in the lower reaches of rivers, provide good conditions for water route communications and transportation, practice pisciculture, etc. Here, it is both possible and necessary to make coordinated use of water sources. On the other hand, dams and pump stations must be constructed to make full use of existing sources of water.

We will concentrate on researching ways to utilize the Bo River, Huong River, Tam Ky River, Tra Khuc River, Con River, La Nga River, Dong Nai River, Be River, Saigon River and a number of the main tributaries of the Xe Xan River the Xerepoc River and the Ba River. In order to suit complicated terrain conditions, we will research the use of different water delivery and irrigation measures, such as delivering water in pipes, spray irrigation, drip irrigation and so forth and use high pressure pumps to irrigate high areas. Areas experiencing a shortage of water must study the possibility of transporting

water from one basin to another, such as from the La Nga River to the Thuan Hai area, transporting water from the upper reaches of the Ba River to support Nghia Binh, etc. Several areas in eastern Nam Bo which have plentiful sources of underground water will endeavor to utilize these water sources. In particular, the central coastal provinces frequently experience very violent floods. Because there is a large volume of water in the basin and because the gradient of the river is steep, floods develop rapidly and pose a major threat. The general guideline here continues to be: guarding against main season floods and constructing area embankments to control early floods in August in order to protect the large production areas as they harvest 8th month (summer-fall) crops.

The problems of saline soil and waterlogging will also be solved in accordance with the general guideline for the Mekong River Delta of opening the major rivers which are presently the main drainage ways because we have been unable to have an impact upon this problem. We must build salt water retention projects along the medium and small rivers; build strong systems of coastal and river dikes; and build sluices and drainage pump stations for areas which are partially waterlogged.

These are areas whose weather and climate are not favorable for agricultural production, areas which, in addition, were most seriously damaged during the war of resistance, areas in which the people are still encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives. Therefore, it is necessary to develop water conservancy work at a higher rate in order to upgrade all farmland in the coastal area and the plateau area of the Central Highland provinces to land producing two crops per year and three crops per year in several areas within a short amount of time and support the settlement of nomads and the building of new economic areas.

In summary, water conservancy work in the South must be carried out in specific stages in which efforts are concentrated on blocking the flow of salt water, supplying irrigation water and improving the soil with attention to supporting areas which are practicing intensive cultivation to increase the number of crops grown per year and areas expanding the amount of land under cultivation. In the immediate future, it is most important to provide irrigation for grain crops, industrial crops and grasslands at places where convenient conditions exist. Generally speaking, the effort to combat waterlogging and floods must be gradually carried out in the next stage. Over the long range, we will make active preparation for key projects which will make combined use of, develop and harness the major rivers, such as the Dong Nai River, the Thu Bon River, the Ba River, the Tra Khuc River, the Xe Xan River, the Xerepoc River, etc.

In keeping with the guidelines presented above and in order to meet the pressing requirements of the production and life of the people, especially agricultural production (during the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan, we must endeavor to fully resolve the grain problem, the food problem and the problem of supplying raw materials for industry and have many agricultural products for exportation), the targets of water conservancy work must encompass the following major points:



--We must develop farmland water conservancy work and accelerate the restoration and construction of various types of projects, especially small and medium size projects, in all areas. We must produce many more electric and gasoline operated pumps, spinners and buckets in order to provide sources of irrigation water, reduce the acidity level of soil, leach salt from soil, control floods and increase the amount of land used to raise two crops per year from 300,000 hectares in 1975 to 1.2-1.4 million hectares in 1980. The majority of this land can be planted with new, high yield varieties of rice.

We must provide irrigation and drainage projects for a number of centralized, large-scale industrial crop areas, such as the cotton growing area in Thuan Hai and Phu Khanh, the sugar cane area in eastern Nam Bo and the Central Highlands, etc.

--We must provide water conservancy support of the plan to open roughly 300,000 to 400,000 hectares of new land in the Mekong River Delta; at the same time, we must provide potable water for the millions of persons participating in the construction of new economic areas in the east, the Central Highlands and the coastal lowlands.

--We must restore and develop hydroelectric projects and develop the rich hydroelectric power potentials of the South. We must restore and expand the Da Nhim and Do Ray Linh hydroelectric power projects and develop small hydroelectric power stations in the mountains.

--We must actively prepare for the construction of a number of relatively large-scale projects on the Thach Han River, the Huong River, the Tra Khuc River, the Dong Nai River, the Saigon River, the Be River, etc.

Meeting these targets will bring about profound changes on the fields of the southern localities. Meeting these targets will provide a base for initiating intensive cultivation and specialized farming on a large scale, allow us to raise two or three crops per year instead of one and increase the amount of area under cultivation during the 5-year plan by millions of hectares. The output of grain and other products, particularly rice, cotton, sugar cane, sugar, rubber, coffee and so forth will increase by tens of thousands and even millions of tons, thereby meeting the domestic demand for grain, providing raw materials for domestic industry and providing agricultural products for exportation in order to support the industrialization of the country.

#### Intensifying the Guidance of Water Conservancy Work in the South

The volume of work which must be performed in order to build the necessary water conservancy projects is very large. In the 30 years of struggling against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists to win independence and freedom, our country was very heavily damaged and the aftereffects of the war have faced our people with very serious difficulties in many areas. Practically all of the small number of water conservancy projects in the South were destroyed in the war. The forces and technical base left behind by the former government are virtually insignificant. It can be said that every

job which must be performed to build the necessary water conservancy projects in the South is only beginning. On the other hand, water conservancy work is work of a scientific-technical nature; however, it is also work of a very high political and mass nature, consequently, it demands that the leadership of our party and state on all echelons be strengthened and be highly centralized. In the guidance of water conservancy work, it is necessary to fully adhere to the principle the party leads, the government manages and the water conservancy sector serves as the command staff of the party and government in coordination with mobilizing a strong mass water conservancy movement; we must adhere to the principles of centralism and management by sector coordinated with management by territory in a manner consistent with the conditions of the newly liberated South. It is our position that the various project plans thoroughly express the spirit of self-reliance and that all four echelons must work together, all of the people must work together as this is the only way to rapidly and effectively meet the pressing requirements of developing agriculture and laying the groundwork for successfully carrying out the 5-year plan. In the South, in view of the experience gained in the North, we must adhere to the "three coordinations" guideline in the construction and management of water conservancy projects. We must closely coordinate large-scale, medium-scale and small-scale projects and coordinate headwater projects, canals and ditches with the various projects along canals within a common, unified project for the entire area and insure that projects are constructed in a complete, coordinated manner and rapidly put into production in order to insure the systemic nature of the entire project. We must closely coordinate the retention of water, the delivery of water and the drainage of water in accordance with irrigation and drainage requirements in order to practice intensive cultivation for the purpose of increasing crop yields and improve and nourish the soil. We must closely coordinate the construction of projects by the state and the people with the construction of projects by the people themselves, thereby establishing a good economic alliance between workers and farmers.

The matter of foremost importance in accelerating water conservancy work at this time in the various areas is that of conducting basic investigations and project planning. After the total liberation of the South, we boldly and promptly expanded basic investigations and project planning and established dozens of hydrological stations along the various rivers. The Ministry of Water Conservancy organized project groups to research the Mekong River Delta, the Dong Nai River basin in eastern Nam Bo and the two provinces of Thuan Hai and Lam Dong, the central coastal region, the Central Highlands and the Tri-Thien area. We have virtually concluded the stage of researching and establishing project guidelines and will soon begin the second stage, the stage of researching and conducting specific project planning for each project and each small area. The establishment and training of the corps of persons engaged in scientific-technical work and management must be urgently carried out in order to promptly meet the demands of the development of the sector on a large-scale and at a rapid rate. Since liberation day, the number of engineers and middle level technicians sent from the North to work in the South has increased to nearly 1,000. However, in order to have the forces needed for water conservancy work over the long range, we must urgently train local

technical and management forces and rapidly build the organization of the water conservancy sector. We must build the state-operated forces while building the large organizations of the masses performing water conservancy work and training various types of workers to supplement the corps of workers within the sector. We must build and strengthen the organization of the water conservancy services and district water conservancy bureaus so that they rapidly become competent command staffs of the party committee echelon and the government. We must soon establish production installations which engage directly in water conservancy work or support water conservancy work, such as construction units, pump units, farmland water conservancy corporations, water conservancy machine shops and schools training technical cadres and workers; we must make full use of pumps and old dredgers to increase the equipment of mechanized forces.

We must rapidly establish and develop the forces engaged in surveying, designing, constructing, managing and operating the projects that have been or will be constructed in the various localities. To utilize the great strength of the masses in the water conservancy movement, we must do everything we can to avoid mobilizing the masses in an impetuous manner. When the masses are mobilized to construct water conservancy projects, everything must be fully prepared, especially implements. Importance must be attached to mobilizing the masses to construct as well as manage, operate and protect projects. Very much attention must be given to insuring that projects are of high quality and tightly managed and to combating sloppiness, the construction of projects at any cost and the waste of money and the manpower of the masses.

It is necessary to research and quickly issue a number of regulations and policies concerning the labor forces of the masses engaged in water conservancy work. In the construction of water conservancy projects, we must be determined to implement the principle of constructing projects in a coordinated and complete manner and immediately achieving returns from all projects that are constructed. And, together with constructing projects, we must organize the management, protection and operation of projects well to insure the highest possible returns from projects and provide the irrigation and drainage needed to support intensive cultivation at low costs.

Water conservancy work is an undertaking of the entire party and all the people, consequently, there must be mutual support and close coordination between the various sectors and levels and the water conservancy sector. Most importantly, there must be close coordination between the water conservancy sector and agriculture to closely link water conservancy project planning with agricultural production project planning and the zoning of economic areas. Only in this way is it possible to develop the best possible plan in organizing agricultural production, a plan within which both agriculture and the water conservancy sector develop as much as possible. Numerous other problems concerning materials, equipment, labor, capital, equipping with machinery, tools, and so forth must also be resolved well. We are confident that, under the leadership of the party, with stronger management on the part of the state and through the efforts of all the people, water conservancy work in the South will surely be accelerated and achieve many fine results.

THE SCIENTISTS' FORUM: SEVERAL SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROBLEMS WITHIN OUR COUNTRY'S CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 63-66

[Article by Pham Van Trinh]

[Text] The construction sector is a large industrial sector whose development is closely related to the building of the material-technical base of socialism in our country. The scientific-technological revolution in our country demands a large, strong construction sector. Conversely, the development of a number of other sectors and fields of science, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, electric power production, machine production and so forth have a very large impact upon the development of the construction sector, in general, and science and technology within the construction sector, in particular.

The scientific-technological revolution within the construction sector is of an integrated nature and, at the same time, reflects special characteristics because the characteristics of the construction industry differ from those of the other industrial sectors:

--The production of the construction industry is of a highly mobile nature and is only considered complete when the project under construction has been completed but the production of the other industrial sectors takes place within the factory.

--The most notable characteristic of the construction industry is that its production involves the production of one unit at a time; even if standard designs and the mass production of construction members are utilized, there are still many other individual technical jobs to be performed, such as the patterning of foundations to the geological conditions at each site, finishing work and so forth; the production of the other industrial sectors, generally speaking, is mass production.

--The product of the construction industry, that is, construction projects, require a large investment of capital, are in use for a long time, are difficult to repair and repairs are very costly, sometimes nearly as high as the capital invested in construction; the product of the other industrial

sectors, such as shoes and sandals, clothing, tools, and so forth require smaller capital investments, are used for a shorter period of time, are easy to repair and, when repairs are necessary, part or all of these products can be replaced.

As a result, the construction sector must be highly and comprehensively industrialized and practice strict quality control. The guidelines and measures of the industrialization of the construction sector are producing, on an increasingly large scale, pre-cast products of increasingly large dimensions and lighter weight with an increasingly high level of mechanization and pre-fabricated construction.

The scientific-technological revolution within the construction sector must be designed to resolve the following four problems:

1. Improving designs, including typical and standardized designs, and researching advanced procedures concerning project planning, construction and structure.
2. Orienting the sector toward new jobs, such as increasing the use of pre-fabricated members, using new building materials and applying chemistry in construction.
3. Increasing the use of new tools by, for example, putting new, highly productive machines and tools into use, putting electrically powered tools into use and mechanizing the handling of materials, such as the transportation of members and construction materials, the mixing and transportation of wet cement, etc.
4. Applying new methods of organization and production techniques, such as the techniques of pre-fabricated construction, finishing techniques, automated management and the scientific organization of labor.

Within each country, suitable stages of development of the scientific-technological revolution within the construction industry are established on the basis of the level of industrial development, the labor force, natural resources and the material-technical base. In our country, we must apply the advanced experiences of the world to our specific circumstances in order to determine the specific contents of the scientific-technological revolution within our construction industry.

We are building our country under conditions in which our economy and technology are underdeveloped. We must move forward at a rapid rate. The Vietnamese construction industry must learn and apply the advanced scientific and technical knowledge and experience of the world while developing each domestic potential and making every effort to take a stride forward in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The construction industry occupies a very important position in socialist construction. Only by accelerating the scientific-technological revolution

within the construction industry is it possible for this industry to meet the quantitative and qualitative requirements of construction projects and the requirement of rapidly developing the national economy. Therefore, we must know how to coordinate the immediate future and the long range future, coordinate manual, semi-mechanized, and mechanized labor and apply those modern scientific-technical advances which can be immediately applied or make preparations for applying them in future plans.

To meet the basic objectives and requirements mentioned above, we must make every effort to successfully perform the following several important tasks:

1. Reviewing and disseminating the innovations made and the experiences gained in rationalizing production and improving techniques while beginning to improve the management of production and construction along the lines of large-scale socialist production: this is the essence of the present stage of development, the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan. The primary objectives of this task are to make full use of machine capacity (at present, only about 30 percent is being used), raise labor productivity, economize on building materials (especially cement, iron and steel) and insure the quality of construction projects.

Over the past 16 years, the construction industry has made many innovations and gained much experience of value in science and technology and in the field of economics. Many advanced scientific and technical achievements have been applied, such as the pre-stressed concrete technique; high pressure welding at 550 degrees centigrade and 100 atm; sliding forms; the improvement of 25 ton cranes to lift 54 tons, and so forth; ultrasonic equipment, magnetic equipment and so forth have been put into use to inspect the quality of projects with complex structures. New technical advances have been improved upon in the process of production. The close relationship between science-technology and production has stimulated the constant development of the scientific-technological revolution. To have a true scientific-technological revolution, we must widely apply scientific-technical advances within production and mobilize a movement of the masses to engage in scientific and technical work.

There is no other way to improve management than by reorganizing production and construction and implementing scientific management methods and planning.

The superior nature of scientific and technical advances lies in the fact that, on the basis of fixed assets which need not be appreciably increased, the expenditure of living labor is reduced but national income constantly increases. This indicates the very close relationship among production, technology and management science.

2. Increasing the use of improved tools and small machines.

Within the construction industry at this time, machines are used to perform 70 to 85 percent of excavation work, the leveling of foundations, lifting members for assembly, etc. These machines must be supplemented so that all

machines in use are matched and they must be efficiently utilized. However, there are still very many other jobs to be performed, such as installing electricity and water, finishing projects and so forth, practically all of which must be done by manual labor. This exerts a very large influence upon the time when plans are completed, it results in projects being put into use slowly and it makes it impossible to reduce the amount of strenuous, heavy labor performed by the worker.

Therefore, equipping with improved tools of higher productivity and researching the use of small machines and mechanized tools to correct the situation mentioned above are of very important significance. In a country such as ours coordinating the creative labor of man with mechanized tools well in order to achieve higher labor productivity is a matter of very important significance.

### 3. Developing the production of construction and assembly materials.

Construction and assembly materials are a very basic matter in the industrialization of construction. The production of these materials is based on construction guidelines and methods, available natural resources and the ability to acquire equipment.

In this 5-year plan, we must research and improve the quality of baked bricks and efficiently use these bricks. On the other hand, we must also put into production and use unbaked bricks made from industrial byproducts, coal cinders from thermoelectric power plants, fine sand and so forth, all of which comprise very rich sources of materials in our country, to replace baked bricks in the construction of 1-2 story and 4-5 story buildings constructed of bricks that are wider and need not be coated. To produce unbaked bricks, we must accelerate the production of the various types of adhesives, such as Puzzolan, lime water, hydraulic dolomite and cement, in kilns with a capacity of 10,000 to 50,000 tons per year, which we can equip entirely through domestic efforts and rapidly build, in order to meet the pressing need for housing.

At the same time, we must intensify the research of light-weight building materials and pre-fabricated construction utilizing large concrete members reinforced with light-weight steel for building construction in future plans.

In this way, we will be advancing directly to modern technology and gradually reducing the use of pre-fabricated members of concrete reinforced with ordinary heavy steel. With regard to the method of organizing the production of pre-cast members, we should, in view of the circumstances of our country in the immediate future, in terms of communications conditions and means of transportation, organize "pe-li-gon" [Vietnamese phonetics] near construction sites. Except on high-rise (9-11 story) projects and industrial projects, pre-cast members should weigh roughly 1 ton so that they can be lifted into place by small and average size cranes.

### 4. Accelerating the establishment of construction standards and typical designs.

We have completed the formulation of the 5-year (1976-1980) plan on construction standards and typical designs. By implementing this 5-year plan, we will have a relatively complete code of construction standards. In conjunction with these standards, we must draw up other legal documents in order to put construction work under regulations. Work on typical designs must focus on housing, schools, hospitals, child care centers, etc.

The various types of primary members of industrial projects must also be incorporated in typical designs and produced in factories.

The importance of construction standards and typical designs is that they reflect, in an integrated and concrete manner, the policy of the party and state, are a way to effectively unify the management of the construction industry and are also the best way to plan and industrialize the construction industry, the basic elements of the technological revolution within this industry.

##### 5. Focusing scientific research on the key problems faced.

In view of the fact that our country is still poor and the fact that there is little equipment available for research activities, we must organize these activities well and focus our research efforts on finding solutions to key problems.

--We must research natural conditions and natural resources, the zoning of geological projects, the climate and construction, and building materials in order to meet the requirements of basic investigations, conduct design surveys, excavate and use building materials, etc.

--We must research the characteristics of our country's tropical climate with regard to such matters as the micro-climate within housing, protecting buildings against wear, increasing the durability of construction projects and so forth which are matters of both fundamental and pressing importance and matters in which, in many fields, we can make contributions to the science of the world.

--Two areas of research of vital importance are how to prepare the foundations and construct the roofs of civilian and industrial projects so that they are suited to land and climatic conditions. In these two areas, we must economize on building materials, iron, steel and concrete, construction must be industrialized, foundations must be constructed even during the rainy season, roofs must weigh less, be insulated and not leak, etc.

--We must conduct research in order to put into use new types of building materials, light-weight building materials based on domestic sources of raw and finished materials; this research must not only meet immediate requirements, it must also be conducted on a long-term basis in order to meet the quantitative requirements and the requirements of technical development of the construction industry.



CHINA STRIVES TO MODERNIZE ITS AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 67-70

[Article by Duong Quoc Tan]

[Summary] In late 1976 and early 1977, a new production movement was launched throughout China. The Chinese people are beginning the task of comprehensively modernizing their agriculture, industry, national defense system, science and technology between now and the end of the 20th century. Determined to make the Chinese economy one of the best in the world and China a powerful and prosperous socialist country, a number of long-term projects have been formulated and the fifth 5-year plan (1976-1980) is being intensively carried out.

## THE CONVERGENCE THEORY, A NEW DECEIT OF IMPERIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 pp 71-77

[Article by Phong Hien]

[Summary] The modern scientific and technological revolution is bringing about a profound change in the factors of production forces. On this basis, bourgeois ideologists are trying to make much of its role and transform it into a foundation for shaping new ideologies. The convergence theory is one of these ideologies. It is designed to propagandize the convergence of capitalism and socialism in the world. It is also designed to paint monopolist capitalism red and blur the line between socialism and capitalism. The convergence theory reflects the decline of capitalism and the bankruptcy of old anti-communist ideologies. Therefore, the bourgeoisie is trying to use this theory as an effective political weapon to counter revolutionary forces and convince the masses that revolution is no longer necessary.

ERRATA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 77 p 77

[Text] In TAP CHI CONG SAN Number 3-1977,

--Page 29, lines 8 through 22 should read [JPRS 69039-TV 1924, 4 May 1977 p 29, paragraph 2, line 2]: "To accelerate socialist industrialization, build the material - technical base of socialism and advance our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development; coordinate the construction of industry and agriculture throughout the country within an industrial-agricultural structure; simultaneously build the central economy and develop the local economy; coordinate the central economy with the local economies within a unified national economic structure; coordinate the development of production forces with the establishment and improvement of the new production relations; coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation; strengthen our relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism while developing our economic relations with the other countries on the basis of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefiting all parties; make Vietnam a socialist country which possesses a modern industrial-agricultural economy, a progressive culture, science and technology, a strong national defense system and a civilized and happy life."

--Page 29, lines 42 through 46 and page 30, lines 1 and 2 should read [JPRS 69039-TV 1924, 4 May 1977 p 29, paragraph 4, line 4]: "It is necessary to highly concentrate the forces of the entire country, of all sectors and echelons in order to bring about a leap forward in agricultural development; make every effort to accelerate forestry and fishing; develop light industry and the food industry (including the artisan and handicraft industry) in order to fully meet the needs of the entire country for grain and food products and meet an important portion of the needs for ordinary consumer goods; further improve the material and cultural lives of the people and accumulate capital for socialist industrialization."