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# Vietnam Report

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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 12, 1981



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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

Important Tasks of the People's Armed Forces in the New Stage (pp 1-5) (Editorial).....	1
Intensively Carry Out Mass Motivation Work in the New Stage (pp 6-19) (Tran Quoc Hoan).....	6
Several Matters Regarding the National Liberation Movement (pp 20-26) (Nguyen Thanh Le).....	19
Concerning the Major Campaign to 'Bring Into Full Play the Fine Nature and Increase the Fighting Strength' of the People's Armed Forces (pp 27-33, 42) (Tran Van Phac).....	27
Why Are a Number of Peasants in the Nam Bo Rural Areas Still Landless? (pp 34-36).....	36
Vinh Lac District Gradually Builds an Agro-Industrial Economic Structure (pp 37-42) (Hoang Ham).....	39
Thoughts Based on the Realities of Trieu Hai (pp 43-45) (Le Van Hoan).....	46
Foreign Policy of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Problem of Consolidating Peace (pp 46-52) (X. Dam-ba-da-gia [phonetic], vice minister of Mongolian People's Republic) (not translated)	

Southeast Asia: An Historic-Cultural Entity (pp 53-58)	
(Cao Xuan Pho).....	50
Is This a Real War or Are These Truly Impasses (pp 59-65)	
(Thanh Tin) (not translated)	
Washington's Adventurous Step in the Arms Race (pp 66-70)	
(Nhuan Vu).....	57



## IMPORTANT TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES IN THE NEW STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Dec 81 pp 1-5

[Editorial. Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] In a speech at the First Session of the Seventh National Assembly in July this year, Comrade Le Duan, on behalf of the party Central Committee, pointed out: "With constant vigilance against the Beijing reactionaries and the bellicose imperialist forces, we must mobilize the efforts of the people and the armed forces in all respects and, simultaneously, make the best use of assistance from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community to ensure that our country always has the necessary strength to defeat its enemies under any circumstance and in any type of war they may wage."

The comrade general secretary also said: "We must continue to build the People's Armed Forces so they are strong enough to serve as the pillar of the all-people national defense system and the nucleus of the people's war for the defense of the fatherland."

The People's Army must undergo intensive training to become a powerful revolutionary army with an unshakable determination to win and an ever higher level of standardization and modernization. At the same time, they must participate in production labor and economic construction through suitable methods."

All our party, people and army must be deeply aware of the strategic importance of the task to defend the fatherland and their great responsibility toward the undertaking of building the army and consolidating national defense in the new stage. All our army and all of our cadres and combatants must demonstrate high determination, exert great efforts and develop their constantly improving capabilities in order to fulfill successfully all the tasks entrusted by the party, the state and the people.

**THE MOST IMPORTANT AND SACRED TASK OF OUR ARMY IS TO REMAIN READY UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES TO FIGHT AND FIRMLY [?DEFEND] THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND.** The task of defending the fatherland in the new stage is very heavy and complex, as it involves great requirements which are broad in scope and urgent in nature.

A striking feature of this new stage is that our army and people have been and are being forced to cope directly with a hostile policy of our most dangerous direct enemy -- the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists -- with their vast territory, large population and massive army, whose land, airspace and sea lie adjacent to those of our country. For many years they have successively resorted to various overt and covert perfidious maneuvers to counter and sabotage the revolution in our country. When we had just emerged from decades of a war of liberation, they -- staying behind the scene -- employed the lackey Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army to wage a war of aggression on our southwestern border. Afterwards, they blatantly massed over half a million of Chinese troops to launch a war of aggression

on our northern border. At present they are still stubbornly pursuing the scheme of weakening and annexing our country together with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea. Using military forces, they have constantly exerted pressure, carried out provocations and launched landgrabbing attacks on our country's border in an attempt to nibble at our territory and weaken our armed forces. They have actively waged psychological and espionage wars by means of very crafty maneuvers to foment national disunity, disrupt political security and public order and safety, and undermine our country politically, ideologically and organizationally. They have feverishly embarked on sabotaging our economy by means of blatant and sophisticated tricks to destabilize our economic situation and living conditions and obstruct our people's socialist transformation and socialist construction. They have sought all means to slander Vietnam in an effort to isolate it in the international arena. They have rallied traitors and counterrevolutionaries and formed them into lackey armies to oppose the revolutions in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. In addition to these measures of comprehensive sabotage, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists have continued to prepare actively for a war of aggression against our country. They have truculently stated that "they will teach Vietnam another lesson." Generally speaking, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionaries, are actually carrying out a VERY INSIDIOUS AND COMPREHENSIVE SABOTAGE STRATEGY against our country in all the political, military, economic, cultural, social and diplomatic fields in an attempt to destabilize and weaken us, to foment rebellions, to launch a war of aggression against our country when an opportunity presents itself, and eventually to annex Vietnam together with Laos and Kampuchea. For this reason, OUR COUNTRY IS NOW IN A SITUATION IN WHICH IT, WHILE ENJOYING PEACE, HAS TO COPE WITH THE COMPREHENSIVE SABOTAGE STRATEGY OF THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS AND HEGEMONISTS IN COLLUSION WITH THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS, AND IN WHICH A LARGE-SCALE WAR MAY BREAK OUT.

The world situation is also very tense. World imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, is strenuously building up its armed forces and actively preparing for a new world war with nuclear weapons.

U.S. imperialism -- the chief, long-term enemy of our people and other peoples throughout the world -- is intensifying its military collusion with the Beijing reactionaries. In view of this situation, we have to fulfill two very weighty strategic tasks: To step up the building of socialism and always maintain the highest combat readiness simultaneously so as to defend the fatherland firmly under any circumstances and, at the same time, to contribute actively to the struggle to preserve peace throughout the world.

As the principal instrument in the direct struggle against wars of aggression and as the pillar of the all-people national defense system, our armed forces must naturally stand on the first line of the national defense front. Our armed forces must certainly fulfill their task of firmly defending the independence and freedom of the fatherland, the sacred sovereignty of the nation, and the territorial integrity, airspace, sea areas, continental shelf, borders and offshore islands of the country, preventing the enemy from infringing upon a single inch of the fatherland's territory. They must firmly defend the state of proletarian dictatorship and the working people's socialist collective mastery; protect political security and public order and safety; and safeguard the cause of socialist revolution and the building of socialism by our people. Together with the entire people, our armed forces must frustrate the Chinese reactionaries' insidious and comprehensive sabotage strategy against our country. Our armed forces must fulfill their national and international duties simultaneously. They must always stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples and armed forces to defend firmly the monumental revolutionary achievements which the three Indochinese countries have recorded and safeguard steadily their present great revolutionary cause -- namely, consolidating national independence and advancing toward socialism. In this way they will be directly contributing to the development of a strong strategic position and increasingly powerful forces for the countries on the Indochinese Peninsula. Only by fulfilling these tasks can our armed forces clearly show themselves worthy of being the pillar of the all-people national defense system.

In addition to the most important task of standing ready to fight in the defense of the fatherland, in the new stage our armed forces also have THE TASKS OF ENGAGING IN PRODUCTIVE LABOR, BUILDING THE ECONOMY IN APPROPRIATE WAYS, and joining the entire people in stepping up socialist transformation and building socialism. Realities have proven that this policy of the party is totally correct. Over the past 5 years and more, along with successfully fulfilling their combat duties joining the entire people in heroically defeating two wars of aggression started by the Beijing expansionists -- thus defending the fatherland's territorial integrity -- and discharging their international obligations to the Kampuchean and Lao peoples, our armed forces have made their contributions to healing our war wounds, restoring production, developing the economy and building the country. The main forces, local forces and units carrying out the task of maintaining combat readiness and fighting on the borders and offshore islands and in the air and on the seas -- as well as the armed forces units engaged in economic work, army logistics units, and so on -- have intensively and actively performed production and economic building duties on different scales and levels and in different methods. In the present economic situation, our armed forces' productive labor and economic building task remains extremely important. This is because it helps to bring about new changes and overcome the major difficulties in our economic and social life. Imbued with the guiding thoughts of the party Central Committee, in economic building our armed forces must first of all join efforts with various economic sectors and localities throughout the country in stepping up agricultural, forestry, fishery and industrial production, and contribute to promoting the development of the energy, mining and capital construction sectors in support of agriculture, forestry, industry and communications and transportation.

At the same time, they must contribute to shaping new economic zones and population centers in important regions; satisfactorily carry out air transportation; fully utilize the capacity, equipment, work forces and discards of national defense factories and enterprises to produce more consumer and export goods; satisfactorily discharge their international duty; and advance international cooperation. Of all the economic building tasks suitable for the conditions of the armed forces, the task of contributing to stepping up the production of grain and food and consumer goods is the most significant. To fulfill their economic tasks, OUR ARMED FORCES MUST DEFINE REALISTIC AND SUITABLE DEMANDS AND PROCEED WITH APPROPRIATE METHODS. The entire armed forces must step up the movement for increased production and practicing economy so as to produce plenty of grain, foodstuffs and consumer goods, thereby helping to stabilize and gradually improve the living conditions of soldiers and reducing the common difficulties of the state and the people. This is a very important and pressing demand for all units from the rear to the frontline, and all cadres, combatants, workers and national defense personnel from organs and units to factories and enterprises. In those units exclusively engaged in economic work and in charge of all or part of the projects under the state plan, it is necessary to correctly define the specific demands and tasks of each unit, to apply satisfactorily various productive labor systems and policies promulgated by the state and, at the same time, to implement close socialist cooperation with various economic sectors and localities so as to develop the strengths and overcome the limitations of military organizations engaged in economic work. The principle that the armed forces must satisfactorily fulfill both the tasks of national defense and economic building must be ensured and these two tasks must be closely coordinated. Our armed forces must certainly strive to make the most active contributions to economic building. This is because they are a revolutionary armed force which is always closely attached to the people in fighting as well as in building, and also because they are a force endowed with considerable capabilities to contribute to the cause of building a prosperous and strong country.

To fulfill these major tasks, the armed forces should MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BUILD THEMSELVES IN ALL RESPECTS SO AS TO CREATE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE AGGREGATE STRENGTH IN NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONDITIONS. The task of building and defending the socialist fatherland in the new stage requires that our armed forces be built into a powerful people's revolutionary armed force, an increasingly modern regular army which simultaneously stands ready to fight and fights victoriously in the defense of the fatherland and participates in productive labor. In this way they will be contributing to economic building and national construction and fulfilling their national duty and international obligation.

Together with the entire people, our armed forces must always HOLD HIGH THE BANNERS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM. They must clearly realize that, at present, the dangerous and direct enemy of our armed forces and people is Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in collusion with U.S. imperialism. They must resolutely struggle against and defeat all of their acts of sabotage and aggression. They must be highly loyal to the fatherland and socialism, clearly show their working-class character, remain closely attached to the working people, maintain close solidarity with international friends and resolutely fight and defeat all enemies. Our cadres and combatants must ceaselessly uphold socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, the sense of collective mastery and revolutionary heroism, and must fulfill all tasks entrusted by the party, the state and the people.

Organizationally, our armed forces have currently reached a higher state of development than ever before. They must constantly IMPROVE THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE and achieve a coherence and balance between the demands of their tasks and the necessary number of troops, between the main and local forces, between the mobile and on-the-spot forces, and between the standing and reserve forces.

They must correctly settle the relationship between the quantity and quality of troops and satisfactorily implement the military service system.

Our armed forces are being outfitted gradually with increasingly modern facilities, weapons and technical equipment and are facing the new demands of the war for national defense. Our cadres and combatants must make strenuous efforts in studying and training and incessantly raise their cultural, scientific and technical standards as well as their fighting ability so as to MASTER EVER MORE SKILLFULLY, HANDLE EVER MORE EXPERTLY AND MAINTAIN IN A TRULY SATISFACTORY MANNER MODERN EQUIPMENT and make the most of the effectiveness of all the weapons in their possession. Study in several different forms must become a truly wide and vigorous movement, and an indispensable activity and an objective for all cadres and combatants of our armed forces. At this juncture, if they do not study, they will surely be unable to fulfill their tasks satisfactorily.

Our armed forces have undergone more than 35 years of fighting and 5 major fights: A general armed uprising, two wars of national liberation, and two wars of national defense. Our cadres and combatants must know how to carry on and develop the highly diversified military traditions and fighting experience achieved by our armed forces and people over the past few decades and by our forefathers thousands of years ago. At the same time, they must study and creatively apply the progressive experiences of the military science of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. They must fully understand the party's military line in the period of national construction and national defense and make the most active contribution to STUDYING AND RESOLVING NEW PROBLEMS CONCERNING MILITARY SCIENCE AND THE ART OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AGAINST THE NEW ENEMY IN THE NEW CONDITIONS.

At present, our armed forces are in a position in which they must ALWAYS MAINTAIN A VERY HIGH LEVEL OF COMBAT READINESS. Our cadres and combatants must constantly sharpen their vigilance, deepen their hatred for the cruel and perfidious enemy, constantly acquire a firm knowledge of the enemy's situation, remain alert in the face of all his activities and the negative phenomena in society, and promptly smash all his maneuvers of sabotage and aggression in any situation.

Our armed forces are actively carrying out the strategically significant campaign "to develop their fine character and increase their fighting strength." This campaign, aimed at developing the general quality and fighting strength of our armed forces, has set correct and realistic targets for 1981 and 1982 which our entire armed forces must concentrate on achieving at all costs. All party and administrative echelons, all mass organizations and all sectors must pay greater attention to the campaign and, depending on their functions, must make practical contributions to helping it obtain fine results.



Building the armed forces, consolidating national defense and defending the fatherland are the responsibilities of the entire party, people and armed forces as well as of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship from the central to the grassroots level UNDER THE CENTRALIZED AND UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE. The major experiences of the revolutionary war and the building of the revolutionary armed forces in Vietnam have confirmed this fact, which is the basic condition for creating a great aggregate strength in the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary war. The correct leadership of the party, the adequate attention of the state, the wholehearted care of the people, the close coordination among all sectors and localities, and the study and training undertaken by the armed forces to enable themselves to fulfill any tasks -- these are the sources of our armed forces' invincible strength in the past, at present and in the future.

The present revolutionary cause of our nation requires that all our cadres and combatants uphold their resolve and readiness to make sacrifices for the fatherland, to devote all their mental powers and physical strength to the defense and building of the fatherland, and to discharge their international duty and to contribute to the world peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. At the same time, our country's revolutionary cause calls for our entire party and people to devote themselves wholeheartedly to building the armed forces, consolidating national defense and caring for the material and spiritual life of our troops by showing correct understanding, a full sense of responsibility and profound sentiments, and by taking practical actions. This is truly a strong moving force, a sacred sentiment and an indispensable condition for motivating and spurring our armed forces to move forward zealously to fulfill the important tasks entrusted by the party, the state and the people in the new stage.

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## INTENSIVELY CARRY OUT MASS MOTIVATION WORK IN THE NEW STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Dec 81 pp 6-19

[Article by Tran Quoc Hoan. Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The principle as well as the motto of building our party is to maintain close relations with the masses. Carrying it out is quite an experience. In the new stage, our entire party and all our people are to carry out two strategic tasks simultaneously -- building socialism successfully and heightening vigilance and combat readiness constantly in order to defend the socialist fatherland.

To fulfill these two tasks, it is necessary to improve leadership; increase the party's fighting strength; make the party firm, strong and wholesome; and strengthen the socialist state. At the same time, we must improve and carry out mass motivation work satisfactorily and launch a vigorous mass revolutionary movement. On this basis, we must strengthen and consolidate solidarity among the nationalities and promote the working people's right to collective mastery so as to achieve the goal of "everything for the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness."

### I -- THE ROLE OF MASS MOTIVATION WORK IN A SITUATION WHEREIN POLITICAL POWER EXISTS

The victories of the Vietnamese revolution over half a century are the result of our party's independent, sovereign and creative line. They are also attributable to the party's mass motivation work. The fine traditions and the source of our party's invincible strength lie in its close relationship with the masses.

However, now that political power has been established, many sectors and localities have neglected the motivation task and paid little attention to building mass organizations and promoting their political role. Many party committee echelons have even neglected leadership over this task. It is fairly common for cadres and party members not to want to do this work, for government cadres to be bureaucratic and highhanded toward the people and for mass-motivating cadres not to work among the masses but operate according to administrative procedures. This is because many people do not fully understand the role of mass motivation work at a time when we have political power. Therefore, it is necessary to make party committee echelons, party organizations, administrative echelons and mass organizations understand thoroughly that the motivation task is always strategically important. In particular, when political power exists, this task is of even greater importance and must be reflected in all fields of party and government activity.

FIRST OF ALL we must understand that revolution is always a mass undertaking. All party lines and guidelines, all state policies and laws and all tasks of mass organizations are eventually carried out by the masses. The party's strength is reflected in the strength of the majority of the politically enlightened and well organized masses. President Ho has said: "Any task, no matter how easy it may be, cannot be carried out successfully without the participation of the people; and any task, no matter how difficult it may be, can be accomplished with the assistance of the people." In his speech delivered at the First Session of the Seventh National Assembly, VCP Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan said: "Whether the results of the development of production and the stabilization and improvement of the people's life are considerable or limited and are obtained quickly or slowly depends to a great extent on the spirit of initiative, and voluntariness, the sense of discipline and the great efforts of all our people." As always, especially in the present stage, the masses are the ones who have built socialism successfully and defended the socialist fatherland firmly.

SECOND, when we have political power in hand, we must prevent such bad practices as bureaucracy, authoritarianism and officialism which can separate the party from the masses and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mass motivation work must be reflected in all fields of party activity. It must also be considered as an important factor in ensuring that all party lines and guidelines and state policies and laws are devised correctly and implemented scrupulously. Maintaining close relations with the masses and wholeheartedly serving the masses must be qualities held by each Communist Party member and the responsibility of each party, government and mass organization.

THIRD, the masses are the sociopolitical base of the new social regime. To consolidate the working class, the collective peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia and the youth and women's forces vigorously means to consolidate the political base so it will serve as a firm foundation for the socialist social regime.

## II -- OBJECTIVES OF MASS MOTIVATION WORK IN THE NEW STAGE

Mass motivation work in the new stage must be aimed at promoting the working people's collective mastery; carrying out the three revolutions simultaneously -- the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the scientific and technological revolution is the linchpin -- building the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new man; and successfully achieving the socialist revolution in our country.

The mass motivation work in the new stage must be closely combined with production and life and with the practice of socialist construction and national defense. Mass motivation work must be aimed at enhancing the masses' sense of and capacity for mastery. It must simultaneously ensure the masses' interests and motivate the masses to fulfill their labor and national defense obligations zealously. It must enhance the masses' activity and creativity in developing production and increasing labor productivity as well as in their participation in economic and social management, thereby creating a vigorous and broad revolutionary movement to achieve the common objective; "All for the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness."

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT in mass motivation work in conditions wherein the party holds political power is that ALL THREE COMPONENTS OF THE SYSTEM OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP MUST DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO MASS MOTIVATION WORK.

Unlike the time when the party did not hold power, now that it has assumed power its relations with the masses are reflected in all fields of social life. The party maintains relations with the masses not only through various party and people's organizations but also through an entire system of state organs and through the administrative apparatuses at all levels. Mass motivation work is not an exclusive concern of the party and mass organizations but also is a responsibility of all three components of the system of proletarian dictatorship.

For this reason, the responsibility of party organizations, administrative echelons and mass organizations for mass motivation work and for prompting the masses to uphold their role as the collective masters in national construction and national defense must be institutionalized.

Mass motivation work is one of the key tasks of all PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

In the conditions when the party holds power, its mass motivation work, far from being allowed to slacken, must be intensified. All party committee echelons must review their mass motivation work in order to intensify in the near future their educational efforts aimed at improving the masses' understanding in all fields, especially their understanding of socialism and socialist revolution. At the same time, they must promulgate positions and policies concerning various classes and strata of the masses and raise the revolutionary and scientific character of mass motivation work. They must assign cadres endowed with good qualities, virtues and capabilities to various state organs and mass organizations to ensure that the state power really is of the people, by the people and for the people. At the same time, they must do their utmost to assist the various people's organizations in bringing their operational methods up to date, overcoming redtape and bureaucracy, and effecting a new change in the activities of the mass organizations and the mass revolutionary movement.

All party committee echelons should establish a system under which party members at any level must participate in social work and in the activities of mass organizations and be put in charge of a number of people among the masses. They must adopt plans for periodic meetings with the masses in order to explain current affairs and the various policies and positions of the party and state to them. They must carry out self-criticism before the masses, solicit the masses' opinions and criticisms, and evaluate the activities of mass organizations. They must resolutely overcome bureaucracy, authoritarianism and a loss of contact with the masses among cadres and party members.

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION is the principal instrument through which the working people exert their right to mastery. All administrative organs have the responsibility of serving the people; maintaining close relations with the masses; organizing the collection of popular opinion on important policies concerning the people's political, material and cultural interests; and adopting plans for mass motivation work in carrying out any task. Bureaucraticism, the tendency to issue orders and arrogance toward the masses must be overcome. The work of all economic, professional, cultural and social organs must, first of all, be aimed at fully developing the people's material and spiritual potential, making the most rational use of the state's supplies and capital to serve the people's interests and resolutely suppressing officialism, favoritism and irresponsibility. State cadres and personnel and the armed forces must have a thorough understanding of mass motivation work. They must maintain close contact with the masses, explain the line and policies of the party and the state to them and listen carefully to their suggestions.

Administrative organs at all levels are responsible for creating every favorable condition, including material conditions, for the mass organizations to carry out their activities. They are also responsible for coordinating closely with the mass organizations in motivating the masses to implement the party's line and policies and the state's plans and laws and for organizing and promoting emulation movements. State regulations must be formulated that will allow people's organizations in general and the VFF in particular to take part in building the administration and controlling its work and to participate effectively in economic and social management. Attention must be paid to broadening the forms of popular control. In the coming years, we must elaborate a law on youth, amend the trade unions law, the marriage and family law....



In conditions when the party holds power, THE VARIOUS PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS are an important and integral part of the system of proletarian dictatorship. They play an extremely important role, forming a direct link between the party and the masses and enabling the party to reach deeply into all strata of the masses to rally, motivate and educate them to carry out the party's political tasks successfully. Also a reliable prop of the state administration, the people's organizations have the following duties: Motivate the masses to participate in economic and social management; control and supervise the administration's work; and exert the masses' right to mastery. In this way they will increasingly help consolidate the administration.

In the new state, the role and strength of the people's organizations are reflected in their ability to organize and rally the masses; raise their socialist consciousness; promote their activity, initiative and creativity; motivate them to participate in managing the state and society; and organize and promote socialist emulation movements.

As a school of socialism, the people's organizations bear great responsibility for building the new man, ceaselessly improving the masses' understanding of socialism, raising their sense of and capacity for collective mastery, and inculcating in them a new attitude toward labor. They also have the responsibility to work in a disciplined, skillful and highly productive manner. Through education, they must prompt the masses to perceive the situation and tasks of the revolution clearly, distinctly see the successes as well as all the difficulties, unmistakably recognize their role and responsibilities and maintain absolute confidence in the party's leadership and the socialist system.

As the representative of the masses' interests and collective mastery, the people's organizations are responsible for motivating the masses to join "the three revolutions," participate in socialist transformations and the building of socialism, fulfill the state plans and strengthen national defense. The people's organizations must participate practically and effectively in economic and social management work. They must also control the implementation of party and state positions and policies and protect the working people's legitimate interests. They are also responsible for contributing ideas to the formulation of party and state socioeconomic policies and motivating the masses to implement them.

The operational methods of the various people's organizations must be changed to suit the new conditions and the rising cultural standard and demands, of the masses and to prevent red tape, bureaucratism and a loss of contact with the grassroots level. The basic units of the people's organizations must be consolidated quickly and programs and plans adopted in order to train cadres for the organizations. Only in this way can we rally large numbers of people, inculcate a high degree of consciousness in the members of various unions and associations and prompt them to remain deeply attached to their organizations.

Mass motivation work must be DEVELOPED FURTHER; that is, it MUST HAVE A SCIENTIFIC BASIS in order to meet the demands of the political tasks in the new stage and to suit the new cultural level and demands of the masses.

The task of motivating the masses to participate in building socialism requires that cadres and party members be conversant with socialism, economic and social management, production organization, sociology, psychology, pedagogy and science and technology. They must also be capable of motivating the masses to wage the struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -- and carry out "the three revolutions." They must organize and promote productive labor and economization emulation movements; turn all positive factors to good account; and struggle to overcome negative aspects in economic and social management.

In the new conditions, the masses' standards in all fields are being steadily heightened. Moreover, all strata of the masses now have new needs and aspirations. Therefore, mass motivation work can no longer be performed monotonously and rigidly. On the contrary, it calls for the study and exploration of human psychology so that objectives and forms of motivation work suitable for each category of object may be adopted.

In carrying out mass motivation work in the present stage, we must exhaustively review and learn from past experiences so as to change our organizational forms and operational methods to suit the new stage.

THE MASS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT represents a concrete result of the mass motivation work of party, administrative and mass organizations. The emergence of a vigorous mass movement in any locality is an unmistakable indication of two things: The presence of strong local party, administrative and mass organizations and the masses' maturity as far as their sense of and capacity for collective mastery are concerned.

Therefore, we must promote the mass revolutionary movement if we want to carry out the party's revolutionary tasks in the new stage successfully. The current socialist emulation movement must be geared to promoting production and economization, opposing negativism, building a new life, consolidating national defense and maintaining political security and public order and safety. Each movement must have specific political, economic and social objectives. It must also be closely coordinated with the elaboration and successful implementation of the plans for developing the economy and culture, strengthening public security and order and consolidating national defense in each grassroots unit and locality, especially in districts and precincts. Each emulation movement must achieve results in all three of the following fields: Socioeconomic work, developing the new man and building and developing organizations. Close coordination among party, administrative and mass organizations is absolutely necessary if a mass revolutionary movement is to be launched. All mass organizations, especially the trade unions, have the duty to organize, motivate and foster ever more vigorous, steady and broad revolutionary movements in highly diversified forms. State organs must create a management system capable of providing strong incentives so that the laborer will work zealously in the interests of society and the collective and in his own interest. At the same time, they must coordinate with the various mass organizations and create all necessary material conditions for the launching of emulation movements. The activities of front-rank models in the mass movement to implement the policy of applying product contracts with labor groups and laborers in the rural areas and to apply the contract-based wages system in industrial enterprises have offered us many valuable lessons. All party and administrative echelons must satisfactorily carry out the task of reviewing the achievements of these models and bringing their positive influence into play. They must also adopt a policy to give timely encouragement, rewards and commendation so as to promote the strong development of socialist emulation movements.

### III -- CHANGES IN THE METHODS OF ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The social and class structure in our country has undergone many changes in the process of carrying out the three revolutions. In the north, the great majority of the people consist of members of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. In the south, there still are five social elements: Workers, peasants, artisans, individual small merchants and the bourgeoisie. The majority of workers are now in state-operated and joint state-private enterprises. Peasants and artisans have become owners of production materials and more than 50 percent of them have taken up the collective production path. The collective mastership awareness and abilities of the people of all walks of life have been improved considerably.

## 1. THE CONTINGENT OF WORKERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE UNIONS

In our country, the role of the working class in social life has been enhanced day by day. Over the past 5 years, the number of workers has increased by 24 percent. The number of technical workers has risen to 1.3 million. This increases to 3.6 million if civil servants and other working people of the state sector are included. The role of the working class -- the vanguard class that has led the revolution -- has been strengthened and consolidated not only because it has increased numerically, but essentially because it has thousands of state-run production and business establishments and many modern heavy industrial installations and controls the main sectors of the national economy. Some 60 percent of all workers have graduated from vocational schools. The great majority of them have finished general education levels II and III. Many workers have been elected to the leading echelons of the party, government and mass organizations. Though confronted by troubled events in the world and with difficulties in the economy and life, our country's working class remains imperturbable and creative. They are seeking ways to overcome difficulties in maintaining and accelerating production and stabilizing their lives. They are firmly confident in the party's leadership.

However, when it comes to meeting the requirements for building a socialist working class, our country's working class is not immune to shortcomings and weaknesses. In this respect, its class awareness is not keen. It is still influenced by the psychology and behavior of small producers, and its professional skills and labor output remain limited. Moreover, it does not possess a high sense of discipline and is insufficiently acquainted with the operational requirements of large-scale industry. A large number of workers and civil servants have manifested negativism which, in a certain place and at a certain time, is fairly serious.

TRADE UNIONS are the largest mass organizations of workers and civil servants. They are the closest collaborator with and a firm prop for the state administration.

Trade union activities have contributed realistically to the management of the state and enterprises and have motivated workers and civil servants to accelerate the productive labor and thrift movement and the movement for developing innovations, improving techniques, overcoming difficulties, maintaining production and caring for the lives of workers and civil servants.

However, the organization and activities of trade unions at all levels in the new stage are still of an administrative character. Trade unions do not keep up with production and the activities of enterprises and workers. They have not yet fully developed the workers and civil servants' right to collective mastery in applying trade union laws and in the struggle against negativism, bureaucratism, authoritarianism, theft, corruption and illegal transactions in organs and enterprises in order to protect the interests of the working class.

Our party has always considered trade unions to be a strong tool in building the socialist Vietnamese working class and encouraging the entire working class to be in the vanguard of socialist construction. Trade unions at all levels must penetrate the workers and civil servants' life in order to understand their feelings, their livelihood, the level of their enlightenment and their professional skills. They must, through the productive labor movement and production teams and groups, educate workers and civil servants to develop a working class sense, a new work attitude -- working with a high sense of discipline, according to techniques and with high output -- and behavior befitting the operations of large-scale industry. They must, out of class love, take good care of the legitimate demands of workers and civil servants. They must participate in training and helping new workers in vocational classes in order to create conditions for them to become industrial workers quickly.

Trade unions must participate in drafting and implementing the state plan at the grass-roots level (factories, construction sites, state farms and so forth) and nationwide. They must intensively control and supervise the implementation of collective contracts, solve all problems concerning labor, protect the interests of workers and civil servants and resolutely struggle against negativism and deviations in the implementation of party and state policies and measures in organs and enterprises. Trade unions have the great responsibility of contributing to the party's leadership and participating in improving and training a contingent of cadres coming from the working class for the party and state.

To help trade unions carry out these tasks, it is necessary to clearly define the responsibilities of trade unions and party and state organs in building a socialist working class, as well as the responsibilities of trade unions for participating in managing the state and enterprises according to a practical system.

In the coming days, the trade unions must strengthen their organizations and improve their operational capabilities. Trade union work must reach deeply into the field of production and suit the conditions of workers and grassroots units so as to exert a practical impact on the efforts to fulfill various economic and technical objectives and to develop the socialist working class. Trade union cadres must be trained according to a comprehensive plan and through satisfactory coordination between the specialized and nonspecialized forces. The trade union schools must improve their curricula and the quality of their training work.

## 2. WORKING PEASANTS AND THE FEDERATION OF COLLECTIVE PEASANTS [FCP]

Our party's policy regarding the peasantry is aimed at, by means of cooperativization, transforming individual peasants into members of the collective peasantry and strengthening the strong worker-peasant alliance in the socialist revolution.

In the north, working peasants have become the collective peasantry. In the process of consolidating cooperatives and perfecting socialist production relations, the peasants' collective spirit has been heightened gradually and the face of the rural areas has been changed substantially. In implementing the policy of applying product contracts with labor groups and laborers in the rural areas, those localities which have scrupulously followed the directives of the party Central Committee Secretariat have succeeded in creating a new working spirit marked by voluntariness, full use of land and manpower, developing production, stabilizing the people's living conditions and increasing their capacity for socialist collective mastery. We should review our past experiences, exploit the good aspects and rectify shortcomings so as to advance the revolutionary movement steadily.

In the south, where peasants are gradually entering the road of collective production, more than 50 percent of the peasantry have joined cooperatives or production collectives. A major problem to which we should pay attention is that, along with intensifying mass motivation work among peasants, we must have correct policies and good management organizations if the peasantry is to favor the road of cooperativization and actively implement various positions and policies of the party and state.

The FCP, formerly the farmers association, plays an active role in educating peasants in the socialist revolution and motivating them to embark on the road of collective production and implement the positions and policies of the party and state in the rural areas.

In those localities where cooperativization has been completed, the cooperative and production collectives function as both production organizations and broad mass organizations of collective peasants. The cooperative not only devotes itself to production work but also has the responsibility of caring for all aspects of the peasants' livelihood, motivating them to overcome the negative aspects of small producers and heightening their sense of collectivity and their devotion to building and consolidating cooperatives and building new socialist rural areas.



The collective peasants councils at all levels assist the party and state by maintaining close relations with peasants, holding discussions with the collective peasantry to formulate correct policies, carrying out "the three revolutions" in the rural areas, promoting the peasants' collective mastery and motivating the peasantry to step up production, build and consolidate cooperatives and build new socialist rural areas.

### 3. ARTISANS AND THE ASSOCIATION OF HANDICRAFT COOPERATIVES

There are more than 1.5 million professional artisans in our country. In the north, 90 percent of the artisans work in various handicraft cooperatives: in the south, their colleagues have just begun to adopt the mode of collective production, mainly in the form of cooperative teams. Artisans constitute a contingent of highly skilled workers with considerable potential who account for 61 percent of local industrial output in terms of value. In the southern provinces, the Association of Cooperative Workers [hooij lao doongj howpj tacs] has motivated individual artisans to implement state production and trade policies and to take up the mode of collective production. Once individual artisans have formed a cooperative, this small industrial and handicraft cooperative will function as both a productive organization and a broad mass organization. As such, the cooperative has the responsibility of caring for all aspects of production work and the livelihood of its members and of attending to their political and ideological education. The Association of Handicraft Cooperatives [lieen hieepj xax thur coong nghieepj] is an organization which represents the artisans' collective mastery. It maintains close relations with the party and the state, contributes to formulating the necessary policies and helps intensify the building, broadening and consolidation of small industrial and handicraft cooperatives. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union [HCMCYU] and the Vietnam Women's Union [VWU] should coordinate closely with the Association of Handicraft Cooperatives in educating artisans on the working-class stand, in promoting their sense of and capacity for collective mastery, in improving their professional skills and in helping them develop a new work style.

### 4. THE CONTINGENT OF SOCIALIST INTELLECTUALS

Our country's intelligentsia has increased fairly rapidly over the past 5 years. We now have 260,000 cadres with a college or higher level education and 600,000 middle-level skilled cadres, not to mention the 300,000 college and vocational middle school students. The intelligentsia is playing an increasingly larger role not only in the scientific and technological revolution but also in the cultural and ideological revolution. Most of our country's intellectuals were trained under the socialist system. A number of intellectuals who once lived under the U.S. puppet regime have now made many active contributions under the new regime. The absolute majority of our country's intellectuals are patriotic and have confidence in the party's leadership and the socialist system. Many have shown an ardent passion for research and creative work. Recently, many talented people have emerged, a fact which has demonstrated clearly the intelligence and talents of Vietnamese.

However, we must also see that our scientific and technological cadres, though numerous, are unevenly trained, that we still lack managerial cadres, that the quality of both political and professional training is lower than expected, and that we have developed many shortcomings in our efforts to create proper working conditions for and to care for the livelihood of our scientific and technological cadres. Recently, the resolution of the party Central Committee Political Bureau on the policy regarding science and technology has inspired our country's intelligentsia with enthusiasm.

The Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions [VCTU], the HCMCYU, the VWU and the VFF should pay attention to coordinating with one another in training the contingent of scientific, technological and managerial cadres and in educating and motivating them to show their patriotism and their love for socialism, to overcome all difficulties, to participate in production and other activities in life, to engage enthusiastically in research and creative work, and to develop the spirit of a main force in the scientific and technological as well as the cultural and ideological revolutions.

## 5. EDUCATE AND FOSTER THE YOUNGER GENERATION AND BUILD A STRONG HCMCYU

The present younger generation is the main force of the new social classes and strata. Youth accounts for 60 percent of the working class, 52 percent of rural workers, 40 percent of the scientific and technological cadres, 80 percent of army and public security combatants, and more than 90 percent of level III and higher students.

We must understand clearly that the younger generation is trained to be both the future champions of the party's revolutionary cause and the shock force of the revolution. As the resolution of the fourth party congress put it: "The bright future of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland is in the hands of the youth, teenagers and children."

Over the past years, young people have made numerous contributions and have matured in many respects. Endowed with fine qualities and considerable potential, they are bringing into play their role as a powerful reserve force of the Vietnamese working class and nation.

However, due to the difficulties encountered and shortcomings developed by the party, the state and society in educating and caring for youth, a number of young people have not yet been able to define a revolutionary ideal for themselves, and their sense of and capacity for collective mastery are still weak. At a time when we are still encountering many difficulties in caring for the employment, education, recreation... of youth, it is worrisome that a number of young people are falling under the influence of the unhealthy neocolonialist and bourgeois lifestyle and of enemy psychological warfare and propaganda. This is a problem to which all party organizations, state organs and social institutions must pay utmost attention so as to turn young people into a generation worthy of being the future champions of the party's glorious revolutionary cause.

THE HO CHI MINH COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION has made a big step in developing its ranks. Its membership has increased to 4.5 million. It has organized and educated more than 5 million teenagers and children. It has, in many forms, engaged assault youths into agricultural and industrial production, combat and study and helped them build a new life. In particular, over the past 3 years the union has trained and introduced to the party some 700,000 outstanding union members, 230,000 of which have been admitted to the party.

However, the organization and operation of the union still do not keep up with the new situation. They are still restricted and unrealistic and are not in line with the demands of grassroots-level union organizations and of youths themselves. Its activities are heavily committed to assault work and to building youth projects. They are not associated with the task of educating and training the entire young generation. Due attention has not been paid to the young people's interests and to the broad youth movement. Therefore, the quality of union members is poor, the grassroots-level union organizations are weak and the organization and assembling of youths is still limited in many respects. The union must carry out more intensively the task of imbuing its members with Marxism-Leninism, socialist revolution and communist ideals. It must educate youths of all walks of life intensively so they will understand their role, duties and rights in the socialist revolution. It must motivate youths to take the lead in the movement to emulate in labor and participate in consolidating national defense, maintaining political security and social order and safety and developing culture and education. At the same time, it must pay great attention to the youths' interests and, together with the party and state, solve their demands and aspirations. Intensively building and making the union politically, ideologically and organizationally firm and strong is an urgent requirement.

In particular, there must be a vigorous change in the building and consolidation of grassroots-level cadres so that the union will be in a position to organize and broadly rally youths, teenagers and children and educate the young generation to become citizens who are politically stable, who have correct thoughts and noble and fine feelings, who are able to exercise the right to collective mastery, who love work and work or study passionately and who are always ready to defend the fatherland. The union is able to fulfill these tasks along with satisfactorily educating backward youths and teenagers, provided that it is organizationally strong, adopts many appropriate methods of broadly organizing and assembling youths, gets closer to youth activities, is subject to the leadership of party organizations and is given assistance by all administrative echelons and mass organizations with a high sense of responsibility. The campaign launched within the union to participate in developing the party must be accelerated and improved qualitatively in order to make the union truly worthy as the party's reserve force. In this way, the union will be able to complement the party and the working class with new, increasingly large force and to provide the party, sectors, mass organizations and the army with many young outstanding cadres. The union must pay greater attention to developing intensively the Ho Chi Minh vanguard teenagers group and the Ho Chi Minh children's group. It must work out plans for actively developing the body of union cadres and cadres in charge of the teenagers and children's groups. The training and improvement of union cadres must be part of the party's cadre training plan. The party must pay great attention to actively training and improving union cadres into its own reserve force.

#### 6. WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE VWU

Vietnamese women, who account for more than 50 percent of our country's population, have become the real masters of their families and society. This is a social productive force playing a major role in the economic, cultural, public health and educational sectors. Endowed with a glorious revolutionary tradition and proficient in both handling state affairs and doing household chores, Vietnamese women have made big strides in achieving liberation and equality with men. The social structure has changed considerably as far as women are concerned. The contingent of women workers who are civil servants is becoming increasingly larger, with women constituting the majority in agricultural and handicraft production cooperatives, small industry and the cultural, educational and public health sectors. The number of women in the armed forces, leading party and state organs and the various mass organizations is growing steadily.

However, at present, Vietnamese women are still being somewhat constrained by backward feudal customs and the vestiges of neocolonialism and are suffering under family burdens, especially at a time when the economic and living conditions remain difficult. This has limited, to no small extent, the progress of Vietnamese women and their participation in labor and social activities.

In the new stage, THE VWU should educate women on bringing into play their traditional "courage and resourcefulness" on the front of productive labor and building and defending the socialist fatherland. The union should care for women's family life and the rearing of their children. It should attend actively to the problems concerning women's welfare and assist them in overcoming the difficulties in daily life and in struggling against backward, feudal and bourgeois customs. In particular, it should pay attention to participating in the formulation of laws, systems and policies ensuring women's collective mastery and their equality with men.

The union should organize women of all strata and rally them in its organizations. It should intensify the training of its cadres, bring its operational methods up to date, and promote cooperation among women while strengthening coordination with the VFF, the VCTU and the HCMCYU. Together with various state organs, it should devote itself to the cause of women's liberation and the building of the new socialist woman.

## 7. IMPLEMENT SATISFACTORILY THE PARTY'S POLICY REGARDING NATIONALITIES

Never before have the people of various nationalities of the Vietnamese community been united so closely with one another in their common efforts to build socialism and to defend the socialist fatherland as they have been in recent times, although the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists have done everything they could to sow national disunity and to sabotage national solidarity so as to carry out their scheme of aggression and annexation against our country. This is a victory of our party's policy regarding nationalities.

This policy is aimed at achieving complete equality in all fields among various nationalities and creating the necessary conditions for radically abolishing inequalities in economic and cultural standards between the minority and majority nationalities. It is also aimed at enabling the highlands to catch up with the lowlands, promoting the development of all nationalities in all respects and encouraging them to unite with and help one another achieve progress in order to become a community of nationalities acting together as the collective masters of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

All party committee echelons, administrative organs and mass organizations must understand fully and implement satisfactorily the party's policy regarding nationalities. They must carry out propaganda and educational work even more effectively to enable the people of various nationalities, especially in the northern border areas, to see clearly the Beijing expansionists' and hegemonists' scheme aimed at attracting and dividing them, and to remain alert, stay united and fight resolutely to smash all Beijing's schemes of aggression and sabotage. They should help the people of all nationalities to see clearly the strength of unity in building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. At present, the key measure to improve the material and cultural life of the people of diverse nationalities is to motivate them to be active in developing agriculture and forestry, carrying out the campaign for settled farming and settled life, building and consolidating cooperatives, and developing culture and education. We must satisfy adequately the demands of all families for drinking water, salt, clothing and lamp oil. We must actively lead and guide the people of diverse nationalities in developing a civilized life-style and changing and discarding gradually various backward customs and superstitions.

## 8. SATISFACTORILY CARRY OUT MASS MOTIVATION WORK AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF VARIOUS RELIGIONS

Due to the victory of the revolution, the party's correct policy, and the efforts of all sectors and levels in motivating the followers of various religions, the latter have become increasingly more attached to the new socialist regime and have joined the various revolutionary movements for socialist construction and national defense. All levels and sectors have implemented actively the party's policy regarding the freedom of worship while suppressing reactionaries resolutely and guiding various churches in associating themselves increasingly with the nation and socialism.

We should help the followers of various religions understand clearly that the party's policy regarding all religions consists of respecting the people's freedom to practice or not to practice a religion, ensuring their normal religious activities, treating all religions equally before the law, and uniting all the patriotic and progressive in various religions who associate themselves with the nation and socialism. This policy, however, does not allow anyone to take advantage of religion to hinder the masses' political and social activities and obstruct productive labor. It advocates resolutely demolishing all subversive propaganda and distortions spread by reactionaries hiding in various religious orders, and frustrating all schemes of the imperialists and their henchmen to take advantage of religion.



In those localities inhabited by large numbers of followers of various religions, all party and administrative echelons and all mass organizations should, on the one hand, pay constant attention to promoting the movement for productive labor and building a new life, actively develop public health and educational services, and devote themselves to improving the material and cultural life of believers. On the other hand, they should attach importance to educating believers in patriotism and socialism and carry out satisfactorily the dissemination of party and state positions and policies, thereby enabling the masses to see clearly the reactionaries' scheme to take advantage of religion. They should also actively unmask the reactionaries and struggle to foil all their maneuvers, guide the churches toward complying with state policies and law, and motivate clergymen to contribute actively to the building of socialism and national defense.

#### 9. INTENSIFY THE VFF'S ACTIVITIES

Today, the VFF is a front for patriotism and the love of socialism, a front of manual and spiritual workers who exert collective mastery on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the party.

As its role has increased in importance in the new stage, the VFF must act as a reliable prop of the state in order to promote national unity, successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The VFF should initiate practical activities to fulfill effectively the following major tasks:

The VFF should reach deeply into all strata of the masses, all nationalities, all religions and all intellectuals to promote their traditional patriotism, raise their socialist consciousness, and motivate them to implement the party's line and policies. On this basis the VFF should strive to strengthen the great national solidarity and heighten the political and moral unity of the people.

The VFF should make every effort to bring into play the working people's collective mastery in all fields -- political, economic, cultural and social -- so as to motivate the entire people to participate enthusiastically in various revolutionary movements, build socialism successfully and defend the socialist fatherland.

The VFF should uphold its responsibilities in participating in the management of the state and society by undertaking practical activities.

It should put its role to good account in building the state -- a state of the people, by the people and for the people -- by motivating the entire people to participate in building and consolidating the administration, and by intensifying its control of the administration's activities.

The VFF should strengthen further the cooperation and coordination among its members so as to disseminate widely its policy and program of action. By so doing it will enable all people to develop their collective mastery, especially at the grassroots level and in villages, wards and enterprises. Formalistic coordination and perfunctory exhortation must be done away with. The front must uphold its role as the key coordinator of the movements for revolutionary actions and in educating the masses.

#### 10. STRENGTHEN PROVINCIAL AND CITY MASS MOTIVATION COMMITTEES

To meet the demand for intensified mass motivation work during the new stage, the party Central Committee Secretariat issued decision No 93 on establishing mass motivation committees. In a province or city, the mass motivation committee serves as the staff of the provincial or city party committee. Its major responsibility is to assist the provincial or city party committee in laying down policies regarding mass motivation work and in strengthening guidance and control of various echelons and sectors of the party, administration and mass organizations in the implementation of directives and resolutions on mass motivation work.

At the same time, the provincial or city mass motivation committee is dutybound to coordinate with the party groups of the various mass organizations in training and formulating plans for cadres to carry out mass motivation and mass organization work. It must also assist the provincial or city party committee echelon in building the party organizations of various organs and mass organizations so as to enable cadres and party members responsible for mass organization work to fulfill their political tasks satisfactorily.

To discharge this function, all provincial and city party committees should implement decision No 93 of the party Central Committee Secretariat scrupulously and strengthen their mass motivation committees. Each district, village, precinct and ward should assign a comrade standing member of the party committee echelon to take direct charge of the mass motivation committee, which comprises this comrade and the key leaders of various mass organizations. The mass motivation committee of a district or precinct should have additional cadres to assist it in its work. Only in this way can it meet the demands of its tasks.

To overcome the neglect of mass motivation work, we must first of all strengthen the leadership of all party committee echelons in mass motivation work. The problem is that provincial and city mass motivation committees must actively take the initiative in making suggestions to party committee echelons and conduct profound study to help party committee echelons formulate timely and correct policies and decisions concerning each strata of the masses. At the same time, provincial and city mass motivation committees must satisfactorily carry out the task of organizing and controlling the implementation of these policies and decisions.

Mass motivation committees should review past experiences and develop mass motivation work into a science and an art. Problems concerning mass motivation work must be taught in party schools at all levels. Profound study must be conducted on motivation work directed at each member of the masses to help the party Central Committee issue, in the coming years, specialized resolutions on workers motivation, youth motivation and women motivation work, thereby meeting the new demands of the revolution.

The following tasks must be fulfilled satisfactorily in the immediate future:

- Mass motivation committees, together with the various mass organizations in provinces and cities, must profoundly study the problems already raised in light of the local conditions so as to contribute suggestions on mass motivation work to the draft documents of the forthcoming party congresses at various levels.
- Provincial and city mass motivation committees must be strengthened quickly to meet the demands of the new tasks.
- The various mass organizations must be actively assisted in consolidating their grassroots organizations and formulating plans for the training of cadres for mass motivation work and cadres for the mass organizations.
- Promote a vigorous revolutionary movement of the masses to engage in emulation activities to greet the fifth party congress. This movement must have a practical content and concrete targets so as to help resolve pressing problems concerning production and daily life, security and national defense. It must also help combat negativism everywhere, in rural areas as well as in the cities, especially at the grassroots level.
- Active preparations must be made to review the mass motivation work since 1976 so as to advance to the conference to review mass motivation work in the new stage, which is scheduled to be held in 1982.

Due to the new concepts in mass motivation work, to the strengthening of mass motivation committees from the central to the local level, the tight leadership of all party committee echelons, and the active work of the various mass organizations, the mass motivation work will surely undergo many new changes in the days ahead.

## SEVERAL MATTERS REGARDING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

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[Article by Nguyen Thanh Le]

[Text] Since World War II, nearly 120 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, countries that were once colonies, have won their independence to one degree or another. These countries account for about one-half of the world's population and constitute four-fifths of the members of the United Nations. Today, only about 1 percent of the population and 2.5 percent of the land of the world are under the direct rule of classical colonialism. Thus, to one degree or another, one-half of mankind has progressed from being slaves to becoming masters, from "standing outside the advance of history" as objects of history to becoming the masters of history and gradually "participating in deciding the destiny of the entire world." (1) Old style colonialism is on the threshold of being totally eliminated. This is a great victory for the national liberation movement, is a leap forward in the history of man.

This victory of nations has been closely linked to the victory of the Russian October Revolution, to the existence and continuous growth of the great Soviet Union, to the brilliant feat of arms recorded by the Soviet Union by annihilating fascism and pushing the imperialist system into a position of unprecedented weakness, thereby creating the conditions for formerly oppressed nations to rise up in every possible way, overthrow the rule of imperialism and win national independence. It is true that "the revolutionary storm of the national liberation movement that has shaken Asia, Africa and Latin America and swept up more than 2 billion people in all of the countries that were once colonies and vassal states is the second greatest event of our age following the formation of the world socialist system." (2)

### The Trend of More and More Countries Advancing to Socialism

According to Lenin, in the period of transition to socialism, the law of history is that the national liberation revolution will inevitably become the socialist revolution, even though the forms and rate of this change will vary from place to place and time to time. Following World War II, many socialist countries were born. The world socialist system was established. This was a turning point following the

October Revolution. Of these countries, a few had experienced a national liberation revolution and carried out a socialist revolution while all of the other countries were liberated from fascism and then carried out the socialist revolution. In the 1970's, if we include unified Vietnam and a number of countries that won victory after carrying out anti-feudal democratic revolutions, 10 more countries in the world selected the socialist path.(3) Deserving of attention is the fact that the birth of these countries was closely linked to the unprecedented strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to the situation following the Vietnam war. These countries are characterized by underdeveloped economies and backward cultures; in many of these countries, the working class is not strong and still encountering numerous difficulties. However, their prospects for political and social stability are very good. It can be said that the birth of these young and socialist states (or states leaning toward socialism) was one of the turning points of the national liberation movement.

With the tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and under the strong impact of the three revolutionary currents in the world, the awakening of these nations and the struggle waged by them were the foremost factors in this great victory. A few of these countries had worker movements and a political party of the working class at an early date. From the very outset, these proletarian parties brandished the banner of a national and democratic revolution and, after completing the task of opposing imperialism, immediately began to carry out the socialist revolution. In many countries, the struggle for national independence was led, from its beginning, by patriotic intellectuals. The majority of these persons belong to the petty bourgeoisie. At first, they took an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stand and led the people in a struggle to achieve national liberation by means of revolutionary violence. In this process of struggle, they relied upon the mass of manual workers and farmers. On this basis, the coordination between the forces leading the revolution and the worker movement created the conditions for accepting the influence of scientific socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology. The most advanced component within the patriotic, progressive national movement experienced challenges, forged itself, purified itself, gradually organized itself into the political party of the working class and gradually advanced the national, democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

The process of revolutionary struggle of the two types of countries mentioned above proves a matter that is in the nature of a law. It is that a country, after winning its independence, can only solidify its victory and move forward to build a progressive society that conforms with the trend of the times when the people of that country have a vanguard party that takes the stand of the working class, adopts Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism, adopts a correct political line and revolutionary method, establishes an economic construction line that is consistent with the conditions of the country and, at the same time, closely unites with the socialist countries and receives positive assistance from them.

Thus, in the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, the age in which the working class is at the center of history, the national liberation revolutions are inevitably under the control of the law of advancing from the national, democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and these revolutions



have become a part of the world proletarian revolution. The realities of the national liberation revolution together with the phenomenon of more and more countries choosing the socialist path eloquently prove the truth of our times: national independence is closely linked to socialism.

Of course, we must view this phenomenon as part of a long historical process, the process of the birth and growth of the new, highest social system of mankind. This process has been closely linked to the strength of the struggle waged by nations against imperialism, to the balance of power between the two opposing social systems and to the power of the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union. As a result of the continuous development of these revolutionary factors, the law that national liberation revolutions will inevitably become socialist revolutions will have an increasing impact. It is a certainty that, in the future, socialism will spread with each passing day and the imperialists and international reactionaries will have to gradually retreat and will ultimately perish. This is a trend of history that no reactionary power can reverse.

#### The Struggle Against Imperialism Continues in the Political and Economic Fields

The characteristic of the national liberation movement following World War II has been that many nations have had to deal with bloody wars of aggression waged by imperialists, the model of which was the war of aggression waged by the French imperialists and then the U.S. imperialists against the nation of Vietnam; many other nations have arisen in violent struggles and carried out national democratic revolutions. Due to heavy battlefield defeats which led to the virtual collapse of the colonial system of the French colonialists after 1954 and after the Algerian war and because the balance of power has increasingly changed in a manner unfavorable to the imperialist camp, the imperialists were forced to change their tactics; they conducted negotiations with the bourgeoisie in the colonies and peacefully granted independence to these countries. In 1960, 18 African countries were granted their independence. Between 1960 and late 1980, more than 60 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America won their independence through many different forms of struggle; some of these countries waged successful national democratic revolutions. This was a brilliant victory for these nations and for the three revolutionary currents of our times. However, granting independence is a ploy of the imperialists designed to block the wave of revolutionary struggle by nations and direct this struggle down the path of reformism. Through peaceful negotiations, the imperialists vainly seek to create a form of cooperation and compromise between themselves and the bourgeoisie in power within the countries to which independence has been granted, thereby opening the way for neo-colonialism to infiltrate these countries and replace old style colonialism. With the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie in power in such a situation, the former colonies, although they have won their political independence, maintain the structure of the old society. The bourgeois, reformist national ideology continues to exist. The socio-economic base remains virtually unchanged. All of these factors have controlled the path followed by many countries that have won their independence by peaceful means, especially in Africa.

Since World War II, about 50 african countries have won their independence. Some have chosen the socialist path but many others are still economically dependent, to

one degree or another, upon imperialism, consequently, they are under the political control or pressure of imperialism. In the majority of the African countries, the working class is newly established and does not have its own strong political party; racism, feudal and bourgeois nationalism and localism are having a profound impact, causing divisions among the people and have led to opposition movements and internal purges that have reduced the strength of the struggle by nations against imperialism.

In Asia, a number of socialist countries and a number of progressive nationalist countries are brandishing the banner of independence and sovereignty in every respect but many other countries are still under the strong impact of the capitalist international division of labor and are profoundly influenced by the capitalist economic crisis. The traitors of the working class and people of China, the reactionary powers within Beijing's ruling circle, are pushing China farther and farther away from the world socialist community and into the grip of imperialism.

In the region of the Arab nations in the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists are making every effort to use the issues of the region, such as the issue of religion, the race issue, the border issue, the petroleum issue and so forth to undermine the solidarity of nations that share a common enemy, the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli expansionists. The U.S. imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries are making every effort to undermine the national liberation movement in the richest petroleum region of the world, attack progressive tendencies and divide the nations in this region from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In Latin America, although the bourgeoisie in the countries of this region seized political power from the western colonialists at the start of the last century and although capitalism has developed here to some extent, due to the exploitation and control by U.S. neo-colonialism, practically all of these countries are still dependent countries. In a number of countries within the region, fascist dictatorships supported by the United States are pursuing a policy of cruel terror and suppression of the people, consequently, the masses frequently arise in struggles of many different forms, including armed struggles. Even a component of the Catholic Church is opposed to the U.S. lackey regimes. In many countries, a broad people's front has formed in order to oppose the pro-U.S. dictatorial regime. The struggle against U.S. imperialism is being vigorously waged right within its own backyard.

To nations that were once oppressed, nationalism encompasses progressive factors. Today, now that the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie are in power under the conditions of peace time, bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism has an opportunity to blossom in many of the developing countries. When the nationalist spirit is not directed down a genuine path, it easily becomes chauvinist nationalism, factionalism, isolationism and localism, becomes opposed to internationalism and is easily used by the imperialists to serve their interests.

All of these facts indicate that "as long as imperialism exists, the struggle for national liberation, the struggle to protect national independence...will continue to be the foremost issues..."(4) of all nations.

One major characteristic of the struggle by nations against imperialism at this time is the strong shift in the spearhead of the struggle to the economic field.

Everyone knows that the "unprecedented" development of the western capitalist countries following World War II, especially during the 1950's and 1960's, was due primarily to exploitation in many different forms of the developing countries.

The following facts prove this. Each year, the "multinational corporations" of the West, led by the United States, take from 50 billion to 100 billion dollars in profit from all the developing countries within the capitalist system. Investments in the developing countries yield a profit rate that is very many times higher than that of investments in the imperialist countries. Between 1970 and 1980, the United States invested 8.7 billion dollars in the developing countries but earned 39.685 billion dollars in profit, which represents a profit rate of four to five times! Neo-colonialism is plundering even the smallest sources of capital of nations, thus causing the developing countries to encounter mounting debt. In 1973, the developing countries owed the developed capitalist countries 12.2 billion dollars; in 1981, they owed more than 500 billion dollars. It can be said that this debt is a tribute paid each year by the developing countries to the imperialist countries.

Taking advantage of the heavy economic dependence of the developing countries, the imperialists are looking for ways to shift the negative influences of the economic crisis to the developing countries so that these countries, which find themselves in difficult circumstances, encounter even more difficulties. The developing countries have never been as severely economically exploited and strangled as they are today. As a result, the antagonism between nations and neo-colonialism is one of the basic antagonisms of our times. Moreover, there are signs that this antagonism is becoming sharper. Whereas, in past years, the antagonism between imperialism and the colonies led to the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism that occurred after World War I and evolved into the collapse of the colonial system following World War II, in the early 1970's, this antagonism developed into the serious crisis of neo-colonialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. This antagonism requires that the task of foremost importance of the developing countries at this time is to wage a determined struggle to abolish the old economic order, establish international economic relations of fairness and equality, insure the sovereignty of nations over the raw materials of their countries and establish a fair system in international trade, international finances, international monetary affairs and so forth, thereby creating the conditions for the newly liberated countries to develop their national economies and improve their living conditions.

To escape poverty and backwardness, it is necessary, in conjunction with the struggle against the constraints of neo-colonialism, to struggle to liberate the laboring people because, without a progressive social system, it is impossible to avoid dependence upon neo-colonialism. If a struggle is only waged for a new economic order, but reforms of the economic structure and the social structure within the country are not made, it is impossible to achieve true national independence.

At present, there is, in one part of the world, a model of a new international economic order; this model is the socialist community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). Within this international economic organization, there are genuine cooperation and assistance between the developed socialist countries and the other socialist countries. It is a model that has a tremendous inspirational



impact upon the struggle of the developing countries for a new international economic order. The socialist countries wholeheartedly sympathize with and support the struggle being waged by the developing countries on the economic front. The struggle for the right to control natural resources is a matter of survival to the nations that recently escaped the chains of colonialism. This struggle has only begun and is encountering stern resistance from the imperialists. However, the law of history is that imperialism will surely perish. Nations will surely gain control of their natural resources, use them as the base of political independence and eventually establish a new society consistent with the trend of the times.

#### The Struggle Against Imperialism Must Be Closely Linked to the Struggle Against Chinese Hegemonism

In the past, the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles considered Asia, Africa and Latin America to be the "world countryside" surrounding the world cities. Then, they considered these regions to be the third world, a world which, under their "leadership," would align with the second world (the countries not in the third world and countries that are not one of the two "superpowers") to oppose the two "superpowers," which, in essence, meant opposing the Soviet Union. Now, they have brazenly joined hands with the United States and are collaborating with every imperialist and reactionary force in the world to oppose the Soviet Union, oppose Vietnam, oppose the world revolution. The scheme of Beijing regarding Asia, Africa and Latin America basically remains the same: to control these regions and use them as springboards for imposing Chinese hegemony upon the entire world. The difference compared to previous years is that Beijing places the center of gravity in the "second world" and U.S. imperialism and is making every effort to tighten its ties in every area with the U.S. imperialists and the other imperialist countries. With regard to the developing countries, Beijing employs every possible measure, both sophisticated and crude, from colonialist-style "aid" in order to win them over to creating pressure and dividing these countries from one another, from the socialist countries and undermining their anti-imperialist, neutralist policies. This is also evident in Beijing's acts of sabotage against the non-aligned movement. Beijing has looked for every possible way to win over, divide and intervene in the internal affairs of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that have chosen the socialist course. Beijing has made an 180 degree turn in its relations with some socialist countries, such as Vietnam and Albania, severing all aid, withdrawing all specialists and even sending troops to commit aggression against Vietnam.

The ambition of Beijing is to impose its hegemony on the entire planet; however, to accomplish this, Beijing must establish its hegemony in Asia, primarily in Southeast Asia, which includes the three countries of Indochina, while intensifying its acts of sabotage in South Asia, West Asia, the Middle East and other places. Taking advantage of its geographical position, of the blood ties of the tens of millions of overseas Chinese and of the forced withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists from the countries of Indochina, the Chinese hegemonists have been vainly trying to turn Asia into their sphere of influence and use it as the springboard for carrying out their scheme to achieve world hegemony.

The U.S. imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries have, ever since they began collaborating and aligning themselves with each other, constantly emphasized the unity



of their strategic interests. What are the reactionary strategic interests of Washington and Beijing? They are to oppose and eventually abolish the world socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, oppose the national liberation movement and the worker movement, oppose peace and the relaxation of tensions in the world. In regions in which there is a struggle for national liberation or to solidify national independence, Washington and Beijing are always collaborating in a manner filled with crimes. As regards the so called Kampuchean issue, they are preventing the world from recognizing the only legitimate government of the Kampuchean people and scheming to restore the genocidal Pol Pot clique. As regards the so called Afghanistan issue, the United States and China are together in their opposition to the young national and popular state in this country. Beijing and Washington have adopted similar reactionary stands toward such other issues as the Palestinian issue, the South Africa issue, the Chile issue, etc. They have taken the side of regional reactionaries against the interest of nations, despite Beijing's smooth and demagogic talk.

In the Reagan administration's military strategy to deal with the so called two major wars, one of the major wars involves the regions of the nationalist, independent countries (one major war in western Europe to oppose the Soviet Union and another in the Middle East or somewhere in Asia, Africa or Latin America). Washington considers China to be its ally in these two major wars. Of the four regions in the foreign policy of the United States, western Europe, the Middle East, Central America and the Pacific, three regions are regions in which nations are struggling for national independence or struggling to solidify this independence.

The strengthening of the military collaboration between the United States and China is causing concern to all the people of Asia. Together with the peoples of the countries of Indochina, the people of India and the peoples of the other countries in Asia are extremely vigilant in the face of the scheme of expansionism and aggression of Beijing, which is supported by Washington.

In addition to coordinating their strategic activities, Washington and Beijing have also joined together in many arguments against the national liberation revolution. These arguments include the so called "international terrorism" argument, which was put forth by the Reagan administration and promptly endorsed by Beijing. This vile slander by the United States and China is designed to divide the just struggle of the nations that are actively opposing imperialism, such as the Palestinian people, Libya, El Salvador and so forth. At the same time, they have also used this argument to slander the assistance given in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the peoples struggling to win and protect their national independence.

In this situation, in order to protect their national independence, in order to establish their national economic sovereignty, the newly liberated countries must struggle against imperialism and, at the same time, against the expansionism and hegemony of China. Regardless of how closely these two reactionary powers align themselves with each other to oppose the revolution, they cannot reverse the situation, cannot prevent the national liberation movement and the movement to protect national independence from winning increasingly large victories.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 371.
2. The Resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 77.
3. They include: Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Grenada and a number of other countries.
4. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 174.

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CONCERNING THE MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO 'BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE FINE NATURE AND INCREASE THE FIGHTING STRENGTH' OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

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[Article by Tran Van Phac]

[Text] During the past 3 years, the campaign to "bring into full play the fine nature and increase the fighting strength of the people's armed forces" launched by the Party Secretariat has been widely carried out throughout the party, the army and among the people and has achieved good results. Practically all services, branches, agencies, academies, schools, national defense factories and forces on the frontlines as well as the forces in the rear, including main force troops and local troops, have undergone good qualitative changes as seen in the 122 outstanding units of the army that were awarded Military Exploit Medals by the state and banners by the Ministry of National Defense. Many new factors have emerged everywhere. The progress that has been made provides very favorable conditions for more strongly developing the campaign in the years ahead in order to continue to intensify the work of making our army a regular force, modern, powerful people's revolutionary army and insuring the successful performance of the tasks of protecting and building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The results of the campaign prove that the decision by the Party Secretariat to launch the campaign was a very correct and timely decision. This decision expressed the deep concern of our party and people for the armed forces, for the work of strengthening the national defense system and improving our ability to protect the fatherland in the new situation.

However, in order to more fully bring into play and increase the fighting strength of our people's armed forces, it is of utmost importance that we deeply understand the tremendous strategic significance of the campaign.

In the final analysis, the fighting strength of any army is determined by the quality of that army. The essence of the army is its quality. When our army is of reasonable size and high quality, it is fully capable of winning victory over enemies who are larger and stronger. This is the basic viewpoint of our party in the buildup of the revolutionary armed forces. This viewpoint is consistent with the realities of building the army in our country, a country which, although it is not very large and does not have a very large population, has had to constantly deal with powerful aggressors throughout the several thousand years of building and defending the country.

Today, in order to firmly protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, our people and armed forces have been and are dealing with a new strategic enemy, a new object of our strategy: the big country expansionism and hegemonism of the reactionaries in power in Beijing.

Although they were heavily defeated in the two wars of aggression against our country on the southwestern and northern borders, the Chinese reactionaries continue to obstinately pursue their scheme to weaken and annex our country, annex the three countries of Indochina and expand into the other countries of Southeast Asia. Collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers, they are making every effort to implement their strategy of undermining our country in every way and are frantically preparing arms for large-scale aggression against our fatherland. Our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must deal with the strategy of comprehensive sabotage of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we face the possibility of a major war. Successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist fatherland are the two extremely important and closely linked strategic tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage. As a result, we must focus our efforts on building the country while "always being as ready as possible to protect the fatherland." (1) We must closely coordinate the economy with the national defense system, the national defense system with the economy, successfully build the socialist economy and strengthen the national defense system, thereby insuring that our country always has the strength to triumph over every enemy in every situation, in every type of war, firmly protect the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland and the socialist construction of our people and fulfill its international obligation.

The people's armed forces, which are the nucleus of a people's war to protect the fatherland and the pillar of the national defense system, must, above everything else, be strong in the new situation. The campaign to bring into full play the fine nature and increase the fighting strength of the army is designed to continue to develop the people's armed forces into a powerful revolutionary army that is completely loyal to the fatherland, to the people, is determined to fight and win victory over every aggressor, fully adhere to the military line and military science and art and are proficient in the methods of fighting of a people's war to protect the fatherland, thereby insuring the successful performance of every task assigned by the party and state.

In the more than 30 years of the war of liberation, our army took a leap forward in the development of its fighting skills. However, when we shifted to the period of a people's war to protect the fatherland against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism under the new conditions, our army faced new, very high requirements that differ very much in many ways from the requirements of the war of liberation. In this period, fighting skills primarily involve having a thorough understanding of the military line of the party, having a firm grasp of the laws of a people's war to protect the fatherland and being well versed in the strategies, tactics and technologies employed to wage this war. If we stop at or do not take positive steps to improve the fighting skills we now have, it will be impossible to meet the requirements of a war to protect the fatherland in the new period.



In the present situation, the army not only has the task of maintaining its readiness to fight in defense of the fatherland, which is its most important task, but also has another very important task of engaging in productive labor and building the economy, thereby making practical contributions to resolving the economic difficulties of the country. Our army, itself, must make improvements in its organizational structure, implement the laws promulgated by the state well, strengthen its internal unity, establish good unity between the army and the people under the new conditions that exist and, at the same time, meet the requirements of building a regular force, modern army. Clearly, the tasks of the armed forces are very large and the responsibilities of the armed forces are very heavy. The key matter of decisive significance is that the armed forces must be of high quality and possess high fighting strength. This is both the immediate, pressing requirement and the basic, long-range requirement of the task of building up the army. It is also a demand placed by the revolution upon the armed forces in the sacred cause of protecting the fatherland at this time.

The quality and fighting strength of the people's armed forces are an entity that consists of many closely related relationships. This quality is a combined quality encompassing revolutionary nature and military skills, ideology and organization, personnel and material bases, weapons and technical equipment, personal qualities and skills, organizational structure, leadership and command mechanisms and so forth.

The objectives, theme and goals of the campaign, as pointed out by the Party Secretariat, are to improve the quality of these factors and develop upon these factors as highly as possible in order to meet the requirements of the situation and tasks under the specific conditions of our armed forces and our country at this time.

Through this campaign, we have created a broad revolutionary action movement and mobilized everyone to truly contribute to the buildup of the people's armed forces, the building of the national defense system and the strengthening of our people's ability to defend the country in the new stage of the revolution.

Bringing into full play the fine nature and increasing the fighting strength of the people's armed forces are broad, very detailed issues. The objectives and requirements set forth by the Party Secretariat are the key points in bringing into play the revolutionary nature and increasing the fighting strength of our armed forces. The successful fulfillment of these objectives and requirements will bring about a new, basic change in the overall quality of our armed forces. This is also the main theme of the present "determined to win victory over the aggressor army" emulation movement in all the people's armed forces.

Our army has always embodied the nature of the working class. Today, this fine nature must be highly developed upon. The vivid expression of this nature is that our army must always be a revolutionary people's army that is absolutely loyal to the fatherland and socialism, is united as one, always has close ties with the laboring people, closely unites with international friends and is determined to fight and defeat every enemy and excellently complete each task. This is the unparalleled political-spiritual strength of our army; at the same time, it is a very important

part of our army's fighting strength. It is closely linked to the other factors of fighting strength. This fine nature is the foundation for increasing the impact of the other factors in fighting strength. Maintaining and enhancing this fine nature are an extremely basic premise to enhancing each factor and achieving the combined strength of these factors within a single entity in order to achieve the objective of insuring that our armed forces achieve new quality in all areas and are fully capable of completing every task.

Our party attaches very much importance to the absolute political-spiritual strength of our army; at the same time, it also attaches very much importance to the strength of the material factors of our army. To increase its fighting strength, we must correctly apply and develop upon the spiritual and material factors of our army; at the same time, we must establish good relationships between the army and the outside, especially between the army and the people. The purpose of increasing the army's fighting strength is to not only meet the requirements of immediate tasks, but also the requirements of long-range tasks. This fighting strength must be expressed in combat objectives, organizational structure, leadership mechanisms and, in particular, in the implementation of strategy, tactics and techniques, in combat efficiency.

At present, the armed forces must firmly adhere to their central political task of constantly improving the defenses of the country, so that they are truly strong, making good preparations for and raising their level of combat readiness, improving their overall quality and building the material-technical bases of the national defense system; at the same time, they must perform their economic construction task and international task well.

To insure the performance of these large tasks, the campaign must meet the following requirements during the two years 1981 and 1982:

1. Developing strong will, a high sense of responsibility, strict discipline and good unity;
2. Heightening the sense of ownership and improving the ability to exercise ownership of weapons, vehicles, machinery, supplies, fuels and every other material-technical base;
3. Improving the ability to lead, organize, command and manage and building strong basic units;
4. Uniting the army and the people and maintaining good international unity;
5. Organizing the material, spiritual and cultural lives of troops well.

A strong will, high sense of responsibility, strict discipline and good unity are always the basic matters of foremost importance in the task of building up our armed forces.

In the face of the revolutionary situation and tasks of our country at this time, a strong will, a high sense of responsibility, strict discipline and good unity must first

be established on the basis of recognizing who our enemy is, knowing whom we must fight and knowing their schemes and tricks; deepening our hatred of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary forces; always being vigilant, firmly grasping our weapons, being ready to sacrifice one's life in combat and being determined to fight and defeat the aggressor army and firmly protect the fatherland. In view of the fact that the enemy is frantically pursuing a strategy of sabotaging us in every way, it is even more necessary for the cadres and soldiers of our armed forces to firmly grasp the lines and policies of the party and state, scrupulously implement and resolutely protect these lines and policies, be firm and unswerving in every situation and, at the same time, display high political responsibility and complete each assigned task very well. In the face of the difficulties being encountered by our country in the economy and daily life, it is even more necessary that the cadres and soldiers of the armed forces maintain their confidence and actively contribute along with the party and state to overcoming these difficulties while struggling against every negative phenomenon, maintaining political security and social order and safety and promptly thwarting each psychological war effort and spy war effort of the enemy. Each unit must be a solid bloc of cadres and soldiers who love and help one another, display a high degree of comradeship and set examples in obeying the laws of the state and each rule and regulation of the army.

The requirement of heightening the sense of ownership and improving the ability to exercise ownership of weapons, technical equipment and all other material-technical bases is a pressing requirement within our armed forces. Modern weapons and technical equipment are extremely important material bases, are an indispensable factor in raising the fighting strength of our armed forces. However, they also give rise to a new antagonism: the antagonism between the limited qualifications of cadres and soldiers and the modern level of development of material and technical bases. Only by correcting this antagonism is it possible to utilize the properties and effects of weapons and modern equipment and the overall strength of these modern weapons and equipment in combat. To accomplish this, we must heighten both the sense of ownership and the ability to exercise ownership of cadres and soldiers. Cadres and soldiers must make every effort to learn, to forge themselves because, without the necessary cultural and scientific qualifications, without good health, they will encounter very many difficulties and find it difficult to become the masters of modern weapons and equipment. The specifics involved in being the masters of weapons and technical equipment must include the following: maintaining and storing weapons and equipment well and not allowing them to become damaged, worn out, inefficient or lost; maintaining the safety of weapons and equipment and not using them in a careless, wasteful manner; using weapons and equipment in a proficient and economical manner that makes full use of their technical properties and yields the highest returns in combat and so forth.

Understanding and proficiently using each weapon and piece of equipment within the unit are the responsibility of all soldiers and cadres, especially the cadres on the basic level. Each unit must very scrupulously implement the regulations on the management, maintenance and use of weapons and equipment and put the implementation of these regulations on a regular basis.

Improving the ability to lead, organize, command and manage as well as build strong basic units faces cadres with many new and very high requirements. To begin with, in a people's war to protect the fatherland, military science and art have achieved a new level of development. Military strategy, strategic guidelines, modes of warfare and so forth must be changed to suit new combat objectives. The methods of fighting employed in a defensive war also differ from the methods of fighting in a war of liberation. The scale of the war and the requirements regarding combat coordination among the various services and branches are greater than before. The level of development of equipment and the proficiency required to use weapons and technology are becoming increasingly high. The enemy is much more perfidious and brazen and, in addition, is a large country bordering on ours. Our army's corps of cadres, which has undergone certain changes in its organizational structure, is still inexperienced in some areas. This situation demands that all cadres of our armed forces undergo a strong and comprehensive change with regard to their level of development and abilities, including their ability to organize, command and lead and their ability to manage units. Empiricism and conservatism as well as laziness are major obstacles to the effort to meet the new requirements raised by a people's war to protect the fatherland. On the other hand, we must also realize that the leadership and command mechanism within the army has developed; the "one person in command" system is being universally implemented. The new mechanism faces cadres, especially command cadres, with very high requirements regarding their personal qualities and ethics, their level of development and skills, the leadership and command style and so forth. Skilled cadres must also be persons who know how to educate and train soldiers and how to unite with and love soldiers so that they become revolutionary military personnel who possess good personal qualities, are well disciplined, have a command of tactics and techniques, are skilled in combat, proficiently utilize weapons and fulfill their duties in every situation. Skilled cadres must also know how to mobilize the masses and establish good relationships with the outside.

Strong persons must go hand in hand with a strong organization. An army that is strong must first be strong on its basic level. Focusing efforts on building strong regiments, regiments that are strong in terms of their leadership organization, command organization, mass organization and strong in their combat activities, training and work, is the important task of the various echelons and sectors throughout the army. It is also the foremost objective of the present campaign.

Maintaining unity between the army and the people and international unity is the task, is the factor that creates the strength of our armed forces. It has become a fine tradition of our army. Today, under the new conditions that exist, the requirements and specifics involved in the relationship between the army and the people are new. Importance must be attached to teaching this fine tradition, strengthening the feelings between the army and the people, establishing a relationship in which the army and the people share one will, promptly resolving deviations in the relationship between the army and the people and maintaining the civilian proselyting discipline of troops. As regards the relationship between the army and the people at this time, it is not enough to simply establish this relationship in terms of feelings, rather, we must establish this relationship in accordance with a plan for coordinated action, mutual assistance and socialist cooperation with a deep



sense of the feelings between the army and the people and attach importance to the mutual interests of troop units and local party organizations, governments, mass organizations and people in order to stimulate the completion of the revolutionary tasks of the locality and the tasks of the unit of building itself, studying and fighting. These are the key points in the requirement of maintaining unity between the army and the people.

International unity, especially militant unity with the revolutionary armed forces of Laos and Kampuchea and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, is a matter of strategic significance in truly increasing the overall strength of our army. The fighting strength of our army is an inseparable part of the military strength of the three countries of Indochina and the powerful military strength of the socialist community. At present, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists as well as the other reactionary powers are doing everything possible to sabotage and divide us in a vain attempt to weaken the strength of this unity between the army and the people, this international unity. For this reason, in order to further strengthen the unity of the army and the people, we must respect the right of collective ownership of the people, wholeheartedly protect socialist property, protect the life and property of the people, respect the laws of the state and the regulations of the locality in which troops are stationed and respect the customs, habits and religious beliefs of compatriots, especially the ethnic minorities. Our entire army, from its cadres to its soldiers, must make an effort to uphold the image of "troops of Uncle Ho" at all times and places, in every aspect of social life, thereby increasing the love, trust and help of the people for them.

As regards units performing an international task, it is necessary that they thoroughly understand Uncle Ho's teaching that "helping a friend is helping oneself," clearly understand their noble international obligation, always display a high spirit of pure proletarian internationalism, which our party has maintained and enhanced, and absolutely avoid every deviation in international relations. Doing these things well will also make a very important contribution to strengthening the international solidarity between our army, party and people and the friendly army, party and people.

Organizing the material, spiritual and cultural lives of troops well is an important and pressing requirement. In view of the fact that the present economic situation of the country involves many difficulties and shortages and the combat ready life of troops is an intense life in many ways, every cadre must display a high sense of responsibility and adopt policies and measures that are truly suited to each specific set of circumstances in order to effectively maintain and improve the living conditions of troops. The cadres and agencies on the various echelons must look for every way to overcome the difficulties they face in order to provide the required living standards directly to soldiers. They must conduct close inspections and resolutely oppose all misappropriation and willful acts that violate the rights of soldiers and cadres. Every unit must launch a movement to increase food production and practice economy and a cultural, literary and art movement designed to improve the material and spiritual lives of the unit. It is even more necessary for units tasked with maintaining combat readiness on the border, on the islands and so forth to give attention to this matter. Under the difficult conditions that exist now, the matter of decisive importance is organizing living conditions. This is not only

the responsibility of rear service cadres, but is primarily the responsibility of commanders, of party work and political work. In conjunction with improving organization and management, full importance must be attached to developing the sense and role of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers and tapping the dynamism and creativity of everyone in order to establish a happy, wholesome, orderly and disciplined style of life even under the circumstances of difficulties and shortages.

The realities of the past 3 years have proven that the campaign to "bring into play the fine nature and increase the fighting strength" of the people's armed forces has achieved such fine results primarily because the various party committee echelons have concerned themselves with guiding and utilizing the overall strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system. The efforts made by the armed forces themselves have also been extremely important. However, under present circumstances, close leadership on the part of the various party committee echelons and the close guidance and wholehearted assistance of the government and people play a very large role.

By bringing into play their fine nature and increasing their fighting strength, the people's armed forces will successfully complete the task of protecting the fatherland and make an important contribution to socialist construction, to maintaining political security and social order and safety. Conversely, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and building the system of socialist collective ownership, the new economy and the national defense system throughout the country as well as in each locality will have a very large influence upon the effort to build up the armed forces. For this reason, coordinating this major campaign with the revolutionary movements in the localities, achieving combined strength and heightening the responsibility of the organizations of the party, the government organizations and the mass organizations of the various levels and sectors in order to achieve greater results are a requirement of foremost importance in the work of organizing and guiding the campaign in the years ahead.

The sectors, mass organizations and localities must closely coordinate with the armed forces in the implementation of this campaign, as pointed out in the directive from the Secretariat, in order to achieve the objectives of "the army and the people sharing the same will and all the people working to build the army, strengthen the national defense system and protect the fatherland."

In 1982, in order to achieve these important objectives, there are many major, pressing jobs that the various party committee echelons and people's committees must directly guide, such as the induction of youths, the implementation of the military service law, the training of reserves, the strengthening of the self-defense militia, national defense physical and technical training, the building of districts into military fortresses, the building of the border and coastal defense lines, the maintenance of political security and social order and safety and the implementation of the army's rear area policies.

The successful performance of these jobs will help to accelerate the campaign to bring into play the fine nature and increase the fighting strength of the armed forces and will make a tremendous contribution to building the national defense system within each locality as well as throughout the country.

The adoption by the various levels of government, the mass organizations and the various sectors of programs for closely coordinating their activities with army units will firmly guarantee the victory of the campaign within the locality. The provincial, municipal and district military commands must display a higher level of responsibility and successfully fulfill their role of directly carrying out the campaign while serving as the competent command staff of the party committee echelon and people's committee directly guiding the campaign.

With the concerned leadership of the party committee echelons, the wholehearted assistance of the people and the closely coordinated actions of the various sectors and localities, our people's armed forces will surely move forward and achieve sound, comprehensive results in this major campaign, thereby being worthy of being the nucleus of the national defense system and a people's war to protect the fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Tat ca vi To quoc xa hoi chu nghia, vi hanh phuc cua nhan dan," [Everything for the Socialist Fatherland, for the Happiness of the People], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 15.

7809

CSO: 4209/198

## WHY ARE A NUMBER OF PEASANTS IN THE NAM BO RURAL AREAS STILL LANDLESS?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese December 1981 pp 34-36

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The policy on agrarian reform in the southern rural areas was published 3 years ago. It was designed to allocate land and ricefields to peasants who have not enough land and ricefields or none at all. Why has this policy not been adequately implemented? Why is it that a number of peasants in the Nam Bo rural areas still have no land and ricefields or not enough? And must they resign themselves to being employed and exploited?

There are a few landless peasants who dare not receive a land allocation. If they accept some land or ricefields, they will sell it or leave it fallow. This situation actually exists and has happened against the landless peasants' will. Poor peasants allocated some land and ricefields have not been assisted by local administration in developing the material conditions for production. They have had to hire machinery, draft animals and plows at high prices and borrow seeds and capital at high interest. As their production output cannot match their costs, they must ask for employment all the year round to earn a living.

The fact that large numbers of peasants still have no land and ricefields or not enough is due to the failure of some local authorities to reduce the excessive amounts of land and ricefields being used by their owners for exploitative purposes. Moreover, the land confiscated or requisitioned and that voluntarily surrendered by exploitative elements should have been allocated to peasants having little or no land and ricefields. The land has even been used illegally by some state agencies, cadres, workers and civil servants and by some local cadres for their own production purposes.

Some 13 percent of the peasant families in Dan Quan hamlet, Viet Hung village, Phu Tan District, Minh Hai Province still each occupy from 5 to 17 hectares of land and ricefields. In addition to their own manpower, each year these families have to hire between 30 and 60 percent of their total requirements of labor in order to complete work on their land. Mr To Van An in this hamlet owns 17 hectares. He rents out 2 hectares and keeps 15 hectares for cultivation. With seven workers of his own, he has to hire 61 percent of the total required labor in order to complete cultivation of all his land and ricefields.

From 1978 to 1981, the state agencies and cadres in Vinh Khanh village, Thoai Son District, An Giang Province, seized 147.5 hectares of land and used it for their own production purposes.



This land was seized as follows: from 25 to 35.5 hectares by two agencies; 7 hectares by one agency; 4 hectares each by six agencies; 2 hectares by one agency; 6 hectares by one cadre; 4 hectares each by two cadres; 2 hectares each by 11 cadres; from 1 to 1.5 hectares each by six cadres and 0.5 hectare by one cadre. In Hoa Hung hamlet, Hoa Binh Thanh village, Chau Thanh District, An Giang Province, 21.1 hectares were seized by eight units and individuals of various provincial agencies; 26.6 hectares were seized by some district cadres; and 5.8 hectares were seized by four village cadres for their own production purposes. However, they have all rented out the land for money or rice. Meanwhile, 22 families in this hamlet have no land. They have to work for others or rent land from others who have excess land.

In localities where such seizures of land have occurred, there is obviously no land left for allocation to those who have little or no land for cultivation. As a result, there are still many peasants who have to work for others or rent land from those who own too much land and use it for exploitation. Various forms of exploiting labor through hiring agricultural workers and collecting heavy rentals are therefore prevalent in many parts of the south.

The following forms of exploitation prevail in some hamlets of Minh Hai Province: Renting ricefields for rice or money -- some 1,000 square meters of ricefields are rented for 160 to 300 kg of rice or 200 dong; hiring cheap labor in the pre-harvest season -- 40 dong for a man to plow 1,000 square meters of land (60 dong must be paid when the harvest is in full swing); paying 15 dong for transplanting 0.1 hectare of land (in the harvest season from 20 to 25 dong must be paid); hiring labor with a rice loan -- 20 kg of rice for a job such as banking up rice plots over 0.2 hectare of ricefield or transplanting rice over 0.4 hectare (in harvest season 30 kg of rice must be used instead); lending money for rice to be collected at harvest, such as in the case of Nguyen Van Hoi, who borrowed 300 dong and paid back 800 kg of rice; giving monetary loans plus daily, monthly, seasonal and yearly interest with rates ranging from 10 to 20 percent; giving loans of paddy to get payment back in paddy plus interest, such as in the case of Hoang Van Hoac, who borrowed 200 kg of paddy and paid back 300 kg, and the case of Tran Thi Bay, who borrowed 800 kg and paid back 1,200 kg; lending rice to get paddy back at harvest time such as in the case of Nguyen Van Duong, who borrowed 50 kg of rice and reimbursed with 200 kg of paddy equivalent to 120 kg of rice and the case of Ma Tien, who borrowed 100 kg of rice and paid back 300 kg of paddy equivalent to 180 kg of rice; and finally, selling commodities on credit for payment in paddy at harvest time -- 20 dong worth of commodities must be paid for with 20 kg of paddy (1 kg of paddy in the harvest season cost 4 or 5 dong).

The situation of land and ricefields being seized and exploited is causing difficulties to the livelihood of not a small number of laboring peasants and their families, and is hampering the development of production and the socialist transformation of the southern countryside. Why do some peasants still have little or no land and ricefields, and why are they still being exploited more than 5 years after the policy on agrarian reform was published? Why have some cadres and party members seized peasants' land and ricefields? How have the local authorities dealt with these problems?

Faced with this situation, the correct attitude which we must adopt is to resolutely and urgently continue agrarian reform, eliminate the seizure of land and ricefields for exploitative purposes in agriculture, and resolve the problems of land and ricefields for those peasants with little or no land. At the same time, we should motivate peasants to join in the movement to build production organizations and collectives in order to help each other overcome difficulties and accelerate agricultural production.

The state should formulate a policy to realistically help those peasants who have recently been allocated land and ricefields so that they can have the conditions for developing production.

Financial and material aid should be given on a priority basis to those collective production organizations of peasants which produce effectively. In those localities where the per capita land allocation is small, special attention should be paid to the development of jobs and professions, seeking employment for peasants, and to the relocation of people to new economic zones.

In allocating land and ricefields to those peasants with little or no land, we must use the land and ricefields of those long-standing landlords who have such assets in excess and use them for exploitative purposes; of the rich middle peasants who hire workers to till for them (but not of the needy small peasants who must hire workers to till and harvest for them because they lack breadwinners); and of those nonagricultural people living in towns and cities who previously received some land and ricefields through mistakes.

We must recover all the land and ricefields illegally occupied by the various agencies, factories, army units, individuals, cadres, workers and civil servants, and all the land and ricefields confiscated and requisitioned by the state or voluntarily surrendered by exploitative people which various agencies and individuals have seized for the so-called "self-sufficient production" but are actually renting out for personal benefit. All army units, agencies, factories, cadres, workers and civil servants requiring land on which to produce and improve their livelihood, are authorized to reclaim virgin and fallow land. They cannot take land acquired by peasants. In those localities where peasants cannot till all their land, army units and state agencies, cadres, workers and civil servants may borrow some of the peasants' lands for self-sufficient production but they must use their own manpower in production and are not authorized to hire workers.

The recovered land and ricefields mentioned above will be allocated only to those peasants who now have no land for cultivation or not enough. In those localities where the per capita land allocation is small and the amount of recovered land and ricefields is insufficient for allocation to all those people with little or no land, priority allocation should be given to the families of fallen heroes, wounded soldiers and revolutionaries, and to those landless families whose sons are on active army service. Wherever there are many peasant families without housing land, the local administration should motivate families with ample housing land to give some to those who need it. When there is no more land for allocation to the remaining landless peasants, these people should be motivated to reclaim virgin and fallow land for cultivation. If there is no more virgin and fallow land to reclaim, such jobs as handicrafts and maritime-products processing should be organized and developed to seek employment for these people and to stabilize their livelihood. In overpopulated areas where the per capita land allocation is small, it is necessary to organize the relocation of people to new economic zones where there is plenty of land to till.

CSO: 4209/198

## VINH LAC DISTRICT GRADUALLY BUILDS AN AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 81 pp 37-42

[Article by Hoang Ham, the Vinh Lac District Party Committee secretary]

[Text] Vinh Lac is a delta district in the midland province of Vinh Phu. It has a population of 220,000 and measures 25,000 hectares, 16,290 hectares of which are farmland. As the key district in the production of grain and food products in Vinh Phu Province (its grain output accounts for roughly one-fifth the total grain output of the entire province), Vinh Lac considers the production of grain and food products to be its foremost task. During the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, Vinh Lac encountered more than a few difficulties: the supply of primary materials declined by one-third to one-half compared to the years from 1970 to 1975; complex natural disasters continuously occurred, bringing drought, waterlogging, floods, cold weather and crop pests; 6 of 10 crops failed and some were seriously damaged. In addition, there were the difficulties that had existed for many years, such as the very few material - technical bases and the failure to strengthen the new production relations.

Under these circumstances, the party organization and people of Vinh Lac District struggled to gradually build an agro-industrial economic structure.

1. Planning production, redistributing labor and beginning to create the new economic structure.

As a densely populated district, how could we develop the potentials in our arable land and labor and gradually form an agro-industrial economic structure within the district? During the very first days following the merger, Vinh Lac conducted planning and established production guidelines, an allocation of crops, an allocation of livestock and a structure of sectors and trades consistent with the characteristics of each small area and each type cooperative.

Vinh Lac District has been divided into three agricultural economic areas: the northern area, which consists of 14 villages and has 6,117 hectares of farmland, 38 percent of the district's farmland; the middle area, which consists of 21 villages and has 6,502 hectares of farmland, 40 percent of the district's farmland; and the flood plain area, which consists of 10 villages and has 3,510 hectares of farmland, 22 percent of the district's farmland. The strongpoints of all three areas are the production of grain (rice and subsidiary food crops, and the raising of buffalo, cattle and hogs. The northern and flood plain areas have the strengths needed for developing the production of industrial crops (peanuts and soybeans); the middle area has the best conditions for pisciculture. The flood plain area has the conditions for specializing in the cultivation of sugarcane, jute and castor oil

plants, sericulture, the raising of cattle for breeding and draft purposes and the cultivation of bananas for exportation. As a result of the strengths of all three areas, the common strengths of the district are producing grain, food products and annual industrial crops. The full-scale development of agriculture will create tremendous possibilities for developing small industry and the handicraft trades, especially the trades within agriculture.

In keeping with these guidelines, Vinh Lac has focused its efforts on the intensive cultivation of rice in conjunction with improving the allocation of crops, gradually eliminating the monoculture of rice and gradually initiating centralized, specialized production and rotation cultivation in a reasonable manner. The improvement of the allocation of crops is most evident in the development of the production of winter subsidiary food crops from 2,000 hectares to more than 5,000 hectares, as a result of which subsidiary food crop output (in paddy equivalent) rose from 4,000-5,000 tons to 8,000-9,000 tons and to 15,000 tons in 1980; at the same time, we have restored and expanded the production of crops of high value, such as peanuts and soybeans (peanut production has increased from 100 to more than 500 hectares with an output of more than 500 tons) and restored and developed the systems of rotation cultivation, interplanting and companion cropping by planting soybeans and other beans among crops of corn and sweet potatoes, planting catch crops of sugarcane and corn overlapping the preceding and following jute crop and so forth. We have gradually upgraded one season fields to two season fields and two season fields to three season fields (two rice seasons and one winter crop season) and three season fields used to raise four crops or three season fields used to raise five crops (two rice crops plus one western potato crop grown as an overlapping catch crop with taro and peanuts or beans grown as a companion crop with taro). As a result, the total amount of area under cultivation is 32,000 hectares; excluding the land that is waterlogged and the land used to raise sugarcane, the coefficient of cropland use is 2.4 times. Grain output increased 6,000 tons in 1980 compared to 1975.

The quality of livestock production has begun to develop and the system of management contracts within collective livestock production has been increasingly improved and been increasingly effective. Although the total hog herd has not increased by much from one year to the next, the average market weight of hogs has increased from 35-36 kilograms to 45-46 kilograms. The cattle herd has increased rapidly; as of 1 July 1981, the total number of cattle had increased by 52 percent compared to 1976. Pisciculture has begun to be reorganized.

Industry, small industry, the handicraft trades and the various sectors and trades within agriculture, although they are still small and although their output value only accounts for 17 to 18 percent of total agricultural-industrial output value, developed rather well during the past 5 years compared to the years from 1970 to 1975. In 1980, the total output value of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, including the sectors and trades within agriculture, was 11 million dong, an increase of more than 50 percent. In addition to the leading sector, brick and tile production, which has strongly developed, a number of new sectors have been opened within the district: two area machine centers, three embroidery and rug weaving installations and nine jute and corn husk weaving installations; we have constructed 500 tons of boats for transportation cooperatives, organized the



cultivation and extraction of peppermint oil, organized specialized building and transportation units, restored the bamboo weaving trade, the carpentry trade, the production of plows, harrows and so forth, thereby shifting thousands of additional laborers from crop production to the various sectors and trades.

The process of implementing the production guidelines mentioned above has also been the process of gradually redistributing labor and developing the potentials that lie in labor. In 1980, there were 74,000 laborers in the Vinh Lac countryside, who were distributed as follows: 68 percent in crop production, 11.6 percent in the trades, 7 percent in livestock production (which does not include the labor working under livestock production contracts with cooperative member families), 2.7 percent in the construction of water conservancy projects and fields, 5.6 percent in the services and management, etc.

## 2. Applying technological advances in production.

In conjunction with the process of redistributing labor, Vinh Lac has boldly replaced practically all old varieties of crops (rice, corn, soybeans, sweet potatoes and so forth) with new, high yield, short-term varieties. Changing the allocation of crop varieties laid the groundwork for improving the allocation of crops and farming habits and has yielded high returns. In livestock production, we have gradually selected and developed pure breeds of hogs and crossbred them with foreign hogs. The quality of the buffalo herd, especially the quality of the cattle herd, has been improved over previous years. The insemination of fish and the nursing and reproduction of breeding stock is being reorganization and the quality of fingerlings has improved, thereby meeting the fingerling requirements of the people within the district.

## 3. Improving the management of production units and cooperatives.

Over the past 5 years, we have not changed the size of cooperatives but have increased the number of basic production units from 420 to 889 units, reorganized the units of cooperatives specializing in the processing of fertilizer and the preparation of fields and appointed 43 of 47 chief accountants; the 47 cooperatives shifted from 18 accounts to 43 accounts, eliminated the jobs of the intermediary accountants above cooperatives and elected one additional secretary for each production unit. As regards the organization of production, we implemented product contracts for tuberous subsidiary food crops as early as 1978 and then implemented product contracts with laborers for corn, beans and peanuts and product contracts with cooperative member families for hog production, which they carry out as subcontractors. In the 1980 10th month season, under the guidance of the upper level, we conducted a pilot project in rice product contracts and then expanded the use of rice product contracts with laborers to the entire district in the 1980-1981 winter-spring season. In livestock production, at the end of 1980, on the basis of the experience gained in subcontracting, we revised the contracts so that hog production contracts were closely linked to rice product contracts, improved pisciculture contracts and improved contracts for the raising of buffalo. The various sectors and trades have also implemented product contracts.

The process of improving management and improving the form of contracts resulted in a rapid increase in the production of grain and subsidiary food crops, the expansion

of winter production and the development of livestock production and the various sectors and trades. The production units and cooperatives have been strengthened. The living conditions of the people in many areas have been stabilized and improved and obligations to the state are fulfilled well.

#### 4. Improving the mode of leadership and guidance.

The major problems that we faced in leadership and guidance on the district level were how to apply the policies of the party in a manner consistent with the realities of the locality, how to regulate the activities of the various sectors well, control the installations and so forth. These were problems about which we were very confused for many years. In the past, we usually put each member of the district party committee in charge of one sector and one or two villages; one member of the standing committee was put in charge of each cluster (five-seven villages) and a number of cadres of the various sectors were assigned to serve as observers. Another practice was for the district party committee and the district people's committee to recruit numerous cadres of the various sectors and send them to installations to provide supervision whenever emergency work arose or help was urgently needed in the production of crops.

Beginning in 1978, we gradually improved our work methods. We established clear regulations governing the specifics involved in the periodic activities of the district party committee, allocating much time for the discussion of important matters, and established clear systems for exchanging opinions, assessing the situation and formulating work programs on the basis of coordination and a specific division of labor in guidance. The members of the district party committee in charge of sectors must first concern themselves with completing the work of the sector well and insuring that it fulfills its function in supporting production and supporting the basic level; at the same time, they have been assigned the task of observing one village, of disseminating to and inspecting, supervising and helping the village to implement the policies and resolutions of the upper level while becoming deeply involved in developing the work of the sector within the village well and gaining experience that can be used to provide guidance throughout the district.

In the process of providing guidance, we have attached importance to strengthening the basic organization and training basic level cadres. During the 4 years from 1977 to 1980, in conjunction with continuing to develop the party, our district took disciplinary action against 1,339 party members, an average of 5 percent of the total number of party members per year; 2.4 percent of party members were expelled from the party. We replaced 26 village party committee secretaries and 38 cooperative heads, some of whom were elderly and of limited ability. During the 3 years from 1978 to 1980, we continuously held training classes for more than 3,000 production units chiefs and assistant chiefs in production unit management, product contracts with laborers, the method of regulating work within production units and so forth. Recently, we provided advanced training to 1,400 production unit chiefs and assistant chiefs in the methods of cost accounting within production units.

We have concentrated our efforts on strengthening the organization at weak places, primarily proceeding on the basis of strengthening the party organization and the cooperatives in a manner closely linked to accelerating production, correcting the

poor state of the economy and living conditions, strengthening the government, strengthening the mass organizations, eliminating negative phenomena in economic and social life, etc. By the end of 1980, practically all of the weak villages had overcome their lack of development, their party organizations and cooperatives were strengthened, production and livestock production had developed, the living conditions of the masses were gradually stabilized and obligations to the state were being fulfilled better with each passing day. Some villages increased their contributions to the state three to four times compared to before they were strengthened; the party organizations and cooperatives at five of the fifteen villages became good party organizations and advanced cooperatives.

At present, there are still many difficulties and many weaknesses in our district. Grain production, although it increased in recent years, has developed slowly and the major increase has come in the production of subsidiary food crops; the per capita consumption of grain is still low (300 kilograms per person) while the population is growing at a rate of 2.7 percent; there is still a shortage of material bases; waterlogging and drought are still serious threats and more than 20 percent of the rice transplanted each year is unstable; there is a serious shortage of draft power and only a small supply of fertilizer; crop pests and livestock diseases are still very serious; and, although practically all crop varieties are new varieties, they have degenerated rapidly because the selection and purification of varieties is still poorly organized. Industrial production, small industry, the handicraft trades and the sectors and trades within agriculture are still underdeveloped and are not developing steadily; the value of exports is still low (an average of 2.2 dong per person).

These difficulties and weaknesses have many objective causes but they also show that there are many shortcomings and weaknesses in our district level leadership; the basic organization is still weak and the abilities of cadres, especially their ability to apply lines and policies and their ability to provide economic management, are at many places, very weak compared to requirements.

In the years ahead, we intend to continue to improve production guidelines and more clearly establish the agricultural-industrial, small industry and handicraft economic structure of the district. In agriculture, we will further improve the allocation of crops and livestock within the district and in each specific area. The requirements we face in improving production guidelines and economic plans are to create a new economic structure with a view toward making full use of labor, expanding our production and business, developing the sectors and trades, increasing the volume of products, developing new products, increasing the volume of commodities and expanding the new division of labor. The primary immediate and long-range task of Vinh Lac District is to firmly resolve the grain and food problem and, on the other hand, accelerate production and provide an increasingly large supply of agricultural raw materials (sugarcane, beans, peanuts, jute and so forth) to industry and for exportation.

Improving the contracting mechanism within agriculture and strengthening the agricultural cooperatives are of decisive importance in achieving the socio-economic goals of the coming years. We will continue to improve the product contracts for



rice and other crops, improve the contracting of hog production, pisciculture and the raising of buffalo and cattle and improve the product contracts for the various sectors and trades in keeping with the spirit of Party Secretariat directive 100. We are conducting a pilot project and gaining experience in order to expand cost accounting in the basic production units and continuing to strengthen the cooperative management boards and the planning, quota, financial and cost accounting components as well as strengthen the specialized units so that cooperatives can perform both the five jobs and the three jobs better and gradually establish cost accounting by sector within the cooperatives, thereby correctly coordinating the three interests within each cooperative.

The household economy has tremendous potentials in many villages and the income from this economy accounts for 50 to 60 percent of the total income of cooperative members. Therefore, we will adopt a plan for guiding the organization of production on the 5 percent plots and the land used for the subcontracting of hog production and guiding the use of the land in gardens used to raise such fruit crops as bananas, lemons, oranges or jackfruit or used to raise mulberries for sericulture. We will provide incentive for families to develop the production of hogs, cattle, goats, rabbits and poultry as well as pisciculture and develop such subsidiary trades as the weaving of bamboo, the making of corn husk rugs, the processing of subsidiary food crops and the weaving of silk for the purpose of achieving partial self-sufficiency in clothing; places that have sugarcane plantings (outside centralized production areas) can make molassas, sugar, etc.

Efforts will be focused on resolving the problems of draft power and implements. We will replan the fields plowed by large tractors at cooperatives so that they are larger and stable in order to use tractors efficiently; at the same time, we will adopt a plan for repairing and making good use of more than 100 small tractors in the preparation of fields. We will adopt a plan for rapidly developing the draft buffalo and cattle herd by three methods: improving the contract system in order to increase breeding; additional purchases by cooperatives; and encouraging cooperative members to purchase additional buffalo and cattle; a plan and policy will be adopted for making good use of the buffalo and cattle herds of cooperative member families for draft purposes in an effort to reduce, within the space of 2 or 3 years, the average amount of cultivated land worked by one draft buffalo or head of cattle from 3.5 to 2.5 and then to 2 hectares per year.

There has long been a shortage of implements and now that we have expanded the use of product contracts, this shortage has become even more acute. Therefore, the entire district and every village must make an effort to produce whatever implements they can produce while purchasing additional ones in order to rapidly equip producers with a full supply of plows, harrows, ordinary implements and improved implements.

We will intensify our guidance and boldly introduce technological advances in production, in an effort to implement a program for continuous soil improvement by the basic and long-range methods of developing livestock production in order to increase the sources of livestock manure and by expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of peanuts and beans in order to increase the sources of nutrients



and increase the supply of products and commodities for two-way trade, obtain additional types of chemical fertilizers outside the state plan, initiate dry land cultivation on 50 to 60 percent of the land transplanted with spring rice, initiate dry land plowing and expand the amount of area under the cultivation of duckweed.

As regards water conservancy in the years ahead, our main guideline will focus on resolving the drought problem. We are reinspecting all of the water conservancy projects within the district and will, upon the completion of this effort, concentrate on improving these projects and, if necessary, reorganize the system of canals, ditches and sluices. We will devise regulations and establish a division of management echelons for using and saving water in order to make maximum use of existing water sources; at the same time, we will restore the movement to bail water by buckets and waterwheels, which became a habit at many places in the district when pumps were not in use. On the other hand, we will build and continue to improve the small-scale electric pump stations and the pump stations to control waterlogging, in an effort to gradually reduce the amount of land on which rice crops are unstable as a result of drought and waterlogging.

In order to implement the guidelines presented above, we will imbue the various levels and sectors within the district and each cadre and party member with a new outlook, a new way of thinking, a new way of looking at things and a new way of working and heighten their sense of self-reliance so that they perform much more work, perform better work and delve into improving their management in order to develop the strengths of the locality in its labor, arable land, supplies, capital and so forth and, on this basis, create new conditions, create a new, local production capacity and gradually establish balances within the installation and within the district.

As regards the district level, we must boldly shift from the mode of economic management based on administrative management and subsidies to the socialist mode of business. We must improve our planning, only assign to installations a number of legal norms; strengthen the system of organizations managing and distributing supplies; firmly adhere to and correctly apply the various economic incentive policies, such as the price policy and the two-way purchasing policy, in a manner closely linked to gradually improving the contracting and management mechanisms within agriculture, industry, small industry, the handicraft trades and the other economic sectors; correctly establish the relationship among the three interests, uphold the right of ownership and uphold the right of self-assumed economic responsibility and, on this basis, tap the initiative and creativity of the laboring masses and the installations in the effort to expand production and business.

We will expand our economic relations with neighboring districts and provinces in order to resolve the difficulties we face in production and everyday life within the district and create the conditions for stimulating the overall economy. We will make an effort to rapidly strengthen the organization and improve the guidance of the operations of the various sectors, especially the economic-technical sectors, such as agriculture, water conservancy, tractors, material supply, commerce and so forth, and closely link these sectors to the installations, thereby gradually establishing economic ties between the villages and district.

## THOUGHTS BASED ON THE REALITIES OF TRIEU HAI

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 81 pp 43-45

[Article by Le Van Hoan, the secretary of the Trieu Hai District Party Committee]

[Text] Following liberation day, Trieu Hai District, the center of which is the ancient city of Quang Tri, was covered with scars inflicted by the genocidal war of the U.S. pirates. These scars virtually overpowered the green color of the trees and vegetation. Bomb craters were everywhere. Countless mines emplaced by the enemy still remained. More than 30,000 houses had been razed. Many roads and bridges had been destroyed. Streets, schools and markets had been devastated. The majority of cropland was abandoned and lying fallow. When the enemy fled, 160,000 persons returned from places to which they had evacuated, bringing all of their belongings on one carrying-pole and living on grain subsidies from the revolutionary government.

This situation faced the Trieu Hai Party organization with very large tasks: building the basic level governments, stabilizing the thinking of the masses, organizing the fight against hunger, teaching and transforming the 30,000 puppet military and government personnel within the district, organizing the effort to disarm bombs and mines, restoring fields to production, restoring production and bringing every aspect of society back to life.

Since then, under the leadership and guidance and with the support of the upper echelon and through the efforts of the party organization and the army and people within the district, Trieu Hai has recorded a number of achievements.

Beginning in 1976, after resolving the pressing, immediate problems regarding living conditions and the thinking of the people, we conducted basic investigations, carried out overall planning, defined the agro-forestry-fishing-industrial structure of the district and divided the district into eight economic subareas with eight economic-technical centers. On this basis, we upheld the right of collective ownership of the working people, restored and developed production, constructed a number of material-technical bases, created new production capacity and gradually carried out the socialist transformation of the various economic sectors within the districts.

To date, we have virtually completed cooperativization within agriculture, fishing and the handicraft trades and further improved economic management; we are now implementing product contracts within agriculture. We restored 21,000 hectares of farmland, thereby increasing the amount of area under cultivation each year to 33,000 hectares, and have planted 10,000 hectares of forests, thereby covering a 32 kilometer strip of sandy, coastal soil with vegetation. Ten million mandays were mobilized to build 14 irrigation-drainage stations, 7 reservoirs and an 8 kilometer project to stop blowing sand; in addition, the large southern Thach Han farmland water conservancy project is being constructed. These projects have begun to have an impact and have increased the amount of farmland irrigated within the district to 9,000 hectares. The district also has a tractor station capable of plowing and harrowing 20,000 hectares per year; this station, together with the tractors, buffalo and cattle of the cooperatives, provides ample draft power for agriculture within the district. We have also constructed a veterinary station, a crop protection station, a saw mill producing 1,000 cubic meters of wood per year, two lime kilns with a capacity of 10,000 tons per year and 30 brick and tile kilns producing 20 million bricks and tiles per year. A complete system of distribution-circulation installations has been constructed extending from the district seat to the eight economic-technical centers. The educational facilities consist of two Level III cultural schools with an enrollment of 2,500 students, 46 Level I-Level II schools with an enrollment of 54,000 students and supplementary education classes attended by 33,000 persons who are too old to attend general school. The district has two hospitals with 280 beds and 42 village public health stations with 422 beds.

The living conditions of the people are stable. Within only 1 year after liberation day, we had resolved the grain problem within the district and begun to fulfill our grain obligation to the state. In the past 6 years, Trieu Hai has annually contributed 8,000 tons of grain under obligations to the state. We also have the capability to achieve a grain balance within the district and send from the district from 3,000 to 4,000 tons of grain.

National defense has been strengthened and political security and social order and safety have been maintained.

In view of the fact that we started with practically nothing, the achievements mentioned above represent a significant effort on the part of the party organization together with the army and people of the district. However, in view of the overall potentials of the district, Trieu Hai could have recorded larger achievements were it not limited in many areas. These limitations were: every job involved in the shift from war time to peace time was new and complicated and our organization as well as the awareness of cadres did not keep pace with the situation; the revolutionary-offensive spirit and the spirit of self-reliance of cadres, party members and the masses were not high; the weather was unfavorable for several years in a row; and, in particular, we especially want to stress the limitations in our organizational and management mechanisms.

In keeping with the directives and resolutions of the upper echelon on building the district, a number of sectors have been given management responsibilities. This has had a positive effect. Since being given management responsibilities, the tractor

station, the supply corporation, the pharmaceutical corporation, the state-operated movie enterprise and so forth have supported production and daily life better, earned more revenues for the budget than planned and balanced their revenues and expenditures in accordance with the plan. Meanwhile, many other sectors that have not been given management responsibilities or have not been given these responsibilities in a coordinated, efficient manner have caused the district to be caught in an intermediary, administrative position that is very difficult to correct. The district is an economic planning level but does not control supplies and capital, consequently, how can it take the initiative in formulating plans and organizing the good implementation of plans? If the district does not receive a full supply of materials at the start of the planning year, it is difficult for it to effectively use these materials. The district is a budget level but has no important source of revenues. The district guides the grain production cooperatives but cannot establish a grain balance within the district; each year the district deposits in state granaries nearly 10,000 tons of grain but the district does not control 1 kilogram of subsidiary products (bran, husks), not to mention rice! The district has the responsibility of guiding the production of the installations of the maritime products sector, the forestry products sector, the building materials sector, the salt production sector, the livestock production sector and so forth but all of the products produced by them are purchased by the provincial stations, with the district only being allocated a percentage through these stations. Is it necessary to have seven purchasing agencies of the upper level located within one district? Of these seven purchasing agencies, there are some agencies that do not purchase enough within the district to sell to the district. Clearly, it would be less wasteful and less of a bother if the upper level assigned norms to the district so that the district could be in charge of making purchases, establishing balances and delivering products. In some sectors, such as the education sector, the district is only in charge of providing material bases, of caring for the living conditions and paying the salaries of teachers; the organizational staff is controlled by the Education Service and everything involved in assignments and promotions is controlled by the service; thus, the district finds it difficult to manage this corps of cadres. In some sectors, the organization is not within one center: the Forestry Agency is subordinate to the district but the forestry sites, forestry product stations and so forth are managed by the upper level; in the water conservancy sector, the Water Conservancy Committee is subordinate to the district while the water conservancy projects and farmland water conservancy management stations are subordinate to the upper level. In actuality, we feel that with such organizational and management mechanisms, it is difficult for the district to take the initiative in carrying out work and managing work well.

Building the district economy and strengthening the district level are an important part of the socialist economic construction line in our country. Our party has the policy of building the districts into levels that provide political, economic, cultural, social and national defense management within the district; into a level that manages a comprehensive plan and has a budget; into a level that provides state administrative management and management of production, business, distribution-circulation, cultural activities, education and public health activities and organizes and cares for the lives of the people within the district; and into a center that guides the effort to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions in the countryside.



Of course, the district must avoid the tendency to encompass many installations and to establish balances in the style of a "self-contained system." However, in order for the district to fulfill its functions well and be worthy of its position as defined by the party, we think that the authorized agencies and concerned sectors should research and establish a division of levels that is reasonable and will help the district develop the potentials in its labor, land, forests, ocean waters and existing material bases, reorganize production well, balance every aspect of production and everyday life within the district by itself and fulfill its obligations to the state, thereby insuring the unity of the interests of all of society, of the people within the district, of each basic unit and of each individual laborer.

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA: AN HISTORIC-CULTURAL ENTITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 81 pp 53-58

[Article by Cao Xuan Pho]

[Text] Today, everyone is familiar with the name Southeast Asia, a political region consisting of the countries of Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, and Malaysia on the Continental Shelf and Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei and a portion of Malaysia in the islands. However, before it became a political region, Southeast Asia was an historic-cultural entity.

Practically all of Southeast Asia lies within the region of the Equator, which is more moist and warmer than China and more moist than the majority of the Indian subcontinent. Located at the point of intersection of ocean routes, Southeast Asia experienced various infiltrations by many different peoples as well as many different cultures. In contrast to India and China, Southeast Asia has many gulfs and many estuaries that reach deep into the hinterland and, in addition, has rugged mountains and crisscrossing rivers and streams; however, along the large rivers stretch many fertile deltas, deltas that are more fertile than the other lowland areas in the moist, tropical region, in general.(1)

Southeast Asia is "one of the great centers of the world's species of plantlife"(2); the realm of plantlife here is more diverse than anywhere else, consisting of 45,000 species of high quality vegetation. The "India-Malaysian center"(which encompasses Continental Shelf and island Southeast Asia) is one of the nine "centers of crops in the world."(3) "Today, we think that the crucible of crops in Southeast Asia and the Indian islands (Insulind) is one of the oldest crucibles and, possibly, the oldest in the world."(4) Recently, many American archeologists have expressed the possibility that many aspects of the production activities of ancient Southeast Asian man, especially the cultivation of rice and the refining of metals, started in Southeast Asia and spread from there to China, where, it can be said, "the ancient Chinese developed them better than their originators."(5)

In this region of mountain ranges rich in plant and animal life with its vast ocean waters rich in fish, its ease of travel and its fertile deltas, people gathered together and, by means of their own hands and minds, had an impact upon this rich natural environment, creating for themselves a rich, diverse life, the first brilliant pinnacle of which in history was the Dong Son civilization, which corresponded in

archeological terms to the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. At that time, the population of Southeast Asia lived a stable life based on the cultivation of rice and, within the lifestyle practiced within each area, the first convergence occurred of the lowland-oceanic-mountain cultural factors within complex, interwoven structures. Wherever this convergence occurred, characteristics of the Dong Son culture emerged. The cultures of the various tribes that formed within each area assumed various forms of this structure and reflected more lowland, more oceanic or more mountain characteristics depending upon the environmental conditions and adaptability of the people in each area; however, it can be said that the common model of the cultures of the population of Southeast Asia at that time was an agriculture engaged in the cultivation of rice and that the common cultural characteristics were of the Dong Son type. If there was a closeness among the population of Southeast Asia in many areas of material and spiritual life and even in customs and habits, it originated in this agriculture, an agriculture in which the primary feature was controlling water (river water, rainwater) in order to raise rice. The two most distinctive products of the cultural life of the population at that time, vestiges of which are still seen throughout Southeast Asia, were the copper drum and the houses on stilts. These also reflect the agricultural life of the past. The copper drum was used to pray for rain and the houses on stilts were erected in lowland areas that were inundated as a result of rainfall or rising rivers. And, it was along the banks of these rivers, especially along the banks of the major rivers, such as the Mekong River, the Chao Phraya River (Menam), the Salween River, the Irrawaddy River, the Red River, the Ma River and so forth that the first cultural contacts and exchanges occurred as early as prehistoric times. Then, the South China Sea, with its trade winds and currents, linked the populations of the coastal areas to one another and linked the Continental Shelf and the islands. The rivers and seas of Southeast Asia were not only special factors in the creation of the Southeast Asian lifestyle, but were also the threads that linked the populations on the Continental Shelf with one another and linked them with the island population: the separate became the general. Thus, before the infiltration of Indian cultural and Chinese culture, Southeast Asia was already an historic-cultural entity. It was on this very basic foundation that the population of Southeast Asia, after being influenced by the Indian, Chinese, European and American cultures and even though it was controlled for thousands of years by these cultures, has always maintained its essential character and was not assimilated by the Indian, Chinese, European or American cultures. Selective incorporation or adaptation to local conditions have been the very intelligent and flexible responses by the peoples of Southeast Asia in order to raise themselves to the level of development of the times.

From the common springboard they shared during the Dong Son period, the various peoples experienced different periods of history which, although somewhat different in character, were basically of the same origin.

The birth of the Van Lang state of the Viets (in the first half of the 1st Millennium B.C.) was the expression of a common desire of all Southeast Asia for a society of rules. At that time, two new situations occurred throughout the region: the infiltration, primarily by peaceful means, of Indian culture into Southeast Asia and the infiltration, primarily by force, of Chinese culture into the northern areas of the Southeast Asian peninsula. Whereas the peoples in the southern areas of the

Southeast Asian peninsula and the peoples on the islands incorporated the factors of the Indian culture in order to gradually perfect the organization of their society, the peoples in the northern areas of the peninsula, primarily the Viets, had to resist assimilation by China, even though they were influenced by Chinese culture. In essence, from the point of view of the entire region, these were only two aspects of the same issue (building the country-defending the country), aspects that supported each other within each nation and among the various nations. It was not surprising that around the 6th Century A.D., the situation in almost all of Southeast Asia was that while many peoples, after a process of examining and selectively accepting aspects of the Indian culture, established states of a local, national nature, such as Chanlap, Dvaravati, Thaton, Pegu, Palembang, Kalinga and so forth, within their area, the Viets had to deal with the full-scale attack by Chinese feudalists and, after many consecutive uprisings, the most important of which were the Trung Sisters' uprising in 41-43, the Trieu Sisters' uprising in 248 and the Ly Bon uprising in 544, established the Van Xuan state (the 6th Century), thereby keeping pace with the momentum of progress of the entire region. The fight waged by the Viets against the expansionism of the Chinese emperors during that period to assert themselves had the effect of preventing the advance to the south by the Chinese emperors and maintaining a stable peace for the entire region.

By means of many different routes, Buddhism spread from India to Vietnam. The Viets also accepted the essence of Buddhism and used it as one of the spiritual weapons to oppose Confucianism and assimilation by the Chinese.

The peoples of Southeast Asia steadily advanced down the path of building and defending their countries in the 6th Century; in the 9th and 10th Centuries, Southeast Asia enjoyed widespread prosperity, which marked a new leap forward throughout the region and ushered in a new era--the era of national independence. Many nation states were born. It can be said that the 9th and 10th Centuries ushered in a period of renaissance throughout Southeast Asia, a period characterized by a return to ourselves, to Dong Son, to the things that "we" had improved upon in the process of selectively incorporating the influences of Indian Culture and Chinese culture and the process of steadfastly struggling against cultural assimilation. In the Dong Son period, the culture of Southeast Asia became established as an entity based on the cultivation of rice with forestry and fishing as subsidiary trades; now, after countless stern challenges, the social structure of the lowlands--the ocean waters--the mountainous forests had been confirmed and, although this structure varied somewhat from one area to another, it was based on agriculture in all areas; in the spiritual realm, this social structure was accompanied by the affirmation of national consciousness.

The Angkor Kingdom, which emerged in the area around Tonle Sap and practiced its own style of god-king worship, which itself was a form of national consciousness, built a huge water control system with reservoirs, ditches and canals throughout the area, which brought prosperity to an entire country for more than 5 centuries.

In the Irrawaddy River basin, the Pagan Kingdom of the Burmese abandoned their mythology and gradually became an entity under the Anarata Dynasty (in the middle of the 11th Century) on the basis of improving their control of the water in the



Kyaikto lowlands, harnessing the delta, gradually spreading toward the sea and accepting the Theravada Buddhism of the Mon as their national religion; they gradually abandoned the "Nat"(temples of the god of soil) scattered about the various localities and erected a common "Nat" on Popa Mountain (a sacred mountain in Burma).

In the islands, the Sri Vi-giay-a [Vietnamese phonetics] Kingdom, which occupied West Java, Somatra and the Malai peninsula, controlled the seaports and straits (Malacca, Sunda) lying along the routes commonly taken from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea; at the same time, they developed agriculture in the hinterland and were famous for their achievements for 4 centuries (the 8th to the 11th). In its time, the Sri Vi-giay-a Kingdom was famous as a center of trade and the study of Greater Vehicle Buddhism; the unique, great Borobudua Temple complex was a model of the Javanese coordination of tradition and innovation.

In the course of building their country during the periods of Ly and Tran, the Viets were especially concerned with the sea which the Han-Duong imperialists, during the period of their domination of the land of the Viets, had blockaded. The sea, particularly the South China Sea--a "Mediterranean Sea" in Asia--meant trade, exchange and commerce. For a time, during the period of Chinese domination, Vietnam was seemingly cut off from the rest of Southeast Asia (although this was the intention of the Han-Duong feudalists, it was not what actually occurred); now, with Vietnam having rejoined the great family of Southeast Asia, especially the island and coastal areas, many seaports were opened in Nghe An, Thanh Hoa and Van Don, seaports that were visited by many trading ships. For a long time, while the Viets had to devote their efforts to dealing with invasions by the Chinese into Southeast Asia, the other peoples here, who enjoyed more favorable and peaceful conditions, looked for and found ways to build their nations. That the Viets, having liberated themselves, rejoined the other nations in Southeast Asia and incorporated the achievements recorded by them in their cultural development was quite natural, as natural as though it were occurring within a family and in no way involved any antagonisms. It was not surprising or astonishing that the bird god Garuda (6) flew to a perch on the stone thrones of the Ly-Tran period, that the guardian spirits in the Buddhist temples bore the manner of Dvarapala (7) of Indochina (Champa) or that the Javanese drums emerged on the chests of the Kinnaris (8) during the Ly period; and, Buddhism during the Ly period could be very proud of a Thao-Duong sect originated by a Cham Buddhist follower of the same name.

The 13th Century witnessed profound historic-cultural changes throughout Southeast Asia: the prosperity of the Thai in the Menam River basin; the strong development of Ceylon's Hinyana Buddhism among the masses; the aggression and expansion of the Nguyen imperialists in the South; the great victory of the army and people of Dai Viet over the Nguyen Army; and the arrival of Islamism in the islands of Southeast Asia.

These changes had a close, reciprocal relationship with one another. The Thai, who, having become prosperous, made Hinyana Buddhism their spiritual base and emphasized democracy, freedom and simplicity in order to reorganize their administrative structure and society, established the first Thai states in the Menam River basin: Sukhothai and Lanna. Islamism and Hinyana Buddhism infiltrated Southeast Asia amidst a situation in which Hinduism--with its caste structure--had shown itself to not be

very effective as a mechanism of rule. Islamic merchants opened vigorous trade with Southeast Asia in the 13th Century as a result of Mongol activities in western China that blocked trade routes from Central Asia. And, the incorporation of the practical activities of Islamic missionaries as well as Buddhist clergy by the small nations in the islands and the Thai royal kingdoms on the mainland further intensified trade. And, all of these changes were related, either directly or indirectly, to the large-scale expansion by the Nguyen empire into the South in an attempt to control Southeast Asia and become the rulers of the South China Sea. In 1256, they attacked and occupied Dai Ly (Van Nam); however, the Thai there, instead of yielding, aligned themselves with the Thai living on the Southeast Asian peninsula (representative of which was the alliance among the three leaders Mang Rai at Chieng Rai, Ngam Muong at Phayao and Rama Kam Hong at Sukhothai in 1287) in order to prepare to deal with this expansion; in 1277, they occupied Bhamo in Burma; in 1282, they attacked Champa and planned to use it as a springboard for expansion into the Malayan Sea but met with strong resistance by the Cham; in 1292, they sent powerful warships in a vain attempt to occupy Java but King Ketanagara in Singosary was ready to deal with them. Thus, practically all of Southeast Asia was ready to deal with the enemy. However, it must be stated that the three fights waged against them in 1258, 1285 and 1287-88 by the army and people of Dai Viet were of special importance: they not only defeated the aggressor armies, but also crushed the will of the Nguyen imperialists to expand into the South, once again helping to maintain the peace and stability of all Southeast Asia for at least 1 century.

Southeast Asia was like a tasty morsel to the eyes of the Chinese feudal emperors, from Tan, Han and Duong to Tong, Nguyen and so forth. Every dynasty that came to power sent troops to the South in an attempt to occupy this wealthy region. Although they met with defeat after defeat, they never stopped trying. The House of Minh followed in the path (a defeated path) of the previous dynasties. Unable to attack the South by the ocean route (because they would encounter the Portuguese), they were forced to open an attack by land which, of course, began in Dai Viet. The 10 year war of resistance waged by Le Loi (at the start of the 15th Century) drove all the troops and generals of the House of Minh back to their bases.

In the 16th Century, and up until the middle of the 20th Century, Southeast Asia was again strongly shaken, this time as a result of the invasion of western capitalism. Whereas 1,500 years ago, the spacial relationships of Southeast Asia were primarily in the region between India and China, now, the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea were joined together in one vast territory: the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean; the fate of Southeast Asia became closely linked to the situations occurring at remote places in the world. The spices of Southeast Asia inspired the Spanish and then the Portuguese to sail in search of maritime routes to Asia. When the spice fever subsided, the race to control markets and find sources of industrial raw materials became intense. The western capitalists (primarily the Portuguese) gradually pushed the influence of China from the ocean areas of the South; they divided Southeast Asia into the mainland and the islands in order to share spheres of influence. The Spanish occupied the northern Philippines primarily to open new lands to cultivation; the Portuguese and the Dutch competed to occupy the Indonesian Archipelago all the way to the Molucca Sea, primarily for the purpose of trade; the British entered Burma and used Thailand as a buffer with France; the French occupied and dominated Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Gradually, the countries

of Southeast Asia either became subservient to or become colonies of the western capitalist countries. A formidable historic mission faced the entire region: resisting imperialism and winning back total national independence. Although the organization and methods of struggle differed from area to area, the goals of the struggle were the same.

Southeast Asian culture faced a new challenge: resisting the slave culture impressed upon nations by colonialism. With the tradition of selectively accepting the very best of foreign cultures in order to constantly elevate themselves, the peoples of Southeast Asia incorporated some aspects of western culture in order to raise themselves to the level of the times. They made full use of the latest scientific, technological and cultural achievements of the West not only to strengthen themselves, but also to resist every form of control by the western imperialists and protect their national independence and national culture.

World War I, and then World War II, had a profound impact upon Southeast Asia. The nations of Southeast Asia became increasingly aware of the nature of imperialism and increasingly conscious of their role and position. The struggle for national independence broke out everywhere. The Russian October Revolution and the birth of the first worker-peasant state in the world, Soviet Russia, breathed new life into the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia. Communist parties were established in all the countries of Southeast Asia.

Following World War II, one country after another in Southeast Asia won back its independence. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam), the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia, was born. The struggle against the imperialists and international reactionaries, primarily the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists, is still an extremely sharp and complex struggle. However, every country and every nation in Southeast Asia shares the historic mission of building their country and this can only be effectively carried out when there is peace and stability throughout the region. This is a legitimate, common aspiration of the peoples of Southeast Asia. It can also be said that this is a new point of convergence of ideological awareness throughout the region, one that lays the foundation for every relationship of friendship and cooperation among the nations in Southeast Asia.

Reviewing the long history of its past, we see that Southeast Asia is truly a unified historical-cultural entity. In each stage of history, we see common missions for the entire region or specific tasks for each area. On the basis of the conditions, circumstances and capabilities of each place, these missions and tasks are carried out; however, it would be more reasonable to carry them out within the relationship shared by the entire region because unity is the basic relationship.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. C. A. Fisher: "Southeast Asia," London, 1966, p 5.
2. E.D. Merrill: "Plantlife of the Pacific World," New York, 1945.
3. N.I. Varilov: "The Origin, Variation, Community and Breeding of Cultivated Plants," *Chronica Botanica*, Waltham, 1951, 13, pp 1-6.

4. J. Barrau: "L'Asie du Sud-Est, berceau culturel," Rural Studies, Nos 53, 54, 55, and 56, Paris, January and February 1974, p 35.
5. Ch. Gorman: "Modeles a priori et prehistoire de la Thaïlande," Rural Studies, Nos 53, 54, 55, and 56, Paris, January and February 1974, p 46.
6. The god bird in Indian mythology was widely represented in the Cham and Javanese wood carvings of the 9th and 10th Centuries.
7. The Indian god of protection was widely seen in the Cham wood carvings of the 9th and 10th centuries.
8. The characters in Indian mythology that had heads of humans and bodies of birds were widely seen among the Cham and Javanese of the 10th Century.

7809

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## WASHINGTON'S ADVENTUROUS STEP IN THE ARMS RACE

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[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] On 2 October 1981, the Reagan administration publicly announced a five-point plan to accelerate the development of strategic nuclear forces in the next 2 decades. This plan is designed to promote the manufacture of three strategic weapon systems: the mobile, ground based missile called MX, the B-1 bomber, which will replace the B-52, and the new type nuclear submarine called the Triton. At the same time, Reagan has decided to improve "the strategic electronic command-warning-alert system" and accelerate the program to design a new strategic bomber, the Stealth bomber, which U.S. military technical circles brag can avoid detection by modern radar technology.

Within the framework of its counter-revolutionary global strategy, the military strategy recently presented by the Reagan administration is designed to "achieve military superiority" by the end of this century and give the U.S. army the ability to "intervene at any place in the world at any time." The Reagan administration harbors the ambition of returning the U.S. army to the "pre-Vietnam" period or advancing it to the period after the "post-Vietnam" period so that the U.S. army can once again become the competent tool of "a foreign policy based on strength," which Washington maintains that it had during the Eisenhower and Kennedy periods.

U.S. military circles maintain that the Reagan administration is continuing the "deter-block" U.S. military strategy, a military strategy that is aggressive in nature and has suffered bitter defeat, especially in the war of aggression in Vietnam.

The so called "deterrence" in the basic military strategy of the United States means emphasizing to the opposition that the danger of a general war exists. The deterrent forces, that is, the strategic nuclear forces, consist of strategic bombers, medium range and intercontinental missiles, nuclear submarines armed with strategic missiles and the modern (U.S.) continental defense system. To "block" means to warn the opposition: you have already reached the limit and may not go any further. The "block" forces consist of the conventional armed forces.

In the past, under the "massive retaliation" strategy of the Eisenhower administration, importance was attached to the "deterrent" forces. At that time, the United States maintained that it had seized nuclear superiority through its "triad" of strategic

weapons: the B-52 strategic bomber, nuclear submarines armed with nuclear weapons and ground based intercontinental missiles. However, the "massive retaliation" strategy and the nuclear "deterrent" forces of the United States were unable to prevent the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu and unable to block the subsequent national liberation movement. In the 1960's, the United States lost its nuclear superiority. U.S. General Taylor proposed the "flexible response" strategy, which advocated giving priority to strengthening the "blocking" forces, that is, the conventional armed forces. The essence of the "flexible response" strategy was to be ready to wage both a nuclear war and a conventional war in order to oppose the Soviet Union and oppose the national liberation movement.

The Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation pushed the "flexible response" strategy of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson into bankruptcy. On the Vietnam battlefield, the "blocking forces"--the "sword" of the United States--were broken while the "umbrella" of U.S. "nuclear deterrence" failed to threaten Vietnam.

In the 1970's, as a result of the tragic defeat suffered on the Vietnam battlefield, the Nixon administration was forced to publicly declare that the "flexible response" strategy had been abandoned and replaced by the "real deterrent" strategy. U.S. nuclear "deterrent" forces had "come to a standstill" in the 1960's because an important percentage of the U.S. defense budget and even the minds of the strategists and the developers of U.S. weapons were absorbed in the war of aggression against Vietnam. Time had caused the "triad" of U.S. strategic weapons to become increasingly outmoded. Meanwhile, the "blocking" forces of the United States, the Army, the Air Force and the Navy (including the Marines), bore the "wounds of Vietnam." All U.S. military forces, including the nuclear weapon "deterrent" forces and the conventional weapon "blocking" forces, had been so heavily damaged that many persons maintained that it would take many decades to restore them.

On the basis of the situation presented above, the "real deterrent" strategy of the Nixon administration attached equal importance to "deterrence" and "blocking," giving priority to neither. In this way, Nixon maintained that he could reserve for himself the "flexibility" to use both of these forces in accordance with specific conditions. According to Laird, secretary of defense during the Nixon period, during the 1970's, Washington focused its efforts on building strategic nuclear forces that were "adequate" and use them to establish specific standards for the manufacture of strategic weapons; at the same time, the buildup of U.S. conventional forces was assisted by the military capabilities of the allies on the basis of these countries doing more to share the heavy military burden with the United States.

It can be said that the Nixon administration considered the 1970's to be a period in which the U.S. army "healed the wounds of Vietnam" and repaired both its nuclear "deterrent" forces and its "blocking" conventional forces, which had been robbed by the Vietnam war of at least "one generation" of weapons.

Under the Carter administration, U.S. strategists developed new strategic concepts, such as "defensive deterrents," "flexible deterrents" and so forth; in actuality, however, they continued to implement the "real deterrent" strategy of the Nixon administration and devoted their efforts to "healing the wounds of Vietnam."

In the U.S. presidential election held in November, 1980, the U.S. Republican Party and the candidate of this party looked for ways to stir the "chauvinist" national spirit among the American people and cried aloud for an "arms race." The platform of the Republican Party advocated rapidly increasing the military budget in order to "achieve military superiority" over the Soviet Union. This platform demanded the "quick production and rapid deployment of the MX missile, the new style strategic bomber and the cruise short-wing, attack missile, the rapid deployment of 572 medium range missiles in a number of western European countries within NATO, the production of the nitron bomb and the modernization of nuclear artillery forces." Along with the development of these "deterrent" forces, the Republican Party also called for "the urgent strengthening of 'blocking' forces" so that "the U.S. Air Force and Navy achieve additional mobility and maintain a routine presence overseas and a permanent U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean is quickly established."

U.S. strategists have observed that Reagan is implementing the platform of the Republican Party, that is, implementing a policy of simultaneously strengthening both the "deterrent" and "blocking" arms of this policy. However, they also admit that the United States cannot achieve "military superiority" by means of its "blocking" forces, that is, by means of the forces equipped with conventional weapons that were defeated in the "limited war" in Vietnam and which, in actuality, will still be undergoing "restoration" until the end of the 1980's, at least. It is quite obvious that in the 1980's and 1990's, the U.S. Army, Navy (surface warships and Marines) and tactical Air Force, which are the primary components of the U.S. "blocking" forces, cannot achieve any "leap forward" in either their size or their quality. Washington ruling circles have done everything possible to "play the China card" with a view toward using the Chinese army as a force supplementing the U.S. "blocking" forces in Asia. However, the United States is still concerned over the question of whether, in a war, in a fight alongside the United States, the Chinese army will be a supplementary force or become a heavy burden to the United States, as a number of puppet armies did, or even become something more dangerous.

Faced with numerous difficult problems with regard to the "blocking" strategy, Reagan has had to give priority to the "deterrent" course in the hope of "achieving military superiority."

Thus, Reagan's military strategy to strengthen "deterrent" forces was born in a totally defensive posture. Yet, on 2 October 1981, when he announced the plan to spend an additional 180 billion dollars on the development of the "triad" of U.S. strategic weapons, Reagan brazenly stated that this plan was designed to strengthen the "deterrent" to the Soviet Union and the world revolution. Reagan is aggressively brandishing the stick of nuclear "deterrence" in one hand and holding the stick of "blocking" forces in the other hand, from which dangles a piece of the "China card." Western military circles have observed that Reagan wants to turn back the wheels of history and harbors the illusion of restoring the Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy periods.

Reagan's ambition is very large, larger than all the ambitions of many previous U.S. presidents. However, the capabilities of the United States have shrunk greatly compared to the 1950's and the early 1960's. The United States is still in the "post

Vietnam" period, that is, still in the process of strategic decline in terms of both its position and power, a process that cannot be reversed. Many persons within Washington ruling circles have admitted that one of the most serious consequences of the Vietnam war is that "the United States today cannot have both guns and butter." However, Reagan is vainly attempting to reverse this situation by means of a policy designed to make the United States economically strong and give it military superiority. This is a very large contradiction, one which Reagan is not able to resolve. In 5 years, from 1982 to 1986, including the 180 billion dollar additional expenditure, the Reagan administration plans to spend 1.5 trillion dollars on strengthening the military and participating in the arms race. Meanwhile, the U.S. economy has "entered a new period of recession," which Reagan himself admitted on 18 October 1981. In 1980, the U.S. budget incurred a deficit of 40 billion dollars and, for 1981, the deficit might be as high as 60 billion dollars. The national debt of the federal government has reached a record level; over 1 trillion dollars. This situation is a very large obstacle to the Reagan administration in its effort to find the huge sum of 1.5 trillion dollars in the space of 5 years for the arms race.

Examining the technological capabilities of U.S. industry, many economic specialists have maintained that it will be difficult for the United States to implement a major investment program because labor productivity within U.S. industry is declining and the possibilities for self-sufficiency in energy and raw materials are declining rapidly. In August, 1981, the United States had to import 2.5 million tons of steel. Meanwhile, the expansion of the military industrial sectors requires many types of raw materials, part or all of which must be imported by the United States. These are factors that have caused a loss of stability within U.S. society.

At a time when unemployment is becoming increasingly serious, the investments in the military industry will not absorb much labor. In September, 1981, 7.5 percent of the workforce was unemployed. In 1982, this figure will reach 8 percent, the highest level since the 1974-1975 economic crisis. Unemployment is one of the most important factors causing the strong opposition among the American people. For this reason, the adventurous five-point arms race program of the Reagan administration is meeting with a wave of opposition throughout the United States.

Massive investments in the military industry are also causing sharp competition within the military-industrial complex to win the fattest contracts and the most profitable markets. This is one of the primary causes of the sharp debates within the U.S. Congress concerning weapons production programs, especially Reagan's extremely large arms race plan.

Thus, the Reagan administration's line of accelerating the arms race with a view toward "achieving military superiority" is causing the internal antagonisms of U.S. society to become deeper and causing the "crisis of confidence," the "crisis of the system," which originated in the Vietnam war, to last longer and become sharper.

On the other hand, the "adventurous nuclear policy" of Reagan is meeting with strong reaction from the "allies" of the United States in western Europe and Japan. Although we have not seen any changes in the aggressive nature of NATO, many countries are extremely cautious in the face of the request by the United States that these countries increase their military budgets in order to share the arms race responsibility with



the United States and prepare for war. Clearly, in this field, the interests of the United States and U.S. allies differ. For many months, millions of people in many countries within NATO have continuously demonstrated against the United States. They are opposed to the installation by the United States of 572 medium range missiles with nuclear warheads in a number of western European countries, opposed to the "limited nuclear war" policy announced by Reagan on 16 October 1981 and so forth. The people of Japan have continuously conducted demonstrations, demanding the abrogation of the "U.S.-Japan Security Treaty" and the dismantling of all U.S. military bases in Japan.

In addition to the above mentioned obstacles being encountered by the U.S. war machine, even U.S. military circles have had to admit that the major portion of Reagan's "super arms" plan will not have an effect until the end of this decade or the start of the next decade. Moreover, the weapons in this plan are not totally new or unique. The technical properties of the MX missile are in no way superior to the Minuteman missile now being used, except for the fact that the old missile is stationary while the new missile is mobile. However, the mobility of the MX cannot insure that it will not be attacked by the opposition because, when it is launched, it still must be installed on an underground launch pad, consequently, it is still difficult for the MX to avoid detection by the opposition. The B-1 strategic bomber displayed numerous technical shortcomings in its various test flights and was put on the shelf by the Carter administration. The Trident missile on the nuclear submarine is nothing more than an improved version of the Polaris and Poseidon missiles now being used. The Stealth strategic bomber, which has been advertised as being able to avoid radar detection, is still on the drawing boards.

In summary, the strategic nuclear "treasures" which Reagan intends to unveil in 1980's and 1990's are, in actuality, not the results of any new "inventions" in the field of military technology. The U.S. warmongers do not have the "unparalleled weapons" of which they dream.

Clearly, in view of the present balance of power in the world, the insane arms race activities of the U.S. imperialists cannot prevent the three revolutionary currents from continuing to develop their strong offensive position at a time when the Soviet Union and the socialist community stand ready to take appropriate steps to deal with the war adventures of the United States and the Chinese reactionaries, expansionists and hegemonists. The U.S. war vehicle being driven by Reagan is careening down an extremely dangerous, deadend course. The basic "deter-block" military strategy, which is a product of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the United States, cannot lead the U.S. imperialists from their present strategic confusion. However, the efforts by Reagan to strengthen and give priority to the "blocking" strategy or the "deterrent" strategy only further reveal his extremely bellicose nature and, at the same time, reflect the weak, frustrated position in which the U.S. imperialists find themselves in the "post-Vietnam" period.

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