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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 7, 1979

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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.

| CONTENTS  | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Pay Due Attention to Developing the Party and Strengthening and Consolidating Its Organization (pp 1-11)<br>(Editorial).....                                      | 1    |
| Speech by Comrade to Huu, Head of the Vietnamese Delegation to the 3 to 5 July Berlin Conference of Communist Party Central Committee Secretaries (pp 12-30)..... | 12   |
| The Inspiration of a Model Unit (pp 31-36)<br>(Le Quang Hoa).....   | 26   |
| Regulating Labor on a District-Wide Basis With a View Toward Meeting the Requirements of Production and Combat (pp 37-43)<br>(Le Chan Phuong).....                | 35   |
| Those Who Departed (pp 44-46).....  | 45   |
| Improving the Organization and Management of Industry (47-55)<br>(Truong Son).....  | 48   |
| Tapping Local Strength, Building District Fortresses (pp 56-63, 82)<br>(Vu Duc Thai).....   | 62   |
| Research: The Birth of the Party and the Line of Brandishing the Banner of National Independence and Socialism (pp 64-71)<br>(Van Tao).....                       | 74   |



CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Commentary: The Hawk in Peacock Plumes (pp 72-75, 82)<br>(Tran Quoc Tu).....                                 | 85 |
| Yesterday, Beijing Was a Reserve Force. Today, It is an Ally of<br>Imperialism (pp 76-82)<br>(Excerpts)..... | 91 |
| Yemen on the Path of Revolutionary Development (pp 83-88)<br>(Pham Huy Thong) (Summary).....                 | 92 |

PAY DUE ATTENTION TO DEVELOPING THE PARTY AND STRENGTHENING AND CONSOLIDATING ITS ORGANIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79  
pp 1-11

[Editorial]

[Text] Over the past several years, in keeping with resolution 195 of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on improving the quality of party members and accepting party members into the Ho Chi Minh Class, directive 192 of the Party Secretariat on expelling unqualified members from the party and the other directives and resolutions of the Central Committee on building the party, the various party committee echelons have made efforts to develop the party, purify the corps of party members and consolidate and strengthen the various party organizations.

As regards developing the party, the various party organizations have accepted many new members since 1970. In the development of the party, more importance has been attached to quality than previously. Practically all persons who have been accepted have fulfilled the role of the party member and completed the tasks assigned them well. The expansion of the corps of party members has created favorable conditions for building and strengthening the basic organizations of the party. On the other hand, the acceptance into the party of new members, consisting of outstanding youths from the revolutionary movement of the masses and persons who possess good cultural, scientific and technical qualifications has made a practical contribution to improving the quality of party members, improving the leadership ability of the various party organizations and increasing their fighting strength.

As regards the South, the various party organizations have made certain advances in developing the party in the 4 years since liberation. Ninety eight percent of the villages and wards in the South have party organizations; the majority of hamlets have party members. Many basic party organizations are fulfilling their role of leading the revolution in the new stage.

In recent years, many party committee echelons have given more attention to and intensified the effort to expel unqualified members from the party. Following the issuance of directive 192, the various party committee echelons began guiding the implementation of Party Secretariat circular 22 in coordination with the implementation of Political Bureau resolution 228; the southern provinces have also coordinated it with the effort to purify the ranks of the party. To date, practically all of the basic party organizations in the lowland and midland provinces of the North have implemented circular 22 and the majority of these basic installations have virtually completed the expulsion of unqualified members from the party.

Generally speaking, as a result of being educated and forged in practical work and through the implementation of Central Committee circular 22, party members have further heightened their working class stand and viewpoint as well as their role and responsibility, gained a clear understanding of the new situation and tasks, fully realized the reactionary nature and the malicious schemes of the Chinese reactionary authorities against our country and heightened their revolutionary will to struggle, their spirit of vigilance and their readiness to accept every task. The majority of party members have set good examples in combat, production and work. Nearly one-half of the deficient party members who were allowed to remain in the party in order to be educated have changed for the better.

However, in the development of the party as well as in the expulsion of unqualified members from the party, in addition to the advances and results that have been recorded, we still see shortcomings and deviations. Directive 72 of the Party Secretariat on intensifying the development of the party and strengthening and consolidating the party's organizations pointed out: "In many local party organizations, the development of the party and the effort to consolidate and improve the quality of the party have proceeded slowly. Many basic organizations of the party have, for many years, failed to give their attention to selecting, training and educating activists within the revolutionary movement for acceptance into the party; they have not waged a determined struggle against those things within the party that are negative nor have they expelled unqualified members from the party."

Over the past 10 years, very many basic organizations of the party have not accepted anyone into the party. In a number of localities, as much as 70 percent of the basic organizations of the party have failed to develop the party. Even at places that have a good mass movement, at enterprises where there are many workers, where the masses have been forged and challenged, either no one or only a small percentage of the population has been accepted into the party.

The slowness with which the party has been developed has adversely affected many aspects of party work. The party organization has not been built at all installations in order to insure the leadership of the party. To date,

very many hamlets, enterprises, armed units, schools and so forth, especially in the South and the mountains, have no party chapter or have no party members. At places where there are basic organizations of the party, the force of party members is very thin.

Appropriate attention has not been given to developing the party for many years, consequently, the average age of party members is too high and the dynamism and continuity of the party's corps have been limited. In many party organizations, the average age of party members at this time is 40-42; in some party organizations, the average age of party members is even higher. Due to the shortage of young party members, difficulties have emerged within many party organizations in the assignment of responsibilities as well as in selecting persons for and building the contingent of core cadres to replace comrades who are elderly and in poor health. At places where there are no or only very few party members, limitations, even deviations, have been encountered in the work of propagandizing and teaching the lines and policies of the party and state and complying with these lines and policies. Many persons who have been forged and challenged for many years and have proved their worthiness still have not been accepted into the party.

The expulsion of unqualified members from the party has proceeded slowly and taken too long. Many places have shown a tendency to perform this work in a perfunctory, less than serious manner that does not meet the requirements of the Central Committee. Many places have only expelled unqualified members from the party but not attached appropriate importance to improving the quality of party members.

The shortcomings mentioned above are primarily due to the failure on the part of many party committee echelons and many organizations of the party to concern themselves with building the party. Many comrades do not fully realize the important significance of developing the party or purifying the corps of party members; they do not see the close relationship between developing the party and consolidating the party, between strengthening and consolidating the party organization and expelling unqualified members from the party; they have not truly concerned themselves with guiding the various aspects of this work in a detailed and close manner. In the work of developing the party, many comrades have displayed a lack of responsibility and misconceptions of the standards for the acceptance of persons into the party. In the effort to purify the corps of party members, we see a lack of responsibility as well as the phenomena of rightism, avoidance of the issue and a lack of resolve. Only by being determined to correct these shortcomings can we accelerate the building of the party to meet the requirements of the political task in the present stage of the revolution.

Developing the party and consolidating the party organization are urgent matters based on the requirements of the political task of the party in the new stage. As we know, today our party is the party leading the government

throughout the country and is facing the extremely large and weighty requirements of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland. One important factor of decisive significance in strengthening the leadership role of the party, increasing its fighting strength and insuring that the party is able to complete this historic mission is successfully building a sufficiently large and qualitatively strong corps of party members and successfully building solid, strong and pure organizations of the party at all installations.

For this reason, the objective of the work of developing the party and strengthening its organization in the coming period is to actively endeavor to build pure, solid and strong party chapters at all installations by the end of 1980, as stated in the resolution of the Political Bureau.

To achieve this objective, we must simultaneously and urgently perform the following two jobs well: intensifying the development of the party and quickly completing the effort to expel unqualified members from the party.

To begin with, it is necessary to clearly recognize the need to intensify the development of the party in order to meet both qualitative and quantitative requirements. In developing the party, the requirement of insuring that qualitative standards are met is always a principle. Only by meeting the qualitative requirement can we give our attention to absorbing within the party outstanding, progressive persons who are worthy of the title communist party member, who wholeheartedly and determinedly struggle throughout their lives for the lofty objectives of the party. If we accept unqualified persons into the party, they will not only fail to fulfill the role of the party member, but might also cause complex consequences.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to recognize that the complete strength of the party is created by both quality and quantity. The party must have a certain number of members in order to have the conditions needed to build the party organization at every installation, in order to create the fighting strength of the party and in order to strengthen the leadership role of the party in all of social life. Therefore, together with attaching importance to quality, importance must also be attached to quantity. This matter is of even more important significance to the South and the mountains, regions where there are few party members and where many installations have no party organization or no party members.

To intensify the development of the party, it is necessary, in conjunction with educating and heightening the sense of responsibility of the organizations of the party and party members, to struggle against the tendencies of narrowmindedness and factionalism. These tendencies are manifested primarily in "absolutizing" standards to the point where no one is deemed worthy or qualified for acceptance. On the other hand, they are also seen within a



number of party members who weigh the pros and cons, carefully calculate their own gains or losses and do not want to introduce or accept good persons into the party because they are afraid that these persons will have the same "political power" they have or be more progressive.

Recently, in addition to the slowness with which the party has been developed and the failure to give attention to developing the party, there has also been the problem of accepting into the party persons who are not qualified, even accepting a rather high percentage of persons into the party in violation of standards within a number of party organizations. Even in those party organizations that display narrowmindedness there have been more than a few cases of accepting persons into the party in an incorrect manner as a result of not firmly adhering to standards, not conducting thorough investigations, not relying upon the progressive masses or as a result of fraudulent reports to the organization by a number of party members with personal motives. Therefore, together with overcoming narrowmindedness and factionalism, it is necessary to struggle against the tendencies to accept persons into the party in a less than cautious manner and lower standards to accept unqualified persons into the party. We must harshly criticize and stop the tendencies of wanting to draw relatives or neighbors into the party without attaching importance to standards and procedures while obstructing and posing difficulties to the acceptance into the party of worthy persons. At the same time, we must always be vigilant and prevent opportunists and reactionary elements from finding ways to infiltrate the party.

To insure the maintenance of qualitative standards in the development of the party, the foremost requirement is firmly adhering to the standards for accepting persons into the party. The directive of the Party Secretariat pointed out: "All echelons, especially the basic party committee echelons and district party committees, must guide the party chapters in relying upon the opinions of the revolutionary masses in order to find and evaluate persons who must be trained in order to develop the party in a positive and sound manner, these persons being those who have a clear personal history, persons who have not violated the political background standards stipulated by the Secretariat, have been forged and challenged and shown themselves to possess a determined and steadfast spirit of revolutionary struggle, possess the ability to complete their task, have absolute confidence in the party and the system and have the love and respect of the masses." We must firmly adhere to these standards in selecting persons for acceptance into the party. At the same time, depending upon their specific circumstances, the basic party committees or district party committees must adopt plans for training these persons in the ideals of communism, in the line and tasks of the revolution, in the character and tasks of the party member in order to heighten their political awareness and, on this basis, accept into the party fully qualified persons in accordance with the procedures stipulated in the Party Statutes.



Of utmost importance in intensifying the development of the party is the adoption of specific planning, plans and measures for developing the party. The various party committee echelons must re-examine their corps of party members in terms of its quality and size as well as the distribution of party members; at the same time, we must delve deeply into researching and learning the specific situation in their locality in order to adopt positive and sound planning, plans and measures for developing the party and meeting the requirements set forth in the directive of the Secretariat.

At present, the number of party members from worker backgrounds, the number of women party members and the number of party members who are members of ethnic minorities constitute a low percentage of the party's total membership (workers: 8.8 percent; ethnic minority members: 9.6 percent; women: 17 percent). At the installations, the number of party members who are direct production workers, who are sales personnel, service personnel and so forth constitute an inappreciable percentage and many installations have no party members. Therefore, while formulating the planning and plan for developing the party, the various party committee echelons must attach importance to developing the party among workers, women and the ethnic minorities and at direct production organizations, service organizations, combat units and so forth.

The average age of party members is too high. The various party committee echelons must adopt plans for guiding the acceptance of persons into the party in such a way that the majority of these persons are the most outstanding of youths in order to reduce the average age of party members, create new fighting strength for the various organizations of the party and create the conditions for training the next corps. However, attention must be given to the fact that in the recent past, because many places have not attached importance to developing the party, many outstanding persons have been forged and challenged but not accepted into the party and these persons are no longer youths. Therefore, the organizations of the party must attach importance to evaluating those who are worthy among these persons for acceptance into the party.

The organizations of the party at installations are the places that directly perform the work of developing the party. Every strongpoint and weakness in party development occurs primarily at installations. For this reason, the provincial and district party committees must organize the training of party committees and party chapter committees in the objectives and requirements of party development and even in the work of developing the party so that these comrades can properly guide the development of the party at installations. On the other hand, it is necessary to improve the inspection of party development by inspecting places that have accepted persons, inspecting the persons who have recently been accepted and inspecting the places that have not accepted persons into the party in order to promptly uncover and correct shortcomings and deviations and help installations resolve their difficulties and problems.

According to the experience of many organizations of the party, in order to develop the party well, attention must be given to performing the following jobs well:

--Continuously promoting the emulation movement and other revolutionary movements of the masses, gaining the participation of the masses in revolutionary activities in order to forge and challenge them and, through these movements, finding and fully assessing progressive, outstanding persons; widely disseminating the standards for the acceptance of persons into the party so that the masses have guidelines under which to struggle and forge themselves.

--Classifying the masses and assessing their strengths and weaknesses in order to adopt a plan for preparing to develop the party in a positive and detailed manner. The most worthy persons must be actively trained so that they quickly qualify for acceptance. Persons who show prospects should be trained and helped to develop upon their strengths and overcome their weaknesses and shortcomings. Periodically, it is necessary to examine and evaluate the progress made by the masses; persons who have actively struggled, meet all standards and are worthy should be accepted into the party; as regards persons who do not meet all standards for acceptance, a plan must be adopted for training and helping them in a practical manner. In the classification and evaluation of the masses, it is necessary to adopt an objective, proper attitude, avoid the attitude "a person is good because he is loved, bad because he is hated" and avoid overevaluating and accepting persons who know how to please the leadership but are prejudiced toward persons who dare to struggle forthrightly. Full importance must be attached to helping persons struggling to enter the party to establish the proper motive for joining the party. We must criticize and stop the phenomena of persons using flattery and underhandedness to gain entrance into the party.

--Mobilizing the mass organizations, especially the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, to actively participate in the development of the party by introducing to the party organization outstanding members so that the party organization can select from among them. In order for the introduction of persons to the party organization to be accurate, the party organization must teach party members and the masses the conditions and standards for the acceptance of persons into the party.

--Establishing organizations that specialize in party development to help the party committee echelon with such necessary jobs as drafting plans for the development of the party, researching the persons being accepted, verifying personal histories, putting together files on persons to be accepted, insuring that the procedures for accepting persons into the party are followed, etc. The persons who work in these specialized organizations must be thoroughly trained in the requirements of party development work and the profession of developing the party.

--Periodically conducting preliminary and final reviews, gaining experience, deeply analyzing the situation and determining the specific causes of problems in order to continue to develop the party in a positive and steady manner. At present, preliminary and final reviews as well as the gaining of experience must be based on the objectives and requirements of party development set forth in the directive of the Secretariat.

To insure that the objectives stipulated by the Central Committee are met, we must, in conjunction with intensifying party development, quickly and successfully complete the expulsion of unqualified members from the party.

As with the acceptance of persons into the party, the expulsion of unqualified members from the party is an important, constant task of the organizations of the party, is a requirement of the laws of party building. Facts have shown that one indispensable prerequisite to consolidating and strengthening the party organization is being determined to expel unqualified members from the party. Many organizations that were once deficient have now become good party organizations and party chapters that have strong mass movements and have recorded encouraging achievements in every aspect of their work--one of the important reasons for this progress has been their determination to expel unqualified members from the party.

The requirement of expelling unqualified members from the party, which represents the continued implementation of circular 22 of the Secretariat in order to complete its implementation by the end of 1979, is directed toward the three categories of party members pointed out in resolution 10 of the Central Committee. Specifically:

"Persons who have clearly violated political standards. Elements who have supported the enemy in resisting the revolution.

Persons whose actions have reflected a lack of organization and discipline and created serious factionalism. Cadres who hold position and power but have degenerated or become deviant. Elements who steal, engage in bribery, persecute good persons, intimidate the masses and do not comply with the policies of the party.

Persons who have been educated numerous times but whose level of political awareness is too low, who have failed to make progress and who do not earnestly wish to remain in the party."

In the present situation, it is also necessary to promptly expel from the party persons who have lost their will to fight, abandoned their task, degenerated or become deviant.

With regard to persons who must be expelled from the party, appropriate forms of expulsion must be employed based on the specific nature of each case. In cases involving serious mistakes, public expulsion from the party

is required. In other cases, especially in cases involving a low level of awareness, we should widely employ the form of encouraging persons to leave the party or removing their names from party roles and no longer recognizing them as a party member.

In cases of party members who do not fulfill their role because their level of awareness is still low or because of other objective reasons, we must determine the specific reason for this failure on their part, take positive steps to intensify their education, provide them with detailed guidance, assign them a suitable job and establish a deadline by which they must truly make progress and be worthy of being a party member. The various party committee echelons must hold short-term training classes to heighten the awareness and the dynamism of these party members; this training can be coordinated with cultural and specialized training depending upon the specific requirements these persons face. Party committees and party chapter committees must assign members of their committees or good party members to guide and help these persons in their work. If, by the stipulated deadline, persons who have received help and for whom the conditions needed for self-improvement have been created do not change for the better, they should be encouraged to ask to leave the party or be expelled from the party.

As regards party members who are encountering many difficulties in their family lives, the party chapter should examine their case, assign them a reasonable job and help them in their work. If they have been assigned a reasonable job but still do not make a positive effort to complete their task, their qualifications as party members must be re-examined. Consideration should be given to allowing women party members who are nearing childbirth and party members who are ill to take some time off from their work. Party members who are elderly, frail and no longer able to maintain their activities should be allowed to leave their jobs and reduce their activities but must continue to maintain their revolutionary qualities, continue to teach and encourage their families to fully comply with policies and fulfill their obligations to the state. If they are educated and helped but still do not maintain their qualities and, in actuality, are no longer worthy of being party members, they must be expelled from the party.

We must perform the jobs mentioned above well so that all those party members who remain after the issuance of party membership cards are fully qualified party members, are revolutionary fighters who wholeheartedly and resolutely struggle for the undertaking of the party, actively fulfill the task assigned them and have the love and trust of the masses.

As is the case with the development of the party, the expulsion of unqualified members from the party is directly carried out by the basic organizations of the party. Therefore, in conjunction with heightening the responsibility of the various organizations of the party and party members through education, the upper party committee echelons must train the installation party



committees and party chapter committees in the requirements they face and adopt plans for performing this work in an urgent and proper manner; at the same time, they must give their attention to observing and inspecting installations in order to correct deviations that occur when expelling unqualified members from the party. Recently, due to prejudice against and a hatred of persons who are forthright in the way they struggle and frank in their criticism, good members have been thrown out of the party at a number of installations. This is a serious violation of the principles of party life. Such mistakes must be very seriously dealt with and promptly stopped. Experience has shown that in order to properly perform the work of expelling unqualified members from the party, it is necessary to overcome such incorrect attitudes as "not wanting to get involved," irresponsibility, saving face, unwillingness to confront others and the fear of causing an upheaval within the party organization.

To strengthen and consolidate the party organization, we must not only do a good job of developing the party and expelling unqualified members from the party, but we must also constantly attach importance to struggling against negative phenomena within the party, beginning within the various party committee echelons. Only by struggling to overcome negative phenomena within the party is it possible to insure that party members play their exemplary, vanguard role. Struggling to overcome negative phenomena within the party is also an important way to promptly teach party members and prevent them from becoming so immoral that they cannot be saved.

In the immediate future, the various party committee echelons and the organizations of the party must organize the practice of self-criticism and criticism well within the various party committee echelons and among all party members in accordance with the 10 points set forth in the directive of the Secretariat.

This phase of criticism and self-criticism is a phase of activities designed to overcome the negative phenomena within the party and within the corps of cadres and party members and stimulate the performance of the immediate political tasks of the party; at the same time, it is also a special phase of activities designed to inspect the character of cadres and party members and prepare for the issuance of party membership cards.

Every party committee member and every party member must, on the basis of the directive of the Secretariat, deeply review his strengths and weaknesses; in addition, the collective must contribute its opinions concerning these strengths and weaknesses. Strongpoints must be fully praised and weakpoints must be harshly criticized in an attitude of genuine comradeship. Self-criticism and criticism within the party must be coordinated with criticism by the masses. On the basis of practicing good self-criticism within the party, the party members at installations must publicly criticize themselves before the masses and accept their criticism.

Self-criticism and criticism must be practiced in conjunction with the rectification of shortcomings. For example, party members who have occupied public cropland, engaged in misappropriation, mishandled socialist property or property of the people and so forth must make immediate repayment to the collective, to the state and the people; party members who have failed to comply with the policy on socialist transformation, failed to fulfill their citizenship obligations, their obligation to sell grain to the state and so forth must take immediate corrective measures, etc. In cases of serious violations, appropriate punishment must be meted out on the basis of the nature of the mistake and the attitude in which criticism and corrective measures are accepted.

At the same time, as regards their organization, every agency and unit must gain experience in order to adopt corrective organizational and managerial measures and successfully rectify a number of areas of work in their locality, sector and installation that have long been developing slowly.

Not only must we concentrate on conducting this phase of self-criticism and criticism well, but we must also scrupulously adhere to the regulations stipulated within the directive of the Secretariat: from now on, the various party committee echelons and installation party organizations must practice self-criticism and criticism regarding party building and the specifics set forth in the 10 points mentioned within the directive of the Secretariat once every 3 months; once every 6 months, the party chapter committees or party chapters must evaluate party members, praise that which is good, criticize that which is not good and adopt an appropriate attitude toward cases involving the failure to build the party or mistakes in the implementation of party directives and resolutions.

Intensifying party development, quickly completing the expulsion of unqualified members from the party and waging an active struggle against negative phenomena within the party, these are our important, immediate jobs in strengthening and building pure, solid and strong party organizations, thereby insuring that every organization of the party is truly a leadership nucleus, truly a combat fortress on the basic level.

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**SPEECH BY COMRADE TO HUU, HEAD OF THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION TO THE 3 TO 5 JULY  
BERLIN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79  
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[Text] Dear comrades: The Vietnamese delegation is very happy to attend this important meeting so that, together with you, we can evaluate the present world situation and, on this basis, devise specific guidelines and duties related to the ideological and foreign relations work of our parties. In this speech, the Vietnamese delegation will present to you the following three issues:

1. Some remarks on the current world situation;
2. Big-power expansionism and hegemonism and the aggression against Vietnam by the Chinese powerholders;
3. Some suggestions on the activities of our parties in ideological and diplomatic work.

Dear comrades: Following the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, many very important events have occurred in the world. The situation has developed in a very rapid and complex manner. The practice of the revolution has posed many questions that need to be solved, namely the balance of forces between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary camps in the world and in each region. The chances for maintaining world peace and easing world tension, the potential developments of the revolutionary movements in various countries, the nature of the Beijing rulers and their collusion with imperialism, the strategy and policies of imperialism and international reactionaries, the strategy and policies of communists, etc.

It is encouraging that on the many questions mentioned above, through various meetings between our leaders and various conferences between our parties, we have achieved high singlemindedness. However, the international situation has kept changing, the world people's struggle against imperialism and international reactionaries is developing ever more vigorously, and the reactions of the imperialist and reactionary forces are becoming craftier and more ferocious. Many new questions have been posed and many new experiences now need to be reviewed. Therefore, we highly laud the holding of this regular conference of party committees' secretaries to evaluate the international situation and, on this basis, set forth measures for joint implementation.

Our party maintains that THE MOST BASIC FEATURE OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. THIS STRENGTH IS QUITE STRONGER THAN THE STRENGTH OF IMPERIALISM AND OTHER

REACTIONARY FORCES IN THE WORLD. DESPITE IMPERIALIST SABOTAGE AND COUNTERATTACK EFFORTS AND DESPITE THE BETRAYAL OF THE REACTIONARY CLIQUE IN THE BEIJING LEADERSHIP, THE THREE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS OF OUR TIMES CONTINUE TO BE ON THE OFFENSIVE. However, this offensive trend has not always developed smoothly. Looking at THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, we can find the following prominent points:

FIRST, during a short period of time since the U.S. setbacks in Indochina, following Vietnam and Laos, there have been more countries in various regions taking the socialist path, namely Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan and Kampuchea which have a total population of around 100 million people. This is a great leap forward on the path of growth of the world's socialist system.

Second, during the past period, the socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union and in other fraternal socialist countries has produced tremendous and allround results. Economically, we have gained achievements not only from the aspect of the pace of development but also from the aspect of quantity, and not only from the aspect of the development of production forces, but also from the aspect of the consolidation and expansion of socialist production relations. We do not try to cover up our difficulties and shortcomings. But one can ask: Where can there be a stabilized, steady and quick economic development; where can there be genuine democratic rights and the laboring people's right to collective mastery; where can there be a healthy and enriched spiritual life and an ever better material life; and where there can be man's genuine human rights as now exist in the socialist countries.

Thirdly, with their own strength and their correct foreign policies, the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have developed their role as the bastion of world peace and world revolution.

The victories of the revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the victory of the Vietnamese people's fight against the war of aggression waged by the Chinese reactionaries, and the victories of their struggle to preserve peace most clearly attest to the influence and the great and positive effects of the socialist countries on the revolutions in various countries and over the world peace.

It is unfortunate that while the socialist community is growing strong, the Beijing leaders continue to pursue their betrayal path, directing the present-day China away from the socialist orbit and frenziedly exercising their big-nation expansionism and hegemony.

Inspired by the bright examples of socialism and actively supported and assisted by the socialist countries, THE NATIONAL LIBERATION AND NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS have also developed in a relentless, seething and vigorous manner. Over the past 4 years, some 20 countries--both big and small--have regained their independence to different extents.

What is important is the significance and extent of these victories. The victories of the peoples in Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique constitute Africa's most thorough national democratic victories bringing socialism to that continent.

The victory of the Kampuchean people in smashing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and demolishing an expansionist base of the Beijing reactionaries has created favorable conditions for taking Kampuchea along the socialist path.

The victory of the Afghan revolution has caused disintegration to the million years-old reactionary feudalistic regime in the South Asian region, thus hoisting the first socialist banner in the area.

The Iranian people's uprising not only frustrated the extremely brutal fascist regime but also caused the collapse of a mammoth U.S. base.

The most important feature of the national [liberation] movement is that many nations have following the regaining of their independence, established for themselves A ROAD TO SOCIALISM. This situation testifies to the fact that in the present era, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM have become more and more closely related. This is easily understandable because the true nature of the national liberation movement is the revolt of the worker-peasant masses whose goals are not only to liberate the nations concerned but also to achieve social emancipation.

These broadminded statesmen in various nations living close to the laboring masses have become more and more aware that socialism is the only solution that can assure various nations of eternal freedom from imperialist rule and of the regaining and maintaining of their genuine independence.

We are very elated over the fact that the struggles of various nations against imperialism and racism and against various dictatorial regimes, particularly the struggles of the Palestinian, Nicaraguan, Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples, have been expanded with every passing day and are being increasingly supported and assisted by all of progressive mankind. Sooner or later these struggles will be crowned with victories.

Naturally, we cannot forget that there still exists in the national independent countries and the nonaligned movement many differing and, more seriously, conflicting tendencies. Besides the revolutionary tendency of actively opposing imperialism, there are the reformist and reactionary tendencies of wishing to follow in the imperialist orbit against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Those backing and encouraging the reactionary tendency in the nonaligned movement and undermining and sowing dissension within this movement include not only the imperialists and the reactionary rulers in Beijing but also other forces which hide within the nonaligned movement and which are making every effort to direct the nonaligned movement away from its anti-imperialist and anticolonialist objective. They advocate that the nonaligned movement must stand between the two blocs. This constitutes no less than separating the nonaligned movement from the socialist countries--the countries that have given the most active support to the national independence movement.

Along with the growth of the national liberation movement, the struggle movement of THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABORING PEOPLE IN VARIOUS CAPITALIST COUNTRIES has also achieved new progress as the number of labor strikes grows larger and larger and as the number of workers participating in labor strikes increases significantly. The figure of 51 million strikers in 1977 as compared with the 1965 figure of 19 million is self evident.

This situation is closely linked with the gravity of the economic crisis, inflation and unemployment confronting the capitalist system in recent years. Despite the bourgeoisie's many countermeasures, including suppression, the struggle of the working class and the laboring people has not been subdued. Instead, it has developed with every passing day. This assessment is proved by the overthrow of the fascist rule in Spain and Portugal, the many large-scale labor strikes that lasted for months, and the growing influence of the communist parties in a number of capitalist countries.

Naturally, the success or failure of the revolutionary movement in these countries, as viewed by the fraternal parties concerned, depend chiefly on whether or not the revolutionary

parties of the working class in these countries can firmly grasp and correctly apply the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to the prevailing conditions of their countries, whether or not they can organize and mobilize a large number of people to follow the revolutionary path, whether or not they can firmly grasp and correctly combine national democracy and socialism, and whether or not they have, in their thoughts and actions, united with and become closely attached to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The vigorous development of the world's three revolutionary currents is closely linked with the rapid growth of THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, its prominent features being the development of various communist parties both in quantity and quality, the existence of many new Marxist-Leninist parties, the almost complete singleness of an absolute majority of parties in the communist movement in support of Vietnam against the Beijing expansionists' aggression, the disastrous bankruptcy of the Maoist clique in the world, and so forth.

Naturally, even if the world communist movement enjoys such a fine general trend, it cannot avoid difficulties any less important than those caused by the sabotage activities of the Beijing reactionaries and by the emergence of opportunistic and nationalist tendencies.

By relying on the development of the three epochal revolutionary currents, especially on the invincible strength and correct policies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the struggle movement of the people in the world to preserve peace and ease international tension has also achieved substantial results. Today, THE EFFORT TO PRESERVE WORLD PEACE HAS BECOME VERY REALISTIC despite the fact that it is being decisively opposed by the warlike imperialist circles and the Beijing powerholders.

We strongly support the policies of various fraternal parties on intensifying the struggle to safeguard peace and easing the international situation by opposing any arms race, war provocation scheme and armed conflict and intervention of the imperialists and international reactionaries. We warmly welcome Comrade Brezhnev's statement, which said: Nobody can remain indifferent while some people in a certain part of the world are attempting to replace the law of strength and good neighborly relations with hostility and arbitrariness. Because peace is our common asset, it is most necessary for various governments to exert joint efforts for the sake of peace and loyal and genuine peaceful cooperation. While advocating carefully calculated self-restraint, we are also resolved to strike back, if necessary, at any act of aggression.

A prominent event which drew worldwide attention this year was the meeting between Comrade Brezhnev and the President of the United States, and the signing of the SALT II documents in Vienna in mid-June. We warmly welcome the signing of this treaty and consider it a significant step toward disarmament and peaceful coexistence. It also shows a change in the balance of power which is more advantageous to peace and the revolutionary movement. The weak position--which cannot be saved--of imperialism and the reactionary, aggressive and warlike forces is heavily responsible for the failure of their scheme of colluding with each other in opposing and sabotaging the peace and revolutionary forces in the world. It is evident that THE WORLD OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT ERA ARE PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, THESE OBJECTIVES ARE CLOSELY LINKED WITH AND CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM EACH OTHER. Actually, there is not and cannot be any contradiction between the objectives of the struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle.



In a situation where the U.S. imperialists and their allies possess numerous weapons of mass destruction the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have constantly strengthened their national defense potential and have taken appropriate counter-measures against the imperialists' provocative war schemes and maneuvers. This is an indispensable responsible attitude capable of helping mankind avoid a nuclear war.

Yet, experience shows that while struggling to preserve peace and ease the world situation, our socialist countries are still able to and feel obliged to provide positive assistance to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of various countries, and that this positive assistance constitutes an effective measure to preserve peace and ease the world situation.

At a time when the world revolutionary and peace movement continues to grow stronger and stronger, the imperialist system is being bogged down deeper and deeper in an all-round and irretrievable crisis. They are being confronted with repeated and widespread attacks from all directions by the revolutionary and peace forces. The imperialists' defensive positions have been repulsed in various areas. Many elements under imperialist rule which appeared to be indestructible have also been overthrown.

The general decline of imperialism is prominently marked by the decline of U.S. imperialism. The United States can no longer secure its rule over the capitalist world as before. Western Europe and Japan have emerged as ferociously competitive forces against the United States. Faced with this all-round declination, the United States has had to readjust its global strategy. However, it still considers military might as a foremost means to achieve its strategic objectives. The United States is making every effort to strengthen the alliance of U.S. imperialism, Western Europe and Japan, trying to avoid another Vietnam-type situation, showing interest in the proxy-war policy, continuing to step up neocolonialism, and so forth.

It should be pointed out that while being driven into a defensive position in the face of the offensive staged by various revolutionary and peace forces in recent years, imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, has increased ITS COLLUSION WITH THE REACTIONARIES IN THE BEIJING LEADERSHIP, regarding them as a vital tool to oppose and sabotage the socialist countries, the world's revolution and world peace.

IMPERIALISM, HEADED BY U.S. IMPERIALISM, APPARENTLY CONTINUES TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AND LONGTIME ENEMY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND OF THE FORCES OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE IN THE WORLD.

Dear comrades: For a long time now, THE REACTIONARIES AMONG THE BEIJING RULING CIRCLES have advanced along a path of betrayal. They are the biggest betrayers in the history of the world revolutionary movement. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary undertakings of the peoples in China and the world. The betraying and reactionary nature which has increasingly been exposed by the Beijing reactionaries is but a reflection of the present balance of powers: the revolutionary movement is stronger and is taking the offensive while the imperialists and reactionaries are weak and suffering many defeats. The contradiction which lies in the Beijing reactionaries' policies is that they are carrying out counterrevolutionary acts ever more brazenly on the one hand while clinging to the "socialism" and "Marxism-Leninism" label on the other hand. Their crimes are indescribable. They have changed the quality of the CCP--formerly a vanguard unit of the working class--and turned the dictatorship of the proletariat--already established--into a bureaucratic and militarist dictatorship, and the PLA--formerly a revolutionary army--into a tool for aggression and power struggle among themselves. They have, in an extremely serious manner, sabotaged the socialist achievements which were recorded by the Chinese people in the fifties and led them off the socialist path.

If anyone is still doubtful, let him judge their activities with an objective eye and not listen to their words. Let us point out some facts: The "great proletarian cultural revolution," which they labeled as "the greatest revolution in history," was in fact a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and a power struggle among the Beijing ruling circles. This revolution has totally destroyed China's socialist political structure and brought its economy to the brink of an abyss. It has also destroyed many cultural values and driven the Chinese people into an extremely horrible life resulting from decades of continuous demarcation, which killed millions of them. The "socialist regime" set up by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea--a regime which was patterned after Beijing's mold and an "export product" of the Cultural Revolution--has massacred 3 million people and destroyed everything in connection with culture and human life. If these things are not enough, if someone wants to see with his own eyes how China's expansionism is, he should look at the war of aggression which they have waged against Vietnam with all the brutality and inhumanity they have learned from the exploiting classes through various ages: kill all, burn all and destroy all. Are they revolutionaries or counterrevolutionaries? Let us see with whom they have allied and against whom they have been opposed? It is not necessary to comment on this matter because they have openly declared and actually colluded with imperialism, especially with the United States and all warlike, reactionary and corrupt forces, in opposing the Soviet Union, the socialist system and the three epochal revolutionary movements. They are proud of being the "NATO of the East," and desire to become a member of the North Atlantic bloc.

All of their activities ranging from the "Great Leap Forward," the "Cultural Revolution" to the "Four Modernizations," and so forth are not accidental. They pursue reactionary nationalism, and great-nation expansionism and hegemony. The principal and long-term objective of the reactionary Chinese powerholders is to impose their rule over the world. They advocate that: --the material and technical bases which they need to materialize their ambitions are the "four modernizations" and a 1-billion population:

--their foreign policy is to ally themselves with imperialism and all reactionary forces against the Soviet Union and the socialist system, against the three epochal revolutionary currents and against peace;

--their tricks are to create a "great turmoil in the world" so as to "fish in troubled waters," and incite a Soviet-U.S. war like the feudalist Chinese landlords traditionally did; that is, to "sit on a mountain top to view the fighting of two tigers."

These are the main features in the global counterrevolutionary strategy of the Beijing reactionaries.

In order to achieve their global hegemonistic goal, the reactionary powerholders in Beijing chose SOUTHEAST ASIA AS A PILOT AREA FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR EXPANSIONISM in the immediate future. This is because:

Southeast Asia has a strategic position of specific importance, is a crossroad of many international traffic routes, and has a vital sea route linking the East with the West.

Southeast Asia possesses abundant natural resources, many very important raw materials, and fertile lands.

The setbacks by imperialism in this region, particularly in Indochina, have made the Beijing reactionaries hope that they will have a chance to materialize the dream of their old feudalist dynasties to march southward.



Still they believe that the application of expansionism in this region has numerous advantages: China is situated next to the Southeast Asian countries in which China has two dangerous tools, namely the 20 million Chinese residents and the many organizations set up and manipulated by these Chinese residents.

However, they still are not strong enough to extend their expansionism to other areas: They will be faced with reactions from the Soviet Union if they move north, from Japan if they move across the sea and from India if they move southwest.

They hope that they can manipulate Southeast Asian countries, and that with 300 million people in these Southeast Asian countries plus China's 1 billion people, they can threaten and manipulate the South Asian region of nearly 1 billion population, and then move forward to conquer the world.

In order to achieve their hegemony over Southeast Asia, the Chinese reactionaries have resorted to numerous perfidious, crafty and brutal tricks, including those tricks already being employed by imperialism in the region. Here are a number of specific hostile tricks of Beijing expansionism:

First, the Chinese ruling circles are utilizing the force of 20 million Chinese residents in various Southeast Asian countries, especially the Chinese comprador bourgeoisie and the many organizations under its control, as a means to serve Beijing policies. They utilize this force as a fifth column. They direct these organizations to either stage armed activities or negotiate with the administrations of the countries where the Chinese nationals preside over matters important to Beijing: bargaining with the United States, creating pressure on the administrations of various countries, and staging coup d'etats if conditions permit.

Second, they are resorting to their traditional method of wooing and using force. They use their economic, financial and military aid as a means to lure Southeast Asian countries into their orbit. If this fails, they will stop at nothing ranging from aid cuts, border encroachments and use of those organizations under their control to create disturbances and riots, to the dispatching of troops for brazen invasion. It should be noted that the Beijing powerholders have a dangerous trick, namely "helping" various countries in road construction. The real purpose of this is to prepare conditions for invading the countries that they have "helped." Vietnam and Laos have had enough bitter experience with this kind of "help."

Third, in order to cover up their hegemonistic designs, they are making every effort to distort the policy of peace, cooperation, and friendship of the Soviet Union toward Vietnam. They have branded the Soviet Union and Vietnam as "great hegemony" and "small hegemony" so as to scare Southeast Asian countries away from the Soviet Union and Vietnam. In addition, they are seeking every way possible to woo the ASEAN organization in the hope of isolating and weakening Vietnam, and of annexing Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Fourth, starting from their raising the fanfare about fighting U.S. imperialism so as to cover up their attempt to seek compromise and alliance with the United States, they have gone to the point where they are allying themselves with the U.S. imperialists, flattering the U.S. imperialists and asking the latter to maintain its military force in Southeast Asia so as to oppose the revolution, Vietnam and the Soviet Union. They are begging imperialism to give China some influence over this region or to allow China to fill the "gap" left by the withdrawal of U.S. imperialists.

Dear comrades: In view of their expansionist strategy in Southeast Asia, the reactionary Beijing powerholders have directed this strategy against Vietnam in an attempt to control Vietnam and the entire Indochina Peninsula and then use them as a springboard for their advance toward Southeast Asia. Their policies toward Vietnam over the past 30 years have focused on three objectives: using Vietnam as a means to break the U.S. imperialist encirclement; using Vietnam as a card for trading and seeking a compromise with the U.S. imperialists, and driving Vietnam into their orbit so as to oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist system.

They are strenuously pleading innocent, advancing numerous arguments like this: China had provided assistance to Vietnam in an "unselfish" manner; Vietnam is "ungrateful and unfaithful," China "does not want even an inch of land from Vietnam," and so forth. But facts can never be removed from history. The Chinese powerholders can in no way answer hundreds of questions put to them by the Vietnamese people and people of the world such as: Why did the Chinese leaders, following the 1954 Geneva agreements, advise Vietnam to "lay dormant to wait for the opportune time to come?" Why did they protest against the 1959-60 uprising of the people in South Vietnam? Why did they advise the Vietnam Workers Party to convene an 11-party congress with the real purpose of establishing a new communist world led by the Communist Party of China against the Soviet Union and the world communist movement? Why did they pressure Vietnam into refusing to accept aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries? Why did the Chinese leaders, during the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam (August 1964), say: "We will not touch you if you do not touch us?" Why did the Chinese leaders protest Vietnam's proposal for founding a world people's front--including the Soviet Union and China--to support Vietnam's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle?

Why did they, at first, refuse to support Sihanouk after the latter was toppled by Lon Nol? Why did they advocate a five-country, six-sided "Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Republic of Socialist Vietnam considered as two sides of one country" conference to "oppose Japan" at a time when the people in the two parts of Vietnam and the peoples in Laos and Kampuchea were concentrating on the struggle against their direct and dangerous enemy--the U.S. imperialist aggressors? Why, in the Shanghai communique, did they support the existence of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime in the southern part of Vietnam? Why were they not elated as the rest of the world was over the liberation of the South by the Vietnamese people?

Dear comrades: Realizing that it was impossible to persuade Vietnam to follow them on the counterrevolutionary path, the reactionary powerholders in Beijing have tried even harder to carry out hostile activities against this country, especially since the liberation of the South. Their scheme of annexing Vietnam became even more insidious at that time: They used the Pol Pot-Ieng Jary clique to wage a war in the southwestern part and sent troops to threaten, intrude and intimidate the northernmost part of the country; they made use of their henchmen among the Hoa people as well as henchmen left behind in Vietnam by the imperialists to foment riots; and they cut off aid to this country in order to disrupt its economy.

The Chinese reactionaries' war of aggression against Vietnam, which began on 17 February 1979, was merely the culmination of their activities against this country. From this war, we have drawn a number of conclusions:

FIRST OF ALL, this was a large-scale war of aggression and not an "act of punishment in self-defense limited in space and time" as deceitfully alleged by the Chinese power-holders. In launching this war of aggression, they had five objectives; to wipe out an important part of Vietnam's regular force to compel this country to withdraw its armed forces from Kampuchea with a view to creating favorable conditions for remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary troops to step up their activities; to weaken our party and state so as to provide the counterrevolutionary elements in the country with an opportunity to rise up and establish a reactionary administration, first, in the border provinces; to sabotage economic installations in Vietnam in an effort to obstruct the socialist construction process of its people; to save face after their bitter defeat in Kampuchea and show their strength to the Southeast Asian nations as well as to use it as a gift to the imperialists in exchange for their technical knowhow to carry out the four modernizations; and to study the reaction of the Soviet Union and the world, and if their offensive were favorable they would advance toward annexing Vietnam.

The Chinese reactionaries, however, suffered a bitter defeat and failed to achieve any of these objectives except for the devastation of economic and cultural establishments and the extremely barbarous killing of civilians in Vietnam's northern border provinces. For them, this was a gigantic failure with serious consequences: among other things, it aggravated the power struggle among the Beijing ruling circles; directly affected the four-modernization program as this program, which has already faced many problems, will encounter greater difficulties due to the war expenditures; and further isolated them in the world. The defeat suffered by the reactionary clique in Beijing was also a failure of the collusion among China, the United States and Japan aimed at weakening Vietnam and checking the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, it was a very great victory for the Vietnamese people as well as for socialist countries and progressive mankind. It was won as a result of the Vietnamese people's stalwart struggle; the decisive, prompt and strong assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries; and the worldwide sympathy and support for Vietnam as well as the Chinese people's protest against the Beijing powerholders' unjust war. On this occasion, on behalf of the communist party and people of Vietnam, we would like to sincerely thank the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and the international communist movement and friends in all five continents for having actively supported and assisted Vietnam in its struggle against the Beijing reactionaries' aggression.

SECONDLY, this war of aggression has exposed rather fully the renegade, counterrevolutionary, aggressive, warlike and expansionist nature of the Beijing ruling circles. Their actions were utterly barbarous and ruthless. They combined the barbarity of Shi Huangdi with the brutality of the Hitlerite fascists and the U.S. imperialists. They thoroughly applied the policy of killing all, destroying all and burning all, turning into ruins those areas from which they were forced to withdraw. The manifestation of this nature has given large numbers of the world's people a better understanding of the bogus revolutionary colors of the Beijing leaders. Never before has the reactionary Beijing clique been as indignantly condemned by the world and isolated as it is today.

Through Vietnam's glorious victory in the war of aggression waged by China, we can see very clearly that although its land is large, its people numerous and its army vast, it is not strong, its ambitions are too big and its position and strength are beset by many weaknesses. On the other hand, we can also clearly see that China is a big country with certain potential and that, located close to Vietnam, it can cause us certain difficulties. But, with our correct political and military lines, with the prepared combat positions of the people's war for national defense, with the formula that "destruction of the enemy must be carried out along with the defense of the people and country," with the aid of the Soviet Union

and the other fraternal socialist countries and with the aggregate strength of the three revolutionary currents, we are confident that the Vietnamese people are not only capable of beating 600,000 Chinese troops but will certainly defeat millions of them if they are rash enough to engage in a new military adventure.

THIRD, in the face of the aggressive act of the Beijing reactionaries, all of progressive mankind quickly rallied in a world's people's front, with the socialist countries serving as its core, to support Vietnam's struggle against the Chinese aggressors. It can be said that that was a very quick, timely, enthusiastic, vigorous and broad reaction throughout the world, a reaction which was manifest in very diversified, vigorous, practical and effective forms. It was a new rally of the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. The waves of support for Vietnam's struggle against the Chinese aggressors have drowned out the deceptive voices of the Beijing reactionaries, silenced not a few mouth-pieces of imperialism, and enlightened to a certain degree those persons who are still ignorant of the nature of the Beijing leadership. The firm, timely and strong support given by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with a view to meeting Vietnam's moral, material and technical needs and closely coordinating the struggle on a worldwide scale played an especially important role in the world movement in support of Vietnam's struggle against Chinese aggression.

FOURTH, after their recent heavy defeat, the reactionary Beijing powerholders have not given up their intention to annex Vietnam. They have continued to carry out "his scheme" by continuing to prepare for war on a large scale at a time when they are forced to negotiate, and by committing armed provocations and intrusions on the border in conjunction with fomenting rebellions inside Vietnam. They want to create a permanent state of tension on our northern border, to prevent Vietnam from living in peace, and to make it difficult for our country to develop economically. At the same time, they are actively preparing to launch a military attack to annex Vietnam when conditions are favorable. If they start another war of aggression against Vietnam, this may be on a larger scale, the direction of attack may be broader and more tricks will be used. For this reason, the Vietnamese people must remain alert. All of Vietnam must be ready. This is a lesson that the Vietnamese people have learned from their 4,000-year history of struggle against the northern feudalists.

FIFTH, the Beijing reactionaries' anti-Vietnam scheme is closely related to their scheme of annexing Kampuchea and Laos. Over the past 6 months, they have suffered three bitter defeats: the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, lackey of the Beijing expansionists, was overthrown by the revolution, its remnant troops, Beijing's sinister hope, have been basically exterminated; and the ruthless and subversive plot concocted by the Beijing reactionaries against the Lao people's democratic power, which sought to transform Laos into a second "Democratic Kampuchea," has been exposed. The Vietnamese army and people have defeated the war of aggression launched by more than 600,000 Chinese troops. The victories of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean people have unexpectedly, quickly and profoundly changed the balance of power in Southeast Asia and Asia. As a result of this historic confrontation, the position and force of the revolution in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have become much stronger than in any past historic stages.

Courages, the Vietnamese people have experienced very arduous and protracted wars. Persons of our age have had to live more than half of their lifetime in war. In many families, two to three generations have directly taken up arms to fight enemy aggressors. Countless women over 60 years old have on many occasions seen their beloved ones off to the battlefronts: They saw their husbands off to fight the French; they saw their sons off to fight the Americans; and they saw their grandsons off to oppose Beijing expansionism. Therefore, more than anyone else, the Vietnamese people are very eager for peace. After liberating South Vietnam, the entire Vietnamese nation embarked on peaceful construction



activities, transforming the entire country into a worksite for building socialism. But, "as the tree wants to stand still, the wind keeps shaking it." In only 4 years since the liberation of South Vietnam, the Chinese powerholders have waged two wars of aggression against Vietnam. Therefore, the Vietnamese people have been forced to take up arms again to defend their fatherland. Our slogan still is: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom."

THE STRATEGIC DUTIES OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOR THE PRESENT ARE TO SIMULTANEOUSLY BUILD SOCIALISM AND DEFEND THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND. These two duties are closely related. Only by building socialism and developing the economy can the Vietnamese people have the strength to defend the fatherland; on the other hand, by remaining vigilant and ready to fight we can defend the revolutionary gains obtained when the enemy attacks.

We are firmly confident in the victory of our fight against Beijing's expansionism. This confidence is based on the strength of the Vietnamese nation, the strength of the solidarity of the three Indochinese peoples, the strength of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and the strength of the three revolutionary currents in our times. This confidence not only originates from our present strength but also springs from the 4,000-year history of the Vietnamese nation. Over the past 20 centuries the Vietnamese people have won more than 10 major wars of aggression waged by the northern feudalists. In their modern history, they won back power from the Japanese fascists and triumphed over two major imperialist forces--France and the United States. And in the recent confrontation, they won two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists.

Dear comrades: As a result of the appearance of Chinese great-nation expansionism and its collusion with imperialism and the other reactionary forces, a new alignment of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces is taking place in the world, GROUPING ON ONE SIDE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, THE STRUGGLE MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND WORKING PEOPLE IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, AND THE FORCES STRUGGLING FOR PEACE, AND ON THE OTHER SIDE IMPERIALISM, CHINESE GREAT-NATION EXPANSIONISM AND THE OTHER REACTIONARY FORCES LED BY U.S. IMPERIALISM.

In the face of this situation, we think that the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO FIRMLY OPPOSE U.S.-LED IMPERIALISM AND THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF WHICH THE CHINESE GREAT-NATION EXPANSIONIST CLIQUE, ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES, IS THE BIGGEST INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARY FORCE.

This new alignment of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world today requires and permits the formation of a FRONT OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE AGAINST U.S.-LED IMPERIALISM AND THE BEIJING REACTIONARIES, FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

Life has shown that, in the present situation, we cannot successfully struggle against imperialism if we do not, at the same time, struggle against the Beijing reactionaries who have joined the imperialists and have become their ally.

Also due to the presence of Chinese expansionism and big-nation hegemony, THE IMMEDIATE TASK FOR THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA IS TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CHINESE EXPANSIONIST AND BIG-NATION HEGEMONIST AND OTHER IMPERIALIST FORCES--WHICH ARE CONTENDING FOR THE INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE REGION--WITH A VIEW TO URGENTLY ESTABLISHING A ZONE OF PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, NEUTRALITY, STABILITY AND PROSPERITY. In this hotbed of the world, the Beijing reactionary powerholders have behaved like a DIRECT AND DANGEROUS ENEMY of the peoples of various countries in the region. The cunning attitude adopted by the Beijing reactionaries in an attempt to rally the ASEAN member nations to their

side against the Indochina countries can only temporarily deceive a certain number of politicians, but not those with mature judgement who are keen in current affairs. We believe that the peoples and governments of Southeast Asia will be able to see more clearly the Beijing reactionaries' scheme of expansion against them and will oppose this scheme ever more resolutely.

With regard to Vietnam, in particular, as a result of the war of aggression recently waged by the Chinese powerholders, a united front of the world's people has actually been set up to support this country against the Chinese reactionaries' aggression. We suggest that fraternal socialist countries and all communist and workers parties and other revolutionary and peace forces further strengthen and broaden this front in appropriate forms.

Dear comrades: To further advance the cause of peace and the revolutionary movement, it is necessary for our countries to carry out the struggle AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS AND BEIJING REACTIONARIES in numerous fields. In this struggle, we will have to overcome many difficulties and counter numerous acts of opposition and offensives by the enemy, including their propaganda and deceptive activities. Meanwhile, unhealthy tendencies, harmful to the revolutionary movement and favorable to the enemy, are still prevalent here and there among the ranks of the international communist movement. Therefore, in view of present revolutionary achievements, our struggle on the ideological and dialectical fronts must not be decreased but, on the contrary, be considered even more essential and important.

The present guidelines for our major tasks which we must firmly adhere to are: TO PRESERVE WORLD PEACE WHILE CONTINUING TO EASE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ACCELERATING THE THREE EPOCHAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

Our opinion is that, in our present ideological struggle, we must continue to carry out the tasks which have been set forth by the previous conference in Budapest. At the same time, we should take into account the new aspects arising from the new situation, particularly the aspects in connection with the coordination between the imperialists and Beijing reactionaries in undermining the world revolution and peace.

In the ideological struggle against the enemy, we should firmly maintain our OFFENSIVE POSITION, because life has shown ever more clearly the superiority of socialism over utterly outdated, reactionary capitalism.

We should uphold before the whole world THE ALL-ROUND SUCCESSES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, and clearly show everyone that only socialism can resolve the fundamentals of social progress, create conditions for man's all-round development, insure the practical conditions for the full realization of democratic liberties and human rights, satisfactorily guarantee the independence and sovereignty of, as well as equality among, all countries, and also help strengthen the friendship and mutual assistance among all nations. With concrete, vivid evidence, we should continue to condemn capitalism for its crimes against mankind, and clearly show that it hinders social progress, causes deprivations and sufferings to people, and tramples underfoot human rights in one's own country while exploiting and oppressing other nations and depriving them of their freedom.

We should help the world's people clearly distinguish between real and sham socialism. Especially, we should expose the so-called "socialism" of the Beijing reactionary clique and its followers, and the "socialism" of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which is modeled after "Beijing socialism." The capitalists themselves are using these dark proofs to smear socialism.



We should resolutely OPPOSE THE "HUMAN RIGHTS" CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED by the imperialists. In this matter, we think that it is totally possible for us to carry the fight to the enemy's position by not only launching counterattacks but also striking directly at the vile political system of capitalism. Obviously, in this respect our socialism is undeniably far superior to capitalism.

We should intensify propaganda work IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE ASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, for national independence, democracy and social progress. We should expose the Beijing expansionists' acts of betraying and sabotaging the national independence movement, and their alliance with and support of various rotten regimes, especially the Pinochet and Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regimes.

We should also fittingly criticize the reactionary tendency of some independent nationalist states to return their countries to the orbit of imperialism, turning them into its tool against other nations. Our propaganda organs should give an appropriate role to propaganda activities in support of the struggle of the national movement against the aggressive and monopolistic policy of the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists. Under present conditions, criticizing those who are helping the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists in their attempts to divide the national movement, to deflect it from its established objective, and to alienate it from the socialist countries, is an urgent, imperative task.

Propaganda work in support of the JUST CAUSE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND LABORING PEOPLE IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES must occupy an important position in the external propaganda activities of the socialist countries. Using vivid and persuasive documents, we should encourage this movement in its efforts to form a broad, united front of all labor and democratic forces, to direct the spearhead of its struggle at the monopolistic capitalists both at home and abroad, to win civil and democratic rights, to achieve social progress, and to defend national independence and world peace. To encourage the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in this manner means to encourage it to closely unite with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the national independence movement, and to correctly associate national interests with international interests.

We should hold higher than ever the banner of DEFENDING PEACE AND EASING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. By falsely accusing socialism of "threatening peace" the imperialists and their "ideologists" want to justify their frenzied arms race. Their allegation that "the Soviet Union threatens Western Europe" and "threatens the world" has clearly shown that the imperialists have always directed the spearhead of their attacks at the motherland of great Lenin. Here again we can see a coordination between the imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries.

We should continue to expose the war-provoking, aggressive crimes of these dangerous enemies and uphold the correct foreign policy and activities of the socialist countries FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS. We should especially emphasize to people of all countries the extremely great role played by the Soviet Union in the struggle to ease the international situation and to defend world peace.

In short, the basic objective of our ideological activities is to make positive contributions to persuading, motivating and organizing the world's people in the struggle. FOR SOCIALISM, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND WORLD PEACE. In order to achieve this objective, we must resolutely struggle against the reactionary, slanderous allegations of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles. We must criticize the divisive, slanderous allegations

against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, and the progressive nonaligned movement. We must criticize those who deliberately defend the Beijing reactionaries and the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. We must fairly and logically criticize those who deliberately defend the Beijing reactionaries and the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. We must fairly and logically criticize the opportunist tendencies within the international communist movement so as to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the solidarity among the socialist countries and the communist and workers parties--the nucleus of the world revolutionary movement--and to consolidate and broaden the unity of the three revolutionary currents of our times.

The quality and effectiveness of our ideological work depend to a large extent on the cooperation among the socialist countries [words indistinct]. The Vietnamese delegation highly approves of the program that has been laid down for cooperation in research among the theoretical organs of the fraternal socialist countries. In the new situation, we suggest that we add to the program new subjects.

Dear comrades: We have briefly raised a number of questions on the importance, the orientation, the tasks and the contents of our ideological struggle and external propaganda work. We think that, if these problems are satisfactorily resolved, they will help promote the external activities of our parties that are aimed at rallying the broad masses of the world people in the struggle for the success of the lofty objectives of our times: peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

We highly welcome the efforts of our parties to strengthen ideological work and to closely cooperate with one another in this field so as to enhance the effectiveness of our ideological struggle and to make our ideological work more persuasive.

Thank you, comrades.

CSO: 4209

## THE INSPIRATION OF A MODEL UNIT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79 pp 31-36, 43

[Article by Lieutenant General Le Quang Hoa]

[Text.] Over the past several years, the troops of Military Region 4 have made many efforts to carry out their tasks of maintaining combat readiness and fighting while participating in production and achieving partial self-sufficiency in grain and food products, thereby reducing the costs incurred by the state. The common requirement facing our troops is that they must fight well and produce well. And, facts have shown that our troops not only fight well, but also can produce well. Group 200 in Military Region 4 is one of the good model units.

Group 200 is a unit that accepts, provides medical care to, educates and assigns tasks to wounded and ill soldiers and carries out the policies pertaining to retired cadres. The group has surpassed all four of its norms on the production of grain and food products set forth within its plan. Every cadre and soldier produces an average of 270 kilograms of grain in rice equivalent (126 kilograms of which are allocated for self-sufficiency over a period of 6 months, 5 kilograms of which are allocated for seed, 12 kilograms of which are saved and 75 kilograms of which are allocated for the centralized livestock production of the military region); each person produces 22 kilograms of meat (28 percent above the plan quota) and 200 kilograms of vegetables (not including the vegetables allocated for livestock production), beans, peanuts and sesame (89 percent above the plan quota). In addition, Group 200 has also undertaken the construction of one farm specializing in the production of reserve sows for supply to the various units within the military region. By 1980, the hog herd must reach 255 sows and annually produce 1,500 baby pigs, including 700 to 800 reserve sows. In only 1 year of working and studying, the group constructed 3,119 square meters of capital construction projects for the hog farm; to date, the group has 131 reserve and certified sows and 5 good boars; in addition, breeding stock has been supplied by the farm to other places.

The entire military region is launching a campaign to study, catch up to and surpass Group 200 on the grain and food production front. The troop units of the military region are learning specific lessons of universal value from Group 200. These lessons are of a very practical and pressing nature to Military Region 4 because they resolve very fundamental problems and give units confidence. If the production of grain and food products is correctly understood and given the proper position, if determination is high and if positive, detailed and specific steps are taken in the example of Group 200, units can surely implement their grain and food product production norms and gradually achieve self-sufficiency in grain and food products.

#### Correctly Understanding the Significance of and Giving the Proper Position to the Production of Grain and Food Products in a Spirit of Deep Political Responsibility and High Self-Awareness

When it was first given the requirement of producing and gradually achieving self-sufficiency in grain and food products, Group 200, like many other troop units, was not without certain concerns. Much, urgent work is involved in grain and food production and the work is constantly changing in nature. Where would the group find the land and time it needed? With its manpower already tightly organized, where would it find the labor? With the combat and combat readiness situations being as urgent as they are, how could it achieve self-sufficiency?

The viewpoint of the standing committee of the party committee and the command of Military Region 4 concerning this matter was the adhere to the resolution of the 2nd Plenum of the Party Central Committee and fully realize the importance of agriculture in the actual situation of the military region. Although the agricultural production front is important to the entire country, it occupies a position of special importance in Military Region 4. The standing committee of the party committee and the military region command have always stated: if, in the work of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland, all other places in the country must work hard, Military Region 4 must work even harder. If all other places take one step forward, Military Region 4 must move forward two or three times as fast in order to keep pace. Because, Military Region 4 is one of the areas of significant potentials that have not been developed much and was one of the areas most seriously ravaged by war, consequently, the people there encounter numerous difficulties in their everyday lives. Every additional kilogram of grain and food produced on the land of Military Region 4 is of profound significance.

Group 200, imbued with the basic viewpoints presented above, made the task of producing grain and food products part of the standard for evaluating the level of awareness and the degree of implementation of the two basic political tasks of the army by its cadres, party members and soldiers. It established the following relationship between grain and food production and the medical



treatment of wounded and ill soldiers: providing wounded and ill soldiers with good medical treatment on the basis of producing and achieving self-sufficiency well. The purpose of producing and achieving self-sufficiency well is to support the good medical treatment of wounded and ill soldiers. To eat well and live well, everyone must produce well.

In previous years, Group 200 adopted positive policies, such as being determined to produce enough vegetables for wounded and ill soldiers, improving purchasing, transportation and livestock production methods and reducing the price of pork from 3.5 dong to 2.6 dong in order to support wounded and ill soldiers well. It also made the innovation of mobilizing cadres, soldiers and wounded and ill soldiers to voluntarily formulate a "code of production regulations," thereby putting the exercise of ownership and management by the masses on a regular basis. In the new situation, Group 200 has stipulated: production is not part of recuperation, but a political task of the unit, an obligation of each person.

The awareness is evident in the successive self-management movements and emulation movements. Everyone voluntarily works additional hours and accepts additional jobs. Even wounded and ill soldiers have undertaken jobs suited to their health. Group 200 considers mobilizing everyone to display a high spirit of ownership and the rationalization of work, the inspection of work and the scientific regulation of labor to be a system for realizing its determination to "produce what we need to eat, build our own shelter, raise the medicinal plants we need for the treatment of patients." By efficiently organizing its work, having persons work two jobs (public health personnel, medical assistants, military medical personnel, management personnel, quartermaster personnel, troops messing personnel and resupply personnel work one another's jobs and one in every five persons has been shifted to productive labor) and performing a number of jobs at night in order to perform field work during the day, Group 200 has acquired tens of thousands of additional mandays. In each of the 10 messhalls, three persons have been transferred to productive labor, thereby providing an additional 10,800 mandays per year.

In the face of the scheme of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries, Group 200 swiftly linked the political requirements of its production task with the requirement of being ready to fight and defeat the enemy. As soon as it completed its production norms for the year, Group 200 mobilized each person, including its wounded and ill soldiers, to produce an additional 30 kilograms of grain in the "for the strength of the fatherland, for the defeat of the Chinese aggressors" campaign.

Within Group 200, facts have shown that once the thinking of everyone has been remolded, once everyone has a deep awareness of his task and once the right of collective ownership has been implemented, capabilities and potentials are developed and product output as well as product quality increase rapidly.



In November 1977, the party committee of Group 200 set forth the target of achieving the seemingly difficult target of self-sufficiency in grain, that is, 87 kilograms of grain per person per year. However, once this target was sent to the installations for discussion and for the formulation of norms from the lower levels upward, all units raised it to 200 or 250 kilograms and many expressed a determination to try to achieve a goal of 300 kilograms. This further strengthened the determination of the leadership committee and the party committee of Group 200 "revised" the draft of its resolution, setting 200 kilograms as the official norm. Without confidence, determination and deep awareness and without mobilizing the masses to exercise ownership, no one would have dared to establish the seemingly difficult norm of 87 kilograms and then raise it to 248 kilograms nor actually achieve a norm of 270 kilograms.

#### Little Land, a High Turnover Rate, High Yields and Many Products

Although each unit of wounded and ill soldiers has 3 to 4 hectares of arable land in the foothills around its housing, thus facilitating farming and transportation, the group still lacks farmland compared to its requirements. One-half of its land is depleted and in the process of "laterization." Knowledge of the techniques of livestock and crop production, a seedling base and technical equipment were lacking. In the face of this situation, Group 200 learned while working, learned from the various state farms and localities; whenever it heard about a good teacher or a good method of working, it invited the person to the unit and sent personnel to be trained by that person.

Adhering to the guideline of practicing intensive cultivation to increase crop yields, Group 200 set the following target for itself: "Little land, a high turnover rate, high yields and many products." On the basis of computing the norms that must be met concerning starch, meat and vegetables, the group instituted specific measures involving the utilization and improvement of its soil, established a suitable allocation of grain and food products, set yield quotas and thoroughly stipulated the various requirements regarding fertilizer and technical regulations. After each production season, each production unit, each party committee echelon and the group command conduct a review, evaluate the situation and gain experience. In order to make an accurate, objective evaluation so that everyone can see the situation for himself firsthand and learn from associated units, the group has sent party committee members and cadres in charge of the various units to units and into the fields to examine and inspect the actual situation. At the same time, the group has given very much attention to conducting trials and upgrading trials to main crop production.

After redistributing its arable land and finding that it still lacked 50 percent of the land it needed, Group 200 launched an intense land clearing movement; on the other hand, it has persistently adhered to the guidelines of intensive cultivation and multicropping. With its annual grain and food crops raised on land that has a gradient of less than 10 degrees, the group

tries to raise three crops per year. Four vegetable crops are raised per year. The coefficient of land use is 2.2 times. Units 253, 100, 150 and 221, the political staff, the headquarters staff and the group command have been raising three crops per year under one of the two following formulas: spring corn + summer soybeans + winter western potatoes or spring soybeans + summer sweet potatoes + winter corn.

In order to correct the serious erosion, the depletion and the laterization of its soil, particular attention has been given to soil improvement. Practicing reasonable rotation cultivation, ending the practice of monoculture (on all but some land under the cultivation of cassava) and combating erosion by building terraced fields, planting trees to serve as embankments around pineapple fields, thus providing an additional source of food while combating erosion, and so forth are positive, effective measures. The planting of legumes on one-sixth the area under rotation cultivation in order to improve the soil has become a habit. In conjunction with rotation cultivation, the group has instituted companion cropping and achieved good results. Cassava is companion cropped with winter-spring peanuts. Unit 213 has achieved an average yield of 16 tons of cassava and 1.57 tons of peanuts per hectare. Unit 150 borrowed the land between the rows of orange trees of a neighboring state farm to raise soybeans.

Allocating and rotating crops in an efficient, scientific manner are measures of no less importance than creating the necessary turnover rate of the soil. On the basis of the nature of its soil, the characteristics of the weather, the suitability of each crop variety and the realities of production, Group 200 has reached correct conclusions that have enabled it to stabilize its allocation of crops. And, through research, the group has established a number of rotation cultivation formulas suited to the land within the area in which it is stationed, formulas based on the production of three crops per year:

--Spring hybrid corn number 5 + summer-fall soybeans + winter sweet potatoes;

--Spring soybeans + summer-fall corn + winter western potatoes;

--Spring peanuts and beans + Hoang Long summer-fall potatoes + hybrid winter corn number 6.

The group always endeavors to make one of its three crops a legume crop. Two crops are raised on land that is steeply graded:

--Hybrid spring corn number 5 + V 70 summer-fall soybeans;

--V 70 spring soybeans + summer-fall white corn.

Raising three crops per year involves a process of arduous struggle. The land has little time to rest. The people cultivating this land have little time to

rest. The order to plant crops is considered the same as a combat order. Compliance with technical regulations must be very strict. In this regard, Group 200 has given very much attention to building a sense of excitement, an unswerving attitude and the spirit of ownership. The group is determined to achieve this goal by every means possible.

Last year, there were heavy floods in September and heavy rains continued in October. The DH 4 variety of soybeans should have been planted in September but could not be planted until 15 October. As a result, the harvest time was pushed back. Spring corn could not be planted until the end of January. This corn would have headed at the time of the seasonal Laotian winds. Group 200 immediately planted corn as a companion crop 1 month before the soybean harvest; when the soybeans were harvested, it weeded and cultivated the corn crop, applied two applications of human wastes and applied a side dressing of urea in exact accordance with technical regulations. As a result, the group managed to put itself back on schedule.

Another very important factor is that Group 200 has given very much attention to establishing the cause and effect relationship between crop production and livestock production. Some persons maintain that because grain is still in short supply, it is difficult to raise livestock and livestock production would only represent a financial loss. As a result, these persons lack determination, lack positive measures. The actual situation in Group 200 as well as other units within the military region very clearly point out: without resolving the livestock production problem well, it is difficult to achieve high yields in crop production, difficult to fundamentally resolve the grain problem. Facts have clearly shown us that the cause-effect relationship between crop production and livestock production occurs and reoccurs in a continuous cycle in which these two factors have an impact upon, support and stimulate one another in a positive and effective manner; this relationship constitutes a structure within agricultural production. When livestock production is successful, there is much grain; when there is much grain, livestock production is successful; as livestock production improves, grain output increases, etc. Conversely, without establishing this relationship well, it is impossible to escape the vicious cycle of weak livestock production-a shortage of grain-a shortage of grain-weak livestock production.

Group 200 has established specific measures and norms regarding the percentage of garbage and leaves fed to livestock and the quantity of finished products and manure per buffalo, head of cattle and hog, considering manure to be an important material in the production plan. Each year, each buffalo yields 3.75 tons of manure; one herd of 40 buffalo yields 150 tons of manure, one herd of 300 hogs at the various kitchens yields 396 tons and the herd of 70 head of cattle yield 126 tons. As the number of cattle and hogs has increased, fertilizer production has increased and this has led to increased grain yields.

## Diligently Studying and Fully Complying with Technical Regulations and the Various Integrated Measures

In its agricultural production, the group has but one middle level cadre specializing in annual crops. Group 200 realized this weakness of its. Consequently, it became determined to study in order to deepen its knowledge. All cadres and soldiers studied the techniques of raising a number of necessary crops, such as corn, peanuts, cassava, sweet potatoes and soybeans. The cadres and soldiers of the centralized production units have received more intensive training so that they can fulfill the role of production team chiefs. Whenever it has heard about a good crop variety or a good method of working, the group has sent cadres to learn about them. Good varieties, such as the V 70, V 74 and DH 4 soybean varieties, hybrid corn numbers 5, 6 and S1, Nghia Binh cassava, and Hoang Long western potatoes and sweet potatoes have been brought to the group in order to rapidly establish a high yield allocation of annual crops. Of course, the group has thoroughly tested each variety, adopted measures concerning it suited to its land and weather, reached necessary conclusions concerning the various regulations governing each type crop, etc.

Group 200 has made the requirement of achieving total self-sufficiency in seed one of the basic elements of preparatory work. As a result, the group not only has enough seeds for itself, but also supplies many types of good seeds to various units. The group supplied neighboring units 10,340 kilograms of soybean seed in 1978. In addition to the centralized hog farm which supplies breeding stock to the military region, the group has given its attention to developing a sow herd and cattle herd, thereby providing enough stock to be raised for meat during the year; at the same time, this is an integrated measure in creating sources of fertilizer for crop production. On the average, there is one sow for every 26 persons, one meat hog for every 2.2 persons and one hog weighing 45 kilograms or more is slaughtered for every 3.3 persons during the year. In wounded and ill soldier recuperation unit 203, there is one sow for every 22 persons and one meat hog weighing 60 kilograms or more for every 1.2 persons.

Group 200 considers complying with technical regulations the same as complying with combat orders. The leadership and command cadres of the group always take the lead in complying with technical regulations and achieving model yields. When it is necessary to apply fertilizer in exact accordance with regulations, necessary to apply an exact quantity of fertilizer, command cadres conduct a trial first. When it is necessary to verify a conclusion concerning the yield of each crop, Youth Union cadres perform a trial first.

The exemplary, efficient style of cadres, their strict sense of discipline and the great amount of importance they attach to agricultural science and technology have had a major impact in molding the outlook and thinking of



troops, heightening their confidence and creating an intense activity movement among them. Fertilizer is the foremost measure in intensive cultivation; however, to yield returns, the production of fertilizer must be tightly organized. The returns achieved will be low if there is an adequate supply of fertilizer but instructions are not provided in how to use it and the application of fertilizer is not inspected. The stipulation that "without fertilizer, crops cannot be planted" and the campaigns to make fertilizer, campaigns that have been closely guided from the processing to the composting and mixing of manure are very positive steps taken by Group 200. Livestock manure is obtained from the buffalo, cattle and hog herds and additional manure is picked up wherever it can be found; the masses are mobilized to produce green manure and lime. Every Youth Union chapter has one lime kiln. The manure is mixed in layers, composted in a pile which is covered with mud and fitted with a ventilation pipe; once every 7 days, urine or liquified human wastes are poured into the pipe to soak into the manure. All sources of fertilizer are tightly managed. The application of fertilizer has been put under compulsory regulations: each hectare of peanuts is fertilized with 6 tons of livestock manure, 70 kilograms of sulfate, 500 kilograms of phosphorus and 100 kilograms of potash; each hectare of cassava is fertilized with 8 tons of livestock manure, 80 kilograms of urea nitrogen and 200 kilograms of phosphorus; and every hectare of sweet potatoes is fertilized with 15 tons of livestock manure, 80 kilograms of nitrogen sulfate, 150 kilograms of phosphorus and 150 kilograms of potash.

Group 200 has also given its attention to researching the selection of seeds, storing seeds and teaching cadres and soldiers to select seeds in a meticulous manner. The various types of seed are carefully stored in bamboo baskets or earthenware jars in which they are mixed with dry lilac leaves and covered with a layer of stove ashes to protect against worms and prevent a high rate of germination while the seed is being stored. Through trials, the group has proven to its troops that cassava stem cuttings taken from the middle of the stem where it is thick and the xylem is narrow bear yields far superior to stem cuttings taken from immature wood or wood that is too old. Sweet potato yields are increased 1.2-1.4 times when cuttings are taken at the first or second node in from the tip.

By utilizing integrated measures to guide intensive cultivation, Group 200 has achieved new and rather exemplary yields: hybrid corn number 5, a high yield variety, has yielded more than 2.8 tons per hectare during the winter-spring season, V 70 soybeans have yielded 1.8 tons per hectare, sweet potatoes have yielded 21 tons per hectare and western potato yields have average 18-20 tons per hectare.

Through trials with a few types of crops grown during one season at a number of its units, the group has also gathered data to support the continuation of research to raise yields even more in the future.



The norms recently achieved by Group 200 have been achieved under circumstances involving many difficulties, but not serious, repeated difficulties. However, of utmost importance is the fact that the group has worked hard to find solutions to its problems. At present, the common target for 1979 of the troop units within the military region is to achieve self-sufficiency in grain for a period of 6 months (with the exception of a number of units which, because of their conditions and circumstances, can only achieve self-sufficiency for 4 months). The standing committee of the party committee and the headquarters of the military region have stated their determination to achieve total self-sufficiency by 1980. Under present conditions, conditions in which the military region must perform both its combat and production tasks well, this determination is of significance in many ways and demands a very high level of awareness as well as a truly comprehensive effort on the part of each person and each unit; at the same time, the military region must continue its effort to resolve its concerns and worries, the most important among which is producing enough grain for a small collective to "manage to get by," not all the grain needed for the military region, as this would be very difficult to achieve.

It is true that numerous difficulties and challenges remain; however, practical lessons are always very persuasive, always provide great inspiration. As early as the years of the savage fight against the United States, the units of the military region saw the value of each kilogram of grain and food. Operating under very difficult circumstances, many units still managed to achieve partial self-sufficiency in grain and food; for example, the 164th Artillery Group and the Hoa Lu Anti-Aircraft Artillery Group, which received rice, hogs, fish, tea and green vegetables from the rear, still had hog pens, vegetable gardens and so forth beside their battle positions. In particular, the lesson of Group 200 is even more interesting as a feat of arms that ushers in a new era.

"One hundred persons listening are not as good as one person seeing." A relatively complete, practical model has emerged. Besides Group 200, there are other model units, such as the military staffs of Huong Dien District, Trieu Hai District, Hue City and so forth. These are the practical foundations of confidence and determination. During a recent visit to Military Region 4, Le Duan and Pham Van Dong advised and reminded the armed forces of Military Region 4: "In addition to being the persons who fight the best, troops can also produce the best, achieve the highest yields and set examples on the agricultural production front." "Raise crops to feed yourselves, not to exhibit them to others." "Each laborer within the army can produce enough to support himself and one or two other persons as well." The troop units of Military Region 4 have promised to make every effort to successfully carry out the advice given them by the revered general secretary and premier.

REGULATING LABOR ON A DISTRICT-WIDE BASIS WITH A VIEW TOWARD MEETING THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND COMBAT

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79 pp 37-43

[Article by Le Chan Phuong]

[Text] Reorganizing production from the installations upward along the lines of large-scale socialist production and in a manner closely linked to building agro-industrial districts is "a very important matter in the entire work of reorganizing production and improving management within agriculture." Because, "reorganizing production within the framework of a single cooperative is not enough to completely abolish the decentralized, guild nature of small-scale production, is not enough to create the conditions needed for the production of the cooperative to develop rapidly with high labor productivity, large economic returns... Therefore, the reorganization of production within the cooperative along the lines of large-scale production and the conversion of the cooperative into a true socialist economic organization absolutely must proceed in conjunction with organizing production and management on a district-wide basis."(1)

The problem faced is how to organize and distribute labor within the district. Council of Ministers' resolution number 33/CP pointed out: "It is necessary to organize and redistribute labor, including the labor of cooperatives, the labor of state-operated installations and the labor within the other segments of the economy, on a district-wide basis; we must make positive and effective use of every form of organization, of every method of managing and regulating labor in order to insure the fullest possible use of the various sources of labor within the district in coordination with making full use of all arable land and other natural resources within the district."

Regulating labor on a district-wide basis means reorganizing and redistributing labor on the scope of the entire district with a view toward making efficient use of our abundant, existing labor potentials and closely linking the organization of labor with the reorganization of production.

The regulation of labor, thus, must be based on the economic guidelines established under planning and the plan, in which labor planning occupies an extremely important position and must be considered the cornerstone for stimulating the redistribution and reorganization of labor and increased social labor productivity throughout the district.

In recent years, especially in 1978, the amount of labor mobilized for production and combat was rather large. Meanwhile, the percentage of the labor force in crop production continued to decline and the percentage distributed to the various sectors, trades and livestock production increased. Many localities still insured the comprehensive development of production, accelerated the practice of intensive cultivation, rapidly increased the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops and subsidiary food crops and provided the labor needed to overcome the aftereffects of flooding and fulfill obligations to the state.

The lowlands of the North have been and are expanding the division of labor under the formulas  $4 + 1 + 2 + 3$  (40 percent of the labor force in crop production + 10 percent in livestock production + 20 percent in the trades and 30 percent in capital construction),  $5 + 1 + 2 + 2$ , etc. A number of districts have reduced the percentage of the labor force in crop production to roughly 50 percent while increasing the percentage of the labor force in the trade sectors and achieving the target of 1 laborer per hectare cultivated.

These are positive changes, changes that represent marked progress in the management of labor and have helped to stimulate production and raise labor productivity within agriculture. The pilot project districts of the central level and localities have carried out labor planning and balanced the labor force from the installation to the district levels in order to strongly develop our two tremendous potentials: labor and arable land. By organizing specialized labor forces, the project units directly managed by the district have become a strong mobile force that has enabled the district to effectively regulate labor in accordance with the plan for each area and cluster in order to maintain the seasonal schedule and complete water conservancy projects, land clearing projects, soil improvement projects and capital construction projects (drying yards, granaries, stations and farms). The regulation of labor on a district-wide basis by Thieu Yen District in Thanh Hoa Province provided the Quy Loc Cooperative with assistance for 53 days in order to move 1,600 cooperative member households to the new residential area, thereby clearing nearly 500 hectares of silt fields for the cultivation of corn; at the same time, the cooperative transplanted its rice during the best season and had its best winter-spring harvest in many years. Thieu Yen District sent 20,000 laborers to clear more than 900 hectares of fallow land and put them into production in the space of only 15 days. Hai Hau District in Ha Nam Ninh Province regulated its labor in such a way as to make good use of its time and forces, thereby accelerating and expanding the practice of intensive cultivation to increase crop yields and raise the output of grain

and completing its production plan ahead of schedule; at the same time, through efficient scheduling it mobilized more than 30,000 laborers in 3 days to dredge and widen the Muc River project, which involved the excavation of more than 14,000 cubic meters of dirt, thereby maintaining the seasonal schedule without affecting the lives of cooperative members or the other production activities of cooperatives.

Through the regulation of labor on a district-wide basis in the districts mentioned above, the reorganization of labor from the cooperative to the district levels has been strongly accelerated and the level of management as well as every other level of cooperative members and installation cadres have been raised. On this basis, numerous advanced cooperatives have emerged, cooperatives that are skilled in crop and livestock production, have restored and expanded the traditional trades and the artisan and handicraft sectors and trades and improved the standard of living of cooperative members while fulfilling their labor, grain, food product and export goods obligations to the state. The most significant aspect of these advanced cooperatives has been that the efficient organization of labor along the lines of large-scale socialist production has become a guideline and an important part of management and has been thoroughly implemented. As a result, the foundation has been laid for regulating the labor force to promptly support production in every situation, be it flooding or prolonged drought. Representative of these advanced units are the Vu Thang Cooperative in Thai Binh Province and the Dinh Cong Cooperative in Thanh Hoa Province, two cooperatives that have recorded bumper harvests and are becoming increasingly symbolic of the new, progressive management system.

Part of the success of the cooperatives mentioned above has been due to the positive assistance given by the district by regulating labor in such a way as to insure that crops are transplanted and harvested on schedule, expand the various trade sectors and promptly provide jobs for the displaced labor of cooperatives in order to build material-technical bases within the district. Obviously, the regulation of labor within the scope of the district coordinated with the reorganization of labor at installations has begun to develop our land and natural resources in order to expand production and construction and accelerate the process of expanded reproduction and the redistribution and reorganization of labor within the district, thereby making a contribution to the new division of labor within the province and throughout the country. This proves that the district is a suitable management base not only because it possesses abundant, diversified material bases and natural resources, but also because it possesses all of the conditions needed to efficiently organize, manage, utilize and train each existing source of labor in order to build an agro-industrial economic unit.

The regulation of labor on a district-wide basis is something new; some initial experiences can be gained from what has been accomplished in this area to date.



1. The regulation of labor is comprehensive in nature and is implemented on the basis of efficiently reorganizing production at cooperatives in coordination with building agro-industrial districts. It encompasses the distribution, organization, utilization and training of labor in order to constantly raise labor productivity. It must comply with the guideline of organizing labor along specialized lines within each job and sector within the agricultural cooperative and be oriented toward supporting the basic task, agricultural production; at the same time, it must support the construction of material bases in order to enable expanded reproduction on the basis of the economic, cultural and social development planning of the district and in a manner consistent with the special capabilities of each area. It closely links the organization of labor with the conditions upon which production is organized in order to gradually strengthen the material-technical bases of the district. As a result, the regulation of labor is, in substance, organizational work designed to bring about the redistribution of labor within the district; however, instead of separating the district from the installation, it links the district with the installation within one entity; at the same time, it links the district to the province and the entire country because the reorganization and redistribution of labor within the district is an important factor in stimulating the redistribution of labor throughout the country in order to meet the requirements of economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system.

It is necessary to give particular attention to the laws of agricultural production, laws that are of a highly seasonal nature and are applied primarily under the conditions of manual labor. When regulating labor, importance must be attached to those advanced methods of organizing labor that yield high productivity and save much labor. There must be compliance with the principles of socialist economic management and attention given to meeting the nutritional needs of labor in conjunction with utilizing labor in order to insure the restoration of the energies of laborers; there must also be coordination with the principles and regulations of the division of echelons in order to insure that the district plays its dynamic role. In the regulation of labor, it is necessary to develop, as best possible, the collective ownership role of the working people instead of hastily launching "labor campaigns." It is necessary to uphold the function and responsibility of the district, with importance attached to smoothly coordinating and upholding the role and responsibility of the functional sectors and management departments within the district with a view toward making economical and efficient use of labor.

Only on the basis of firmly balancing the labor force is it possible to become the masters of the labor force in order to efficiently regulate labor and achieve practical returns. Every plan for the regulation of labor that is not firmly based or is implemented in an authoritarian, coercive manner will surely lead to the waste of the labor and money of the people as well as the collective and state.



2. The regulation of labor must be based on the planning and plan for developing the production and construction of the district, must be based on closely linking the immediate construction task with the long-range development of material-technical bases and the coordination of the economy with the defense of the nation. On the basis of balancing the labor force and organizing labor from the installation upward, it is necessary to formulate a plan for regulating labor for each season, each project and each site in a manner consistent with the situation of the district. This plan must make the most efficient use possible of each source of labor and each labor capability; this plan must include the creation of additional jobs in order to increase the amount of time spent working in production and must, at the same time, provide labor to build necessary material-technical bases within the district as well as labor for water conservancy projects, land clearing projects, sea reclamation projects and welfare and cultural projects within the locality or projects of the province.

To achieve good results in the regulation of labor, it is first of all necessary to fully uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, especially when constructing projects on which both the state and the people are working within the district. We must firmly adhere to the principle of organizing labor along highly specialized, centralized lines; importance must be attached to providing training in work skills, especially for young workers, in conjunction with fully implementing the various policies and regulations designed to provide incentive for improving the organization of labor and raising labor productivity. It is necessary to make full use of the centralized labor force managed by the district and the specialized units of the cooperative, such as the main force water conservancy units, the capital construction units, the corvée labor units and so forth, in order to achieve close labor cooperation from the cooperative to the district and help the district effectively deploy and utilize labor, thereby meeting the requirements of developing the economy, strengthening the national defense system and improving the material and cultural lives of the people. We must avoid the tendency to send too much young labor from the cooperatives to the district to be managed and utilized without giving full attention to the organization of labor at the installation in order to avoid affecting the production season. In actuality, this method of regulating labor, that is, of mobilizing too much young labor, cannot be maintained on a permanent basis and cannot even be used periodically; it causes the apparatus of the district to become cumbersome and creates a serious waste of labor.

At present, many places are adopting suitable forms and measures for regulating labor, forms and measures based on the specialized units of the cooperative. Once the production units have been consolidated, efficiently organizing the specialized units of the cooperatives, such as the water conservancy unit, the capital construction unit and the other specialized units, in coordination with the organizing of centralized labor units by the district creates a specialized, mobile labor force that closely links the district to the installation.

As we know, many aspects of the regulation of labor are closely linked to the guidelines for the comprehensive development of agro-industrial districts. Therefore, it is impossible to transfer labor from one place to another without making comprehensive preparations. A plan for the efficient transfer of labor must be based on the agricultural production plan and the characteristics of the agricultural production season in order to maintain the production schedule and systematically complete a number of major projects within the district.

One aspect of management of practical significance is that of closely linking the regulation of labor with the design and construction task, with the preparation of construction sites, with production conditions, with the level of development of construction management and with the management of labor at each time and place so that labor is managed well wherever it is utilized. The district must fully assess the status of the economic and national defense development tasks and the labor situation of every area and cooperative so that it can maintain the production plan of the installation while also meeting the requirements of the district when regulating labor. Attention must be given to revising the organization and management of labor and putting them on a regular basis at water conservancy and capital construction worksites. In particular, it is necessary to institute labor quotas and organize and mobilize labor at worksites in a manner balanced with the organization of production. Work must be performed under quotas and piecework wages must be paid; all work must be promptly and closely inspected; material subsidies must be paid to laborers and an effort must be made to combat pilfering, misappropriation and so forth. Labor must be managed well at the worksite in coordination with organized well at the cooperative in order to avoid wasting labor and reduce the number of mandays that need be contributed by the collective and cooperative members. Training must be provided to improve the management skills of cadres and the technical skills of the nucleus of the labor force. It is necessary to draft and implement advanced management regulations and to boldly establish a specific division of labor and responsibilities between the district and the installation so that every job is performed in a smooth and closely managed manner.

3. The principle of the state and the people working together must be properly applied when regulating labor within the scope of the district. This is a matter related to numerous regulations and policies. We have gained experience in this area. To do this well, it is necessary to rely upon the principle of closely linking the interests of the entire state and collective with the interests of the people while taking the viewpoint of mobilizing, organizing and utilizing labor in conjunction with providing labor with training. Importance must be attached to the collective ownership role and the voluntary spirit of the people; this spirit must be expressed in organizational and managerial policies and measures and the implementation of these policies and measures must be closely inspected to insure that no pressure is being brought to bear. There must be full compliance with the mass line and

a correct assessment of the strength of the people and the actual capabilities of the state in order to establish an efficient scale, form and method of mobilizing, organizing and utilizing labor and achieve high economic returns. This is a matter involving the economic relationship between the state and the people, the right of the people to be the master of the workforce and the management role of the state, and is something that must be done correctly. In the regulation of labor, the relationship between the district level government and the collective and the people is very tight. Every effort must be made to avoid wasting labor by mobilizing too much and also to prevent against the mishandling or pilfering of property belonging to the people. The laborer must contribute a satisfactory amount of labor to the work being performed; at the same time, the functional agencies must fully uphold the material and spiritual rights of the laborer, especially the standards and ration quantities stipulated by the state for the people. In order to provide appropriate incentive for persons to do much good work, it is necessary to combat the use of "averages" in distribution and remuneration. The application of regulations and policies must also be based on the spirit of "using short-term crops to raise long term species," that is, insuring that immediate nutritional needs are met in order to gradually accelerate production to a higher level of development on the basis of mobilizing everyone to fulfill his obligation well and improve the quality and efficiency of his work each day and meet and exceed plan quotas. Recent facts have shown that we must formulate regulations on the labor obligation and establish the number of "public" workdays to be worked within the locality; we must also research and establish a wage fund and grain fund based on the regulation of labor within the district while formulating regulations on the mobilization of manpower, money, supplies and so forth in order to achieve unified and close guidance.

4. The regulation of labor demands certain conditions in the form of regulations and policies as well as the organization of implementation.

On the basis of the guideline of developing the districts toward large-scale socialist production, labor planning and the labor plan are the prerequisites of decisive significance and, at the same time, important measures in adopting specific guidelines for the regulation of labor, guidelines that support the common plan.

In planning and the general production plan, importance must be attached to labor planning and the labor plan. Conducting good labor planning lays the foundation for efficiently distributing labor and economizing on labor, supplies and capital. With this in mind and in the effort to intensify the guidance of labor management, it is necessary to closely link the organization of labor with the organization of production and to clearly establish the fact that the person who manages production and business must also manage labor. It is on this basis that the management function of the district level government is properly fulfilled. On the other hand, steps must be

taken to equip with the proper tools and concern must be shown for working conditions and labor safety, especially the safety of women laborers, who now comprise a large percentage of the workforce. A plan must be adopted for protecting the health and improving the working conditions of women; at the same time, good child care services must be organized and all other aspects of daily life must be organized well so that everyone can focus his or her energies on productive labor and has a reasonable amount of time for family life, an amount of time consistent with the characteristics of the rural labor situation.

Each locality must research and flexibly apply existing policies and regulations under the unified guidance of the central level in order to enhance these policies and regulations and insure that they have a positive impact as well as support very well the effort to expand the campaign to reorganize production on the district level.

Another important factor is that of launching an intense productive labor movement among the masses. We must do a good job of teaching the masses about the new, socialist man, must heighten the patriotism, love of socialism and national pride of the laborer and cause everyone to actively fulfill his labor obligation and exercise his right to work so that everyone accelerates production and economic construction and is ready to fulfill his military obligation. Everyone must be ready to go anywhere and perform any job required by the organization.

##### 5. Regulating labor to meet the requirements of production and combat.

The new situation and tasks face us with the extremely important question of how to distribute, organize and mobilize the large labor force of all the people in such a way as to defeat each scheme and act of aggression of the Peking expansionists and hegemonists in every situation while continuing to accelerate production and stabilize life.

Now, more than ever before, the district occupies an extremely important position: it is the base of socialist construction and the fortress in the people's war to protect the fatherland. As a result, we must uphold the role played by the district in balancing and organizing the labor of the district in order to perform both production and combat tasks well. The labor management and regulation of the district level must give priority to combat. At the same time, labor must be efficiently distributed in order to accelerate agricultural production, beginning with the production of grain, and actively develop the artisan and handicraft industry as well as local industry in order to meet consumer requirements and provide local rear service support and sources of export goods.

To carry out the tasks of production, combat readiness and combat, every laborer and every unit must truly be the master of labor; this primarily



involves managing labor well and utilizing labor in an economical manner in order to achieve high efficiency and productivity. It is necessary to re-examine labor planning, to fully assess the labor plan and to balance the labor force on the scope of the entire district. Of fundamental importance is the need to insure that every citizen fulfills his military obligation and his obligation to work. The tasks of building and strengthening the local armed forces, providing military training and so forth in support of combat and the maintenance of combat readiness must be carried out in a rapid, systematic and successful manner; at the same time, labor must be organized well to insure the fulfillment of the production plan of the cooperative and the enterprise and there must be close coordination between production and combat, between the economy and the defense of the nation.

The regulation of labor within the scope of the district must meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks. It must encompass the requirements of production as well as combat requirements. We must immediately strengthen the corvee labor units, capital construction units, transport units and so forth of the cooperatives in order to achieve a division of labor going to build fortifications and combat villages; we must organize the mobile forces of the locality to build defense lines, support combat, participate in combat on the frontline, etc. When withdrawing labor for combat, it is necessary to promptly reorganize and rearrange the basic labor units of cooperatives and the production sections of enterprises. The organization of the militia and self-defense forces at installations must be coordinated very well with the organization of the standing military forces of the district. Suitable forms and methods of organization must be developed for insuring that the regulation of labor is smoothly coordinated between production and combat, even within the individual unit, in order to achieve the best possible division of labor and close coordination between production and combat under all circumstances, including when fighting occurs. As regards the structure of the labor force, it is necessary to maintain the technical labor and professional management labor needed for the development of production and for economic construction within the district. In the new situation with its new tasks, many new problems have arisen regarding the policies and regulations governing labor, problems that must be researched and resolved in a suitable manner on each line and within each area. It is first of all necessary to tightly organize and manage the war time mobilization of labor in order to avoid mobilizing this labor in an impetuous, disorganized manner. At worksites and on the battlefield, managing and utilizing labor in a manner that yields high productivity and efficiency must be considered a matter of strict discipline so that many jobs can be performed while only utilizing a few persons; there must be full adherence to the guideline of mobilizing the people in conjunction with supporting and protecting their health. As a result, it is necessary to intensify the management of labor at the installation, tightly control the formulation and implementation of quotas, inspect work before it is accepted, correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and be fair in the use of awards and penalties while organizing good mutual assistance among the people.

Particular attention must be given to the policy of using and supporting female labor. It is necessary to improve the organization of child care centers and organize the distribution of essentials well.

We must intensify the guidance of labor management and closely link the organization of labor and production to the buildup of the armed forces, the maintenance of combat readiness and combat itself; we must promptly gain experience and propose opinions to the responsible agencies in order to quickly meet the new requirements regarding supplementing and revising policies and overall guidance.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Ve to chuc lai san xuat, va cai tien quan ly nong nghiep"  
[On Reorganizing Production and Improving Management Within Agriculture],  
Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, pp 47-48.

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SSO: 4209

## THOSE WHO DEPARTED

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 8 Aug 79 BK

[TAP CHI CONG SAN commentary in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79 pp 44-46--previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 159, 15 Aug 79, pp K6-K8]

[Text] A number of people have fled the country. Who are they? Who is responsible for this problem? How can this problem be solved?

In 1975, in the final days of our offensive campaign to liberate Saigon, the United States organized the exodus of some 150,000 Vietnamese, most of them generals, colonels and high-ranking officials of the puppet administration. The remainder, a handful of panic-stricken people, drifted along in this adventurous exodus.

Afterward, during the years 1975-78, there were a number of scattered cases of people fleeing the country because they were unable to adjust to the difficult situation. This fact is easily understandable. This is because for many years southern Vietnam had received annually an average of \$2 billion in U.S. aid--both militarily and economically--to feed millions of its population. Today, a number of these people who had once been military officers, soldiers or traders and who have found themselves unable to take up new professions as peasants and factory workers have sought their way out of the country.

Then came the years 1978-79 when those fleeing the country were mainly Hoa people. This is partly because of the instigation by the Beijing rulers and also because of Beijing's aggressive policies toward Vietnam which placed them in an awkward position. Hoa people in the border area have fled directly to China while those in the south have sought ways to flee to Southeast Asian countries.

One need not be a learned man to understand the root causes of the tension in our country which have made the lives of a number of people difficult. Who has sent its troops, bombs and ammunition to cause devastation to Vietnam since 1939, that is for 40 years now? Let us remember that it was Japan, France, the United States, China and those satellite nations of the United States which we can never forget including Australia, Thailand, the Philippines and South Korea. In addition, we can never forget that in 1945 it was the British occupation troops in Saigon who paved the way for the reoccupation of Indochina by the French Army. Thus, it is the very creators of these tragedies who are uttering the greatest outcry so as to give the impression that they have the greatest affection for the refugees. It is the United States, the mastermind, which

is showing itself as a big-mouth. The number two culprit directly responsible for the constant instability of more than 1.5 million Hoa people in Vietnam is also the one who is day after day casting the blame on Vietnam.

The collusion between imperialism and the Beijing reactionaries which had been reflected in many other issues is now further revealed in their anti-Vietnam campaign. For what purposes are they joining hands and concentrating their efforts on smearing our country? The bellicose elements in the imperialist camp are still very resentful over the Dien Bien Phu battle and the Ho Chi Minh drive.

At a time when imperialist powers have succeeded in driving a number of poor countries into their neocolonialist economic system, Vietnam is showing a firm determination not to allow these imperialist powers to put the noose around its neck, thus setting a bright example in independence and sovereignty for the whole Third World. Therefore, to intimidate the Third World, these imperialist powers must drive Vietnam into a miserable situation. They also want to weaken the socialist system--their primary traditional enemy. It is because they think Vietnam is an essential part of this system that they have quickly seized upon Beijing's expressed readiness to provide them with mercenaries to achieve their goals. Furthermore, Vietnam is regarded as a barricade to the Beijing reactionaries' expansionist road to Southeast Asia. For many years now, Beijing has done everything possible to weaken Vietnam and compel the latter to give in.

The February 1979 war of aggression has proved to them that launching an attack on Vietnam is not easy. The Chinese people themselves also do not sympathize with the Beijing rulers. Therefore, waging a second war of aggression will not be so easy.

Unfortunately, their resentment remains unabated. Their ambitions are still boastfully proclaimed and their dream for dispatching a great army to weed Vietnam--imitating the language formerly used by old Chinese dynasties--continues to be nurtured. In addition, they are using their current propaganda campaign, which has created an atmosphere of cold war, to prepare public opinion for gradual acceptance of an actual hot war.

Now we come to the second question--humanitarianism. How to alleviate the suffering of the refugees. We know that these refugees are not to blame for their actions. Even though they have fled the country, we still feel pity for their suffering and we still consider them our compatriots. Therefore, the SRV Government has adopted a clear-cut policy regarding this issue. The government does not force anyone to go, and it also does not try to keep anyone here. Those wishing to go need only file an official application with the responsible authorities.

The Vietnamese Government has signed an agreement with the UN High Commissioners for Refugees to provide the latter with namelists of those wishing to go. The UNHCR then find countries to accept these people before he organizes their departure. Those departing people will continue to be considered Vietnamese citizens, and once they are abroad, they will continue to be regarded by Vietnamese embassies everywhere as Vietnamese citizens.

For some time now, many foreign reactionary organizations have run a clandestine network which organizes the departure of people, thus creating numerous difficulties in maintaining security and stabilizing the economy. This network has, on the one hand, preyed on those who are traitors and has, on the other hand, persuaded a number of intellectuals to flee to various concentration points in Southeast Asia. Such imperialist countries as the United States and France have selected and taken only those intellectuals with good scientific and technical background while leaving the others behind, thus impelling the Southeast



Asian nations to shoulder the burden. There are also a number of degenerate cadres and personnel of state organs who have taken advantage of these people's illegal departures to blackmail them. However, all activities involving the organization and exploitation of these secret and illegal departures have been strictly prohibited.

Convening an international conference to discuss ways to assist Vietnam and satisfactorily implementing the signed agreement by the UNHCR will help ease the tense situation, alleviate the people's suffering and relieve the Southeast Asian nations of the burden. We resolutely oppose the scheme of using these departing people's tragedy as a political ploy to slander and prepare war against Vietnam.

U.S. Senator McGovern once said: The United States, which has inflicted severe wounds on Vietnam in terms of both material and human lives, is dutybound to contribute to helping the people in this country heal these wounds. This is both a political and moral commitment. Those Americans with some sense of self-respect will certainly agree with Mr McGovern, particularly the U.S. Government under President Nixon which, in its note to the Vietnamese Government on 1 February 1973, promised \$3.25 billion in aid without political conditions to Vietnam to help it heal the wounds of war. Compared to the savage devastation caused by the U.S. bombing and shelling, \$3.25 billion is not much. However, it is impossible for a government of such a dignified country as the United States to easily swallow its words like a merchant. Like the United States, the Chinese Government must also be held responsible politically and morally for the devastation caused by the recent war as well as for the exodus of the Hoa people.

We call on the conscientious people of the world to make every effort to help these departing people stabilize their lives and to remain extremely vigilant against the scheme of sabotage and war preparedness of the warlike circles in the imperialist camp with Beijing's collusion. We also demand that the Governments of the United States, China and those countries having waged wars against Vietnam receive these departing people. They should not let the Southeast Asian nations shoulder the greatest part of the burden.

CSO: 4209

## IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79  
pp 47-55

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] Economic management, in general, and industrial management, in particular, are fields in which there are many problems that must be researched and improved in order to bring about a change consistent with the requirements of the new stage. Below, we have presented a number of preliminary thoughts concerning the matter of improving the organization and management of industry with a view toward contributing to this research.

### Part I

The fundamental, pressing issue, according to the resolution of the 4th Party Congress and the other resolutions of the Central Committee, in improving the management of the economy, in general, and industry, in particular, is abolishing the style of administrative management in which one echelon overlaps the one below it and bringing economic management and industrial management within the orb of socialist production and business. The socialist mode of production and business management is a mode of operating characterized by responsibility, efficiency and quality. This mode requires the application of the various economic laws and economic policies and the implementation of the principle of material interests in such a way as to insure the best possible coordination among the interests of the individual, the collective and all of society with a view toward creating and maintaining the moving force behind economic activities and causing every worker and every economic organization, for the sake of their own interest, to concern themselves with the interest of all of society and voluntarily engage in creative labor, production and business in a manner that yields high economic returns in order to constantly improve the standard of living of the people. The socialist mode of production-business management is a mode that coordinates planned production with production for business purposes by using the plan to guide business and using business to supplement the plan. This mode

requires the thorough implementation of several fundamental principles: the principle of economic returns, the principle of economic autonomy, the principle of liability, etc.

1. Economic returns are the highest principle, the fundamental requirement of the socialist mode of production-business management. This principle requires that every economic activity yield the highest possible profits and provide the best possible support at the lowest cost possible. The principle of economic returns is manifested in every aspect of the production process, but most importantly in investments, in producing as many products as possible with the lowest possible investments.

The principle of economic returns is a simply stated principle; however, because we have long failed to thoroughly understand this principle, we have not carried out production well. In industry in the North, 1 dong of fixed assets in 1965 produced 1.3 dong worth of total output; in 1975, 1 dong of fixed assets only produced 1.1 dong of total output, primarily because production lines were imbalanced, equipment was not matched and raw materials were in short supply; however, we have still failed to attach importance to investments in depth and to focusing our efforts on resolving the raw material problem in order to overcome this shortcoming, instead, we have continued to place emphasis upon investments in breadth. Also within northern industry, 1 dong of fixed assets within the state-operated sector has only been producing slightly more than 1 dong of total output value; meanwhile, the cooperative sector has been producing 5 dong in output value; however, many sectors and localities still prefer to develop the state-operated sector and have not attached importance to using the forces of cooperatives. When talking about economic returns, one must talk about productivity and quality, because the higher productivity and quality are, the higher are the returns achieved. Therefore, to achieve economic returns, it's necessary to create every condition, especially regarding the use of science and technology, for raising labor productivity and improving product quality.

The principle of economic returns demands that all production-business organizations insure that the results of their activities not only compensate for production costs, but also provide profits in order to expand the production of the unit and help to accumulate capital for socialist industrialization; at the same time, it also compels any installation which, for no justifiable reason, incurs a loss to assume this loss on its own instead of receiving payment to compensate for it.

2. The principle of economic autonomy: to carry out production in a manner that yields returns it is necessary to implement another important principle, the principle of upholding the economic autonomy of the production sectors, localities and installations. This is the principal component of the system of socialist collective ownership and is an important measure in supporting production and business. This autonomy is manifested throughout

the entire production-business process, from the making of preparations for investments to product marketing, from planning rights, the establishment of horizontal economic relations and relationships with the market and export-import activities to the right to make decisions about labor, supplies and capital and regulate production and business. For example, in production, on the basis of meeting their total output value norm and the norms on their principal products, production installations have the right to formulate a plan for the production of specific products and produce other products consistent with capabilities and needs. As regards raw materials, the production sectors have the right to hold discussions and reach agreement with concerned sectors and localities concerning specific measures and policies designed to create and maintain sources of raw materials for production, including organizing the purchasing of these raw materials or adjusting prices on the basis of upholding the interests of both sides. As regards marketing, if the commerce and pricing agencies do not take delivery of all of the products that have been produced or fail to promptly establish the price of these products and, as a result, pose an obstacle to production, the sector or production installation has the right to establish a temporary price and organize the marketing of their products in order to make space in their warehouses, reclaim their capital and maintain normal production. As regards export-import activities, under the unified economic-administrative management of the foreign trade sector, sectors and production installations have the right to establish relations with foreign countries for the importation of technology and raw materials, the sale of products and so forth with a view toward closely linking production to the market and maintaining export-import activities consistent with their needs. On the other hand, production installations also have the right to use an appropriate percentage of the foreign currency they earn through exports and imports to import necessary supplies and raw materials.

As regards the localities, economic autonomy is manifested in the fact that the localities have the right to determine optimum economic plans, apply specific policies and utilize necessary measures, including economic-technical cooperation and trading raw materials and goods with other localities once they have completed their obligations to the state, to develop every existing capability and potential of the locality for the purpose of supporting production and improving the life of the local people.

3. The principle of material responsibility and material interests: to implement the principle of economic returns, it is absolutely necessary to implement the principle of material responsibility and material interests. Only by implementing this principle is it possible to encourage and compel every person and economic organization to show concern for economic returns.

The principle of material responsibility requires that every economic organization not only assume spiritual responsibility, but also material responsibility to the state for each of its economic activities. This means



that any unit which fails to manage its supplies, labor and capital in production and business well, fails to complete its production tasks, fails to pay taxes and turn over profits to the state, fails to repay bank loans, fails to fully implement economic contracts and so forth will immediately be materially affected, that is, will not be allocated capital, not be allocated money for wages, not be granted loans or will be forced to pay damages or even be prosecuted under the law. This principle also compels every cadre and manual worker to assume material responsibility to his unit; for example, if he fails to fulfill his task, he will not be paid, if he damages or causes the loss of public property, he must make repayment and might even be demoted or fired from his job.

The principle of assuming material responsibility must go hand in hand with providing incentive by stimulating material interests, that is, penalties must go hand in hand with awards. The principle of material interests requires that the material interests of every worker be upheld; at the same time, it is necessary to smoothly coordinate personal interests, the interests of the collective and the interests of society so that everyone, for the sake of his own interests, shows concern for the results of his labor.

## Part II

To implement the socialist mode of production-business management as presented above, it is necessary to make a number of specific improvements within the management system.

### 1. Improving the organization of production and the organization of management.

In the present industrial situation, attention must be given to the following matters in the improvement of the organization of production:

As regards the artisan and handicraft industry, the organization of production and socialist transformation must be both flexible and practical in nature. The highest standard is not to rapidly collectivize all production units, but whether or not production is developing. As a result, it is necessary to utilize suitable forms of organization depending upon the characteristics and nature of each trade sector: cooperatives, production teams and groups, private handicraft production and subsidiary household trades. As regards those trade sectors and products in which handicraft cooperatives or private handicraftsmen are doing a good job and are meeting requirements or can upgrade themselves to meet requirements, we should encourage private individuals and help cooperatives carry out production without incorporating these individuals within collectives or developing state-operated enterprises to replace these cooperatives.

In industry, the guideline is to organize federated enterprises, federations of enterprises, corporations, general corporations and so forth in order to gradually achieve centralization, specialization and cooperation and establish economic-technical sectors. However, the principal problem we face is that of properly organizing production at installations in such a way as to uphold the right of production-business autonomy of the installation; the organizing of federations of enterprises must be carefully evaluated and only carried out when it is truly necessary and will yield practical economic returns.

As regards the sectors of the agricultural product processing industry, in order to closely link industry with agriculture and create the conditions for establishing an industrial-agricultural structure, it is necessary to research the organizing of industrial-agricultural federated enterprises, such as federated tea enterprises and federated sugar enterprises, so that raw materials are closely linked to their processing and the interests of the two sides are coordinated.

In addition, with regard to a number of important products, such as rubber, silk and exported shrimp and squid, it is necessary to research the organizing of specialized corporations in charge of everything from crop production and processing to marketing, including exportation. These corporations should have the responsibility and authority to determine the economic-technical matters of the sector with a view toward achieving the highest possible returns from production and business.

On the basis of reorganizing production, it is necessary to adjust the division of labor and the division of echelons among the various sectors and among the central, local and installation levels in a reasonable manner.

As regards the organization of the management apparatus, the industrial sectors on the central level should be organized into a two level system, the ministry-enterprises, or a three level system, the ministry-federation of enterprises-enterprise.

The ministry or general department is the administrative-economic management agency; the federation of enterprises or corporation and basic economic units, such as the enterprises and federated enterprises, are production-business organizations operating under the cost accounting system.

In the provinces and municipalities, we should not establish numerous services and management echelons nor should we organize federations of enterprises, rather, we should only establish one industrial service to directly manage the enterprises under the service and provide administrative-economic management of the enterprises that are under the management of the other services or the districts. The industrial service should also have the responsibility of managing the artisan and handicraft cooperative sector in terms of planning, plans and technology; however, it is still necessary to organize a separate federation of cooperatives to fulfill the function of a collective economic organization of handicraftsmen.

## 2. Bringing planning up to date.

It is necessary to bring both the contents and the methods of planning up to date. In addition to such matters as the plan must reflect the line of the party, must be based primarily on our labor, arable land, forests, ocean waters and existing instruments of production in order to fully develop our potentials, must be formulated from the installation upward and so forth, attention must be given to the following several points:

It is necessary to formulate a plan that is truly balanced. The plan must first of all be balanced between capabilities and requirements in keeping with the guideline of relying upon capabilities, creating capabilities and making the optimum use of capabilities in order to meet requirements; the plan must not be formulated on the basis of requirements because requirements are always greater than capabilities. For example, there are at present two major imbalances within industry: one is the lack of balance between raw material capabilities and production requirements; the other is the lack of balance between production capabilities and consumer needs. Thus, a balanced plan must be a plan that attaches importance to creating sources of raw materials in order to maintain production; emphasis must not be placed upon building a new factory in order to meet requirements because, if this new factory is constructed but there are no raw materials for production, the imbalance that now exists will be worsened and, as a result, it will be impossible to meet needs. The same holds true within capital construction where there is a serious imbalance between rising construction needs and our very limited construction capabilities. If, in the face of this situation, the capital construction plan does not attach full importance to strengthening the material-technical bases of the construction sector but, instead, places heavy emphasis upon recording new project items, it will not only be impossible to implement the plan, but the economy will be imbalanced and suffer serious waste as well. In addition, the plan must give attention to maintaining a balance between quantity and quality and absolutely not place heavy emphasis upon quantity while giving light attention to quality as has been the case for so long.

--The plan must be coordinated with the market and used as the dominant force; at the same time, market relations must be used to supplement the plan. Our economy is still in a state of small-scale production and planning cannot encompass or balance every capability or every need; therefore, in the formulation of the plan, the state can only balance the plan on a nationwide basis for a number of the most basic aspects of the economy that can be balanced and, as a result, allows the various sectors, localities and installations to use market relations to supplement the formulation of the plan. Only in this way is it possible to tap the dynamism, flexibility and creativity of the masses, possible to discover every potential and capability of the economy and quickly meet the varied needs of the people.

--An effort must be made to formulate long-term planning and plans at an early date. Only by adopting long-term plans can we create the practice of thinking and working on a long-term basis and lay the foundation for organizing production and business. Only by adopting long-term plans is it possible to overcome the major imbalances that exist, effectively carry out international cooperation and formulate plans for the training of cadres and manual workers, because annual plans cannot successfully perform these jobs. A long-term plan for industry is even more necessary because large industrial projects are involved, projects which take decades to complete. For many years, the yearly plan has not been implemented well and this has been partially due to the lack of a long-term plan because many jobs cannot be proposed or completed in a short period of time. It must be stated that even though our economy is still imbalanced in many ways and although basic investigations have not been fully carried out, we still have the foundations needed to draft and formulate a long-term plan. The long-term plan need not be perfectly balanced, but need only establish the objectives that must be achieved, the stages of development that must be carried out and the principal jobs that must be completed in order to achieve these objectives; it is the medium-term and yearly plans that need to be balanced in detail.

We must immediately begin to formulate plans for the development of the primary industrial sectors between now and the year 2000; at the same time, we must formulate the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and the 1980 plan at an early date.

### 3. Improving management policies and regulations.

Generally speaking, our present management policies and regulations are unreasonable in many ways and are posing an obstacle to production. Therefore, these policies and regulations must be re-examined in order to make the necessary changes and improvements. The general spirit which these policies must reflect is strongly encouraging the development of production and expanding the independence of the sectors, localities and installations in production and business so that production "explodes," so that many goods are produced for society; here, it is necessary to properly coordinate three areas: personal interests, collective interests and the interests of society, with appropriate attention to the interests of producers, especially the producers of raw materials.

Raw materials and supplies: to create sources of agricultural raw materials for industry, it is necessary, on the one hand, to fully adhere to the guidelines of the party for the comprehensive development of agriculture, that is, necessary to concentrate on the production of grain; however not every place should be compelled to achieve self-sufficiency in grain. To the contrary, suitable areas that have been planned for the cultivation of industrial crops absolutely must be allocated to the production of industrial crops and provided with a full supply of grain as well as coordinated investments



in order to build a number of centralized industrial crop areas practicing specialized, intensive cultivation with high crop yields and a high output of products. For example, Tan Phu District in Dong Nai Province has the ability and the habit of raising soybeans, consequently, this area should be provided with a full supply of grain so that it can produce soybeans to meet the needs of the country, it should not be compelled to achieve self-sufficiency in grain.

On the other hand, it is necessary to research and implement a policy that stabilizes the amount of agricultural products purchased for a period of 3 to 5 years so that agricultural cooperatives can take the initiative in arranging their production plans and so that farmers can, after selling their quota of agricultural products each year, sell the remaining products to the state at negotiated prices. In addition, it is necessary to research the efficient redistribution of accumulated capital between raw materials and processing; for example, we could appropriately increase the amount of accumulated capital spent on raw materials instead of allocating this capital in a piecemeal fashion as we have been doing for a long time or we could resell to producers of raw materials a certain percentage of their product in order to provide incentive for production.

We are presently experiencing a shortage of meat and our people have the habit of eating animal hides. However, because hides have no nutritional value, we should, over the long-range, only consider them to be a raw material, not a food product, consequently, attention should be given to protecting the hide in the process of raising livestock and appropriate policies should be adopted, such as not including the weight of the hide in the meat supply standard, setting a reasonable purchasing price for hides or collecting the slaughtering tax in the hide of the animal in order to collect all buffalo and cattle hides and eventually purchase 70 to 80 percent of all pig skins in order to have them processed within the tanning industry.

With regard to forestry and marine products, certain improvements must also be made in policies in order to provide incentive for cooperatives, fishermen and lacquer producers to develop their production in order to supply products to the state.

Generally speaking, with regard to discarded materials and rejected products, with the exception of a number of special types stipulated by the state, installations and localities should be given the complete authority to determine how to use, sell and purchase them in convenient ways and at negotiated prices without any restraints whatsoever, as long as the materials and products are fully collected, fully utilized and not allowed to become backlogged or be wasted.

In addition, it is necessary to improve the mode under which raw materials and supplies are purchased and supplied along the lines of allowing production

installations to establish direct relationships with the sources of supplies, including imported ones, such as allowing tea factories to directly purchase tea from state farms and cooperatives, allowing textile mills to work with the foreign trade sector to import cotton from foreign countries and eventually "commercializing" supplies with a view toward closely linking production to the market and limiting the backlog of supplies due to their failure to meet specifications.

As regards the investment and credit policy, it is necessary to make improvements along the lines of properly coordinating investments in depth with investments in breadth and, in the present situation, full importance must be attached to investments in depth. Investments in depth are primarily investments designed to coordinate and balance production lines for the purpose of making full use of existing equipment and machine capacity; they are investments in the development and creation of sources of raw materials for industry, investments in machines for the production of spare parts and machines for repair work, etc. In addition, the experience of many countries has shown that the most effective investments in depth are investments in research and training because only by investing in research is it possible to reach conclusions concerning which jobs must be performed and how they must be performed correctly and well without going around in circles; and, only by means of training is it possible to develop persons who can correctly and successfully implement the results of research.

As regards investments in breadth, particular attention must be given to investing in the communications-transportation sector, the energy sector, the building materials sector and the machine sector, because these sectors are only meeting 70-80 percent of present needs.

Together with improving the investment policy, it is necessary to bring the mode of investments up to date to insure that the various sectors and production installations are truly the masters of investments and are materially responsible for the returns from investments. For example, the state can assign the industrial ministries the task of managing the investment capital of the entire sector under a 5-year plan so that the ministries can take the initiative and conduct research in order to determine which projects should be constructed first and which later and determine whether it would be more efficient to invest in the central level or the local level. Widespread investments must be made through credit in order to stimulate construction and rapidly put projects into use.

In addition, it is necessary to research and amend investment law for the purpose of strongly attracting investments from foreign countries in order to develop and efficiently utilize our existing natural resources and labor.

As regards the production incentive policy, incentive must be provided for the improvement of products and the production of many new products. When

assigning production plans, it is necessary to also assign norms on the improvement of products and the production of new products to enterprises and necessary to provide the material, equipment and labor needed to implement these norms. Investments in scientific and technical research and in the technical equipment needed for research and the test manufacture of new products are necessary. The prices of new products must be promptly determined. With regard to improved products, if production costs are lower than the production costs of the old product, the enterprise should be allowed to earn an additional profit for a certain amount of time.

A policy must be adopted that provides incentive for the improvement of product quality. Investments must be made in equipment to research and test the quality of raw materials and finished products. Label registration and product warranties must be instituted for certain necessary products. The difference between the price of good products and the price of poor quality products must be widened in order to encourage installations to produce many, high quality products; the prices of products that do not meet standards absolutely must be reduced. When evaluating the completion of plans, importance must be attached to the qualitative norm.

Policies must be adopted that provide incentive for installations to produce spare parts in support of repair work and manufacture difficult, costly products, such as improving the way total output value is calculated or changing the value of fixed assets so that these installations do not incur losses because their scale of production is small and the value of their products is low.

As regards the price, marketing and finance policies, it is necessary to revise the prices of a number of necessary products in order to support production, everyday life, export activities and the accumulation of capital well. We must eventually eliminate the practice of compensating for losses and eliminate unreasonable support prices. Uniform, nationwide prices of industrial goods must be established at an early date. As regards a number of scarce products that do not constitute part of basic needs and cannot be supplied to everyone, we should abandon the practice of selling them at supply prices and, instead, sell them at high prices in order to regulate supply and demand and increase the accumulation of capital for the budget. We should give the production sectors and the various localities widespread authority to determine prices in order to maintain the development of production and limit the stagnation of goods. Prices can vary from one locality to another depending upon the production conditions of each locality, provided that these products are marketed.

The marketing of products must, generally speaking, be done through the commerce sector; however, it is necessary to reduce the number of intermediary echelons so that products take the shortest possible route from the place of production to the market. In addition, production installations must be

allowed to market, at negotiated prices, products that are not under the management of the state and for which the state does not provide materials, products produced from discarded materials and rejected products, etc. As regards the marketing of products produced by the artisan and handicraft industry, it is necessary to classify these products as one of three types depending upon the nature of each product and the amount of raw materials supplied by the state: products marketed entirely through the commerce sector; products marketed partially through the commerce sector; and products marketed by the producer.

We must implement a policy that requires the central enterprises to contribute some of the capital accumulated by them to the local budget, especially to the budgets of localities that supply raw materials; conversely, local enterprises must also contribute some of the capital accumulated by them to the central budget in order to closely link management by sector with management by territory. We must improve the depreciation system in order to rapidly reclaim invested capital and establish regulations on income from production capital, especially fixed capital, in order to compel enterprises to make good use of their equipment and machinery and not allow equipment and machinery to lie idle.

As regards the export and import policies, we must rapidly establish a number of centralized raw material production areas supporting export activities, such as areas producing rubber, coffee, tea, tobacco, pineapples, bananas, peanuts, soybeans, jute and raw silk. At the same time, foreign currency must be allocated for the importation of necessary raw materials; priority must be given to high quality raw materials and scarce raw materials for the production of export goods. In terms of the money used in business and the privileges enjoyed, the raw materials allocated for the production of export goods must be treated the same as export goods.

Appropriate investments must be made in equipping with technology or bringing technology up to date at installations producing export goods. In cases of necessity, we should construct a number of plants or shops specializing in the production of export goods. We must intensify scientific-technical research, the application of new technology and the training of skilled workers in order to produce products that meet export standards and not allow goods to not be exported or their value to be reduced simply because of the lack of proper packaging.

A policy must be adopted that provides strong incentive for the production of export goods. The price policy must insure that it is more profitable to produce export goods than goods for domestic consumption. As regards export goods that can earn much foreign currency, prices must be revised in order to accelerate production. We must gradually implement a policy of using exports to pay for imports; those localities, sectors and installations that export many goods must be allowed to import many goods, those that export few goods



should only be allowed to import a few goods. The proper relationship must be established between domestic consumption and foreign consumption along the lines of giving priority to the exportation of high quality, precious goods for exportation.

There must be a clear division of labor and close coordination between the sectors producing export goods and the foreign trade agencies. Under the management of the foreign trade agencies, production sectors must be allowed to establish relations with foreign markets in order to research needs, determine consumer tastes and gain experience in order to produce products consistent with requirements; on the other hand, the foreign trade sector must directly observe and evaluate production, detect problems and offer opinions in order to insure the fulfillment of contracts.

In conjunction with providing incentive for the production of exports, it is necessary to be extremely frugal in the importation of goods. In view of our limited foreign currency capabilities, we should re-examine the structure of imports and give priority to the importation of raw materials, fuels and spare parts. In addition, an effort must be made to formulate, at an early date, annual and long-term plans so that installations can sign long-term contracts with a number of countries and facilitate the importation of raw materials and machinery.

As regards the policy toward local industry and the artisan and handicraft industry, one very important matter in insuring the development of local industry is that of establishing a clear and reasonable division of responsibilities between the central level and the local level on the basis of upholding the economic independence of localities. Generally speaking, the central level should only assume exclusive management of a number of principal products supporting the needs of the entire country and export needs. The localities should be given the primary responsibility for the everyday lives of the people, given the authority to organize production and circulation of ordinary goods manufactured from domestic and local raw materials and even given the authority to determine the prices of products produced and consumed within the locality.

It is necessary to improve the planning and the contract ordering of goods of the artisan and handicraft industry. The state should only assign plans for a number of principal products that are related to the entire economy; generally speaking, the cooperatives should be allowed to establish direct relations with the market in order to formulate flexible and suitable production plans. Products that need not be produced under contracts should be produced under the system of selling raw materials and purchasing the finished product. As regards products that must be produced under contracts, it is necessary to improve the contract work system and adjust a number of contract work prices that are too low in order to tap the dynamism and creativity of cooperatives.

We must revise and supplement several policies regarding the artisan and handicraft industry. Primary importance must be attached to loans and credit; at the same time, the state can make investments through the budget in the construction of a number of production installations or in the retooling of cooperatives that are unable to perform this work on their own. The state must adopt a plan for selling to cooperatives a number of necessary pieces of production equipment and means of transportation; it must also supply a number of essential goods to maintain the normal lives of handicraftsmen and their families, etc.

With regard to the wage and bonus policy, it is necessary to gradually improve and eventually basically reform the wage system along the lines of thoroughly implementing the principal of distribution in accordance with labor.

In the immediate future, we must research and revise the wage relationship among the various sectors, trades and areas in order to draw labor into those sectors, trades and areas in which work and everyday life pose many difficulties, such as the geology sector, the harvesting of forestry products, capital construction, the various mining areas, industry in the mountains, etc. Within light industry, appropriate wages must be paid within those sectors involving strenuous labor and sectors which employ many women, such as the textile sector. We must expand the payment of piecework wages in a manner closely linked to time and qualitative quotas in order to encourage each worker to accelerate production and complete his task well for his own interests as well as the interests of his collective. A system of seniority wages must be implemented to provide incentive for cadres and workers to cultivate occupational skills, to closely link them to their enterprise, etc.

As regards indirect labor, the management of the wage fund must be closely linked to the management of administrative staffs. Any unit that increases the size of its staff above the stipulated level and requires more wages than stipulated must reduce its average wage and vice versa. We must research ways to improve the wage system along the lines of closely linking wages to production and work. For example, wages should be divided into two parts: basic wages paid by trade and profession, such as the wages paid to a grade 2 manual worker or a grade 1 engineer; variable wages paid on the basis of one's position and the fulfillment or overfulfillment of production plan quotas. Variable wages can constitute as much as 20 to 30 percent of the basic wage. Thus, an engineer who is promoted to office chief or department chief would receive a salary increase; however, should he fail to fulfill his new task or be demoted, he would only receive a portion of this increase or none of it at all. A production worker who performs his job in an average manner would only receive the basic wage; when he completes and exceeds his production plan quota, he would receive a variable wage based on the percentage by which he exceeded his plan quota.

It is also necessary to revise and widely implement bonus systems, such as the bonus for saving raw materials, the quality bonus, the bonus for increased productivity and so forth, in order to provide incentive for workers to perform these jobs well.

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## TAPPING LOCAL STRENGTH, BUILDING DISTRICT FORTRESSES

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[Article by Vu Duk Hai]

[Text] The army and people of the northern border provinces of our country, using their combined local strength, promptly and effectively retaliated against and defeated the recent war of aggression of the Peking expansionists. This proves that socialist construction must be closely linked to the protection of the socialist fatherland; this is a law of the existence and development of our country. The resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party pointed out: "We must insure that the country is always ready and able to thwart aggressors...must give full attention to modernizing our national defense forces and our country's defense capabilities... The task of building and strengthening the national defense system is the task of all the people, of the entire army, of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system under the leadership of the party..."

From the realities of the revolution's development, we have become even more fully aware of the need to strengthen the district level, use the district as the base for reorganizing production and carrying out the three revolutions in the countryside, coordinate the economy and the defense of the nation, gradually build the districts into agro-industrial economic units, build the districts into strong, solid fortresses and develop the fighting strength of the locality in order to win victory over the enemy in a war to protect the fatherland. The district is an important element in the effort to develop a local, combined strength in order to organize our defenses and coordinate production and the maintenance of combat readiness. This is an important part of building districts that are strong in every respect.

### The Local Strength Within the District in a War To Protect the Fatherland

As a result of the recent fight on the northern border, we have become deeply aware of the malicious scheme of the enemy and gained experience in waging a



war to protect the socialist fatherland under the new conditions that now exist. In a war to protect the fatherland, in contrast to the previous war of liberation, we must retain control of each bit of soil, must firmly protect the border, the islands, the mainland, the air space and the offshore waters of our country. Only in this way can we protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. Therefore, our combat mission is to cling to our positions and resolutely annihilate the enemy while protecting the people, protecting production.

In this war, our people, as the masters of the entire country, fight enemy troops attacking our country from the outside. With the tradition of the entire country joining together to fight the enemy, our people in all localities have the conditions needed to exercise their right of collective ownership, increase their local strength and, together with the offensive strength of the mobile branches, create a combined strength for winning victory over the enemy.

The local strength within the district in a war to protect the fatherland is the strength of the national defense system built on the basis of upholding the right of collective ownership of the people, strengthening local potentials, deploying our defenses, building a military system within the district and creating a combined, local strength in order to promptly retaliate against the enemy, maintain our sovereignty and help to protect the territorial integrity of the fatherland. In 1968, while observing military exercises in the defense of Nam Dinh City, Le Duan said: "Nothing is as rapid as the people on the scene being deployed, exercising ownership and fighting the enemy." Only with combined, local strength within the scope of the district is it possible to have all the conditions needed to utilize the strengths of the three military elements, possible to develop the necessary strength and promptly attack the enemy, possible to achieve the combined strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system and receive the support of the entire country.

In the recent war of aggression, the Peking reactionaries mobilized more than one-half million regular force and militia troops to launch an attack along more than 1,000 kilometers of the northern border. They encountered our local people's armed forces who strongly counter-attacked them from the very outset, inflicting heavy losses upon their main force corps and bringing their advance to a halt. Our local armed forces promptly counter-attacked the enemy, defeated the tactic of their crack divisions, commando units and spies of slipping through to our rear area, won victory over the enemy in the very first battle, fought continuously and attacked and disrupted resupply transport operations in the enemy's rear, thereby making an important contribution to the routing of the enemy on the frontline of the fatherland. District X in Lang Son Province adopted the slogan "militiamen cling to the enemy, the people cling to the soil, cadres cling to the people" in order to initiate and guide every local combat activity of the masses.

Local strength within the scope of the district is primarily the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat system, in which the party is the leadership nucleus, the party launches the movement of all of the people fighting the enemy, the party mobilizes the masses to tenaciously fight the enemy. Revolutionary heroism was vigorously displayed from the very first day of the fight. Besides the acts of bravery displayed in killing the enemy on the battlefield, there were countless beautiful expressions of the spirit of local collective ownership, of joining together and fighting with determination to protect the fatherland. The sense of collective ownership of the people, the will to protect the fatherland, protect the life and property of the people, protect the property of the state were given concrete expression in combat at enterprises, within villages and in urban wards.

The new strength within the district originates in the achievements of the three revolutions, in the material-technical bases of the national economy, in the growth of the various organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat system.

Tapping local strength within the scope of the district means insuring that the districts in each region of the country fulfill their role and fully utilize the capabilities in building and protecting the fatherland. Because our country is long and narrow, the majority of the districts lie in strategically important areas, occupy key positions in the defense of the fatherland and are military training areas for the strategic military corps. The constant growth of the water and land communications systems has linked the districts to one another and created favorable conditions for economic development as well as interconnected positions in the organizing of our defenses.

The lowland districts, which constitute the key rice growing areas, have begun to divide their labor on the basis of sectors and trades and have gradually established an agro-industrial structure. In urban areas, where the population density is high, the working class is concentrated. The linking of rural and urban areas is creating favorable conditions for the development of economic and national defense potentials, for supplying manpower, financial resources and materials to each region of the country.

The coastal and island districts are developing their economies under the guideline of building the districts into agricultural-fishing-industrial economic units and accelerating the development of ocean fishing with expanding communications-transportation systems and constantly improved equipment for the harvesting and processing of marine products. These are favorable conditions for the coastal and island districts to develop upon their local strengths, become the masters of the offshore waters, fight the enemy from afar and turn each island into a combat trench defending the forward positions of the fatherland.

The midland districts are the areas that lie between the lowlands and the mountain forests. In view of the system of state farms, the industrial crop

production areas that are being developed and the enterprises and towns that are being constructed, these places are areas from which mobile forces can protect the lowland areas and cities and reinforce the mountain districts.

For the most part, the mountain districts are places that lie along the border and are assuming an increasingly vital position in economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system. Evaluating the strength of mountain forests in a war to protect the fatherland, Engels wrote: "Even military strategists frequently tell their field officers the names of trails in the mountains and mountain passes where a small group of persons can easily and successfully resist thousands of the best soldiers... And, it never fails that when an army which is not very mobile attacks areas in which it is difficult to travel, it will certainly be trapped there; civilians...who are lightly armed are fully capable of shifting to more clever offensive actions and of surrounding and ultimately winning victory over their opposition." (1)

All districts differ in terms of their geography, natural resources, population density and distribution and level of economic development. However, because the process of revolutionary struggle has closely linked the histories of political, economic, cultural and social development of the various regions to one another within the community of the country and to the revolutionary achievements that have been recorded, the local combat advantage of the district has been constantly increased and the combined strength that exists within the district has constantly been developed.

#### Organizing Defenses and Building District Fortresses

Organizing defenses within the district means: beginning the work that must be performed for combat, preparing battlefields in accordance with a combat plan approved by the provincial level, building combat clusters and rear service installations and insuring that the quality of combat of the armed forces and the level of combat readiness of all the people are raised.

During the review of combat maneuvers in the provinces in southern Thanh Hoa Province, Van Tien Dung said: "Local combat operations to protect each individual area are one of the fundamental modes for preparing for and carrying out a people's war to protect the fatherland, highly developing the combined strength of the entire political force and the people's armed forces, developing psychological and material strengths as promptly and fully as possible... Organizing local combat operations to protect each individual area is the basic form of organization of combat of the local forces within each specific area... Without making truly sound, truly strong preparations in each area, without truly being ready, the combat effectiveness of the regular force mobile forces will be limited." The district fortress is a model of local combat strength, a component of a front that is in charge of a combat zone of the province and coordinates in combat with the troops of the province and the main force corps.

The organizing of defenses and the work of building combat clusters within the district differ from the organizing of defenses by centralized units in the following ways:

The district must research and deploy a combat position of all the people, using the armed forces as the nucleus of this position, and arrange the activities of the various organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat system in a manner suited to the function of each sector and level.

It is necessary to closely coordinate the annihilation of enemy forces with protecting production, protecting the life and property of the people and the property of the state, protecting the potentials of the locality and adjusting economic plans to suit war time conditions. Combat is the most pressing and important of all requirements; however, the production task, the task of supporting every aspect of the life of the people, is the basic routine task. Even in situations involving heavy fighting, maintaining production and caring for the life of the people in time of war are pressing requirements that must be met in an urgent manner.

The art of guiding a people's war within the scope of the district involves efficiently utilizing existing material-technical bases in order to increase the combined strength that exists and create a superior position within the locality for fighting the enemy with high efficiency; it involves organizing forces tightly in a manner that reflects high quality and establishing strong combat clusters, strong battle positions and an effective deployment; it involves centralized leadership and guidance, a unified and effective command.

In the guidance of warfare, it is necessary to tap the strength of the masses as the masters of the locality, the masters of the battlefield, in order to annihilate the enemy; know how to create the superior position of using few to annihilate many; fight the enemy from a position of strength; coordinate concerted and decentralized combat operations, independent combat and combat coordination among the various branches; coordinate stationary forces and mobile forces; coordinate annihilating the enemy with protecting the life and property of the people at all places and times; be bold and maintain the factors of secrecy and surprise; launch strong attacks while stubbornly clinging to one's position; fight continuously within the deployment of integrated bases and create a position in which the enemy is surrounded; and create a position from which all the people launch widespread attacks struggling to keep control of each bit of soil. Initiative must be allowed so that enemy forces coming from far away can be promptly attacked while they are still unfamiliar with their surroundings. Each combat cluster must become a predeployed trap in which more and more enemy are killed as they advance.

The combat cluster is a form of armed organization of all the people fighting within the locality in which basic units are linked together within one unified



structure for the purposes of organizing their defenses and being the masters of the battlefield. It is a component of the district fortress and is coordinated with the economic and technical clusters as well as population centers in order to achieve a combined local strength for fighting the enemy and winning victory in a war to protect the fatherland.

The local strength with which we fight the enemy is the forces of all the people reorganized. As a result, the organizations of the government, the mass organizations, the specialized sectors and the economic units are placed under the direct leadership and guidance of the party committee echelon and the people's committee, are assigned tasks in order to develop local capabilities and fulfill their function in combat.

Each organization must fully assess the requirements it faces with regard to strengthening local combat capabilities and must closely coordinate military, political, economic and cultural activities so that each force and each organization achieves its full strength. The conditions needed for continuous combat must be prepared. It is necessary to make each person fully aware of the fact that upholding the independence in combat of the local forces is a strongpoint of the people's war.

To implement the position of arming all the people, it is necessary to heighten the awareness of all the people within the district of their obligation to protect the fatherland; teach and spread the fine traditions of the people within the district; carry out the "determined to win" emulation movement in both production and combat; fully comply with the General Mobilization Order; carry out the military draft well; and deepen and disseminate military knowledge among the people.

The work of organizing and mobilizing the forces of all the people to be ready to meet the many requirements of war time, the work of tapping the capabilities of each person, each age group and each sector and trade, the work of efficiently utilizing all sources of manpower, money, materials and so forth must be performed in peace time through mobilization exercises in which there is close coordination between the mobilization of forces and the mobilization of material-technical means, especially draft power. The work of building reserve forces of sufficient size and high quality must be based primarily on a relatively well coordinated local mobilization.

The fighting strength of the militia and self-defense forces has reached a new stage of qualitative development. It is closely linked to the development of the material-technical bases of cooperatives, the industrial sector, the geological projects sector, the communications-transportation sector, the state farms and the forestry sites as well as to the increasingly modern and diverse equipment and weapons with which they have been supplied. The strength of the basic units within the district has been increased as a result of their receiving military personnel who were forged and challenged in the two wars of

resistance against France and the United States, together with the present stratum of youths, thus bringing three successive generations together within the same unit, which has had a strong impact in combat.

The buildup of forces must be well balanced. The local troops of the district must be truly strong because they are the mobile force, the iron fist of the locality. The militia and self-defense forces must be organized in a manner suited to the combat and production tasks; each locality must organize centralized units and units of the various branches, such as the anti-aircraft artillery, the artillery, the sappers, the engineers, the chemical troops, the liaison troops and so forth. Only in this way is it possible to undertake continuous, widespread combat operations and fight enemy troops whenever and wherever they appear. Within the system of organization of local military forces, full attention must be given to the component that performs security work within the combat zone in order to mop up and suppress reactionaries and hoodlums within the locality and punish spies and saboteurs; there must be close coordination among the security force, the armed forces and the mass organizations in this work.

The combat strength of the district fortress or of each combat cluster is created on the basic level: the command organization is a good one; the people exercise ownership of the locality and are the masters of weapons and technology; they are well equipped with suitably deployed weapons, the terrain has been improved and the system of combat projects has been well constructed in a manner suited to the local fighting methods of all the people. The combat strength and the sturdiness of the district fortress must first of all be expressed in the building of the system of combat and firepower projects. The efficiency achieved in fighting the enemy and protecting the life and property of the people in the two previous wars of resistance and in the recent fight on the northern border clearly shows the role played by the local systems of combat firepower projects.

Lenin evaluated the role played by the firepower system as follows: "In the age of small calibre, rapid firing weapons, heavy mechanized artillery...no force, no form of lightning-like, concerted combat employing massive numbers of persons can yield the advantage." (2) "The military technology of the present is not like the military technology of the mid-1900's. It would truly be stupid to send massive numbers of persons against a cannon." (3)

The system of combat projects of the district fortress is a system of many different types of fortifications within a planned area. This system of projects consists of: fortifications, obstacles, permanent defense zones, base complexes and the communications network.

The system of fortifications generally consists of: one-man foxholes, frog mouth trenches, bunkers, y-shaped trenches and firepower positions, which create the basic cluster of the combat units and are linked to the various

types of fortifications of the villages, wards and enterprises, thereby creating an interconnected battle position in combat.

While building combat fortifications, it is necessary to take advantage of the terrain and existing projects in order to organize concealed firepower positions and know how to make full use of places that have good land to build a permanent system of trenches, thereby creating favorable conditions for small units to pin down and attack large enemy units, fight for each house and street corner, ambush the enemy's flank or rear or launch a frontal assault on their headquarter element, destroying their technical weapons. In the projects system, attention must be given to protecting water sources, concealing stockpiled grain, medicine, weapons and ammunition and protecting wounded soldiers.

Building obstacles involves coordinating treacherous terrain with a system of manmade obstacles and firepower in order to block, divide, pin down and attack the enemy. The system of manmade obstacles must be suited to the combat plan in order to create a position from which we can surprise the enemy and cause the enemy to encounter many difficulties, thereby creating favorable conditions for the implementation of our combat plan.

The permanent defense zone is the nucleus of the system of battlefield positions, is the springboard for offensive forces, is a strategically important zone that has many projects that are highly resistant to attack, obstacles, a good transportation system and a tightly deployed firepower network, thereby creating an effective, interconnected position and conditions for us, even though our forces are small, to hold our position and fight for many days against large enemy corps; it is a zone that is difficult for the enemy to attack and occupy, difficult to breach. The permanent defense zones are generally based on hills and main roads and are equipped with permanent fortifications combined with field projects.

The base complex of the district is the area from which operations are guided and commanded. Within it are warehouses, enterprises, hospitals and the staging area for mobile forces. This complex is generally constructed at a place where the terrain affords concealment and facilitates the movement of mobile forces.

The communications network consists of roads, waterways and underground passageways for mechanized vehicles, improved vehicles and persons on foot that can be conveniently travelled, afford mobility, concealment and safety and include ferry crossings and staging grounds. Full use must be made of the system of irrigation ditches, streams, canals and small rivers.

The deployment of the firepower system is the coordination of many different types of technical weapons, such as the system of flat trajectory weapons, mortars and artillery, the system of weapons used against fortifications and

anti-personnel weapons, such as explosives, bombs, mines and torpedoes and the system of weapons which the people make by hand, such as spears, trenches, stakes and booby traps, all of which are suitably deployed and used in exact accordance with their function, a manner suited to the terrain. It also involves coordinating the various types of weapons within the combat cluster so that they support one another in order to pin down the enemy, inflict heavy casualties upon them and systematically annihilate their forces.

According to the recent combat experience of the districts on the border, the structure of the firepower-engineer-rear service base systems must be organized in accordance with a unified plan in order to achieve the combined strength of the people's war and create a superior local position for winning victory over the enemy. These are the strongholds of the three military elements, strongholds used to stop, divide, isolate and pin down the enemy. These systems represent the application of the military knowledge and talent as well as the creative intelligence of all the people and the constant improvement and perfection of military technology to meet combat requirements.

The experience of the district of Hoa An and Tra Linh in Cao Bang Province, Muong Khuong in Hoang Lien Son Province and so forth in the recent fight against the Chinese aggressor army as well as the experiences of Cu Chi District, "the steel land, brass wall district," Hoa Vang District, the district in the "kill Americans belt," and Vinh Linh and Do Cam Districts, the "defeat the electronic defense line" districts, in the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists are model experiences in the achievement of local combat strength.

#### Coordinating Production and Combat, Strengthening the Potentials of the District

Coordinating economic construction with strengthening the national defense system within the scope of the district is a part of the entire work of building the material-technical bases of the national economy. It is closely linked to the process of reorganizing production and redistributing labor within the district.

Coordinating production with combat within the district primarily means coordinating production and combat in planning and plans, in every aspect of work, so that production and preparations for combat affect and stimulate one another's development. It is necessary to begin the performance of immediate jobs in order to achieve long-range results, necessary to proceed from basic matters to resolving specific matters in order to effectively deal with every development of the situation. All preparations for combat must be carried out in a detailed, practical and urgent manner but must also be accurately planned and involve stable stages of development.

The building of the rear service installations of the people's war within the locality demands the true strengthening of local material-technical bases



and the ability to centralize manpower, money and materiel to meet the combat requirements of each type campaign, especially campaigns in which there is coordination among the various branches of large military corps. It is the local military agency that formulates the plan for coordinating the army's rear services with the rear services of the people to create a widespread, local system of rear service installations, thereby constantly improving the supply capabilities of the district and reducing the need for transportation from distant places.

The districts in strategically important combat zones are usually districts that occupy important economic positions, districts that have been planned on the basis of large-scale, specialized, centralized agricultural production areas, new economic zones or centralized industrial zones. These areas easily become targets of enemy attacks. The districts must adopt plans for protecting their economic potentials and protecting production, especially protecting their industrial production areas.

Within the scope of each district, it is necessary to organize good cargo transportation forces in coordination with supporting the battlefield so that these forces can provide transportation at key communications centers, key areas of combat and so forth. It is necessary to assemble forces in coordination with rudimentary and modern means of transportation and build many different types of bridges and crossings in order to support combat with rapid mobility.

Coordinating production and preparations for combat on the basic level primarily means establishing coordination within each worker so that every person can engage in production while maintaining a readiness to fight, is the master of combat weapons as well as the master of work tools. Local industry must create material-technical bases supporting local combat requirements, must be able to repair the various types of modern weapons and technical equipment. The formation of a system of enterprises, warehouses and repair stations within the district enables the local armed forces to resolve the technical difficulties they encounter in combat.

In the process of reorganizing production, developing rural communications in coordination with developing water conservancy projects and improving fields not only supports economic development but also creates a convenient network of roads for mobile armed forces, for the utilization of technical weapons and the local resupplying of combat forces with grain and food. Using rural means of transportation to transport weapons, grain, food and medicine and to rescue wounded soldiers can meet a majority of the requirements of local combat. The efficient deployment of hospitals, medical aid stations and mobile medical treatment units and the coordination of military medicine with civilian medicine will insure the prompt rescue and medical treatment of both military personnel and civilians within the locality and limit the backlog of persons in need of medical treatment on combat lines. The universal training of militiaen, self-defense forces and students in the five

different types of first aid techniques and the incorporation of military medicine in supplementary education and training programs at civilian medical schools have brought about new stages of development in public health work within the districts.

In the process of carrying out the work of organizing their defenses, such as building combat clusters and building local firepower-rear service project systems, many localities have mobilized cadres who have specialized technical skills to participate; this has led to the coordination and mutual support between military knowledge and the specialized knowledge of the various sectors, such as the coordination of military technology with the scientific and technical sectors, the coordination of engineers with capital construction forces, the coordination of military communications with the posts-telegraph sector, the coordination of military medicine with civilian medicine, the coordination of the military weaponry sector with the civilian mechanical engineering sector, etc.

The district is the level that directly guides installations and organizes local production and combat; it is the base for the redistribution of labor; it is the unit that balances the labor force within the various sectors and organizes and mobilizes manpower and materiel in accordance with the plan of the state in order to send some of its labor force to build new economic zones. Thus, the process of reorganizing production and redistributing labor within the district will create the capabilities for meeting annual student and labor recruiting quotas, meeting annual draft quotas, redistributing labor among the various economic zones, coordinating the economy with the defense of the nation and making efficient use of the labor forces of the entire country and all localities.

Local sources of manpower and materiel are very large and our people are always ready to make their contribution to the construction task and to victory in combat. It is necessary to formulate a unified plan and adhere to the principles of making efficient, precise and economical use of manpower and materiel and coordinate utilization and accumulation so that local potentials constantly increase. Production must be coordinated with combat in order to insure good preparations for combat and success in combat; however, this is no reason to allow production to slow down or become underdeveloped.

Strengthening the leadership of the party is the basic factor determining victory in construction and combat within the district. Recent experience has shown that those districts that fought well and annihilated many Chinese aggressors while protecting the life and property of the people well were the districts that accurately established the combat task of the party organization, developed potentials, developed the combined strength of the district and mobilized the masses at an early date in order to effectively meet local combat requirements. By doing this, each basic unit and the entire district will become solid fortresses that dig the grave of the Chinese aggressors and firmly protect the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Complete Works," Volume 12, Russian version, pp 111-112.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, Volume 8, p 52.
3. Excerpt from the "Military Theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, p 26.

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RESEARCH: THE BIRTH OF THE PARTY AND THE LINE OF BRANDISHING THE BANNER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79 pp64-71

[Article by Van Tao]

[Text] The line of brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, as pointed out at the 4th Congress of our party, "is the red thread running throughout the entire history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the party."

On the occasion of preparations for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party, let us try to gain an understanding of the relationship between the birth of the party and the line of brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism.

I. The three Component Factors of the Party--the Origin of the Line of Brandishing the Banner of National Independence and Socialism

As we know, the birth of our party was not only the result of combining the two factors of Marxism-Leninism and the worker movement, as was the case with fraternal communist parties in the capitalist countries that developed early, but the result of the combination of three factors:

"Marxism-Leninism combined with the worker movement and the patriotic movement led to the formation of the Indochinese Communist Party in early 1930." (2)

The unique feature is that these factors, in the course of coming together and coordinating with one another, experienced a glorious process of development.

1. First, there was the Vietnamese patriotic movement. During the period of the party's formation as well as all preceding periods, the Vietnamese patriotic movement was a precious tradition of our nation throughout the 4,000 year struggle to build and defend the country.



Ardent patriotism--as President Ho stressed--"is a precious tradition of ours. Since antiquity, whenever the fatherland has been invaded this spirit has surged, has become an extremely strong and large wave, has overcome every peril and difficulty, has drowned all traitors and country-robbers."(3)

Vietnamese patriotism is so strong because it crystallizes the two precious traditions of our forefathers, the tradition of struggling for national independence and the tradition of struggling for democracy.

As regards the tradition of struggling for national independence, it is not surprising that many persons in the world today, while praising "Vietnam's stand," also constantly emphasize the endurance of the Vietnamese, endurance resulting from the ardent patriotism, the indomitable will and the spirit of being the masters of the noble destiny of the nation of all the people.

Our nation's history of struggling against foreign aggression began with the feat of arms recorded by a teenager in Ciong Village, a feat that has been immortalized in mythology and epic poems. At the dawn of history, the heroic Frung Sisters and Mrs. Trieu exemplified the nation's spirit "when the enemy comes, even the women fight." History has also shown that in ancient times, many Viet tribes called the Bach Viet (that is the 100 Viet tribes) lived on the other side of the northern border of Vietnam, such as the Man Viet in Phuc Kien, the Dong Viet in Triet Giang, the Nam Viet in Quang Dong and Quang Tay, the Dien Viet in Van Nan and so forth, all of whom were annexed and assimilated and whose names were obliterated from the world map. However, we Lac Viet, we present day Vietnamese, proudly continue to exist.

More than simply exist, the nation of Vietnam has continuously grown. It has grown from slightly less than 1 million people at the time of Christ to slightly less than 10 million persons in the 10th and 11th Centuries and roughly 50 million persons today. More than existing for a long time and growing, the nation of Vietnam has also made positive contributions to the cultural storehouse of mankind and, by defeating many foreign aggressors of world stature, saved many civilizations in Southeast Asia from total destruction.

However, the spirit of struggling for national independence does not clearly explain the stage of development from the demand for freedom and national independence to the demand for proletarian freedom and democracy at the start of this century. Because, Vietnamese patriotism is not a classless entity, rather, the patriotism of each Vietnamese is of a profound class nature.

The patriotism of the Vietnamese in history has always been closely linked to the spirit of struggling for democracy. When our people, primarily the peasants, struggled to liberate the nation from foreign feudalism, they were also struggling for democracy and the right to live. Even in the struggle to liberate the nation from the national feudalists, peasants also demanded a certain number of democratic rights. When it became necessary to mobilize the people to resist foreign aggression, the domestic feudal class had no choice

but to reduce the level of oppression and exploitation and improve the life of the people somewhat. Tran Hung Dao, when advising King Tran Anh Ton on his national defense policy, emphasized: "During normal times, be generous with the people and develop deep roots among them." Today, Le Duan, general secretary of our party, has also affirmed: "In ancient times, a true national movement always encompassed a certain number of democratic rights" because every class that wanted to struggle for national sovereignty or wanted to "become the nation" had to meet these democratic demands of the masses, the force determining the success or failure of national movements."(4)

The struggle for democracy by the peasants of Vietnam against the national feudal system was an extremely strong and intense struggle, one no less strong and intense than the struggle against foreign aggression; however, the number of times this movement burst forth, as was the case with the Tay Son uprising, was not many and, for the most part, this movement did nothing more than smolder. Whereas the struggles waged by peasants from the time the national feudalists won independence (in the 10th Century) until the French colonialists gained complete control of our country (1885) numbered roughly 500, in terms of their special characteristics, nature and leadership role, only about 300 of the struggles can be considered peasant uprisings. These uprisings were of a distinct class nature. The historic victory of Dong Da was the victory of a struggle for national independence combined with a struggle by peasants in feudal society for freedom and democracy.

It was the Vietnamese peasants who shook and eventually toppled the corrupt feudal dynasties and it can be said that it was they who determined the existence as well as the collapse of these dynasties. "Concerning the role played by the peasants as masters of society during feudal times, Nguyen Trãi said: "The ship of state is moved or overturned by the people."

As the feudal system became weaker and more corrupt, uprisings by peasants became increasingly frequent. Whereas there were only 15 uprisings by peasants during the 174 year reign of the House of Tran, during the 186 year reign of Le Rim there were 82 uprisings and during the 83 year reign of the House of Nguyen (1801-1885) there were 203 uprisings.(5)

When the French colonialists invaded our country (1858), peasant uprisings during the time of Nguyen were directed toward the French colonialist aggressors and the feudalists of the House of Nguyen, their lackeys. And, under the leadership of the party of the Vietnamese working class, the flame of patriotism, which encompasses the struggle for national independence and the struggle for democracy, has burned brightly and become an immortal truth: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

From this we clearly see that once Vietnamese patriotism combined with Marxism-Leninism, the latter determining the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism was not

merely the spirit of struggling for national independence, but also the spirit of struggling for democracy (this was not, of course, proletarian democracy). These two closely combined factors rapidly raised the demand for freedom and democracy to a demand for proletarian freedom and democracy.

It must be emphasized that, during the Russian proletarian revolution, Lenin also highly evaluated the heritage of the struggle for democracy waged by the people of Russia, primarily the peasants. He resolutely rejected the false accusations and fabrications by traitors maintaining that the proletarian revolutionaries of Russia had abandoned their "heritage," had severed all links to the democratic tradition that had been part of all progressive tides of Russian social thinking. He concerned himself with upholding the democratic traditions of the Russian people in order to accelerate the proletarian revolution.

Vietnamese patriotism also encompasses the spirit of unity, love, loyalty and devotion of Vietnamese communal life.

These psychological and ethical factors of Vietnamese patriotism are also very closely linked to communist humanitarianism. Whereas Marxism closely links militance with love, love, unity and the unyielding spirit of struggling for independence and freedom of the Vietnamese are the factors that caused our people to rapidly accept Marxism-Leninism when searching for the course of national salvation.

## 2. The worker movement.

The Vietnamese working class was born in the late 19th and the early 20th Centuries, later than the working class in the capitalist countries that developed early. As a result, the working class of our country possesses national characteristics and contemporary characteristics that differ from those of the working classes of many other countries.

When talking about the national characteristics of the Vietnamese working class, we must first of all mention the historic continuity of the national independence movement and the peasant movement as well as the blood ties between the working class and peasants.

In those countries in which capitalist production relations developed at an early date and industrial and commercial cities emerged at an early date, workers could emerge from the stratum of bankrupt urban dwellers. In Vietnam, a backward feudal country, national capitalist production relations developed slowly and this development was restricted by the French colonialists, thereby making it difficult for the separation of workers and peasants to occur within the countryside. Impoverished and frustrated, Vietnamese peasants could do nothing more than sell their labor to the French colonialist

capitalists in order to survive. As a result, the majority of workers emerged from the peasantry. According to an investigation of the labor situation in the 15 provinces of Bac Ky conducted by the Colonial Labor Control Service in Indochina in 1926, of the 27,505 coolies, peasants number 27,463, 99.84 percent. In the two cities of Hanoi and Haiphong, coolies numbered only 42 persons (Hanoi: 4, Haiphong: 38), thus, only 0.16 percent of the population were coolies.

Because the majority of workers emerged from the peasantry, the Vietnamese working class has numerous close, blood ties with farmers. These ties serve to increase the strength of workers in the revolutionary struggle.

As regards its contemporary characteristics, the Vietnamese working class was born in a semi-feudal colony and was the product not only of national capitalism, as was the case with the working class in the developed capitalist countries, but also the product of imperialist and colonialist capitalism. The worker was victim to three types of oppression and exploitation: imperialist, feudal and capitalist. The worker was a person who had lost his country, was a slave of the imperialists and worked for hire as a slave of the capitalists. Within the worker, national hatred was combined with class hatred, the struggle for national independence was combined with the class struggle. It is difficult to distinguish whether some of the first struggles waged by the Vietnamese working class were class struggles or national struggles because these two characteristics were very closely linked. For example, on 18 February 1886, workers building the road through the Hai Van Pass killed the commander of the workbrigade, a man named Betson; however, according to the investigation conducted by the French colonialists, this struggle was influenced by the Han Nghi French resistance movement. On 3 April 1892, workers at the Lang Son railroad workbrigade, together with partisan troops ambushed the army unit commanded by My-pi-an [Vietnamese phonetics] along the section of the railroad from Thanh Dien to Ban Le. One of the two patriots who were killed there was a worker at the railroad construction site. In late 1892 and early 1893, the Lang Son partisans operating in the Quang Yen mining area coordinated with workers to occupy the Dong Trieu mining area. These struggles by workers and peasants can be considered the beautiful beginning of the sacred alliance between workers and farmers in the process of the revolution.

In the course of development of the revolution, the working class has inherited and ennobled the very best of the tradition of struggle of the peasant movement. The historic continuity of the worker movement and peasant movement as well as the blood ties between these two classes were the favorable premise for the working class to implement the directive of Marx: "The proletariat of each country must first seize political power, must make itself the national class, must make itself the nation." (6) "Make itself the national class" first of all means becoming the class leading the peasant movement. "Make itself the nation" primarily means upholding the traditions of the



nation in order to elevate the national movement to the stature of the age, the age of the proletarian revolution, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is clear that with the close coordination between the patriotic movement and the worker movement under the light of Marxism-Leninism, the party of the Vietnamese working class truly "became the nation." It must be emphasized that although it has blood ties with the class of farmers, once it "becomes the nation" the working class must not reduce itself to the level of the farmers' stand but must, to the contrary, firmly adhere to the stand of the working class in order to guide and lead farmers and working people in accordance with its own leadership line.

The Vietnamese worker movement, having made itself part of the national movement, made itself the nucleus of the national movement, gradually strengthened its independence and became the leader of the movement. Workers participated in the various movements for national independence and actively developed forms of struggle of their own, especially strikes with economic and political demands, which led to important changes in the 1920's. The first organizations of the party of the proletariat were born, beginning with the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, founded in 1925. The number of struggles by the working class also soared: from only 350 struggles in 1927 to 1,900 in 1928, 6,000 in 1929 and 31,680 in 1930. Meanwhile, the organizations that were the forerunners of the party also rapidly created ripe conditions for the birth of a revolutionary party of the working class.

3. Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, the essence of our age, the product of the international worker movement, came to the Vietnamese worker movement at the time when capitalism had developed into imperialism. In this stage, Marxism underwent new qualitative developments and gave birth to Marxism-Leninism in the age of imperialism under the slogan: "Proletariat of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" Leninism charted the course of the colonial and semi-colonial nations to victory: under the leadership of the working class, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples could complete the national bourgeois revolution, bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism.

Leninism completely satisfied the thirst for national salvation of the colonial nations in the age of imperialism.

Marxism-Leninism was accepted by Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is, the revered President Ho Chi Minh, in a pure and direct manner and was rapidly spread by him to Vietnam.

As we know, during the years following World War I, the international worker movement experienced a serious crisis. In the face of the assault by the bourgeoisie and betrayal by the opportunist leaders of the 2nd International,

the international communist and worker movement was extremely divided. President Ho, having progressed from patriotism to socialism, avoided the fog and poisons of the international opportunists of all types at that time. The course of national salvation charted by President Ho was an accurate reflection of the truth of Marxism-Leninism. He triumphed over the revisionists of the 2nd International, even in the field of the nationality and colonial questions. He exposed Mac Donald, Vandervelde, Henderson, Blume and others, who supported the imperialist policy in the colonies and opposed the liberation of the colonial peoples. He struggled to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and emphasized: "The workers in the mother country must concern themselves with the colonial question."(?) He spread the viewpoints of Lenin concerning the nationality and colonial questions even within the proletarian movement in western Europe and actively supported the formation of a united mass front between the mother country and the colonies. President Ho spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam and gradually made preparations for the founding of the revolutionary party of the Vietnamese working class.

For the revolutionary fighters of Vietnam, the advance from patriotism to Leninism was like the breaking of a long drought. Due to the tremendous service performed by President Ho, they, too, accepted Marxism-Leninism in a direct and pure manner, consequently, Marxism-Leninism rapidly became closely coordinated with the worker movement and the patriotic movement. This was the origin of the line of combining and brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism from the time our party was first established.

## II. The Birth of the Party and the Victory of the Line of Brandishing the Banners of National Independence and Socialism

The combination of the three factors of Marxism-Leninism, the worker movement and the Vietnamese patriotic movement led to a great revolutionary explosion.

In March 1929, activists within the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Bac Ky held a conference to establish the first communist party chapter in Vietnam.

In May 1929, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth held a national congress of delegates. The Bac Ky delegation suggested the immediate founding of a communist party.

In June 1929, the Indochinese Communist Party was founded in Bac Ky.

In October 1929, the Annamese Communist Party was founded in Nam Ky.

In early January 1930, the Indochinese Communist League was born in Trung Ky.

For a working class in one country to have three political parties was contrary to the Marxist-Leninist principles governing the organization of a

revolutionary political party. The merger of these three political parties that were the forerunners of the Vietnam Communist Party reflected strict adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and developed upon the traditions of patriotism, unity and solidarity of the national movement and the worker movement of Vietnam.

On 3 February 1930, with the three factors of Marxism-Leninism, the worker movement and the patriotic movement having been closely and scientifically coordinated, the party of the Vietnamese working class was born.

As a product of the coordination of these three factors and due to the revolutionary genius of President Ho, the party of the Vietnamese working class adopted the correct revolutionary line as soon as it was born a line consistent with the requirements of the development of the Vietnamese revolution and the international communist and worker movement. The unique aspect of the leadership line of our party is that it coordinated, from the very outset, national independence with socialism.

The first platform of the party stated: "To achieve communist society, we must wage a bourgeois democratic revolution and an agrarian revolution." Politically, the objectives of the party were:

- a) "To overthrow the French imperialists and the feudalists.
- b) To make the country totally independent.
- c) To establish a worker-farmer-soldier government.
- d) To organize a worker-farmer army."(8)

The October 1930 political platform of the party was more specific: the Vietnamese revolution "will, with the help of the proletariat in the mother countries, bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly toward socialism."(9)

Le Duan has affirmed: "Our party adopted the position of closely linking national independence with socialism in its very first platform. This is the strategic line of our party. It is the origin of the victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 30 years."(10)

From the very first days the party began leading the revolution, this line has had a strong impact upon the revolutionary struggle of our people; at the same time, it has made positive contributions to the international communist and worker movement.

The establishment of the line of brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism represented the rejection of each erroneous line

adopted by a number of revolutionaries prior to 1930 and fully resolved the crisis regarding the revolutionary line in Vietnam, a crisis that had lasted throughout the first half of the century. On this basis, the Vietnamese revolutionary movement entered a new stage.

A unified revolutionary political party of the working class was leading an entire unified national movement from north to south. The Indochinese Anti-Imperialist Alliance--a form of National United Front--began to take shape. Workers' Associations, Farmers' Associations and Red self-defense units were organized to carry out the task of struggling for national independence under the proletarian banner. Political strikes of a broad mass nature, an inherent form of struggle of the proletarian movement, were closely coordinated with armed struggle by the people, a tradition of our nation, thereby forming a new strength capable of overwhelming the enemy. The first revolutionary governments established in a number of villages and hamlets were in the form of worker-farmer soviets. The struggle for national independence found the capability needed to win victory in the correct leadership line of the party, in the close coordination between national independence and socialism.

The establishment of the correct revolutionary line of our party made a positive contribution to the victory over the opportunism of the 2nd International.

The Vietnamese revolution rejected the "decolonialization" theory of the traitors and the lackeys of the imperialists and resolutely struggled for the liberation of the nation from the yoke of imperialism. The task of "overthrowing the French imperialists and the feudalists" was given foremost priority in the political platform of the party.

The Vietnamese revolution also did not wait for the "ripening" of capitalism throughout the world before beginning the work of building socialism in Vietnam. The October 1930 political platform of the party charted the course of advancing to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. Socialism in Vietnam could not be "a ripe fruit falling from the tree of capitalism," as the opportunists maintained.

As regards the class leading the revolution, the Menshevik rightist opportunists at that time persistently maintained that the bourgeois democratic revolution absolutely must be led by the bourgeoisie. They considered workers to only be the allies of the bourgeoisie. Thus, in actuality, they adopted the imperialist stand. In our times, no national bourgeoisie is capable of leading a thorough democratic, bourgeois revolution. If, once it has acquired all the ability and conditions needed to lead the revolution, the proletariat yields its leadership to the bourgeoisie, it yields its revolutionary position to the enemy so that they can, after winning victory, turn around and oppress and exploit the working class. The Vietnamese revolution did not follow this course.



The "leftist" Trotskyites of that time maintained that only workers could carry out the socialist revolution. They rejected any role by farmers and advocated the establishment of a worker government, not a worker-farmer government. They advocated fighting both the feudalists and the propertied rightists and considered farmers to be a target of the revolution. Because they considered farmers to be a target of the proletarian revolution and because farmers constitute the majority of the population, the Trotskyites maintained that the proletarian revolution could not win victory in one single country, but must be carried out on a worldwide scale. It was on this basis that their slogans "federated Europe" and "federated Asia" were born.

The line of our party, on the other hand, considers farmers to be one of the principal moving forces of the revolution, considers workers and farmers to be the main force army of the revolution; the alliance of workers and farmers is, as Lenin stated, the foundation of the revolutionary state under the leadership of the working class, is the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our party's line of waging a thorough national, democratic revolution and advancing directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development opposed and totally triumphed over the erroneous lines of the opportunists of all shades and constantly advanced the Vietnamese revolution to victory.

The realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past nearly one-half century prove that the founding of our party on the basis of the three factors mentioned above has not meant that our party has reduced the proletarian movement to the level of nationalism, rather, that it has elevated the patriotism of our nation to the level of our times--the level of socialist patriotism.

The line of brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism not only rejected every opportunist trend within the international communist and worker movement from the time the party was founded, but each victory of the party has dealt heavy blows to the opportunists as well.

Today, the imperialists and international reactionaries, in a vain attempt to stave off defeat and the peril of isolation, have been and are fabricating reactionary arguments and new poisons, such as the "three worlds" theory, the "four worlds" theory, the "anti-hegemony world front" and so forth in a vain attempt to change the direction of and undermine the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries.

On the one hand, we must expose their insidious schemes and actions and, on the other hand, must continue to steadfastly adhere to the correct leadership line of our party and brandish the banners of national independence and socialism even higher, determined to advance our people's work of building

socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland to new and even larger victories.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Báo cáo chính trị của Ban chấp hành trung ương Đảng tại Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IV [Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 183.
2. Hồ Chí Minh: "Tuyển tập," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 768.
3. Ibid., p 366.
4. Lê Duẩn: "Đuổi là cơ về vàng của Đảng, vì độc lập, tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành những thắng lợi mới" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 15.
5. Collected documents of the Documents Room--the Vietnam Institute of History.
6. Marx and Engels: "The Communist Manifesto," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 75.
7. Hồ Chí Minh: "Tuyển tập,"...p 12.
8. Party Proceedings (from 27 October 1929 to 7 April 1935), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, p 13.
9. Ibid., p 47.
10. Abridged version of speech by Lê Duẩn, first secretary of the Party Central Committee, at the cadre conference to study the resolution of the Political Bureau (at Hồ Chí Minh City on 28 July 1976).

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## COMMENTARY: THE HAWK IN PEACOCK PLUMES

Hanoi TAP CHI DOG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79  
pp 72-75, 82

[Article by Tran Quoc Tu]

[Text] In the recent past, the authorities in Peking have constantly appealed to the people of China to "unswervingly adhere to the four ideological and political principles." The four principles they have set forth are: 1) the socialist line; 2) the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) the communist party leads; 4) Marxism-Leninism.

Why have the Peking authorities felt it necessary to make a clamor about these four principles? In issue number 5-1979, HONG KY Journal, the theoretical organ of the Chinese Communist Party, stated that they must launch this propaganda campaign because: on the one hand, certain persons within the Chinese Communist Party maintain that the implementation of numerous guidelines and policies of the Central Committee is "inconsistent with Marxism-Leninism." On the other hand, persons in Chinese society are "suspicious of these four basic principles." The 17 June 1979 edition of the PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper also admitted that there are persons within the Chinese Communist Party, including leadership cadres, who "view the decisions of the Party Central Committee as revisionist and rightist in nature."

It is clear that the Chinese leadership feels it necessary to swear loyalty to these four principles because certain persons within the Chinese Communist Party and among the Chinese people feel that the Peking leadership committee has betrayed these basic principles.

The war of aggression against Vietnam launched by them exposed the fraudulent revolutionary face of the reactionary gang within Chinese ruling circles to the people of China and the genuine communists in China. While declaring their adherence to the socialist line, the Peking leadership committee launched a raid on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a country whose people waged a long and very brave struggle against imperialism to achieve national independence

and socialism. If they say that they adhere to the socialist line, why did they collaborate with the U.S. imperialists to attack Vietnam, why, before invading Vietnam, did they have to take their plan for attacking Vietnam to Washington to report to the U.S. imperialists so that the U.S. imperialists could approve and discuss their plan and coordinate with them?

If they follow the socialist line, why did they use the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackeys to implement a policy of genocide in Kampuchea, annihilating 3 million persons in Kampuchea, why did they use the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to commit aggression against Vietnam, massacring Vietnamese?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they engaged in subversive activities in Laos, why have they used the Vang Pao bandits organized by the U.S. CIA and other reactionaries in Laos to oppose the Lao people's democratic government?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they implemented a hostile policy toward the USSR, the first socialist country, the homeland of the great Lenin? Why have they sabotaged the People's Republic of Mongolia, launched an insane propaganda campaign against Cuba, severed all economic and scientific-technical relations with Albania and adopted a hostile attitude toward all other genuine socialist countries?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they resisted the revolutionary undertakings of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Afghanistan? Why did they help the Pinochet executioners resist the people of Chile, help Mobutu resist the people of Zaire, help Numeiri resist the people of the Sudan?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they resisted the worker and democratic movement in the capitalist countries, why have they divided and undermined various communist and worker parties in other countries of the world?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they collaborated with the imperialists and other reactionary powers to resist the three revolutionary currents in the world? Why do they proclaim themselves to be the "NATO of the East" and want to become a member of the North Atlantic bloc of military aggression? Why have they looked for every possible way to sabotage peace and provoke world war?

If they follow the socialist line, why have they constantly pursued a policy of great nation expansionism and hegemony?

Under the control of the present leadership committee in Peking, the People's Republic of China has, in actuality, become a part of the world system of capitalism.



In actuality, China abandoned the socialist line long ago.

Nearly 30 years ago, on 1 October 1949, the founding of the People's Republic of China marked the victory of the democratic revolution in China. It was then that the socialist revolution in China began. But, what also began then was a sharp struggle between the socialist line and the capitalist line on the Chinese mainland. For the first 10 years, the socialist line held supremacy. As a result, socialist transformation was carried out in industry and agriculture; the material-technical bases of socialism began to be built; the standard of living of workers and farmers began to be improved. However, the capitalist line then organized a counter-offensive and gained dominance. The socialist revolution in China (that is, the second stage of the Chinese revolution) was defeated. The "great leap forward" with no regard for objective economic laws in order to build the material bases of great nation expansionism caused the Chinese economy to collapse and dealt a very heavy blow to the everyday lives of the Chinese. The "great proletarian cultural revolution" was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat that abolished the revolutionary state established on 1 October 1949 and dissolved the Communist Party and the mass organizations established by it. The "four modernizations" with the assistance of the United States, Japan, West Germany and the other imperialists are designed to build stronger military, economic, scientific and technical bases in order to implement the plans of great nation expansionism and hegemony.

The state apparatus on the Chinese mainland at this time is a bureaucratic, militaristic state apparatus of followers of reactionary nationalism. Throughout the past 2 decades, this state apparatus has pursued extremely reactionary domestic and foreign lines and policies. At home, it has severely oppressed and exploited the people. Politically, it is dictatorial and fascist in nature. The people enjoy no democratic freedoms whatsoever. Tens of millions of persons have been killed. Tens of millions of other languish in prisons. The ethnic minorities have been "assimilated" and some nationalities, such as the Uy-gua [Vietnamese phonetics] in Tan Luong, face annihilation. Economically, priority has been given to the development of the various military production sectors in order to prepare for wars of aggression. As a result, the life of the people has become more miserable with each passing day. Culturally, they have pursued a demagogic policy, closed schools and abolished the heritage of the national culture and the culture of mankind. In foreign affairs, this bureaucratic, militaristic state has collaborated with the imperialists and launched one war of aggression after another against neighboring countries; after attacking India, it attacked the USSR then Vietnam. It occupied hundreds of square kilometers of land in Burma and thousands of square kilometers of land in India. It occupied the Faracel Islands of V' nam. Is such a state a dictatorship of the proletariat state? No, it is not! It is a dictatorial, fascist state of disciples of great nation expansionism and hegemony. The May 1979 issue of HONG KONG Journal also admitted that many Chinese call the dictatorship of the proletariat in China "the origin of countless crimes."

The Peking leadership committee frequently uses the so called "national ownership" and "collective ownership" of China to prove that their state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state and that their country is a socialist country. However, this fraudulent argument has not deceived anyone. National ownership is the economy of the state. As the economy of the state, it is closely linked to the nature of the state. The state on the Chinese mainland at this time is a reactionary state of disciples of great nation expansionism and hegemony. The so called national ownership in China at this time is the state-operated economy of this reactionary state. It is not the least bit socialist. The so called "collective ownership"--that is, the people's communes--in China at this time is nothing more than military style, forced labor under the control of the bureaucratic, militaristic state. The entire surplus product of this sector is centralized in the hands of the reactionary state in order to strengthen its military forces in preparation for wars of aggression. Therefore, there is no socialist economy either.

A socialist economy must develop in accordance with the fundamental economic law of socialism, the law of satisfying, more fully with each passing day, the constantly rising material and cultural needs of all members of society. Lenin defined the objective of socialism as: "Organizing the process of social production in a planned manner in order to insure the welfare and the comprehensive development of all members of society." (1)

The sole purpose of the Chinese economy is to support the great nation expansionism and hegemony of the reactionary gang within Chinese ruling circles. Its purpose is not to constantly improve the material and spiritual lives of the working people of China. Thus, it is not a socialist economy. Moreover, the Chinese economy at this time is closely linked to the economy of the world capitalist system and is a part of this system.

Although the Chinese Communist Party was disbanded by them long ago, in order to deceive the masses, the leaders in Peking constantly proclaim that they are the Communist Party. Although they proclaim themselves to be the Communist party, this so called "party" in no way complies with the principles of party building set forth by Marx and Lenin. The ideological principles and organizational principles of the communist party have been abolished. Within the "party," there are never any democratic activities. All delegates attending party congresses are appointed. The party committees on the various occasions have also been established on the basis of appointments. Adhering to the anti-Marxist viewpoint that "the party is born from the barrel of a gun," the various gangs within the Chinese Communist Party use military force to compete for power and liquidate one another. Whichever gang seizes power calls itself the "party" and calls the gang overthrown by it the "bourgeoisie within the party." In actuality, all of the gangs that have replaced one another in power in Peking since the time of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" have been "bourgeoisie within the communist party" and none of these gangs has represented a genuine communist party.

The leaders in Peking constantly swear that they are loyal to Marxism-Leninism; however, their actions prove that they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. The truth has proven that they are the largest gang of traitors in the history of the international communist and worker movement. Theirs is not the stand of the working class, but the nationalist stand of reactionary bourgeoisie. They reject the global historic mission of the proletariat. They reject the present law of development of the society of man, the law of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. They have joined the imperialists in opposing socialism in order to rescue world capitalism. They have implemented a policy of great nation chauvinism against proletarian internationalism. They pursue the dream of being the rulers of the world; it is their scheme to impress the model of "Peking-style socialism" that they erected in "democratic Kampuchea" during the time of Pol Pot upon the entire world. Facts have proven that they are the towering enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The so-called Peking-style of socialism has never harmed capitalism in any way. The Western imperialists themselves have verified this. In his book "Between Two Centuries," Brzezinski, the security advisor of President Carter, writes that "the Chinese model of communism" has been built on the basis of "the conscious identifying of itself with the blindest nationalist desires," that this "model" should not be considered as threatening the foundations of capitalism as "a model of communism that resolves the issues of our times" does. This appraisal has laid the foundation for the collaboration of the U.S. imperialists with China.

The leaders in Peking loudly proclaim that they unwaveringly adhere to the four basic principles, that is, to the socialist line, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist party and Marxism-Leninism. However, in actuality, they have betrayed these four principles. The truth proves that they are following the capitalist course: they are establishing a fascist dictatorship of a bureaucratic, militaristic, reactionary and bellicose state; they are imposing the control of a gang of reactionaries who adhere to great nation expansionism and hegemony; they have totally betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist party and Marxism-Leninism, these are four peacock plumes of unparalleled beauty. The hawk in Peking has attached these four plumes to its tail to deceive the people of China and the world. This trick, however, has not deceived anyone.

Thus, in poem it can be said:

The hawk who wears peacock plumes,  
cannot deceive the people and sees nothing but himself.  
Alas! what a grotesque image!  
The peacock is none other than the Peking warmonger;  
the peacock-hawk.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 24, p 430.

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YESTERDAY, BEIJING WAS A RESERVE FORCE. TODAY, IT IS AN ALLY OF IMPERIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79  
pp 76-82

[Translation of excerpts of a commentary in KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4,  
March 1979--translation of the entire commentary was published in JPRS  
73385, TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST No 4, March 1979. pp 84-108]

CSO: 4209

YEMEN ON THE PATH OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 79 pp 83-88

[Article by Pham Huy Thong]

[Summary] The article deals with the process of socialist construction in Yemen under the leadership of the Socialist Party of Yemen.

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