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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 7, July 1984

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27 August 1984

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN  
No. 7, July 1984

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

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## COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] In the history of our nation, farmers have played a very important role. Because ours is an agricultural country, farmers constitute the largest force among the people. Vietnamese farmers possess the spirit of diligent, brave labor and have a tradition of patriotism, a tradition of uniting in struggle against foreign aggression, of defending the country. However, under the colonial and feudal systems, all of the fruits of the labor of farmers were appropriated by the imperialists and feudalists. Farmers were robbed of their cropland (the landowner class, which constituted less than 5 percent of the population, and the imperialists owned more than 70 percent of cropland; farmers, who represented more than 90 percent of the population, had only 30 percent of the country's cropland), had to work as hired hands or lease farmland and were forced to pay very heavy land rents, interest and taxes to them. Despite working hard throughout the year, their poverty only brought them more poverty and many farmers were forced to leave their homes, leave their villages to work elsewhere; however, under the colonial, feudal system, they were oppressed and exploited wherever they went and many died a slow death at their plantations and mines. Refusing to accept the loss of their country and the destruction of their families, farmers frequently rose in brave struggle against the imperialists and feudalists, but all of these struggles met with defeat because no one had yet come along to chart the correct course for them to follow.

It was only when the Communist Party of Vietnam--the vanguard party of the Vietnamese working class--was born and began leading the revolution that Vietnamese farmers acquired the conditions needed to fulfill their revolutionary role, unite with the various strata of the people within the National United Front and bring the national struggle, the class struggle to victory.

In the more than one-half century of the arduous fight waged by our people under the leadership of the party, especially since the success of the August Revolution, the victory of the wars of resistance against France and the United States and the reunification of the country, the situation in the

countryside, agricultural production and the living conditions of farmers have undergone large and profound changes.

With the victory of the August Revolution in 1945, our people, our farmers went from being slaves who had lost their country, lost their freedom to being the collective masters of the country. With the victory of agrarian reform, our farmers went from having no cropland or lacking cropland to becoming the owners of cropland, the masters of the countryside. "National independence" and "land to the tillers"--these were the first leaps forward made by our farmers under the leadership of the party and were, in addition, the decisive factors in opening the way for other profound changes in our countryside, in our country's revolution.

It was mainly as a result of having become the collective masters of the country and a result of "land to the tiller" that the farmers of our entire country contributed their manpower and materiel and joined the rest of the people in winning the "earth-shattering victory of Dien Bien Phu," thereby bringing the war of resistance against the French colonialists to a victorious conclusion and preparing the conditions for carrying out the new tasks of the revolution.

In the liberated North, in the space of only 3 years, from 1958 to 1960, our farmers, responding to the appeal by the party, virtually completed agricultural cooperativization and became the class of collective farmers, thereby making their second leap forward, from the position of small owners engaged in private production to the position of large, collective owners engaged in collective production and working together to build the new life, the new countryside.

The victory of the cooperativization movement brought additional capabilities to the farmers of the North in their work of building the initial material-technical bases of agriculture, thereby opening the way for the development of agriculture even during the years of the fierce war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

On the basis of cooperativized agriculture, the countryside and the collective farmers of the North successfully completed the task that the great rear area had to perform for the great frontlines in the resistance against the United States for national salvation by promptly and effectively retaliating against the war of destruction waged by the air and naval forces of the U.S. imperialists while sending manpower and materiel to support the resistance in the South and quickly win total victory.

In the past, the countryside consisted of nothing more than stagnant swamps and houses with thatch roofs and dirt walls and the vast majority of farmers were illiterate; however, as a result of cooperativized agriculture and the spirit of struggle of collective farmers, the rural areas of the North, even during the years of the fierce war, underwent many large changes. Many advances very deserving of pride were made in the material and spiritual lives of farmers.

In the South, during the years of the resistance against the United States and under the leadership of the party, farmers and the other strata of the people, upholding their revolutionary tradition as the "Bulwark of the Fatherland," waged a determined struggle against each plan and measure employed by the Americans and puppets, actively participated in the war of resistance and defeated one enemy plan after another. In the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign in the spring of 1975, in coordination with troops, farmers and the other strata of the people arose and seized political power at many places, thereby making a large contribution to the liberation of the South.

Since the reunification of the country, the farmers of the South have actively participated in building the revolutionary government; maintained security and order in the countryside; restored and developed production; stabilized everyday life; united with and helped one another and shared joys and sorrows; carried out the redistribution of cropland and resolved problems among farmers regarding cropland; abolished the remnants of feudal exploitation; and eagerly implemented the positions and policies of the party and state. As of the end of 1983, the coastal provinces of central Vietnam had established 1,185 cooperatives and 775 production collectives, thus bringing 98.8 percent of farm families into collective production; the provinces of the Central Highlands had established 267 cooperatives and 1,952 production collectives, thus bringing 71 percent of farm families into collective production. To date, Nam Bo has established 296 cooperatives and 20,341 production collectives, which account for 45.3 percent of farm families and 38 percent of cropland. Through the agricultural cooperativization movement, the class of collective farmers has been and is coming into being in the provinces of the South.

Now that the socialist revolution has become nationwide in scope, our farmers have continued to make noteworthy contributions in restoring and developing the economy, strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers, developing the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, coordinating transformation with construction, promoting the three revolutions and the two strategic tasks and establishing, solidifying and improving the new, socialist production relations; at the same time, they have made new advances with regard to their consciousness as collective masters, their cultural standard and their knowledge of science and technology.

Although we still face many difficulties, the changes that have occurred in our countryside, in the lives of our farmers since the August Revolution have been extremely large and profound and very deserving of pride. These changes prove that our party correctly resolved the peasant question in our country, with a view toward bringing our country, a former colony and semi-feudal country, to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. These changes also prove that our farmers, since the dawn of the revolution and throughout each of its periods, have placed absolute confidence in the leadership of the party and carried out each line, position and policy of the party with enthusiasm. It is precisely as a result of placing their trust in the party and being determined to follow the leadership of the party of the working class that our country's farmers have been able to display their fine qualities, take large strides forward in their politics and thinking, become the dependable allies of the working class and, together with

the working class, form the main force army of the revolution and make large contributions to the struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for the present cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

However, because they lived under the conditions of small-scale production for so long, our farmers have some shortcomings that are worth mentioning: they do not yet have a full understanding of large-scale, socialist production or socialist industrialization; their spirit of struggling for the victory of socialism over capitalism within agriculture is not truly steadfast; their sense of collective ownership is not high; and their knowledge of science and technology, of economic construction and management as well as their level of organization are, generally speaking, still low.

The tremendous revolutionary changes that have occurred in our rural life as well as the strongpoints and shortcomings of our farmers have been and are closely linked to the activities of the former Peasant Association, which is now the Vietnam Federation of Collective Farmers, because it has the primary task and function of uniting, educating and encouraging farmers to follow the revolutionary path of the party.

At present, the federation has more than 10 million members. Generally speaking, its members have gradually matured in their activities and each circle and age group has displayed its particular strengths in performing the tasks and functions of the federation. The contributions and the results of the activities of the federation in the people's national democratic revolution as well as in this initial stage of the socialist revolution are a source of pride to the farmers of our entire country.

However, in the face of the requirements of the socialist revolution, the federation's organization has exhibited certain weaknesses and shortcomings: it does not vigorously tap the spirit of collective ownership of farmers in a comprehensive manner, especially with regard to their participation in the management of the collective economy and in the management of the various aspects of cultural and social life along with the agencies of the state on the various levels, especially on the basic and district levels; it has not delved deeply into themes of activity or specific methods of operation; and it has not had an effective impact upon the molding of the new farmer or the building of the new socialist countryside. In recent years, the federation's organization has lacked stability, primarily because the nature and tasks of the federation as well as the relationship between the basic organizations of the federation and the agricultural production cooperatives and other organizations of the collective economy within the countryside have not been clearly defined. In order to promptly meet the pressing requirements established by the party regarding agitation among farmers, the federation must make every effort to develop upon its strongpoints and correct the shortcomings and weaknesses mentioned above.

The upcoming National Congress of Delegates of the Federation of Collective Farmers is an important political event for the federation and all of the federation members and farmers of our country. This congress is of special importance because it is the federation's first congress, is the congress that

will establish the federation's tasks as teaching and encouraging farmers to exercise their right of socialist collective ownership and strengthening the federation's organization in accordance with the nature of the federation. The congress will adopt the Statutes of the federation and elect the federation Central Committee, thereby laying the foundation for the activities of each federation member, unifying the federation's organization from top to bottom and creating strong fighting strength for the federation in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

At present, our country's revolution is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. One especially important task of our party, our state and all our people in this stage is to concentrate our efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, and advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production in order to meet the needs of everyday life and lay the base for industrial development.

Throughout the period of transition to socialism in our country, socialist industrialization is the central task. Only by carrying out socialist industrialization can we build the material-technical bases of socialism, advance our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production and make our country a socialist country that has a modern industrial-agricultural economy, a progressive culture, progressive science and technology, a strong national defense system and a civilized and happy life.

The Vietnam Federation of Collective Farmers is a mass organization of socialist farmers led by the Communist Party of Vietnam. The federation is a member of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, is the liaison link between farmers and the party and state. The federation has the task of working with the other mass organizations to assist the party in teaching and encouraging farmers to display a high spirit of socialist collective ownership, implement the positions and policies of the party and state well, actively participate in the building of the new economy and the new countryside, in the molding of the new socialist man and competently support socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

Together with emphasizing the important role of agriculture and showing farmers the honor and responsibility that are theirs in the struggle on the agricultural front, the federation must give attention to conducting a widespread propaganda and educational effort among farmers concerning socialist industrialization. Agricultural cooperativization and socialist industrialization are the common undertaking of both the working class and the class of collective farmers. The working class has been and is making important contributions to the agricultural cooperativization movement, to accelerating agricultural production and the building of the new countryside. The class of collective farmers has the obligation of actively contributing to socialist industrialization by fulfilling obligations to the state and carrying out each position and policy of the party and state well, especially the policies on economic development and distribution-circulation, thereby providing the state with the conditions needed to accelerate socialist industrialization. The matters described above are also the requirements in

strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers in the present stage of the socialist revolution.

The building of the new economy in the countryside essentially involves building and solidifying cooperativized agriculture, developing upon the advantages afforded by collective production and endeavoring to advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production, beginning with meeting grain, food product and export production requirements. We must endeavor to meet the target of 18 million tons of grain in 1984 and the target of 19 million-20 million tons in 1985. In order to advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production, attention must also be given to promoting the scientific-technological revolution and the building of the material-technical bases of agriculture; completing the socialist transformation of agriculture through suitable forms of organization and stages at those places where it has not been completed; solidifying and developing upon the impact of cooperatives and production collectives at those places where they have been established; strengthening and improving the quality of the collective economy; encouraging the development of the household economy in the correct direction; establishing and expanding direct socialist economic relations between the state and cooperatives, production collectives and farmers, between the state-operated and collective economies, between industry and agriculture through the state plan, economic contracts and the various forms of production and business ties.

The building of the new, socialist countryside primarily involves establishing the system of socialist collective ownership at installations and on the scope of the district in all areas of politics, economics, culture, social life and living conditions. Politically, we must guarantee that farmers have genuine equality and freedom in conjunction with requiring that each person fulfill his obligations to the state, to the collective while maintaining political security and social order in the countryside. Economically, we must bring into being and develop upon the strongpoints of earning a living collectively and insure that the three different economic interests (the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer) are combined in a harmonious manner. As regards culture, social life and living conditions, we must thoroughly organize the food supply, shelter, transportation and education; care for children, the elderly, the families of war dead and disabled veterans; build public welfare and cultural projects serving the masses; and insure that everyone leads a civilized life, enthusiastically participates in the molding of families of the new culture and unites with, loves and helps everyone else within the hamlet and village.

The building of the new economy, the new countryside cannot be divorced from the molding of farmers into the new, socialist man, because, the new, socialist man is both the product and the master of the building of the new socialist economy and countryside.

In the present situation, the new, socialist man in the countryside must be a progressive cooperative or collective member (at those places where cooperatives and production collectives have not been established, he must be a progressive member of the production solidarity team or work rotation or exchange team); closely associate himself with earning a living collectively;

concern himself with building the cooperative and production collective; enthusiastically participate in the socialist labor emulation movement; fully comply with each position and policy of the party and state and the statutes and internal regulations of collective economic organizations; fulfill each obligation to the state and collective; be vigilant and wage a determined struggle against each act of sabotage of the enemy; and possess the pure socialist international spirit.

The building of the new economy, the new countryside and the molding of the new, socialist man can only achieve success on the basis of a widespread, strong and continuous movement among farmers to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions. Under the leadership of the party, the Federation of Collective Farmers must orient its propaganda, educational and agitational effort among farmers toward developing upon the right of collective ownership and tapping every creative capability within this revolutionary movement.

In the immediate future, the federation must closely coordinate with the mass organizations and related sectors in a constant effort to raise the level of socialist awareness among farmers so that they become clearly aware of the difference between labor and exploitation, develop upon the superior nature of collective production, recognize the insidious schemes of the enemy to sabotage us in many different ways and, on this basis, become more resolved and steadfast in the struggle between the two paths and display greater revolutionary vigilance in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

Farmers must be encouraged to enthusiastically emulate in productive labor, to practice economy and endeavor to successfully carry out the socio-economic plans of the state for 1984-1985 and subsequent years in a manner closely linked to implementing the positions and policies of the party and state well while correctly implementing and improving upon the system of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers.

The federation must take the initiative in coordinating with associated mass organizations and related sectors in caring for every aspect of the lives of farmers. Together with encouraging farmers to increase production and strengthen the collective economy, it must guide farmers in developing the household economy in the correct direction that yields practical returns while enthusiastically participating in the establishment of the civilized style of life, the molding of families of the new culture and the building of the new, socialist countryside.

Attention must be given to cultivating and heightening the sense of collective ownership and the ability to exercise this ownership among farmers in their participation in economic management and the management of economic and cultural-social life within the countryside, strengthening the socialist system of law, building the party and government and promptly reflecting to the party and government the legitimate desires and aspirations of farmers.

It is necessary to teach and encourage farmers to participate in making the national defense system a national defense system of all the people, resist the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and

hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, be ready to fight and support combat operations, firmly defend the fatherland, maintain political security and social order and safety and display a high socialist international spirit.

It is also necessary to improve the themes of and the methods employed in the activities of the federation and build and solidify the federation's organization in accordance with the guidelines and specifics set forth in the federation Statutes.

All of the requirements mentioned above have the purpose of developing the role of laboring farmers as collective masters in order to promote socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland, build the class of collective farmers in every respect and build for the Federation of Collective Farmers an organization that is strong and solid, is in keeping with the nature and tasks of the federation so that the federation is worthy of being a dependable mass organization of the party.

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## SOME QUESTIONS ON STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM AND DEFENDING THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 7-19

[Article by Van Tien Dung]

[Text] This year, with legitimate pride, our party, people and army commemorate the 30th anniversary of the victory of Dien Bien Phu and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam People's Army. These two historic events mark the great success achieved by our party in leading the war of national liberation, the defense of the fatherland and the buildup of the people's armed forces.

This is an opportunity for us to review those glorious chapters in our history, draw valuable lessons and experiences from them and, in this light, reflect upon the strategic task of maintaining combat readiness and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland in the present stage.

### Part I

With the total and thorough victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country's revolution entered a new stage, the stage of the entire country being independent and reunified and advancing to socialism.

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress established the fact that the building of the country must go hand in hand with defending the country, that we must build socialism while defending the socialist fatherland. This is a matter of survival to our nation; at the same time, it is the universal law of the socialist revolution today.

Therefore, while leading the people in turning their efforts to building the country, our party has always concerned itself with strengthening the national defense system, building the people's armed forces and building the national defense industry so that the country is prepared to defeat the schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage of every enemy.

Not long after we began to restore the economy and build socialism following the 30 years of war, we had to contend with very serious challenges posed by Chinese expansionism and hegemony--the new enemy of our country's revolution.

We won brilliant victories in the two wars to defend the fatherland against the Chinese reactionaries and their lackeys, thereby maintaining independence, freedom and socialism in our country, fulfilling our international obligation to the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Kampuchea and Laos and partially defeating the insidious scheme of the enemy. The nation of Vietnam had once again displayed its will and determination, its strength and ability to defend itself, displayed a loyal and pure international spirit and wrote new, heroic chapters in the golden book of resistance against foreign aggression.

Since then, under the light of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and together with the achievements recorded in socialist construction, our people have reached a new stage of development in their work of strengthening the national defense system and defending the fatherland.

The country's defense organization has been markedly strengthened. In the building of a modern, regular force people's army, progress has been made in many areas. Our national defense strength has been continuously increased; the battlefield deployment of the people's war has been constantly solidified throughout the country. Our fatherland is being more firmly defended with each passing day. In the face of hardships and difficulties, our people and army have continued to make strong progress in building the initial bases of socialism and stabilizing everyday life; at the same time, they are determined to defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy and are ready to deal with the threat of a new war from them.

However, in the present very complex international and regional situations, we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved.

The worldwide struggle between the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress and the imperialist and counter-revolutionary powers is a very sharp and complex struggle. Faced with the growth of the three revolutionary currents, the solid bulwark of which is the Soviet Union, and finding themselves in a defeated, deteriorating position, the U.S. imperialists have been obstinately pursuing a militaristic, bellicose policy, intensifying the arms race on an unprecedented scale and insanely opposing socialism and national independence, thereby making the world situation very tense. The U.S. imperialists have gone ahead with their plans to disrupt the strategic military balance despite the desire of the people of the world for peace and despite the good will displayed by the Soviet Union. They have begun to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of a number of western European countries. This action along with other reckless military actions of theirs have truly faced mankind with the danger of a nuclear war.

However, the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community have taken decisive retaliatory measures and prevented them from changing the balance of

power in the world. The world revolutionary movement is determined not to allow them to carry out this insane scheme of theirs. Mankind possesses sufficient strength and capabilities to prevent nuclear war.

Nevertheless, the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution is still a very sharp struggle. Regional wars have broken out and continue to break out. On the basis of an increased arms supply, the U.S. imperialists are making every effort to assemble the forces of their accomplices, launching bitter counter-attacks against revolutionary movements and preventing countries that have achieved national independence from following the socialist path of development. They brazenly invaded Grenada, directly intervened in Lebanon and El Salvador and are waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua, threatening Cuba, Syria...

The main feature of current U.S. policy is that they are doing all that they can to collaborate with the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union and Vietnam, dividing and weakening the socialist countries and turning China into a "Trojan horse" in the Third World.

In Southeast Asia, concerned over the increasing shift in the balance of power and the political situation in a direction favorable to the revolution in this region that has resulted from the victory and the militant alliance of the three countries of Indochina, the U.S. imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the other reactionary powers, in collaboration with one another, are pursuing new, villainous plots against Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Indochina has been and is one of the hot spots, one of the places of sharp struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution in the world.

China is facing large difficulties in many areas, difficulties that cannot be easily overcome in a short period of time. Domestic difficulties coupled with difficulties in the international arena have forced China to make a number of tactical changes in its foreign relations. However, as far as Vietnam is concerned, the strategy and tactics of the Chinese reactionaries have never changed. Bitter and angry following their several defeats, they have displayed even greater hostility toward us. The recent continuous artillery fire directed against all the provinces along our country's northern border and the attacks on and occupation of a number of places within our country's territory by infantry forces offer further proof that there can be no doubt concerning their reactionary nature or sinister designs.

They are intensifying their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists in a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country and the other countries in Indochina while continuing to make urgent preparations for a war of aggression when the conditions and opportunity arise.

The situation described above demands that our party, people and army constantly display high vigilance and be determined to win victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage while making preparations for winning victory over a war of aggression launched by them, closely linking the task of building socialism and the task of defending the fatherland, closely linking our national task and our international obligation. We must truly make both

the economy and the national defense system of our country stronger and bring the greatest possible combined strength to the defense of the country. In this way, we will be able to take the initiative in every situation, prevent and reduce the threat of aggression, strengthen the real possibilities for maintaining peace and surely inflict a heavier defeat upon the enemy should they recklessly start a war.

## Part II

The class struggle on a worldwide scale and within this region demands that we fully concern ourselves with strengthening the defense capabilities of our country. Continuing to strengthen the national defense system, build up the armed forces and defend the fatherland in conjunction with accelerating socialist construction remain the important task of our army and people, a task concerning which efforts cannot be relaxed for one moment. It is also a task that involves the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, a task of national significance and profound international significance.

The work of strengthening the national defense system and building up our armed forces at this point in time must meet the new requirements of the people's war to defend the socialist fatherland against the new enemy of our country's revolution.

As were our previous revolutionary wars, the war to defend the socialist fatherland is a people's war led by the party of the working class in accordance with the general laws of a people's war under the specific conditions of our country; at the same time, it is a war that has its own unique characteristics. It is a just, revolutionary war of self-defense fought by all the people, a comprehensive and modern war that is based on the system of socialist collective ownership and results in the creation of the largest possible combined strength in order to win victory over the enemy. It is a war in which the entire country fights the enemy, in which all the people are soldiers, in which the people's armed forces are the nucleus of the fight. It is a war in which military attacks against the enemy, which constitute the main form of attack, are coordinated with political attacks and sometimes even with diplomatic attacks on the enemy; attacks on the enemy are coordinated with the comprehensive strength of the socialist system, of the national defense system; the strength of the nation is coordinated with the strength of the special alliance among the three countries of Indochina, the strength of the comprehensive alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and the strength of the support and assistance of the world revolutionary movement.

The people's war to defend the socialist fatherland thoroughly reflects the thinking of an offensive strategy, of being the masters and launching attacks, launching attacks and being the masters, being the masters of the country, the masters of the battlefield in order to wipe out the enemy and wiping out the enemy in order to be the masters of the battlefield, the masters of the country. This war demands coordination of the activities of the three elements of the military and the coordination of the two modes of war: the local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps, that

is, the coordination of stationary forces with mobile forces. It is a war in which the basic methods of fighting are employed in a suitable manner. It is a war in which we fight the enemy while building our forces; coordinate combat with production; wage an active war of resistance while continuing to build socialism and build and strengthen the rear area so that we can launch strong attacks and still fight a protracted war, determined to win total victory in every situation.

The new elements of the people's war to defend the socialist fatherland raise many new requirements with regard to strengthening the national defense system and building the armed forces. These requirements are the need to build our standing forces while building our reserve forces and the need to build combat ready forces while building the overall forces of the country to insure that we build strong forces that are in a high state of combat readiness so that we can quickly put the country on a war footing when the enemy launches a war of aggression and develop our national defense potentials into the largest possible real strength in order to win victory over the war of aggression. The entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, all sectors, all localities and the army must coordinate their efforts and speed up preparations in order to truly meet these requirements before war breaks out.

In the coming period, we must concentrate on resolving the following several large problems:

1. Defeating the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy and being ready to defeat a war of aggression of any scale launched by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

Our enemy is very clever and dangerous. In collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, they are pursuing their traditional tactic of coordinating sabotaging us from within with sabotaging us on the outside in order to weaken us while preparing for a war of aggression against our country.

The struggle being waged by our people against the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy is closely linked to the struggle between socialism and capitalism within the socialist revolution in our country; at the same time, it is a part of the struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution in the world. As a result, this struggle is a very decisive, complex and long struggle.

It must be realized that the wide-ranging war of sabotage can develop into a war of aggression. Therefore, by defeating the wide-ranging war of sabotage we can prevent and thwart the launching of a war of aggression. Thus, defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage is very important but it must be accomplished at the same time as accelerating and perfecting our preparations for combat, building and deploying our forces, organizing the national defense battlefield deployment and establishing the most effective methods of fighting in order to win victory over the enemy in every situation should war break out.

In dealing with the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, local forces and stationary forces are of primary importance and the posture of mastery within

the locality and at the installation is of decisive significance. The military regions, provinces and districts must learn from the experiences gained in implementing the resolution of the Political Bureau in recent years and, on this basis, re-examine and supplement their plans all the way down to the basic level. By means of appropriate methods, we must conduct a widespread educational effort to give our compatriots and soldiers a clear understanding of the intentions and methods of the enemy, constantly heighten their vigilance and show them the arduous, complex and protracted nature of this struggle. We must closely link national defense and security and employ the coordinated strengths of all forces, sectors and mass organizations under the unified, centralized leadership of the various party committee echelons, utilizing the strength of the masses as our basic strength, so that we can fight the enemy in every way possible. We must concentrate on key areas and elements of central importance and direct the thrust of our efforts in this struggle toward the Chinese reactionaries; at the same time, we must be vigilant against and deal with attempts to oppose and undermine us by the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers in coordination with the expansionists.

On the other hand, we must attach importance to solidifying our internal organization and focus our efforts on building bases that are strong and solid in every respect, most importantly the political base and the bases of the party and government. Only by establishing a firm foothold and exercising firm control within an area can we establish the position needed to launch strong and continuous attacks against each kind of reactionary. The localities, in a manner closely linked to the plan for resisting the enemy's war of sabotage, must formulate plans for preparing forces and a defensive battlefield deployment to resist a war of aggression in different situations, plans that are consistent with the characteristics of the locality and comply with the lines and viewpoints concerning the defense of the nation by all the people and a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland.

## 2. Improving the quality and increasing the fighting strength of the armed forces.

The buildup of the armed forces must be carried out in a comprehensive, well coordinated and balanced manner. Importance must be attached to building both the People's Army and militia and self-defense forces so that we have both strong standing forces and powerful reserve forces.

Within the combined strength of the country, the People's Army (which consists of main force troops, local forces and border defense troops) is an effective tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a solid pillar of the system of collective ownership. When the enemy launches a war of aggression, the main force military corps of the People's Army play the direct and decisive role in wiping out large numbers of main force enemy troops, defeating their strategic measures in warfare and changing the comparison of forces, the battle deployment and the situation on each battlefield as well as in the entire war.

Our party and people always consider building the People's Army to be one of their foremost tasks. As a result, our army has continuously grown and become

stronger and has, together with all the people, won victory over the largest enemies of our times. As the esteemed General Secretary Le Duan pointed out, one of the greatest achievements of our country's revolution under the leadership of the party has been the building of an invincible people's army.

Today, we have an army that is developing toward a regular force, modern army, an army that consists of increasingly modern, well organized and well trained main force military corps and technical services and branches that possess high fighting spirit, possess increasing mobility and breaching power, have a firm grasp of our superior military science and art, of modern military science and technology and are fully capable of completing large, diverse and complex tasks.

However, the political task and the military task of our country's revolution in the present period of history demand that the buildup of our army be raised to a new level. At present, our army must maintain combat readiness and fight alongside the people to defend the fatherland, maintain political security and maintain social order and safety while working and producing to build the economy and fulfilling its international obligation.

In accordance with the guidelines that were set forth in the resolution of the 5th Congress of the Party and concretized and developed upon in the resolution of the 5th Congress, we must continue to accelerate the building of our army into a revolutionary people's army that possesses unshakeable determination to win, strict discipline and a serious style, increasingly becomes a modern, regular force army and constantly raises its level of combat readiness while building strong and widespread mass armed forces. We must make the People's Army a dependable army in the defense of the fatherland and, at the same time, an army that is skilled in developing talents, a great school forging the new man among the generations of youths. The People's Army must symbolize the military strength of the socialist Vietnamese state.

We must build our main force troops (which encompass the following services: the army, the air force, the navy and the air defense force) in a manner commensurate with their function and position within the national defense system and the people's war to defend the fatherland. The modern, regular force, mobile military corps must become steel fists deterring reckless actions by the enemy. Today, main force troops must be organized on an appropriate scale and their structure must reflect balance and coordination among the various services and branches and within each service and branch.

We must fully concern ourselves with building local forces to be the nucleus of the local people's war. With strong local forces combined with widespread mass armed forces, we have a shock force for solidifying and perfecting production relations, developing production, defending the locality against the external enemy, effectively guarding against and combating the war of sabotage and maintaining political security and social order and safety while creating the conditions for mobile main force units to deliver strong blows to the enemy.

Depending upon the position of each locality within the overall battlefield deployment of the country, we must organize local forces in an appropriate

manner and insure that they are of high quality, that their organization is streamlined and strong, that they are properly equipped and well trained.

We must strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the border defense troops, which are a part of the People's Army, are an armed force that specializes in managing and maintaining security in the border areas of the country, both on land and at sea. We must make the border defense troops strong enough to fulfill their important security, national defense and foreign affairs functions in both peacetime as well as time of war.

In conjunction with building standing forces that are strong enough to protect the peaceful labor of the people, we must take urgent steps to build reserve forces that meet the requirements of maintaining combat readiness and expanding the army when necessary.

Reserve forces must be of high quality, be tightly organized and managed and receive thorough training. Unified plans must be adopted for rapidly mobilizing these forces and the necessary materiel to expand the army in time of war and in the course of a war. The induction of youths and the assignment, utilization and management of officers whose tour of service has been completed and soldiers who have fulfilled their military obligation and returned to the locality must be performed well.

Whereas the organization of the People's Army must be kept in balance with the country's economic capabilities, the building of the mass armed forces cannot be divorced from production if favorable conditions are to exist for developing large, widespread and strong forces.

The militia and self-defense forces, which constitute a strategic force, a tool of violent force of the party and government on the basic level, play the role as the nucleus in production, in national defense work and the maintenance of security and are a base of the system of collective ownership of the laboring people, are a school cultivating the new man on the basic level. In the years ahead, in conjunction with developing militia and self-defense forces of the size required by the specific situation of the locality, efforts must be focused on improving the quality of militia and self-defense forces in every respect, especially their political quality, in order to insure their dependability. This buildup must be coordinated with and based upon the results of building the political base, building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect and must be closely linked to the three revolutions on the basic level. In strategically important areas, constant attention must be given to guiding the buildup of the militia and self-defense forces to insure that they become forces that are truly solid and strong.

With powerful militia and self-defense forces at each installation and mobile militia forces within each village combined with reserve forces that can be mobilized in a rapid, timely manner and with the close alliance of all armed forces of the locality within the general battlefield deployment, every province and district will acquire a very large strength of incalculable proportions with which to take the initiative in dealing with every situation.

The various elements of the military must be deployed in a rational manner throughout the country, on each battlefield and within each locality in a way that results in the formation of mobile forces and stationary forces and the creation of the solid strategic position of the people's war so that we can firmly maintain control and take the initiative in attacking aggressor forces in every situation.

Against the background of the country's situation at this point in time, we must study and establish a proper relationship between the size and quality of the armed forces. On the one hand, we must realize that the large tasks of the army, the high demands of troop training and the vital necessity for vigilance compel us to maintain a regular force, standing army of sufficient size to deal with each situation. However, on the other hand, it is also necessary to maintain balance between the buildup of the army and the economic capabilities of the country, which involves taking every factor into full consideration and making well based calculations.

Size is important but we cannot pursue size as our sole objective, rather, we must always attach importance to quality, must make quality our prime objective. We must set the size of standing forces at an appropriate, necessary level based on tasks, predictions concerning the enemy, the economic capabilities of the country, the quality of the armed forces, the status of the defense organization and the battlefield deployment of the people's war. On the basis of this force size, it is necessary to focus efforts on improving the quality of forces in order to strongly increase their fighting strength and achieve high combat efficiency. We employ small forces to fight large forces, consequently, we have, since antiquity, used high quality to win victory over large size.

The quality of the armed forces consists of those factors that create material and technical strength, those factors that create political and moral strength and even organizational as well as ideological factors. These factors are partly created by the armed forces and partly created by society as a whole. Therefore, the improvement of the quality of the armed forces must, on the one hand, be carried out by the armed forces themselves by making the greatest possible efforts and displaying the highest possible responsibility; on the other hand, it requires the active and regular participation of the various levels of leadership of the party and government, the mass organizations, the sectors and the localities.

We view improving the quality of the armed forces in a comprehensive manner, as something to be accomplished by means of integrated and well coordinated measures. We must coordinate the gradual equipping with increasingly modern weapons and means of war with intensifying the effort to build the infrastructure, raising the level of rear service-technical support of troops and improving the quality of military training so that troops are the masters of each weapon and piece of technical equipment, have a firm grasp of the military science and art of a war to defend the fatherland and are proficient in highly effective methods of fighting. We must heighten the effectiveness of party work-political work, build party organizations within the army that are solid and strong and place the fighting skills and capabilities of the army on a firm political, ideological and organizational foundation, thereby

insuring the completion of each task. We must coordinate ideological work, coordinate motivating and inspiring cadres and soldiers to devote the full measure of their zeal and sense of responsibility to building a large and powerful army with giving full attention to the material and spiritual lives of troops while adopting appropriate policies concerning the armed forces.

To improve the quality of the armed forces, we must also resolve organizational problems in a scientific and revolutionary manner, build a balanced and rational organizational structure, a streamlined and strong table of organization and equipment and a tightly structured, effective management and command system, thereby insuring that the organization and each person are strong, the agency and unit are strong, the military corps and the basic level are strong.

In the work of improving the quality of the armed forces, attention must be given to the fact that the various elements of the military have different requirements, requirements based on their functions and tasks. Main force troops must be able to wipe out large enemy forces and firmly defend our strategic areas. Local forces must possess sufficient strength to serve as the nucleus of the local people's war. Border defense troops must be able to fulfill their task as the central force in managing and protecting the sovereignty of the country. Militia and self-defense forces must be worthy of serving as the nucleus of the arming of all the people, of the fight waged against the enemy by all the people on the basic level.

Quality must be expressed in a high state of combat readiness, readiness in terms of ideology and organization, in terms of forces and battlefield deployment, in terms of personnel and weapons in order to defeat each act of sabotage and aggression of the enemy regardless of when they occur, regardless of their scale, regardless of the direction from which they come, regardless of the forces by which these acts are carried out.

In the improvement of the quality of the armed forces, improving the quality of the corps of cadres is the key. This corps is the nucleus of the People's Armed Forces. The cadres of the army must symbolize the modern, regular force people's army, symbolize revolutionary heroism. They must have a firm grasp of the political and military lines of the party, of the military science and art, the military technical sciences involved in the war to defend the socialist fatherland. They must be close to their soldiers, close to the people and live a pure and simple life. In summary, they must possess the character and skills needed to complete tasks in the new stage of the revolution.

Full attention must be given to improving cadre work, which is work of decisive significance in the buildup of the armed forces.

In the years ahead, we must concentrate on implementing the Political Bureau resolution on organizational work in accordance with the specifics and requirements that have been concretized regarding it. We must develop cadre planning in depth; improve the elementary and advanced training of cadres; establish management regulations and procedures based on the new mechanism; and reorganize the network of army schools with a view toward building a corps

of cadres that is of sufficient size, is rationally structured and achieves increasingly high quality, a corps that consists of cadres who possess good personal qualities and ethics, are politically steadfast, possess the skills required by their tasks, are of suitable age, in good health and fully capable of completing their tasks.

3. The building of a solid and strong national defense system must be closely linked to making the country economically strong.

Building a solid and strong national defense system is the fundamental, constant and long-range task of our people in the period of building and defending the socialist fatherland. It is also an urgent and pressing task in the present situation. We know that war can only occur at certain times. However, as long as expansionism and hegemony rule in China and imperialism and the other reactionary powers continue to exist in the world, we must fully concern ourselves with strengthening the defense capability and maintaining the security of the fatherland.

Our forefathers passed much experience regarding this matter on to us. Following the victories over the forces of aggression of the Han, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, our forefathers kept the country in a state of peace for periods ranging from decades to three centuries.

Throughout the nation's history, Vietnam, with its fertile land, its forests of gold and seas of silver, has been the constant object of the furtive glance, of the expansionist designs of Chinese ruling classes. Relying upon their position as a large country with a large population and large armed forces, although they have suffered continuous defeats, although they have come and gone, they have never abandoned their expansionist and aggressive nature. To survive and develop next to such a neighbor, our forefathers simply had to find a good solution to the problem of how to build a strong country while firmly defending it.

Historic necessity, practical need, the determination to be the masters of the country and Vietnamese intelligence have given birth to countless innovations: the construction of fortifications that also serve to control flooding; the development of communications and transportation to facilitate the deployment of troops; the establishment of the extended village-country battlefield deployment... In particular, the "citizen soldier" policy, a policy which coordinated the economy with the national defense system, was gradually perfected, became an established system and proved to be highly effective in the face of many challenges of war. Through this policy, our forefathers established a close link between military organization and economic organization, thereby coordinating production forces with combat forces and maintaining a streamlined, strong and combat ready standing force. At the same time, large reserve forces were given military training in order to facilitate their mobilization and make it possible to take the initiative in dealing with the expansionist designs of the large and powerful enemy as soon as they arrived at our doorstep. Before he died, Trang Hung Dao stated in his testament that the best way to defend the country is to make tapping the strength of the people the bedrock of our plan. This is sufficient to show that even when not facing a war of aggression, the ancient people of our

nation still gave constant thought to plans for defending their right to live, their right to be the masters of their country.

Compared to our forefathers, we have new capabilities and strengths that we can use to build a strong and solid national defense system, the most highly developed one in history. It is a national defense system of all the people, a comprehensive and modern system that reflects the nature of the socialist state and our people's system of socialist collective ownership.

The building of the national defense system involves much that is new: from building potentials, building the national defense industry, establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war, preparing the country and preparing for the shift from peacetime to war time to codifying, planning, organizing and guiding the performance of the task of defending the fatherland. We do not have much experience in this area; however, this is a fundamental as well as pressing task that we must perform and learn more about in the process.

We link the strengthening of the national defense system to building the economy. This is because the base of the strength of the national defense system is the system of socialist collective ownership, is the combined results of the three revolutions. Only by accelerating the socialist revolution throughout the country and within each locality can we create the combined strength of the national defense system. Only a strong national defense system can safeguard the revolutionary gains of our people and create the conditions needed to maintain peace and security so that we can build the country.

However, a strong economy does not automatically equate to a strong national defense system, rather, we must be conscious of the need and adopt plans for organizing and preparing conditions and potentials and converting them into military strength in time of war.

Therefore, we must coordinate the economy with the national defense system, must skillfully coordinate our efforts to satisfactorily meet the different requirements of the economy and the national defense system with a view toward achieving the following objectives: insuring that each stage of development in the building of the country creates additional conditions for defending the fatherland; insuring that each step taken to increase the strength of the economy is a step that increases the strength of the national defense system; and insuring that a high state of combat readiness is maintained while building.

We must coordinate the economy and the national defense system within long-term and short term plans by means of appropriate methods and stages of development.

The process of building the industrial-agricultural structure is also the process of building a strong and solid national defense system, of establishing a single economic and national defense strategic deployment throughout the country and within each locality under a unified economic and military strategy. All sectors of the central economy and the local economy

have the task of fully and promptly meeting the needs of the army and the national defense system, implementing the army's rear area policies and establishing local rear services for the defense effort. The plan for building the armed forces must be closely linked to the state plan so that the economic sectors of the state support the task of strengthening the national defense system and building the armed forces well. As for themselves, the armed forces must endeavor to reduce state expenditures on the army and must, while performing their combat and combat readiness tasks, actively and effectively participate in economic construction by appropriate methods.

We also consider it necessary to closely link the strengthening of the national defense system to the building of the economy on a nationwide scale and within each locality as well as at installations, thereby guaranteeing that the entire country builds an increasingly developed economic structure and strengthens its defense posture with each passing day.

The purpose of building and strengthening the national defense system is to firmly defend the fatherland, to be ready to win victory over a war of aggression launched by any enemy in any situation.

Therefore, while building each potential of the national defense system (its political-moral potential, its economic, cultural and scientific-technical potentials, its military potential), we must be ready to quickly mobilize these potentials and turn them into strengths in a war to defend the fatherland. The entire country and each locality must be prepared and ready to make the shift from peacetime to war time; this readiness must be expressed in plans: the plan for the defense of the country, the plan for preparing the army for mobilization, the plan for mobilizing the economy, the civilian defense plan...

In close association with these plans, we must prepare the plan for shifting the country from peacetime to war time.

Only by performing the jobs described above in a full, thorough and timely manner can we mobilize all national defense potentials so that we can go into the war in a manner reflecting initiative, in an organized manner and with sufficient strength to win victory over the enemy aggressor in every situation and maintain the activities of the country during the war with the fewest possible losses.

As part of building and strengthening the national defense system, we must prepare each citizen, each installation to fight the enemy. Therefore, full importance must be given to building the strengths of the locality, especially within the scope of the district.

Local strength is the strength that attacks the enemy the quickest, attacks the enemy most promptly. This strength, too, is a combined economic, political, cultural, social and national defense strength. For this reason, our party has adopted the policy of building the districts into strong centers of economic development and solid fortresses defending the fatherland and the policy of building installations into units that are both production units and combat units.

The redistribution of labor and the population within each area must be coordinated with meeting the requirements of building and organizing combat forces (both the requirements regarding the size of forces and qualitative requirements) of the local people's war. Economic and cultural installations and the infrastructure must be built and located in such a way that they meet the requirements of the production and everyday life of the people while creating the conditions needed for rear service support, technical support, mobility and the command network in combat and the maintenance of combat readiness. In the educational work of the schools within the various localities, it is necessary to do more to teach socialist patriotism, teach national defense consciousness, necessary to make improvements to the subject matter taught in universal military education and, where possible, necessary to develop national defense sport activities. To the extent possible, the People's Army must actively contribute to building the strength of the locality.

We must make full use of the new advantages that have been created, overcome every difficulty and continue to build the battlefield deployment of the people's war, which includes building the defense lines, the combat villages, the interconnected combat clusters and the district military fortresses and building strong, solid strategic areas, beginning in those areas that are of key importance. We must establish a battlefield deployment that makes it possible to coordinate the local people's war with the war fought by the main force military corps, thereby insuring ourselves of the ability to maintain firm control and launch strong attacks.

The strengthening of the national defense system is related to each and every activity in the life of society. We must establish a mechanism for building the national defense system from the central to the basic levels. We must also adopt short-term and long-term plans within the state plans, give them expression in the form of regulations backed by the material conditions needed for their implementation and periodically re-examine, adjust and amend them to suit the developing situation.

Our national defense strength is also the strength of the special alliance among the three fraternal countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, of the solidarity, the alliance and the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Therefore, making the alliance of the three countries of Indochina increasingly solid and strong and strengthening our solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community are a fundamental task in the work of strengthening the national defense system.

Our People's Army has the important task of actively participating in economic construction. The People's Army is both a competent tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a shock force on the economic construction front.

This participation is an expression of the system of socialist collective ownership and is also part of the nature of the People's Army. The purpose of the army participating in economic construction is to meet some of the army's needs while making worthy contributions to the building of the material-technical bases of socialism and the performance of the common socio-economic

tasks of the country. The army must determine the extent of its participation on the basis of efficiently planning its time and forces, on the basis of the forms and characteristics of its tasks and on the basis of its areas of operation, organization and capabilities. The production and construction plans of the army must be closely linked to the national economic plans of the entire country, of each sector and locality in order to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency; and, in the course of implementing these plans, the army must comply with the regulations and policies of the state.

Practicing frugality is a national policy of ours. In the buildup of the army, in every expenditure on national defense, we must do all that we can to practice frugality in the use of manpower and materiel.

The army must make positive contributions to the building of a solid and strong rear area, which is a constant factor determining victory in a war. All troop units, regardless of where they are stationed, have the responsibility of helping to build the locality politically, economically, culturally and militarily so that the locality becomes increasingly prosperous, strong and civilized and improves the maintenance of security and order.

All the people performing national defense work, all the people fighting the enemy are distinctive traditions of our nation, traditions that reflect our people's spirit of being the masters of the defense of the country, traditions that have become a fundamental part of Marxist-Leninist military theory in Vietnam.

Our national defense system, our armed forces and the war that we fight to defend the fatherland against aggressors are of, by and for the people. Therefore, the tasks of strengthening the national defense system, building the armed forces and fighting the enemy to defend the country are the common tasks of all the people, of the entire army, of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system under the leadership of the party.

The jobs described above, which are designed to continue to strengthen the national defense system and build the armed forces, are very large, difficult and complex jobs, jobs of both a fundamental and pressing nature, jobs that must be performed by each person, each sector and each locality, by all the people and the entire country working together. Even those jobs that are primarily performed by the army must be performed under the leadership of the party and with the coordination and assistance of other forces in order to yield the desired results.

The realities of history have proven that the leadership of the party is the factor determining each victory. This was true in the past, it is true today and it will always be true in the future.

During the past 40 years, the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau on a direct, day to day basis, has closely led the buildup of the people's armed forces, the strengthening of the national defense system, the war of liberation and the wars to defend the fatherland. On the basis of the fundamentals of its revolutionary line and revolutionary method, the party has

correctly and creatively established the military line and military tasks and built our military science and art.

Today, in the new stage of the revolution, the objective requirements of the situation and tasks demand that we further strengthen the party's leadership, insure firm party leadership of the defense of the fatherland and constantly increase the quality of party leadership, the defense capabilities of the country and the fighting strength of the army.

The various party committee echelons, the sectors and the localities must display a high degree of responsibility in leading, organizing and managing the work of building the national defense system and building the armed forces within their area and sector and apply the system "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages" to the defense of the country.

Defending the country is the undertaking of the masses. All our people must display a high spirit of socialist patriotism, display the attitude "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," devote the full measure of their spirit and energies, contribute manpower and materiel to strengthening the national defense system and strictly observe the law regarding their obligations and rights in the defense of the fatherland. This spirit must take the form of a widespread mass movement to strengthen the national defense and security systems, a movement coordinated with the movement of all the people participating in economic work, in building the country. The fundamental requirements of this movement should be: in normal times, all the people must concern themselves with national defense work, with building the potentials and battlefield deployment of the national defense system in coordination with working, producing, building socialism, winning victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage and maintaining combat readiness; when war breaks out, the entire country must direct its efforts toward the frontline, fight the enemy and defend the country.

Our people have had to fight foreign aggression many times; therefore, they have no greater desire than their desire for peaceful conditions so that they can build the country, build a life of prosperity and happiness. However, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists are making every effort to sabotage the creative labor of our people, are eager to invade our country, are threatening the survival of our fatherland.

We possess the full determination and have adopted specific plans and measures for doing everything that is necessary to insure that the Vietnamese fatherland is prosperous, strong and firmly defended, to insure that the Vietnamese forever live in independence and freedom.

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## PREPARING THE COUNTRY FOR WAR MOBILIZATION AND FIRMLY DEFENDING THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

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[Article by Le Trong Tan]

[Text] Following the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, our people had no more fervent aspiration than to be able to concentrate their efforts on rebuilding the country and creating a life of comfort and happiness in independence, freedom and reunification with the entire country advancing to socialism. However, shortly thereafter, our people had to deal with a new enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. Our country must simultaneously carry out two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

Moreover, this large and difficult undertaking is set against international and domestic circumstances characterized by many complex changes. In the world, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying the arms race, stubbornly going ahead with the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and seeking to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community while directing the thrust of their efforts against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba, launching regional wars of aggression, creating an extremely tense situation and facing mankind with the danger of a destructive nuclear war.

In Southeast Asia and Indochina, a sharp struggle is also taking place between the national independence movement and socialism, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers.

The reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists more closely with each day that passes; at the same time, they are using a number of countries within the ASEAN bloc to their advantage, bringing Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese reactionary exiles together in Thailand and establishing ties with and supporting reactionary forces within the countries of Indochina. They are waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage in coordination with the military actions of prolonged, heavy fire directed

against Vietnam and encroachment upon Vietnamese soil; they are carrying out political plots in coordination with military actions to counter and undermine the Kampuchean and Lao revolutions. They have been looking for every way to divide the three countries of Indochina, to separate Vietnam from the Soviet Union, looking for every way to isolate Vietnam in the international arena in a vain attempt to weaken the three countries of Indochina, most importantly Vietnam, in order to carry out their plan of annexation.

Although they were tragically defeated in the two wars of aggression against Vietnam, the Chinese reactionaries still stubbornly cling to the dream of annexing our country. In the face of difficulties at home and in the world, Chinese ruling circles have been forced to make a number of tactical changes in their foreign relations with a number of countries in order to conceal their ugly reactionary nature. However, their strategy and tactics concerning Vietnam have not changed at all.

Correctly analyzing the situation described above, our party has asserted: our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists while having to be prepared to deal with a situation in which the enemy could unleash a large-scale war of aggression. Therefore, the two strategic tasks of our party, people and army in the present stage of the revolution are closely linked to and have an impact upon each other.

Our people's experience in closely linking the building of the country and the defense of the country dates back to ancient times. Through the several thousand years of our history, the close link between the struggle to build the country and the struggle to defend the country has become a law of the survival and development, has become a tradition of the nation of Vietnam. Today, under the leadership of the party, this law and this tradition are being applied and upheld on a new and higher level on the basis of the combined strengths of the system of socialist collective ownership and the strengths of our times.

The key here is that we must carry out the two strategic tasks at the same time and in a manner closely linked to each other in order to meet both the requirements of building the economy and the requirements involved in defending the fatherland, gradually create a prosperous and strong socialist economy and a comprehensive and modern people's national defense system and always be ready to mobilize the material and moral strengths of the entire country for the war to defend the fatherland against the forces of the Chinese expansionist aggressors in any situation. The achievements that we have recorded in recent years and continue to record on the economic front are important victories and have laid a solid foundation for continued progress by us. Our economic and national defense potentials have been significantly strengthened. Our unity and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community are a firm guarantee that the economic and national defense potentials of our country will be developed. The special alliance among the three countries of Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea on the Indochina peninsula, an alliance that is becoming stronger with each passing day, has created a new position and new forces for the revolution of

each country and the revolution of the three countries as a whole. We also have the valuable experiences and traditions of the war of liberation and the war to defend the fatherland during the past 40 years. Under the correct and wise leadership of the party, these factors will be developed into a combined strength so that we can successfully carry out the tasks of building the country and preparing it for a war to defend the fatherland in the face of the constant threat posed by the enemy, an enemy right next door to us.

Of course, to accomplish this, we must also overcome many large difficulties. The largest difficulty, which is also the underlying cause of the other specific difficulties, is that we are moving forward from small-scale production to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland and must simultaneously meet the basic and urgent requirements involved in both building and defending the fatherland. These are difficulties that are encountered in the course of development. However, if we do not correctly understand the close and dialectical coordination that must exist between our two strategic tasks, if we give light attention to either of these tasks or even set one in opposition to the other, especially if we fail to take positive and effective steps to achieve this coordination, the consequences will be difficult to estimate. Under socialism, the economy and the national defense system are, in fundamental terms, united. By correctly understanding this and taking positive and effective measures, not only can we overcome contradictions, we can also develop upon this unity so that the economy and the national defense system stimulate each other's development. In practice, there are places that have established this coordination well; however, there are also more than a few places that have not established it well or even separated the economy and national defense system or set one in opposition to the other.

The preparation of the country for a war of aggression in the present situation clearly must take the form of truly active, thorough preparation. The revered Uncle Ho once advised us: "Be it peace time or war time, we must always seize the initiative, must look ahead and prepare for what lies ahead."(1)

The history of wars to defend the fatherland, especially the history of the great national defense war fought by the Soviet Union, shows: the course and the outcome of a war are dependent upon how well the people know the nature, the objective and the requirements of the war, their attitude toward the war and the extent to which the capabilities of the country have been prepared and are utilized, foremost among them being economic capabilities, in order to win victory over the enemy.

Therefore, regardless of the difficulties involved, we must prepare the country as necessary and take effective measures in peace time so that we can promptly meet the requirements of the war against aggression by the enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. We must show cadres and the people the nature, requirements and characteristics of the people's war to defend the fatherland, especially its new demands compared to the war of national liberation. Our knowledge and experience concerning the war of national liberation are very valuable. However, were we to stop at this knowledge and experience, we could not achieve a full or correct understanding of the work

involved in preparing for a war at this point in time and it would also be difficult to properly apply the knowledge and experience gained in past years.

As was the case with the war of national liberation, the war to defend the socialist fatherland today is a people's war led by our party in accordance with the common laws of people's war as applied to the specific conditions of our country. It is a just revolutionary war of self-defense, a full-scale, modern war fought by all the people along with their allies.

However, from the perspective of our opponent in the war, the objective of the war and the initial circumstances as well as the course of development of the war, it differs in certain respects from the war of national liberation.

The Chinese army that will wage the war of aggression against our country is an unjust, traitorous army but it is also a large, reactionary army motivated by the spirit of Great Han nationalism; therefore, it is very aggressive and savage. China lies immediately next to our land, our air space and our ocean waters. In addition, they are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers within the region. The Chinese reactionaries, once our friends, have now become our enemy, consequently, they are capable of carrying out their treacherous plot against our country of coordinating attacks from the outside with internal subversion.

Our strategic objective is to annihilate the enemy; however, we must also maintain our sovereignty (land, air and sea) while protecting the population, protecting economic, political and national defense installations and maintaining the rear area of each battlefield and the common rear area of the entire country. We must fight the enemy within a large expanse of space, on both the front and rear lines and along the full length of our country, and fight the enemy on the frontline while being ready to put down insurrections in the rear.

Therefore, the war will be fierce from the very outset and throughout its entire course (especially fierce during the first battles on the first line of fighting) and result in many urgent and complex situations. Of importance is the need for us to not allow the enemy to occupy land, control the population or launch attacks deep within our territory; if they do, it will have a major effect upon when victory in the war will be won. This is quite different from the war of liberation, which we fought by starting with nothing, by growing ever larger, by fighting the enemy in our own country, gradually regaining control of land, gradually rewinning the population and advancing from small victories to the liberation of the entire country.

Today's people's war to defend the fatherland must achieve close coordination at the very outset between the local people's war and the combat operations of the main force military corps, with the latter playing the role of determining victory in the war.

The manpower, materiel, technical, rear service and other needs in the war to defend the fatherland will increase very rapidly and be very large. They demand the establishment of fully adequate ready reserves organized for resupply in order to promptly meet the requirements of combat coordination

among the various services and branches on a large scale by the armed forces throughout the course of the war, especially during the initial period.

Having spent some time studying this matter and initiating efforts in this direction, we must realize that this is a new, difficult and complex problem, is a major strategic problem, is a matter that pertains to the science and art of guiding, organizing and making preparations for a war to defend the fatherland in the new stage. We must give this problem our constant thought, must constantly study it against the background of practical experience and concern ourselves with providing leadership and guidance in order for these preparations to yield clear results, in order for each existing capability and potential to be utilized in the defense of the country.

The strength brought to the defense of our country is the strength of the national defense system closely linked to the strength of the country. The specifics involved in building the strength of our national defense system are establishing the battlefield deployment of the people's war to defend the country and protect each of its potentials and building powerful people's armed forces to serve as the nucleus of the fight waged by all the people against the enemy, the fight to defend the fatherland. The purpose of building the strength of the national defense system is to meet the requirements of war; however, in peace time, this strength is achieved through and expressed mainly in the increasing development of the economy to meet national defense requirements, in the level of preparation of the country for war and in the level of combat readiness of the armed forces. When war breaks out and the country quickly shifts from a peace time to a war time footing, the strength of the national defense system becomes the largest possible combined strength of the people's war to defend the fatherland and brings victory over the enemy.

Therefore, the work of preparing the country for a war mobilization must be carried out in an active, well organized manner; most importantly, these preparations must take the form of planning and plans of the state, from the central to the local and basic levels, within all sectors and organizations and from collective units to the individual person, with special importance attached to the district level. Here, the role played by the various party committee echelons of providing close leadership and the organizational role of the various levels of government, especially the fulfillment of the functions of government that make it possible to utilize the combined strength of each locality and the entire country with a view toward insuring the completion of the plans for preparing the country from the central to the basic levels, are of decisive significance.

These preparations encompass many areas: preparing the people, preparing the economy, preparing the strategic battlefield deployment and strategic rear area, preparing the armed forces and so forth; however, of utmost importance are the plans for preparing for the mobilization of the national economy, preparing for the mobilization of the People's Army and preparing civilian defenses and the plan for shifting the country from peace time to war time and meeting the needs of the first year of the war.

Of utmost importance is the need to strengthen the political and moral consensus among the people so that they thoroughly comply with the lines and policies of the party and state, thoroughly understand and carry out in a full and voluntary manner both strategic tasks in the new stage of the revolution and produce well while maintaining their readiness to support combat and fighting well. Through education, we must show our people the traitorous and reactionary nature of the enemy and, on this basis, heighten the patriotism, the love of socialism and the sense of responsibility of each citizen toward building and defending the fatherland. At the same time, we must teach the proletarian international spirit and the spirit of being ready to fight for the independence and freedom, for the socialism of all three countries of Indochina, thereby helping to safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

We must especially concern ourselves with the young generation, with those persons who will carry on our revolutionary cause. By means of effective forms of activity and appropriate methods, we must educate and develop them into new, socialist persons who carry on the indomitable, unyielding tradition of the nation, who embody the essence of the Vietnamese, are intelligent and creative, possess knowledge of science and know how to use "the great cause to triumph over cruelty," develop them into nephews and nieces of Uncle Ho who are loyal to the country and filial to the people, who complete every task, overcome every difficulty and win victory over every enemy.

As we know, war, as a social phenomenon, is basically dependent upon the economy. This is especially true in modern warfare, in which the needs for material and technical support are very large and demand reserves that are organized in advance. Therefore, preparing the economy for a war mobilization is one of the most important tasks in preparing the country to resist aggression. In conjunction with building and developing the economy, we must, at the same time, prepare the economy for a war mobilization. This plan must meet the needs of the national defense system in the most rapid manner possible and provide the largest possible supply of manpower, skills and materiel possible; meet civilian defense needs; meet the pressing needs of the national economy and the indispensable needs in the daily lives of the people during the war; insure that the economy is quickly shifted from peace time to war time in an organized and planned manner; and avoid confusion while limiting the losses inflicted by the enemy to the lowest possible level.

Therefore, socio-economic planning and plans must be closely coordinated with national defense planning and plans on all levels and within all sectors with a view toward meeting yearly and 5-year economic and national defense norms in accordance with the general plans of the state. In addition to routinely meeting national defense needs in peace time, all levels and sectors must adopt a plan for the immediate mobilization of the economy and create and gradually improve the conditions and capabilities needed to implement this plan on the central level as well as within each locality with the best possible results when war breaks out. At the same time, they must adopt an economic plan for the first year of the war in order to adjust the balances of the national economy during the first year of the war. This plan must be regularly adjusted as the situation develops and must be ready to be implemented at the order of the state when war breaks out; within this plan, special importance must be attached to a number of key sectors that are

closely related to national defense: industry, agriculture, communications-transportation, information, posts-telegraph, public health and so forth.

The mobilization preparation plans of the sectors and levels must be under the sole guidance and control of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of National Defense. Periodically, trial mobilizations can be conducted concerning one or another aspect of the mobilization in order to gain experience, evaluate the level of preparation of each sector and locality and amend and improve their plans.

In conjunction with mobilizing the national economy to be ready to resist a war of aggression, plans must be adopted for mobilizing the People's Army and establishing specialized war time units of the various sectors and localities. In order to be able to take the initiative in dealing with the war of aggression, it is necessary to organize a standing army of sufficient size and quality. However, before war breaks out, this standing army only requires a force large enough to maintain constant combat readiness; the remaining forces are organized as reserves and return to their localities to participate in production and work. The reserve force must be registered, must receive periodic training and must always be ready to meet mobilization requirements and restore and expand the organization of the army in accordance with the strategic plan of the upper level.

The plans for the mobilization of the People's Army must meet the requirements of providing sufficient troop strength and restoring, expanding and supplementing the army in war time, especially during the initial period of the war and in the course of combat; meet qualitative requirements in accordance with the organizational structure, with the table of organization and equipment of a regular force, modern army that consists of many services and branches; insure that reserve officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men possess high fighting spirit and possess the command, specialized and technical skills required by their duties; and insure that the mobilization is carried out quickly in accordance with the plan and that forces can go into combat immediately.

Due to the organizational structure of our armed forces, that is, due to the fact that they consist of a people's army and militia and self-defense forces, when mobilizing reserve forces, importance must be attached to meeting the requirements involved in maintaining and developing the local people's war and the requirements involved in carrying out the political and economic tasks of the locality in war time. All levels and sectors must adhere to the regulations requiring that the organization of the mobilization of the People's Army be based on the mobilization plans (approved by the Council of Ministers) of the Ministry of National Defense and the sector management agencies of the central level, the provinces and the municipalities and special zone directly subordinate to the central level. This is something very new to us; therefore, it is necessary to quickly strengthen the organizations that specialize in the mobilization so that this work can quickly be put on a regular basis.

The full implementation of the Military Service Law and the Officers Service Law; the registration, organizing and training of reserves and the compilation

of statistics on the reserve forces at installations on all levels and in all sectors within and outside the army; the thorough implementation of the policies concerning discharged cadres and soldiers and promptly stabilizing their lives and registering them for the reserves on schedule also play a very important role in the war mobilization and preparations for war.

We must realize the urgency and full importance of putting the armed forces, especially the People's Army, in a war posture and promptly retaliating against enemy forces during the opening period of the war on the frontline of the fatherland, thereby creating the conditions for putting the entire country on a war time footing. This involves deploying existing forces, mobilizing reserve forces and restoring and expanding our forces in accordance with the war time plan. In modern war, the organization, mobilization and deployment of regular forces and large-scale combat coordination among the various services and branches are very important, very complicated and very urgent measures that are frequently of decisive significance in victory or defeat in the war. Only by clearly recognizing the new requirements and the new qualitative demands involved in organizing, mobilizing and deploying our forces in the war to defend the fatherland of today compared to the wars of resistance against France and the United States can we overcome the difficulties being faced, fully comply with the regulations on implementing the plans for the mobilization of the People's Army, gradually gain experience and supplement and improve upon this work.

Correctly coordinating economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system is of special importance in carrying out the preparations described above well. When dealing with economic matters, thought must be given to the requirement of coordinating the economy with the national defense system. The national defense forces responsible for participating in economic construction must utilize labor, materials and finances in an economical manner while making the most positive contributions possible to socialist construction. The economy and the national defense system are each governed by separate laws; however, when coordinating them, we must seek to do so by means of the most suitable forms and methods possible so that they stimulate each other's development in support of the work of building and defending the country.

Under the system "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership" and in conjunction with their tasks of building the economy and improving the standard of living of the people, the various levels and sectors must clearly recognize their responsibility and make every preparation for a war to defend the fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, should they recklessly unleash a war of aggression. It is necessary to provide close leadership, adopt thorough plans and take specific measures so that one's level or sector can quickly be shifted from peace time to war time when necessary. This is also a very important and pressing task

of the various party committee echelons, the different levels of government and even the military agencies in the present situation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Chien tranh nhan dan Viet nam,"[The Vietnamese People's War], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 334.

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## REVAMPING AND IMPROVING THE MECHANISM BY WHICH THE PARTY LEADS THE ARMY

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[Article by Le Xuan Luu]

[Text] Part I

During the past several decades, on the basis of the specific situation concerning the revolutionary war and the armed forces, our party changed the mechanism by which it leads the army three times. Deserving of attention is the fact that we maintained the practice of "the collective of the party committee providing leadership and the commander organizing implementation in accordance with his responsibility" within the vertical system of party committee echelons from the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee to the basic organizations of the party and with the system of political agencies from the regimental echelon upward serving as agencies assisting the party committee and commander in party work-political work. This leadership and command policy played a large role in building the army and waging the revolutionary war. It was well suited to the historic conditions that existed during the wars of resistance against France and the United States, which were periods when the army's scale of organization was developing slowly and was not very large, when the army's equipment was not very modern, when its battlefields were divided and its troops operated within regions separate from one another, when the scale of combat was not very large, combat coordination was not very complex and so forth.

In the new stage of the revolution, the work of building the national defense system and a people's war to defend the fatherland have raised new requirements. This work is more diverse and more complicated. National defense efforts must encompass many areas--military affairs, politics-morale, the economy and science-technology--in order to create potentials for a people's war to defend the fatherland. This demands close, centralized and unified leadership by the party in order to tap the combined strength of the nation and of the times and develop the work involved in building and defending the country in a well balanced, well coordinated and most effective manner possible. Our level of economic and technological development is still low; however, through the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other

fraternal socialist countries, our army is being equipped with much modern combat equipment and being developed into a regular force, modern, revolutionary people's army. This army demands a unified will, a unified command and strict discipline; and, if war breaks out and modern, large-scale warfare ensues, the army must take resolute, urgent and closely coordinated actions and commanders must take the initiative and handle situations in a decisive, precise and timely manner in order to win victory.

Recognizing these objective changes and clearly aware of the growth that has occurred in every area of our army, primarily the growth of the corps of cadres, the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party raised the matter of "conducting research for the purpose of improving the party's leadership of the army, strengthening the organization of the party and improving the procedures for organizing political work within the army to be consistent with the organizational development and the new tasks of the army"(1) and asserted: "The party must provide the army with direct, centralized and unified political, ideological and organizational leadership"(2) and "fully implement the policy of 'one person in command'."(3)

## Part II

The new mechanism by which the party leads the army is a complete entity, is a system of organizations consisting of the organization and mode by which the Party Central Committee leads the army and national defense work, the implementation of the "one person in command" policy and the establishment of the Military Council; the revision of the functions and tasks of the system of political agencies; and the building of the basic organizations of the party and the mass organizations.

Although each organization within this system has a different function, task and mode of operation, a different role and position, all are closely linked to one another and form an entity, the purpose of which is to implement party leadership and insure that this leadership is firm in every situation, that it fully utilizes the role and upholds the responsibility of the commander and continuously improves the quality of leadership and increases the fighting strength of the army.

The strengthening of the party's leadership of the army is not something abstract, rather, it must take the form of specific principles and modes of procedure. The foremost principle within the new mechanism is: the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau on a direct, day to day basis, provides direct, centralized and unified leadership of every aspect of the Vietnam People's Army.

The strengthening of the party's leadership of the army must be closely linked to building the command organization, because the party's leadership of the army is always based upon increasing the effectiveness of the command organization.

The leadership organization of the party and the command organization within the army combine as one and absolutely never contradict each other; although they represent two different concepts and categories and are not synonymous,

they are closely linked to each other within a single entity. The command organization is a system that lies within the unified leadership mechanism of the party, is a function that occurs subsequent to the party's adoption of a line, task, position or policy and has the purpose of implementing this line, task, position or policy. Every concept that separates the command function from party leadership, that views this function as a separate and distinct element or even views it as a function that is in opposition to the effort to firmly maintain and strengthen the leadership of the party is a mistake in terms of both theory and practice and will weaken the party's leadership of the army.

Within the new mechanism, the implementation of the "one person in command" policy is a very important principle in the buildup and the combat operations of our army. This policy compels the commander to truly take charge, to decide which jobs should be performed and not shirk his responsibility by leaning on the collective. This policy permits the best possible utilization of the capabilities of personnel, enables work to be performed in a rapid and timely fashion and results in work being inspected first-hand, not simply on paper.

Within the army, the "one person in command" policy creates the conditions needed to maintain decisiveness, flexibility and responsiveness within command operations in modern warfare and maintain strict discipline and tight organization in the buildup, management and command of troops in the performance of missions. Under this policy, every aspect of the function of commanding and managing the unit--military activities, politics, rear services, technology and so forth--is concentrated in the commander and it is this person that has the right to make the final decision; however, these decisions must be consistent with the lines, positions and policies of the party, the laws of the state, the orders of the army and the intentions of the upper echelon.

In the performance of his work, the commander must make full use of the role played by the political agency, firmly rely upon the party and youth union organizations and know how to utilize the ability to lead and motivate as well as the activism and creativity of these organizations for the purpose of completing the unit's task. The commander does not have the authority to issue a directive on party work to the political agency or party organization; however, he must know how to rely upon the political agency and party organization. To accomplish this, the commander must, when performing his duties, closely coordinate with the political agency and party organization; promptly inform the political director, the deputy commander in charge of political affairs and the secretary of the party committee of the orders and directives of the upper echelon, tasks that have been assigned and his own plans concerning the performance of tasks; and propose areas in which leadership is required in order to insure the completion of tasks. This represents coordination between commanding troops by means of orders and providing leadership through ideological and organizational work, through teaching, persuading, motivating and inspiring the cultivation of spirit of awareness and the concept of being the master and, in this way, building a revolutionary action movement among the masses.

The "one person in command" policy does not nullify collective leadership regarding certain matters within the army. The principle of army collective leadership is manifested first and primarily in the debates conducted at the national congresses of delegates of the party and the plenums of the Party Central Committee and conferences of the Political Bureau concerning major policies and measures regarding the buildup of the army and the strengthening of the national defense system.

On the campaign-strategic echelons, a Political Bureau resolution has established the Military Council for the purpose of tapping the intelligence of the collective in order to strengthen the "one person in command" policy. This gives concrete form to the principle of leadership by a collective and management by one person, with the two combining to form a single leadership body. The functions of the "Military Council" are to regularly insure that troops are combat ready; insure that high quality is achieved in military training and political education; maintain the discipline of the army; strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the "one person in command" policy; and increase the fighting strength of the unit. As a collective military leadership organization, the Military Council collectively deliberates and decides upon major policies and measures concerning the most important matters in the daily lives of troops, which it does in accordance with the provisions of the orders on each echelon. The Military Council does not make decisions concerning combat strategy and plans, the norms contained within the activity plans of troops or the building of the party. As regards cadre work, the Military Council discusses matters collectively and decides those matters that lie within the scope of its management authority by majority vote. The Military Council operates on the basis of the collective principle and adopts resolutions by majority vote, resolutions which take the form of orders and directives from the commander.

While asserting that the "one person in command" policy is a very important principle in the buildup and combat operations of the army, the Political Bureau resolution also states: the performance of party work-political work is a matter of principle in the party's work of building the armed forces. The activities involved in party work-political work are activities designed to insure compliance with the political viewpoints of the party in the performance of military missions and incorporate the thinking of the party in every aspect of army life and the full range of the activities of cadres and soldiers so that these activities are characterized by awareness and initiative and have clearly defined objectives. These activities have the purposes of cultivating fighting qualities, cultivating political-moral qualities and motivating each cadre and soldier to successfully perform each military task in peace time and war time.

Within the new mechanism by which the party leads the army, the political agency serves two functions: as regards the party, it performs the work involved in building pure, solid and strong party organizations and mobilizing the party organization to exercise its leadership in the implementation of the lines, positions and policies of the party and the performance of the task assigned to the unit; as regards the organizational system of the army, this agency is part of the command-management structure of the unit; therefore, it is the agency that assists the commander in political activities and political

work. It combines within itself the function of the party-political agency and the function of the military agency. This makes it possible for it to have an effective impact upon each field of activity in the buildup and combat operations of the army.

The person in charge of the political agency is the political director. The political director also has two functions: his party function is to serve as the head of the party leadership agency within the unit; his army function is to serve as the person responsible for assisting the unit commander in organizing political work within the unit. Thus, the political director is the echelon below the commander and, at the same time, the echelon above lower echelon command cadres and the cadres and soldiers within the unit.

The system of political agencies within the army consists of the Political General Department for the entire army, the Political Departments within the military regions, services, military corps and equivalent units and the Political Offices on the branch echelon and within the divisions and equivalent units.

Within the political agency is the Party Inspection Committee, the function of which is to inspect implementation of the Party Statutes and observe compliance with standards of discipline, the performance of tasks and the exercise of authority by party members with a view toward heightening the sense of responsibility toward the execution of orders and the implementation of the lines, positions and policies of the party. The inspection agency is under the leadership of the political agency on the same echelon and under the guidance of the Inspection Committee on the upper echelon.

To insure that leadership is collective in nature, the Party Secretariat has established the Political Agency Council, which has the task of examining and collectively deciding matters of importance regarding party work-political work, political cadre work and party member discipline. Resolutions of the council take the form of directives from the political director.

The political cadres within basic units consist of the deputy commanders in charge of political affairs in the brigades, regiments, battalions and companies, the secretaries of the basic party committees, the secretaries of the basic Youth Union executive committees and the party work-political work cadres of the brigades and regiments. The deputy commander in charge of political affairs of a brigade or regiment is the representative of the Political Office and has the task of personally organizing party work-political work within the unit.

The basic organizations of the party within the army exist within the regiments and equivalent units; in the battalions within brigades, the independent battalions and companies and equivalent units; within the faculties or student battalions and companies of the officer training academies and schools; within the departments or offices of agencies, within the hospitals and national defense enterprises...

The basic organization of the party is the place that educates and forges party members, the place that accepts and selects party members, the place

that directly presents the lines, positions and policies of the party and the tasks of the unit to the masses and leads the masses in implementing and performing them. Its task is primarily to concern itself with making its organization pure, solid and strong, continuously improving the quality of the corps of party members, especially the quality of key cadres, and developing them into communist militants who always complete each task well and are deserving of this noble title. On the other hand, it must concern itself with solidifying the relationship between the party and the masses and insure that each party member knows how to perform good political work among the masses and motivate them to engage in revolutionary actions and emulation in order to complete each task of the unit.

The basic organization of the party must also know how to closely link party work-political work to military work, specialized work and work in production for the purposes of achieving a combined strength within the basic unit, encouraging positive factors and struggling to overcome each negative phenomenon. Each activity of the basic organization of the party must be oriented toward insuring the completion of the unit's tasks of maintaining combat readiness, winning victory in combat and studying, working and producing in a disciplined manner that reflects high quality and high results.

The basic organization of the party does decide matters that lie within the scope of responsibility of the commander, such as the combat plan, the specific norms of the plan, economic measures, technical measures and measures regarding specialized and professional work.

The basic organization of the party routinely concerns itself with strengthening and increasing the effectiveness of the "one person in command" policy and building and developing upon the role of the mass organizations within the unit, such as the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Trade Union.

### Part III

The new mechanism by which the party leads the army demands that the commander and the political cadre possess new qualities and skills. The position and responsibilities of the commander are very large. As the person who expresses the will of the party within the army, the commander must, above everything else, possess boundless loyalty to the fatherland and the people, to the ideals of the party; must represent the political and military lines of the party; must possess a high spirit of responsibility and a high will to fight; must set examples in complying with the laws of the state and orders of the army; must possess ardent patriotism and a pure proletarian international spirit; and must live a simple and wholesome style of life.

As a cadre of the party who assumes the responsibility for managing a unit, the commander must cultivate a high sense of party consciousness. This party consciousness is expressed in communist thinking and adherence to principle when examining and resolving problems regarding social life and army life and in the unrelenting struggle against non-proletarian viewpoints and negative actions. The commander must constantly cultivate party consciousness, regularly participate in activities within his party chapter, accede to

management by the party chapter as stipulated within Party Statutes and always endeavor to be a model party member in the performance of his task.

The qualities of the commander have a considerable impact upon the formation and development of the character of the cadres and soldiers within the unit. They directly influence the entire process of forging the political-ideological qualities of each military man and strengthening discipline within the unit. Therefore, the commander must give his attention to trying to improve himself in every respect and always set an example in both word and deed.

In particular, under the new mechanism, there is a centralization of authority in the commander and strict regulations have been established concerning obedience by the lower echelon; however, this is no reason for the commander to fall into militarism, manage the unit in a crude manner and violate the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers. The commander must be a person who implements the party's principle of democratic centralism well, a person who understands that he has been given the authority he has in order to successfully carry out the tasks of the unit; this authority is only a means for implementing the will of the people, of the party and state.

The duties of the commander demand that he possess a system of military knowledge and abilities and skills in many areas. Most importantly, the commander must have a certain knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and a firm grasp of the lines, positions and policies of the party to serve as the base of knowledge underlying his actions in every situation. Only by learning the necessary knowledge can the commander acquire the specific skills needed to effectively carry out each task involved in the buildup and combat of the unit.

The ability of the commander is manifested in a high level of knowledge and well developed practical skills. The commander cannot simply restrict his command to making decisions and issuing orders. These are only the starting point in his work, the bulk of his work lies in organizing the successful implementation of the decisions he makes. This demands that the commander possess deep, detailed knowledge of a specialized sector, possess broad practical experience and possess skill in practical organizational work.

The implementation of the "one person in command" policy is closely linked to the improvement of party work-political work. The commander must know how to utilize the diverse forms of political, ideological and organizational work to insure that troops actively participate in all tasks regarding military training, political education, the strengthening of discipline and compliance with army regulations.

The commander cannot simply command the unit by means of orders, rather, he must know how to employ other measures and, through them, perform mass work. The party requires that the commander actively participate in party work and that he routinely rely upon the political agency and the organizations of the party in all of his activities, because this is the only way he can achieve the full strength needed to effectively carry out his task.

The political cadre within the army is a part of the party's corps of military cadres and specializes in party work-political work. The principles and methods of party work-political work define the basic requirements concerning which qualities the cadre who performs party work-political work within the army must possess. The strength of party work-political work is mainly the strength of example. Persuasion and education are the primary measures employed in this work. Therefore, the political cadre must first be an outstanding party member within the army. This person must possess those qualities that represent our party in the army. He must serve as an example for the masses to follow in every area, always be optimistic, confident and stable, always be an activist, always be responsive and make important contributions toward insuring that the unit remains steadfast in all circumstances. This person has the very high responsibility of devoting the full measure of his intellect and strength to the work of building and solidifying the party organization and constantly strengthening the party's leadership of the army while always being close to, being part of the masses, maintaining good relations with them and serving as the nucleus uniting each soldier in the unit.

The cadre who performs party work-political work within the army is also a military cadre of the party. This person must possess broad military knowledge, not only knowledge of matters pertaining to the military line and strategy, but also of matters regarding campaign art, tactics and technology. Without this broad knowledge, the political cadre within the army cannot perform party work-political work, because, within the army, political affairs are political-military affairs and politics is expressed through military activities. The ideological viewpoints of the party cannot be incorporated in the main fields of activity of the army without understanding those persons who are cadres and soldiers within the army and the special characteristics of their thinking, their feelings and their psychology in order to motivate, teach and mold them.

This cadre must know how to build and utilize the corps of political cadres under his authority; how to mobilize the political agency and the organizations of the party to perform political work for each person in each field of the activities and life of the army; and how to build strong, solid mass organizations and make use of their particular function in the effort to complete each task of the unit.

This effort to bring up to date and improve the mechanism by which the party leads the army represents a new stage of development in the organizational work of the party, represents a new requirement in improving the quality of the party's leadership of the army. This is consistent with the revolutionary situation and the development of our army. It reflects the revolutionary and scientific nature of the party's leadership and organizational work.

This improvement in no way emphasizes or de-emphasizes the importance of any organization, agency or duty; rather, each is given proper emphasis and each must make full use of its position, role and function.

The specifics involved in this new change cannot be fully, correctly or deeply grasped by each and every one of us all at once. Here, the need is to change

our old ways of thinking and overcome conservative thinking, inertia and empiricism; on the other hand, we must guard against subjective, onesided thinking and methods of examination in order to quickly adopt the new.

Successfully bringing about this change is the responsibility of the entire party, the entire army, of the leadership organization and the command organization, of each cadre and party member; however, it is first and primarily the responsibility of command cadres, political cadres and the various party committee echelons. Therefore, cadres and party members must be fully prepared and determined to put this important decision into effect. In particular, command cadres and political cadres must clearly realize the requirements that the party has established regarding their qualities and skills so that they constantly study and improve themselves, thus insuring the successful performance of duties and tasks and the successful implementation of regulations, and quickly put the new mechanism on a regular basis, thereby bringing about a new development in the building of the army and the strengthening of the national defense system.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bao cao long ket cong tac xay dung Dang va sua doi dieu le Dang"[Summary Report on Party Building and the Revision of Party Statutes], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 120-121.
2. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 89.
3. Ibid.

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## THE WORKING CLASS, THE BASIC POLITICAL FORCE OF SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 34-41

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thuan commemorating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Trade Union]

[Text] The Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee has decided to make 28 July 1929, the day on which the Bac Ky Confederation of Red Trade Unions, the revolutionary trade union organization that operated under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, was established, as the date marking the founding of the Vietnam Trade Union. This is an important event in the history of the working class and the Vietnam Trade Union organization. This year, the working class and the Vietnam Trade Union commemorate the 55th anniversary of that glorious day in their history with a sense of deep pride.

During the past 55 years, under the leadership of the communist party, the Vietnam Trade Union has organized, educated and mobilized the manual workers and civil servants of the entire country to excellently fulfill their role as the vanguard revolutionary class in the struggle of our nation, a struggle filled with sacrifices and hardships, against large imperialist powers to liberate and reunify the country as well as in the present work of building socialism amidst the circumstances of a country that is characterized by small-scale production and must contend with a new and very dangerous enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

The Vietnamese working class came into being during the final years of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century as a result of the policy of colonial exploitation of the French colonialists. From the very day it was born, our country's working class embodied the fine revolutionary qualities of the world working class, such as a thoroughly revolutionary character, a high sense of organization and discipline and the international spirit.

In addition, the working class of our country has characteristics that are unique unto itself: it came into being before the national bourgeoisie; it had the benefit of the leadership of a vanguard party at an early date; it had close ties to the peasantry; and it was not influenced by reformism. The working class of our country stepped onto the political stage at a time when capitalism had become imperialism on a worldwide scale and the working class

had become the central character of the new age, the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, an age which began with the victory of the great Russian October Revolution, the revolution that charted the course of the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples.

The greatest happiness of the working class and people of Vietnam has come from the fact that Nguyen Ai Quoc, the great leader of the Vietnamese revolution, saw the light of the October Revolution at an early date, accepted Marxism-Leninism and charted the correct course for the Vietnamese revolution. He founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, which sowed the Red seeds of Marxism-Leninism in the worker movement and patriotic movement of Vietnam. Together with making ideological, political and organizational preparations for the founding of the political party of the working class, he advanced theoretical viewpoints that laid the foundation for building the Trade Union organization. He wrote: "The purposes of the Trade Union organization are first to enable workers to share feelings with one another; secondly, to enable them to learn from one another; thirdly, to make the life of workers better than it is now; fourthly, to safeguard the rights of workers; fifthly, to help the nation, help the world."(1)

Under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, many Red Trade Union organizations came into being within the enterprises, mines and plantations in Vietnam and, on 28 July 1929, the Bac Ky Confederation of Red Trade Unions was officially established. Nguyen Duc Khanh, member of the Provisional Central Committee of the Party, was one of the founders and first leaders of the Trade Union organization.

Immediately after the Bac Ky Confederation of Red Trade Unions was born, the Trade Union organization became deeply involved in mobilizing and educating manual workers and advanced the worker movement, bringing to it a new spirit and new quality. The struggle of manual workers combined with the struggle being waged by farmers led to the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement, the pinnacle of which were the Nghe Tinh Soviets, which struck panic into the hearts of the colonialists and feudalists.

During the turbulent years of the Indochina Congress movement and the 1936-1939 Indochinese Democratic Front, the worker and Trade Union movement developed strongly through various forms of benevolent associations, mutual assistance associations and so forth, thereby taking the lead in the struggle for freedom, the essentials of life and peace.

With the victory of the August Revolution in 1945, for the first time in its history, the working class underwent true change, evolving from slaves, from persons who worked for hire into masters of the country. Immediately after the French colonialists invaded our country for the second time, the Trade Union, in order to protect the gains that had been made by the revolution, mobilized manual workers and civil servants to put all of their forces into the war of resistance against France. When the U.S. imperialists invaded our country and took the place of the French, the Trade Union, in keeping with the line of the party and, at the same time, performing the two strategic tasks of carrying out the socialist revolution in the North and the people's national democratic revolution in the South, continued to organize and

mobilize manual workers and civil servants to bravely charge forth, determined to win victory for socialist construction in the North and the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

In the present stage of the socialist revolution, the position and role of the Trade Union have, as Lenin taught, been constantly increasing: "The Trade Unions, in general, are schools of communism; in particular, they are schools of socialist management"... "without closely aligning ourselves with the Trade Unions, without receiving their wholehearted support, without the sacrifice and dedication of the Trade Unions...we cannot manage the state or exercise dictatorship..."(2)

The force of manual workers and civil servants of our country now numbers about 3.5 million persons (more than 1.7 million of whom are technical workers) and constitute about 6 percent of the population and 16 percent of the social labor force; however, manual workers and civil servants produce, in the form of industrial goods, 37.5 percent of the gross social product and generate 65.1 percent of state budget revenues. These figures indicate the decisive role played by the working class, by the industrial economy in our social life.

The 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party established the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy in our country. In recent years, in keeping with the lines of the party and despite encountering very many difficulties, the vast majority of manual workers and civil servants have maintained their fine revolutionary character, expressed confidence in the leadership of the party, endured hardships and shortages and not retreated from any challenge. Every hour of every day, in every region of the fatherland, in every field of work, production and combat, in the organizing of everyday life and in the struggle against negative phenomena, manual workers and civil servants, through their concrete actions, have been and are the solid base of the party and state, the progressive force determining the development of production forces, determining the victory of socialist construction in our country.

The achievements that the working class and the Trade Union organization have recorded during the past 55 years have truly been large and very worthy of pride. These achievements have primarily been the result of the fact that our party has firmly adhered to Marxism-Leninism, always correctly defined the historic mission of the Vietnamese working class and the role and tasks of the Trade Union organization and continuously strengthened its leadership of the worker movement and Trade Union activities.

These achievements have also been the result of the working class, the corps of manual workers and civil servants of our country carrying on and developing upon the tradition of struggling against foreign aggression, displaying ardent patriotism and the spirit of collective ownership and waging a determined struggle for the lofty goal of our times: national independence within the framework of socialism.

The victories of our working class and people have also been closely linked to the solidarity and wholehearted support of the international working class and Trade Union organizations.

However, we still have some weaknesses that must be quickly corrected. Generally speaking, manual workers and civil servants do not yet possess a full awareness of the socialist revolution, the historic mission of the working class or their responsibility regarding the exercise of socialist collective ownership; therefore, in the face of the new difficulties and challenges that have arisen, many persons have displayed a lack of firm commitment and done things that are contrary to the conscience of a worker, to the fine qualities and ethics of the working class. Such negative phenomena as lax labor discipline, low labor productivity, poor product quality and crimes against socialist property, are still quite prevalent.

The Trade Union--the organization that bears the primary responsibility in educating and forging the corps of manual workers and civil servants--has also failed to perform its tasks and functions well in the recent past. Trade Union activities are still uninspiring, do not reach down to installations, to the masses and are not having a strong impact upon the effort to achieve socio-economic targets or the struggle against negative phenomena in order to mold the new, socialist worker. The more proud we are of the fine qualities of the working class and the Trade Union organization and the victories that they have won, the more harsh we must be in our attitude toward these weaknesses so that determined steps are taken to correct them.

The realities of the activities of the Vietnam Trade Union during the past one-half century and more permit us to draw the following conclusions:

First, correctly evaluating the leadership role of the Vietnamese working class is the central issue of the revolution.

In a country that was once a colony, a semi-feudal country, a country whose economy is underdeveloped, a country in which agricultural production predominates, industry is still small and the vast majority of manual workers come from the background of farmers and the other strata of the population, it is truly not a simple matter to correctly establish the role of the working class as leader of the revolution. Our party, the party founded and forged by President Ho, as a result and gaining a full understanding of Marxism-Leninism at an early date, has, from the time it was founded and throughout the course of its activities, always asserted that the Vietnamese working class is the force leading the revolution, a force which, together with the class of farmers, has combined to form the main force army in the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution. The working class plays the decisive role in socialist industrialization and socialist construction in our country.

Of importance at this point in time is the need for us to adopt a comprehensive point of view when evaluating the working class. On the one hand, we must fully recognize the thoroughly revolutionary character and the strengths and positive aspects of our country's working class; on the other hand, we must also recognize the weaknesses that still exist as a result of the influences of small-scale production and colonialism, both old and new,

and as a result of the malicious acts of sabotage of the enemy. On this basis, we must intensify the teaching of politics and ideology, wage a constant struggle among workers to develop upon strengths and correct weaknesses and gradually build a large, strong working class.

Secondly, leadership of the Trade Union organization by the communist party is essential. The various party committee echelons and the members and cadres of the party must have a firm grasp of the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism concerning Trade Union work. On this basis, they must achieve a clear understanding of the functions and tasks of the Trade Union in the present stage of the revolution; truly respect and create the conditions for the Trade Union organization, Youth Union cadres and members, manual workers and civil servants to exercise their right of collective ownership; and regularly concern themselves with building a solid and strong working class and Trade Union organization in order to meet the requirements of new tasks.

Thirdly, the class nature, the mass nature of the Trade Union in its practical activities are a matter of principle.

The class nature of the Trade Union is expressed in the objectives of the struggle waged by the Trade Union. It demands that the Trade Union wage a resolute struggle to carry out the historic mission of the working class and oppose everything that reflects the guild mentality, reformism, commercialism, "trade unionism" and so forth.

The mass nature of the Trade Union is expressed by the fact that the Trade Union is the largest mass organization of the working class. It demands that the broad mass of manual workers and civil servants be brought into the Trade Union and that the Trade Union, in each of its activities, employ as its basic method of operation teaching, persuading and encouraging manual workers and civil servants to voluntarily engage in every form of revolutionary activity that is consistent with their level of awareness and aspirations.

In the recent past, as a result of fully understanding these two different natures of the Trade Union, the Vietnam Trade Union has fulfilled its responsibility as the link between the communist party and the mass of workers, as the solid base of the dictatorship of the proletariat state.

In the past and at present as well, the enemies of the working class throughout the world have and continue to constantly look for ways to undermine the worker movement and the revolutionary gains of the working class. Looking for ways to eliminate the class nature, the mass nature of the Trade Union organization is one of the spearheads in this effort of theirs.

They have established phony trade unions to deceive and divide the mass of workers and the Trade Union movement.

Fourthly, the efforts made to fulfill the role and functions of the Trade Union must be closely linked to implementing the line of the party in each stage of the revolution. This is also a matter of principle, because, without establishing as the objective of its activities the implementation of the party's line, the Trade Union has no guidelines. Today, the Trade Union must

mobilize manual workers and civil servants to successfully meet the socio-economic targets of the country that were set by the 5th Party Congress. However, attention must be given to the fact that the Trade Union must implement the lines and policies of the party in a manner consistent with the role, nature and functions of the Trade Union and not "play in the backyard" of the state agencies and other mass organizations.

Under the light of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, the 5th Congress of the Vietnam Trade Union established the tasks and objectives of the Trade Union in the years ahead as:

First, building a large, strong working class and molding the new, socialist worker.

This is the fundamental, long-range task of the party, of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, is a task in which the Trade Union has a very important responsibility.

This task is emerging as an extremely pressing task because, without a working class that meets the requirements of the political task established by the party, we cannot win victory for socialism in the sharp, decisive struggle between socialism and capitalism; cannot transform the old production relations or establish the new, socialist production relations; and cannot carry out the socialist industrialization of the country.

Our party has pointed out: "To successfully build socialism, we must carry out socialist industrialization. To carry out socialist industrialization, we must have a large working class that is solid and strong in every respect"(Party Secretariat Resolution 167).

At present, the building of a solid and strong working class involves the following:

--Politically, we must build a working class that possesses socialist awareness, a high spirit of collective ownership and a well developed ability to exercise this ownership. We must train and introduce more and more outstanding workers to the party for selection and acceptance into the party, for appointment to the leadership agencies of the party and state on all levels, thereby insuring that the line of the party is thoroughly implemented.

--Economically and socially, we must strongly develop the state-operated economy, focus our efforts on the strong development of agriculture and gradually carry out socialist industrialization; continuously improve the occupational skills, the cultural standard, the knowledge of science and technology, the knowledge of production management and economic management of manual workers and civil servants; and make every effort to improve the material and spiritual lives of manual workers and civil servants and establish a reasonable relationship between the level of income of manual workers and civil servants and the incomes of the other strata of the population on the basis of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

Secondly, every activity of the Trade Union must be oriented toward achieving socio-economic goals.

During the past several years, much progress has been made in agricultural production and grain output has increased with each passing year. However, grain output has yet to be truly stabilized. Grain output per capita is still very low (less than 300 kilograms). In industrial production, although advances have been made, the largest problems at this time continue to be the very low level of equipment and machine utilization and the fact that neither product quality nor economic efficiency are high. The state does not control an adequate supply of goods. Therefore, the most important task of the working class and Trade Union organization at this time is to launch a widespread and intense revolutionary movement to emulate in productive labor, make innovations, make technological improvements and practice economy with a view toward developing every capability and potential that lies in labor, materials, machinery and equipment, widely applying scientific and technological advances, accelerating production and endeavoring to raise labor productivity, raise product quality and reduce manufacturing costs, thereby competently supporting socialist industrialization and agricultural production.

Socialist emulation is a concrete expression of the revolutionary sentiments, of the thinking of socialist collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants, is a measure of an integrated nature that can be used to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions in our country at this time. The Trade Union must properly fulfill its role in organizing emulation movements. The slogan of our daily actions is: "High productivity, quality and efficiency for the purpose of successfully achieving the socio-economic goals set by the party congress."

Thirdly, there must be close coordination with state agencies in resolving specific problems in order to stabilize and maintain the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants.

Because wage and bonus policies are no longer suitable, the incomes of manual workers and civil servants do not, generally speaking, meet the need to replenish the energies expended in labor. Manual workers and civil servants are encountering very many difficulties and shortages in their daily lives.

At present, distribution-circulation is the most pressing, most acute socio-economic problem and also the front on which the most decisive struggle is being waged between socialism and capitalism as well as a front on which a struggle is occurring between ourselves and the enemy. The Trade Union has both the responsibility and ability to help the state restore socialist order on the distribution-circulation front. The various levels of the Trade Union must further intensify their agitational and educational effort among manual workers and civil servants so that everyone clearly understands and strictly complies with the positions and policies of the party and state regarding distribution and circulation. At the same time, they must intensify the activities of the worker inspection committees at enterprises and adopt interesting forms of activity that gain the participation of the mass of manual workers and civil servants in accounting and control work, in the

establishment of fair and reasonable distribution and in a determined struggle against negative phenomena.

The Trade Union must closely coordinate with the agencies of the state in caring for the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants. It is necessary to provide adequate work for everyone; provide a full and timely supply of those goods that are essential needs in the daily lives of manual workers and civil servants; and guide and properly organize the subsidiary household economy and service activities with a view toward supporting manual workers, civil servants and their families. We must widely implement contract wages, piecework wages and hourly wages with bonuses. We must make correct use of the bonus and welfare funds of installations. The Trade Union must research for the purpose of proposing to the state and resolutely support the state's implementation of positive, well coordinated measures designed to maintain the real wage of manual workers and civil servants; promote the improvement of the wage system; bring a number of policies that are no longer consistent with the present situation up to date; implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and closely link the worker to the results of his work.

Fourthly, there is a need to strengthen the Trade Union organization and improve its ability to conduct activities.

It is necessary to further improve the ability of the Trade Union organization to organize implementation, provide guidance and provide management as well as improve the effectiveness with which it participates in the work of the state, inspects the activities of the state and participates in the management of production, economic management and the management of society. The specifics involved in the activities of the Trade Union organization and the methods by which it conducts these activities must be improved so that the Trade Union organization can fulfill its tasks and functions.

To accomplish this, the various levels of the Trade Union must define their functions and tasks in detail on the basis of the principles recorded in the Vietnam Trade Union Statutes and urgently conduct research so that they can propose to the state ways to concretize and codify the relationship between the Trade Union and the state, thus insuring that the Trade Union fulfills its role and functions as defined in the Constitution.

It is necessary to promote the planning of the corps of Trade Union cadres, beginning with the key cadres on the various Trade Union levels. Young, competent cadres who possess good personal qualities must be boldly promoted; at the same time, importance must be attached to providing advanced training to veteran Trade Union cadres to insure the continuity and development of the corps of Trade Union cadres.

The activities of the Trade Union must be quickly improved in terms of both their content and the methods by which they are conducted in order to develop many interesting, flexible and responsive forms of activity, make each activity of the Trade Union organization increasingly practical, concrete and effective and overcome the bureaucracy, the lack of sophistication and the

rigidity that have characterized the organization and activities of the Trade Union.

Fifthly, the party's leadership of the mobilization of manual workers and the activities of the Trade Union organization must be strengthened.

The main issues at this time are the need to further heighten the understanding on the part of the entire party and all the people of the historic mission of the working class; the need to make every effort to build a strong and solid working class and Trade Union organization; and the need to improve and strengthen the leadership of Trade Union work by the various party committee echelons. Only on the basis of a correct understanding can we take correct actions in building the working class, in building the Trade Union organization. Le Duan, general secretary of the party, said: "Each Vietnamese worker must clearly understand the historic role of his class in the revolutionary undertaking of our nation and in the development of the world revolution. Without understanding this, even if we are true workers, we are not workers who possess revolutionary awareness and, even if we are party members, we are not genuine communists."(3)

In the recent past, our party has issued directives and resolutions concerning the mobilization of manual workers and Trade Union activities. In the present stage, in order for the Trade Union to fulfill its role and functions as set forth in the resolutions of the party, the various party committee echelons must closely lead each Trade Union activity by putting a competent member of the party committee directly in charge of Trade Union work; teach party members to fulfill their exemplary-vanguard role and fulfill their tasks as members of the mass organizations, in general, and the Trade Union, in particular; and lead the Trade Union, state agencies and other mass organizations, such as the Youth Union and the Women's Union, in closely coordinating their work. The various party committee echelons, most importantly, the party committees at installations, must accelerate the development of the party among manual workers in order to strengthen the worker component of the party and, through the worker movement and Trade Union activities, train more and more cadres from worker backgrounds for the party and state.

At present, some cadres and party members do not have a full understanding of this matter. Some persons do not yet see the fraternal relationship between the party and the working class, do not see the historic mission of the working class, do not see the role, position and functions of the Trade Union; consequently, they lack a full sense of concerning themselves with building a strong and solid working class and Trade Union organization. At more than a few places, the party committee usually leaves Trade Union work up to a small number of specialized Trade Union cadres; some comrades consider the Trade Union to be nothing more than an organization concerned with "food, clothing, rice and money" and play down the importance of the role, functions and tasks of the Trade Union. These are shortcomings that must be quickly corrected.

The cadres, Trade Union members, manual workers and civil servants of our country commemorate the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Trade Union with deep pride in their revolutionary organization. Through the

leadership and education provided by the party and the revered President Ho, the Vietnam Trade Union has today become a large, solid and strong organization, a central element of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and the broad unity of all the people.

Countless outstanding sons of the party, of the working class and Trade Union organization have laid down their lives for the noble goals of the class and the nation. In the new stage of the revolution, under the leadership of the party, headed by the revered General Secretary Le Duan, the Vietnam Trade Union is determined to overcome each difficulty and work along with all the people and the entire army to successfully build and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland and make positive contributions to the revolutionary cause of the working class and people of the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 280.
2. V.I. Lenin: "The Trade Unions in the Period of Socialist Construction," Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 27.
3. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet nam,"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume 1, p 540.

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## THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE "TWO PATHS" IN THE FIELD OF PRICES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 42-50

[Article by Professor Doan Trong Truyen]

[Text] Thoroughly Understanding the General Viewpoint of the Party Concerning the Struggle Between the Two Paths During the Period of Transition in the Field of Prices

During the period of transition to socialism in our country, especially during the present initial stage, the struggle between socialism and capitalism is a sharp, decisive, complex and protracted struggle in all fields of socio-economic life. For this reason, the struggle between the two paths in the field of prices can only win victory when it is part of the overall struggle between the "two paths" being led by the party to carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction. The experience of past years has shown that wherever socialist transformation and socialist construction are being carried out in exact accordance with the line of the party, the price problem is resolved better. The growth and the dominant role of the socialist price system of the state do not lie primarily within this system itself, but in the fact that it represents the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat (the base of which is the socialist economy) and the comparison of forces between socialism and capitalism. Until we achieve a fundamental victory in socialist industrialization, until we establish a system of large-scale, socialist machine production, until we virtually transform and abolish the various segments of the private economy, we will lack the solid and full base needed for a socialist price system that is stable and absolutely controls the social market. However, even in this initial stage, the forces and position of socialism are, viewed from an overall and dialectical perspective, stronger than the forces and position of capitalism. As we wage the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the field of prices, we must know how to analyze the forces and positions of the two sides and how to develop the forces and position of socialism in order to build and develop upon the impact of the socialist price system of the state and control the market and prices throughout society. Developing production (productivity, quality and efficiency), especially state-operated and socialist collective production; expanding the socialist market and socialist commerce in scale, size and quality; carrying out the socialist transformation

of the various segments of the private economy and tightly managing the free market; eradicating speculation and smuggling; stabilizing and increasing the strength of the national financial system and maintaining the value of the currency...these are the bases upon which the forces and position of socialism within the field of the market and prices are created, are the bases upon which we can become the masters of the market and prices. In the struggle to resolve the question of "who triumphs over whom," we have realistic potentials and capabilities for winning partial victories and eventually winning total victory. This is because we have established a strong dictatorship of the proletariat that is based on the exercise of collective ownership by the laboring people and has as its foundation the alliance of workers and farmers; because our state controls the key, strategic economic positions and exclusively manages or is the only seller of primary materials and goods; because, on this basis, the state is able to accelerate socialist transformation, abolish the compradore bourgeoisie, transform the bourgeoisie by many different methods and attract millions of small-scale producers to socialism, to collective production; and because, through the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state can crush the schemes and acts of sabotage of foreign enemies, which are being carried out in collaboration with domestic reactionary powers. To develop upon and correctly utilize these capabilities is to control the process of social reproduction, mainly to control production itself and, on the basis of and in coordination with controlling production, to control distribution, circulation and consumption, that is, to control the market and prices. An incorrect, less than thorough, onesided and superficial assessment and comparison of forces and positions can lead to two different incorrect attitudes:

--The negative attitude of giving light attention to the position of socialism and being on the defensive in the face of the assault by non-socialist powers, by the free market and private merchants and making concessions to or even yielding to the spontaneous impact of the law of value and accepting the free market mechanism;

--Or the impetuous, reckless attitude of wanting to conclude the entire struggle in just one battle, to simplistically abolish the market purely by means of administrative decrees.

On the basis of the prerequisites mentioned above being established and gradually growing in the course of the actual struggle, it is necessary to apply the price policy as an integral part of the socio-economic policy of the party and state in order to achieve the common objectives of carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction and winning victory in the struggle between the two paths. It is this that we must clearly establish in our attitude and thinking. We cannot be indecisive in the face of changes in prices that are complex and, to some degree, even chaotic. Only this can prevent us from losing our way, from falling into pure trade in the complex market relations that exist now.

In the present situation, the struggle within the field of prices also reflects the struggle between ourselves and the enemy. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers and in coordination with reactionaries within our

country and bourgeoisie who have refused to undergo transformation, are taking advantage of the weaknesses of our economy, taking advantage of the complex and spontaneous changes taking place in the market and prices now and taking advantage of the imbalances within the economy as well as shortcomings in our management to sabotage the economy and disrupt the market and prices. With our economy still encountering difficulties and supply and demand in a state of imbalance, the enemy looks for ways to create artificial price increases. The truth behind the sudden price increases on the free market in 1981, 1982 and 1983 was sabotage by the enemy combined with opposition by the various strata of bourgeoisie who have refused to undergo transformation and the inclination toward capitalist spontaneity on the part of small-scale producers and private merchants. It must be realized that the enemy is sabotaging the economy and disrupting prices not only for purely economic purposes, but also for the political purposes of distorting the lines and policies of the party and state, including the price policy, weakening the dictatorship of the proletariat, reducing the confidence that the masses have in the party and state and corrupting some cadres.

The struggle between the two paths is not only the struggle against pursuing the market mechanism within the country, it also entails opposing the tendency toward pursuing the capitalist world market. Under our country's present circumstances, in which an important percentage of the primary production materials used within the country must be imported and about 40-45 percent of national income is generated through exports-imports, the relationship between the domestic price system and international prices is of important significance. Here, there are two tendencies that must be overcome: the tendency to establish the domestic price system as a "closed" system totally isolated from international prices; and the tendency to passively link domestic prices to international prices, as a result of which domestic prices change as international prices change, primarily the prices on the capitalist world market. This is a complex problem, is a brand new field to us, one that demands that we study, in a detailed and comprehensive manner, the theory and methodology regarding the impact of international prices upon the domestic price system. However, the basic requirements are that we fully comprehend the viewpoints and policies of the party and the principles that govern the formation of prices, insure the independent and planned nature of the domestic price system and firmly maintain the principles of the state's exclusive rights in the field of foreign trade and the central level's exclusive management of foreign trade and foreign currency. The bitter nature of the class struggle over the market and prices in foreign relations (with the capitalist countries) was clearly revealed by Lenin in a statement made concerning exclusive foreign trade rights: "...No tariff system can be effective in the age of imperialism when there are monstrous contrasts between pauper countries and immensely rich countries. Several times Bukharin mentions tariff barriers, failing to realize that under the circumstances indicated any of the wealthy industrial countries can completely break down such tariff barriers... In the age of imperialism, the only system of protection worthy of consideration is the monopoly of foreign trade."(1) This is a very important issue to the independent economy of our country at this time, a time when U.S. imperialism, in collaboration with the Beijing expansionists and other reactionaries is pursuing a hostile policy in a vain attempt to suffocate our economy and, through foreign trade relations,

sabotage our economy and disrupt our market, prices and monetary system. This issue has been made even more important by the fact that the value of domestic currency has been seriously eroded by trade competition between a number of central and local export-import businesses and among localities and by the tendency to compete for larger profits by taking advantage of different prices for the same product and by pushing up the prices of some exports and imports. Our recent shortcomings in the management of the domestic market and prices and in the field of foreign trade have not helped to strengthen the socialist economy, rather, they have strengthened the position and forces of the domestic free market and harmed the interests of the laboring people and the state.

### Prices Are Formed in a Planned Manner Under Socialism

More than 100 years ago, Karl Marx stressed an extremely important scientific argument: "...Prices only have meaning in the social relationship between one commodity and another."(2) Today, on the basis of the dynamic realities of our country's socio-economic life, General Secretary Le Duan has stated: "Prices, one of the social relations, are especially important in the relationship between workers and farmers, in the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption."(3) When Karl Marx said "prices are the expression of value in the form of money," the concepts of value and money to which he referred encompassed all social relations. Ordinarily, we readily see that prices are the expression of the relationship that exists in buying and selling, that is, are a socio-economic relationship in the market, but fail to see the comprehensive and fundamental socio-economic relations that underlie prices, from ownership relations to the relations in distribution, class relations and so forth. When discussing prices we are discussing the market and, when discussing market relations, we are discussing the relationship between goods and money, between money and goods. Therefore, to control prices is to control the market, to control the flow of goods and money. Whoever controls the flow of goods and money controls the market and prices. It is meaningless, is "form over substance" to talk about controlling prices without controlling goods and money, without controlling the market and commerce. However, the matter of controlling goods, money, the market and prices goes even deeper, that is, to controlling production, controlling production forces and production relations, controlling the products that are produced and, on the basis and as a result of controlling production, controlling distribution-circulation, controlling prices. Thus, it can be said that socialist prices are the result of production characterized by productivity, quality and efficiency plus (+) distribution based on socialist socio-economic relations. Therefore, prices are controlled by both production-technical factors and by social factors, economic interests and class relations in production and distribution. If we only see the production-technical factors and ignore the socio-economic factors and remove ourselves from the struggle between the two paths, the formation of prices will become nothing more than a matter of arithmetic; conversely, if we only emphasize the socio-economic factors and do not take production-technical factors into full consideration, we will easily fall victim to subjective reasoning and lack an objective base, namely, value and the essence of value, "the amount of social labor required." The complex nature of the sharp struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy in the field

of prices is primarily the result of the fact that prices are a form of social relations, social relations which, in this context, are the social relations that exist during the period of transition in an economy that still consists of many different segments, that is, in a society that is still characterized by classes and class struggle. Value and the conversion of value to the form by which it is expressed, that is, the various types of prices, are determined by the combined impact of the various economic laws that exist and exert an impact within the economy and by the level of development of production relations, of production forces, that is, by the objective, specific socio-economic base. One of the most basic characteristics that distinguishes the formation and development of prices within a system of commodity production during the period from the formation and development of prices within other systems of commodity production is that, in the first instance, prices are formed through planning while, in the second instance, prices are formed in a spontaneous manner through the market mechanism. This is not the result of subjective desires, but an objective necessity resulting from the combined impact of economic laws and reflects the establishment and the continuous strengthening and improvement of socialist production relations. The spontaneous impact of the market, of ungoverned competition in private production and the spontaneous impact of the monopolistic capitalists of previous modes of production are being replaced by the balanced and planned development of the national economy, by the scientifically based management of the entire process of social reproduction. For this reason, the struggle between the two paths in the field of prices during the period of transition to socialism is manifested first and most vividly in the antagonism between two irreconcilably opposed management mechanisms, that is, between the rather stubborn existence of the market mechanism, which is deeply rooted in social life and the subconsciousness of many persons, and the birth, growth and increasing dominance of the management mechanism centered around the plan. The argument that during the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, due to the existence of many different economic segments, it is necessary to apply the law of value and use economic levers as an "all purpose" tool in an attempt to regulate and stimulate production and overcome the difficulties being faced now is an incorrect argument, one that succumbs to the viewpoint of "market socialism" and poses a danger to socialist construction. It is contrary to the line of our party. As Le Duan has stressed: "By the five economic segments in the South, we mean that there are five segments producing and manufacturing goods, not that all five of these segments share in controlling the flow of goods and money." (4) If, under conditions in which small-scale production is still widespread and the private production of goods is still quite prevalent, we do not resolutely follow the path of socialism, do not implement the management mechanism based mainly on the plan, the economy will drift toward capitalist spontaneity.

#### Prices as a Socialist Business Tool

A plan that is not related to business is a bureaucratic plan; business that does not have the plan as its center is not socialist business. Prices must reflect a full understanding of both of these requirements. It can be said that prices, under socialism, are plan-socialist business prices.

The use of prices as a tool within the economic management mechanism demands the application of the entire system of economic laws, within which the economic laws of socialism play the dominant role and the impact of the law of value occupies a very important position within the overall impact of the various laws being applied. Should we consciously apply the law of value to support planning and socialist business or allow it to spontaneously regulate the national economy with all the adverse consequences this entails? This depends upon how well our party and state can develop upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and tap the combined economic-political-social strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to regulate the economy and wage an effective struggle against enemy sabotage, against the spontaneous, capitalist inclinations of small-scale production and against the "attraction" of the capitalist path. Socialist prices encompass the important socio-economic relations and help to satisfactorily establish the relationship among and insure the harmony of the three different types of interests: the interests of society as a whole, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. They do not tolerate actions taken in the name of "socialism" to achieve personal, illegitimate gains for the individual or further the partial interests of one's unit or locality by means of speculation based on different prices for the same goods. The struggle between the two paths within the field of prices is a basic part of the struggle between the two different kinds of business: socialist and capitalist; therefore, this struggle occurs not only on the distribution-circulation front, but also in every aspect of socio-economic life and throughout the entire process of social reproduction, from production itself to distribution, circulation and consumption. When talking about socialist business, we are talking about operating in an efficient manner, that is, about producing many high quality products at the lowest possible cost, producing a surplus product and accumulating capital for expanded socialist reproduction. Therefore, the planned formation of prices first demands that we compute production and circulation costs in a way that correctly reflects necessary social labor costs and excludes unreasonable, irrational costs; in essence, this means computing prices on the basis of planning and cost accounting instead of using free market prices as the standard for setting prices in accordance with the capitalist mode of business and commercial accounting procedures. This shows that the struggle between the two paths occurs first at production and business installations in the process of their production operations. It occurs within the organizational apparatus of the state between the practice of operating in any way seen fit without regard for prices, without regard for the plan and cost accounting and the practice of operating on the basis of cost accounting, on the basis of the plan and quotas, on the basis of calculating economic returns, calculating profit and loss while looking for every practical and effective way to reduce production costs and circulation expenses. Prices occupy an important position in the distribution and circulation process. However, it must be recognized that the most important measure is to take the initiative and resolutely control the flow of goods, control the flow of money, not to simply engage in commerce or trade with no regard for prices. On the other hand, although prices are established on the basis of value, the socialist state can and must apply the mechanism of prices that are at variance with the values they represent, apply price ratios that are at variance with value ratios in order to support certain socio-economic objectives during each specific period of time. The

ratio between industrial and agricultural prices reflects the economic relations between the state and working class, on the one hand, and farmers, on the other hand, between industry and agriculture, between the cities and the countryside. These commodity trade relations cannot be spontaneous trade relations, cannot be relations of simple purchases and sales based on the market mechanism. Rather, they must be led and guided by the state by means of a procurement (agricultural-forestry-marine products) and supply mechanism and system of organizations that directly link the business of the state and farmers. These relations must be established mainly on the basis of the plan and through two-way economic contracts based on directed prices of the state, basically stable prices for procurements made under obligations and stable state prices for instruments of production and retail goods, with a small percentage of trade being based on incentive procurement prices. Because socialist prices are formed on the basis of the plan--the socialist business plan supports the objectives of the plan and socialist business under the conditions of our economy at this point in time--the prices that are formed on the basis of the planning and business mechanism are an integral part of the overall management mechanism, comply with general principles and regulations and have the same superior features but also share the same limitations as this overall mechanism. As a result, the system of state directed prices is both stable (in terms of the prices of primary products: the means of production as well as consumer goods and agricultural products) and flexible (as in the case of incentive procurement prices, directed high prices and commerce business prices). There is no basis for rigidly stabilizing prices and wanting to stabilize all prices; however, it is also dangerous to allow prices to fluctuate on the basis of the market. Therefore, we must maintain the prices of primary products, adjust prices as necessary and maintain a suitable two-price policy based on the economic-financial situation, the specific product in question and specific circumstances. Stabilizing prices and applying prices in a flexible manner, maintaining prices and adjusting prices are all part of price management based on the plan and the socialist mode of business.

Employing the Combined Strength of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Making Well Coordinated Use of All Three Measures, Economic, Administrative and Educational, To Manage the Market and Prices

To win victory in the struggle between the two paths in the field of prices, it is necessary to employ the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat and simultaneously make use of all three types of measures: economic, administrative and educational, with the most basic of these being educational measures. Importance must be attached to measures designed to control the flow of goods, control the flow of money and expand the socialist commerce network all the way down to the villages and subwards in conjunction with reducing the scope of the free market in the cities as well as the countryside. Experience has shown that at those places that have achieved good results in all areas from production to distribution and circulation on the basic level and have, in particular, taken the initiative in controlling the flow of money and goods and accelerating the development of socialist commerce, prices, although they have changed, have not changed by much. However, under present circumstances, emphasizing economic measures does not mean giving less attention to administrative measures and relaxing the

dictatorship of the proletariat. It would truly be dangerous for us to not employ the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not take stern measures to stop and punish the external enemies collaborating with domestic reactionaries, which are conspiring with degenerate elements within the state apparatus to compete with the state for the goods in society, to steal and rob goods from the state and sell even strategic goods of the state on the free market.

It is necessary to properly coordinate economic measures with administrative and educational measures with a view toward "gradually restoring the new order within the field of prices, beginning within the state economic sector and within the organized market" as stated in the resolutions of the 3rd and 5th Party Plenums. Of importance is the need to establish the discipline of the state in price management, which includes prices on the organized socialist market and prices on the unorganized market (the free market). In particular, it is necessary to strengthen the unified management of prices throughout the country. The prices on the organized market are directed prices of the state, are prices that are formed in a planned manner, are prices that are calculated and set by the state (within a relatively flexible price scale) and which must be observed in accordance with the price management regulations of the state. Every willful violation of price controls and state price management regulations is a violation of socialist law. Prices on the unorganized market are under the strong impact of the law of supply and demand; however, they are not formed in a completely spontaneous manner in the full sense and substance of laissez faire commerce under capitalism because they are under the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the control of the socialist economy, of the socialist market and commerce and of the laws of the socialist state. The viewpoint that, because we are still weak, because we do not have sufficient goods, we cannot control the free market, cannot eradicate speculation and speculative prices and, as a result, cannot control the market and prices is an erroneous viewpoint. Le Duan said:

"The question must be redefined:

--Either we allow saboteurs, the bourgeoisie, the 'free' market and private merchants to operate at will, to compete in both procurements and sales with the state, to conspire with undesirable elements within agencies, enterprises and stores to take goods from state warehouses, freely engage in smuggling, monopolize prices and then 'compete' with us by raising prices so that they can buy and sell goods and call all this a 'flexible price mechanism'

--Or we block their hands, do not permit them to freely buy and sell grain and the important agricultural products and industrial goods, establish a dictatorship over saboteurs, speculators and smugglers, restore socialist order to the market and guarantee the right of the state to monopolize the business in important products. On the basis of this premise, the state can plan its transactions with farmers and handicraftsmen; organize and plan production and investments; arrange contracts to supply means of production and distribute essential goods at stable prices directly to laborers; expand credit; and procure products at their point of origin under contracts (either by providing goods in advance in exchange for agricultural products later or, conversely, procuring agricultural products on credit and supplying goods

later). In this way, we will be able to maintain directed prices and a rational price ratio, receive the support of the people and combat arbitrary price increases and the buying and selling of goods at high prices.

These, then, are the two different ways we can operate, are the two different viewpoints we can adopt. The first poses the danger of turning the state-operated economy into the tail of the 'free' market and, as a result, allowing prices to float and become chaotic, and only serves the interests of the saboteurs, speculators and private merchants."(5)

Clearly, the viewpoint that the once strong socialist market has become weak, the once weak free market has become strong and that socialism has been retreating for a long period of time, thus allowing the free market to encroach upon its position, is entirely incorrect. It must be understood that the two markets are not separated by a wall, rather, they intersect, have an impact upon and compete against each other. If we are negligent, if the socialist market lacks forces and loses its direction and, moreover, if it becomes ill and is invaded by factors of disruption and sabotage like so many germs of the free market, a portion of the socialist market will actually become the free market, strengthen the hand of private merchants and itself become a factor that disrupts the market and prices.

Socialist commerce must expand the scope of its business activities on the organized market and on the unorganized market and boldly pursue a two-price policy that sometimes employs the very measures taken by private merchants, that sets high prices for certain products at certain times and places in order to struggle against the free market, eliminate speculators, maintain and hold prices in check and, when possible, pull down free market prices. This is the tactic that Lenin called "growling at the wolf"(our people have the saying: wear a paper shirt when walking with a ghost). The experience of recent years has shown that prices change in a chaotic manner not only on the free market, but even on the organized market. Arbitrarily setting and changing prices, even the directed prices of products and goods that are essential in the daily lives of the people are detrimental to socialist transformation and socialist construction. The Council of Ministers has promulgated the "Price Management Statutes" to insure the unified nature of the price policy and the system of directed prices of the state on a nationwide scale, insure centralized management by the central level, by the Council of Ministers and develop the role of the State Price Commission as the agency of the Council of Ministers that has the function of providing unified state management in the field of prices; at the same time, it has assigned price management responsibilities to the ministries and the people's committees of the provinces, municipalities and special zone on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and in a manner consistent with the specific conditions of our country at this time. All sectors and levels must correctly implement the state price management regulations set forth in the newly promulgated statutes.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, pp 386-387.

2. Karl Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, first book, Volume I, p 97.
3. Speech by Le Duan at the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on 7 December 1983, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1984, p 14.
4. Ibid., p 11.
5. Ibid.

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STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--  
CARRYING OUT SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 51-56

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] This is a general law that applies to countries that are advancing to socialism from an underdeveloped economy or an economy that is not yet highly developed. In countries that have a highly developed industry, after the laboring people seize political power, socialist industrialization is not something that absolutely must be carried out. Nevertheless, the laboring people of these countries still must endeavor to overcome the backward state of technology in a number of regions and certain economic sectors that was left behind by capitalism and reorganize the national economy along socialist lines so that this reorganized economy can fulfill its functions as the material-technical base of socialism.

As we know, every social system has a corresponding material-technical base. A large-scale machine industry is the material base of socialism. And, the creation of this material-technical base is the main task of socialist industrialization. This proves that socialist industrialization is an objective law governing all countries that make the transition to socialism from an economy that is underdeveloped or has not yet reached a high level of development. This law is of even greater importance to backward agricultural countries that are advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

It must be stressed that the industrialization to which we refer here is socialist industrialization, a type of industrialization that guarantees the victory of the socialized sector within industry over the private sector, over small-scale commodity production and capitalism.

Industrialization, in general, is the process of building and developing industry so that it becomes the main economic sector. The essence of socialist industrialization is the development of a large-scale machine industry (especially heavy industry, the backbone of which is machine manufacturing) to insure that the socialist economic system wins victory, that the socialist national economy develops strongly.

Lenin once said: ... "Socialism first emerges at those places where relatively large-scale production has begun to be established... We have said that only these material conditions, that is, the conditions provided by large-scale mechanized industry in large enterprises serving hundreds of millions of persons, are the base of socialism..."(1) Thus, the overriding significance of socialist industrialization lies in the fact that it is the most decisive factor guaranteeing the victory of socialism.

In addition to this overriding significance, socialist industrialization also has an impact upon and significance in many other areas:

First, socialist industrialization insures a rapid and continuous rise in labor productivity, which is the most basic prerequisite to the total victory of socialism over capitalism.

Secondly, it is the most important guarantee of continuous improvement of the welfare of the laboring people. As we know, industrialization is carried out on the basis of the impact of the law of giving priority to the development of the production of the means of production over the production of the means of consumption. The development of the production of the means of production lays the groundwork for the development of the sectors that manufacture the means of consumption, for improving the welfare of the people.

Thirdly, socialist industrialization creates the material bases for developing the various forms of the socialist economy and abolishing the factors of capitalism within the economy; it gives to the various forms of the socialist economy the technical priority needed to win complete victory over the capitalist segment of the economy and the segment of the economy represented by small-scale commodity production.

Fourthly, socialist industrialization changes the structure of the socialist national economy. Large-scale industry is built, plays an increasingly dominant role within the country's economy and has an impact upon all other sectors of the national economy. In the course of socialist industrialization, the best and most rational balances possible are established within the national economy.

Fifthly, socialist industrialization, the primary element of which is the development of heavy industry, is, in the final analysis, the key to the socialist transformation of agriculture on the basis of machine technology. By supplying modern technical equipment to agriculture, socialist industry causes the birth and development of new, modern production forces in the countryside, production forces which are needed for the victory of the cooperative system within agriculture.

Sixthly, socialist industrialization also increases the size and the sense of organization of the working class centralized within large-scale, modern enterprises. As a result, the leadership position of the working class within society is heightened, the base of the dictatorship of the proletariat is solidified and the alliance of workers and farmers is strengthened.

Seventhly, socialist industrialization is a strong factor in the development of the economy and culture in the backward ethnic minority areas. The establishment of large-scale industry within these areas serves as the base for achieving true equality among the ethnic minorities and solidifying the unity and mutual assistance among them with a view toward building a powerful socialist fatherland.

Finally, socialist industrialization is a necessary prerequisite to building an independent, autonomous economy and strengthening the national defense capabilities of the country. The development of heavy industry provides the material base for the production of the various types of modern weapons needed to defend the country against aggression by external imperialist and reactionary powers.

In view of the significance and impact of socialist industrialization as described above, it is not only a law in the process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in countries making the transition to socialism from an underdeveloped economy or an economy that is not yet highly developed, it is also an extremely important task during the period of transition. Moreover, in those countries that are advancing from backward agricultural economies to socialism and bypassing the stage of capitalist development, socialist industrialization is also the central task during the period of transition to socialism.

Socialist industrialization is fundamentally different from capitalist industrialization.

Most importantly, they are different in terms of their objectives. Whereas the objective of capitalist industrialization is to produce large profits for the capitalist, the objective of socialist industry is to build the material-technical bases of socialism and, on this basis, meet the rising material and cultural needs of the working people.

Socialist industrialization is carried out in a conscious and planned manner while capitalist industrialization is carried out in a spontaneous and ungoverned manner. This enables the working people and all socialist society to avoid the terrible waste of manpower and material that occurred in countries that have taken the capitalist path of development.

Socialist industrialization also differs from capitalist industrialization in terms of its origins. In every social system, we can divide these origins into two types: domestic and foreign. As regards the capitalist system, the ruthless exploitation of labor was the internal origin and the plundering of the colonies and dependent countries was the external origin. The capitalist countries used these two origins as the means for carrying out industrialization. Great Britain, for example, used the ruthless exploitation of its colonies to accumulate initial capital with which to carry out capitalist industrialization. The industrialization of Germany was based, to a large degree, on the large war reparations received from the country it defeated in battle, France, during the final 30 years of the 19th century. In contrast to the two countries mentioned above, imperial Russia attempted to rely upon loans from foreign countries as the main source of capital for

industrialization. However, as we saw, this only had the result of making Russia totally dependent upon foreign monopolistic capitalist groups and, instead of improving the country's economic and technical backwardness, only made it worse. Of course, the socialist state cannot carry out industrialization by means of exploiting the laboring people. It is even less possible for it to rely upon "capital assistance" from the capitalist countries. Therefore, the first socialist state in the world had no choice but to carry out socialist industrialization by means of sources of capital accumulated within the country, primarily in the form of profits appropriated from the socialist enterprises; taxes collected from remaining exploiters and a number of minor taxes paid by workers (the capital accumulated from this source played a secondary role); property confiscated from the toppled exploiting classes, etc.

The majority of the socialist countries that came into being later, in addition to using capital accumulated domestically as their main source of capital, have also been able to use aid from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries as an important source of capital for industrialization. This is because, in contrast to the circumstances of the Soviet Union in its early years, when it stood by itself encircled by capitalism, these countries have enjoyed much more favorable international circumstances when carrying out their socialist industrialization.

Socialist industrialization also differs from capitalist industrialization in terms of the rate at which it is carried out. As we know, it took Great Britain nearly 100 years to carry out its capitalist industrialization; the United States needed about 75 years. The Soviet Union, however, completed its industrialization and established the material-technical bases of socialism in the space of a few decades. Socialist industrialization can be completed much more quickly than capitalist industrialization mainly because it enjoys the superior advantages afforded by socialist ownership of the means of production and planned economic development.

Finally, socialist industrialization differs from capitalist industrialization in terms of economic and social consequences. Whereas capitalist industrialization exacerbates the sharp social and economic antagonisms within capitalist society, on both a national and international scale, socialist industrialization helps to resolve the antagonisms of the period of transition because the objectives of socialist industrialization are to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and raise the standard of living of the laboring people.

As we know, Soviet Russia set the first example of socialist industrialization. The international circumstances of the Soviet Union when it began its advance to socialism were extremely difficult. Back then, the level of economic development of the Soviet Union was still low. Moreover, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in the world to be encircled by capitalism on all four sides. These capitalist countries not only encircled and maintained an economic embargo against the Soviet Union, they were also prepared to intervene militarily against the Soviet Union at any time. This situation forced the Soviet Union to carry out industrialization as quickly as possible in order to overcome its economic backwardness and

rapidly create the material-technical base needed to develop the socialist economy and strengthen the national defense system. Another major difficulty was that the Soviet Union could only rely upon itself to carry out the socialist accumulation of capital because the capitalist countries had refused to grant loans to the Soviet Union or would only do so on stiff, unacceptable terms. Despite this, the experience of the Soviet Union in industrialization is still of major international significance and has been applied by the socialist countries in a manner consistent with the specific situation of each country when embarking on the course of socialist industrialization.

In the other socialist countries, although industrialization has been marked by many unique characteristics, the salient characteristic has been that these countries have not had to carry out industrialization by themselves, but have received assistance from the powerful world socialist system. As a result, these countries enjoy more favorable circumstances than the Soviet Union did in industrialization. They also do not have to carry out industrialization with the urgency that the Soviet Union did. And, to build highly developed, modern industries, these countries can utilize not only domestic, but also foreign sources of capital, that is, they can assist one another and utilize the international organization of the socialist countries, CEMA, as well as bilateral cooperative agreements. Another important factor is that these countries can, through the superior nature of the international socialist division of labor, build sectors which they themselves do not have the best conditions for developing (natural conditions, historical conditions, etc).

As a result of socialist industrialization carried out through mutual material, technical and financial assistance, the socialist countries have recorded large achievements in developing the production forces of society. As early as 1961, industrial output accounted for the major portion of the gross social production of practically all of the fraternal socialist countries.

In our country, a country that is advancing from a backward economy characterized primarily by small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, socialist industrialization was established long ago by our party as the central task during the period of transition to socialism. It is also considered by our party to be one of the several major issues to which attention must be given in the party's line on the socialist revolution.

As we know, in our country, we must build the new society from top to bottom: from new production forces to new production relations, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, from the economy to politics, culture, society and ideology. This is easily understood because we begin the period of transition to socialism lacking everything we need, most importantly heavy industry--the "material backbone" of the new society. This explains why we must consider socialist industrialization, consider successfully building the material-technical bases of socialism to be the central task during the period of transition to socialism. Only by carrying out socialist industrialization can we create the "material backbone" of the new society, around which the sinew of the body of the new society will take perfect form. In other words, the victory of socialist industrialization is the decisive prerequisite to

solidifying and perfecting socialist production relations and consolidating the gains made by the production relations revolution and even the cultural and ideological revolution so that the new ideology achieves absolute dominance within our society, the new culture develops brilliantly and increasingly large numbers of new, socialist persons are molded. Moreover, it is also the decisive prerequisite to solidifying the dictatorship of the proletariat and laying a firm foundation for strengthening our country's national defense system. In view of the above, socialist industrialization is not only the central task during the period of transition, it is also an extremely important part of the party's line on the socialist revolution.

One other point that must be discussed is that we must have a clear understanding of the main elements of socialist industrialization in the present stage, in the 1980's, as defined by our party: "It is necessary to focus efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, and advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production while making every effort to accelerate the production of consumer goods and continuing to build a number of important heavy industry sectors; agriculture and the consumer goods industry must be coordinated with heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure." To give light attention to the development of heavy industry is a mistake. However, to fail to realize that agriculture is the front of foremost importance in the years ahead is also incorrect.

In order for socialist industrialization to be carried out correctly, our party has adopted the following major socio-economic policies: correctly coordinating industry and agriculture; correctly coordinating the building of the central economy with the strong development of the local economy within a unified national economic structure; insuring that suitability exists between production forces and production relations and always closely coordinating the transformation of production relations with the reorganization and development of production; coordinating the economy with the national defense system, the national defense system with the economy; coordinating the development of the domestic economy with the broadening of our economic relations with foreign countries; expanding the division of labor and redistributing and making good use of labor throughout the country in order to raise labor productivity; promoting scientific and technological development; establishing the correct relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption and considering frugality to be a major and permanent national policy; establishing the new, socialist order on the distribution-circulation front; and establishing the correct management and planning system.

The specifics of these policies reflect the unique features of socialist industrialization within our country. Implementing these policies well is the best way to successfully carry out socialist industrialization and stimulate the strong and steady advance of the entire socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "On Industrialization," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 91.

EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT  
LEVEL: THE DISTRICT MILITARY FORTRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 57-60

[Article by Chau Khai Dich, senior colonel and commander of the Nghia Binh Provincial Military Unit]

[Text] Building the district military fortress is one step in giving concrete form to the military line of the party. In recent years, the Nghia Binh Provincial Military Command, together with the districts of the province, has performed a number of jobs in organizing the research and building of the district military fortress.

On the basis of practical experience, we would like to present a number of matters concerning the conception of and specifics involved in building the district military fortress so that we can study this matter and gain experience together.

I. The Conception of the District Military Fortress

It is our thinking that building the district military fortress does not simply involve building many bunkers, many underground tunnels, many defense lines, many observation towers and so forth. Of course, bunkers and defense lines are indispensable within the district. However, the building of bunkers, underground tunnels and defense lines within the district must be based on the district's combat plan and its task in defending the fatherland.

It is also our thinking that building the district military fortress is not all that is involved in the district's local military work. Because of its nature and characteristics, the building of the district military fortress is not entirely the same thing as building a national defense system manned by all the people.

The district military fortress is an organization, is a battlefield deployment of all the people fighting the enemy and maintaining social order and security within the district. This organization must reflect stability, reflect a high degree of organization and discipline and constantly be strengthened, solidified and augmented; it must fully reflect the various states of combat

readiness within the district. This organization must reflect the combined political, economic and social strength of the district in the form of battlefield deployment and military strength. At this time, the purpose of this battlefield deployment is to enable us to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy within the scope of the district. When a large-scale war breaks out, the district military fortress is the place that enables us to stand our ground and be the masters of the locality so that we can attack the enemy and coordinate in combat operations with neighboring district military fortresses, thereby creating the conditions for the main force military corps to develop their offensive position and annihilate the enemy and firmly maintaining our control within the locality.

On the basis of the special characteristics described above, we view the district military fortress as the fundamental base for strengthening national defense and security and waging a victorious people's war within the locality, as a base that is organized and solidly built from the installations to the scope of the entire district in accordance with a defense strategy that is the same from top to bottom, as a base that is under centralized, unified leadership and guidance. In every situation, the district is the place in which we resolutely stand our ground, firmly maintain control within the locality and utilize the combined fighting strengths of the people, of the armed forces, of the various sectors to successfully meet each requirement involved in winning victory over the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of the enemy within the locality, thereby helping to win victory throughout the province, throughout the military region, throughout the country, firmly maintaining political security and social order and safety, protecting the people and defending the locality and fatherland. It is a battlefield that is organized and prepared in advance in order to coordinate with the main force military corps in developing the offensive against the enemy and maintaining control within the locality.

## II. Efforts Must Begin with Building the Village Military Fortress

In the history of our nation's struggle to build and defend the country, combat villages have played the role of fortresses firmly defending the locality, as a part of the local battlefield deployment in the fight against the enemy. The network of villages is also a timely and inexhaustible source of manpower and materiel for the army. The history of the wars of resistance fought by our nation since ancient times is the record of countless feats of arms recorded by villages through resourceful and creative methods of fighting the enemy. This is a unique combat tradition, a unique aspect of Vietnamese military art in past years.

In the resistance against France, when the enemy put into effect their plan to "support war through war" and "use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese," our party promptly adopted the policy of "building combat villages" to promote the war effort in areas behind enemy lines. Under this policy, hundreds of combat village fortresses emerged. They were solid military fortresses. When the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys sought, through extremely evil and cruel methods, to pacify the countryside and attack the base of the revolution within each hamlet by establishing free fire zones and herding the population into "strategic hamlets" and "settlement zones," our party led the people in

organizing armed forces within each hamlet, in waging a tenacious struggle against the enemy, killing hoodlums and breaking the enemy's grip, in returning to their former villages and building combat hamlets consisting of political forces, military forces and a network of underground passages and tunnels so that they could remain there for a long period of time in order to fight the enemy.

Therefore, in the process of building strong and solid district military fortresses, we must begin by building village military fortresses. Only by building solid village military fortresses can we build a strong and solid district military fortress. On the other hand, the building of the district military fortress is an objective and urgent requirement under present conditions and a long-range task in the building of a strong and solid national defense system in which all the people participate. Today, as our entire country turns its hands to socialist transformation and socialist construction, as the structure of the economy, the political system and society, especially the structure of the agricultural, forestry, fishing and industrial economies, are being reorganized at installations and within the scope of the districts in keeping with the advance to large-scale socialist production, we cannot stop at merely building the village military fortress, but must gradually build a strong and solid district military fortress as well.

### III. The Requirements Involved in Building a Strong and Solid District Military Fortress

A truly strong and solid district military fortress must be reflected in the following areas:

1. The building of political and moral potentials: this can only be accomplished on the basis of intensifying socialist transformation, closely coordinating transformation with construction, with primary emphasis placed upon construction, and solidifying and constantly improving upon socialist production relations. By building and solidifying the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of socialist collective ownership from the hamlets and villages to the various sectors and levels within the locality, we properly implement the mechanism: "The party leads, the government manages and the people exercise ownership." On this basis, we must heighten socialist patriotism, the sense of collective ownership and the revolutionary heroism of each citizen so that everyone works in a conscious manner to build combat villages and interconnected combat clusters within the overall district military fortress.

2. The strengthening of the economic, cultural and scientific-technological potentials within the district: the strength of the district military fortress is manifested not only in the strength of the interconnected combat clusters within the district, but also in the strength of the district economy. As a result, the organizing of the district economy's structure must be closely linked to the building of the district military fortress. It can be said that the level of economic development of a district is a partial measurement of the strength of the national defense system within the district. We must build for the district a solid, strong and developed

economic structure that is an agro-industrial structure, an agro-forestry-industrial structure or an agro-fishing-industrial structure. We must build material-technical bases that effectively support the development of the economy within the district and can be used in national defense when war breaks out. We must train a corps of scientific-technical cadres of sufficient size and quality to support the research, building and development of the district economy. We must raise the cultural standard of the people.

3. The strengthening of military potentials: the district military fortress is the embodiment of the national defense system within the district, is the manifestation of the overall strengths of the district within the field of military affairs. For this reason, it is necessary to teach, mobilize and organize all the people to fight the enemy and build local armed forces, militia and self-defense forces that are truly solid and strong enough to serve as the nucleus of the effort to provide good security for socialist construction within the district. We must teach military knowledge and skills to all the people and insure strict compliance with the Military Service Law and labor obligation. We must build the battlefield deployment of the people's war within the district in accordance with a basic plan that is unified from top to bottom. We must gradually build the national defense industry within the district and closely coordinate the economy with national defense. We must build organizations and an economic structure within the hamlets and villages that enable the hamlets and villages to support combat and participate in combat operations and must organize the training of the forces of the hamlets and villages.

#### IV. The Specifics Involved in Building the District Military Fortress

The district military fortress is the embodiment of the battlefield deployment and local strength of the district, of the district's largest strengths, of those forces that are most mobile and those strengths that can be most rapidly mobilized to fight the enemy. To achieve local strength, the specifics involved in the building of the district military fortress must be in line with this objective. Here, we respectfully direct attention to the following number of specific jobs:

1. Building installations that are strong and solid in every respect: building villages, subwards, forestry sites, state farms, cooperatives, enterprises, agencies, sectors and circles that are strong and solid in every respect is the first specific task in building a strong and solid district military fortress. Within this task, special importance must be attached to building the party, the government and the corps of key cadres while constantly strengthening and improving the leadership ability of the basic party organizations, the effectiveness of the basic level government and the impact of the mass organizations. We must insure that installations are truly strong politically and ideologically; that the organizations of the party, the government and mass organizations are strong and solid; that militia and self-defense forces are strong; that security forces are reliable; and that production develops and the daily needs of the people are met.

2. Building the local armed forces and the reserve forces, which consist of local troops, militia and self-defense forces and reserve forces: the

provincial and district military agencies must serve as the competent staff of the various party committee echelons and levels of local government in organizing and building forces so that they can be mobilized in a rapid and timely fashion, mobilized in sufficient numbers and with the qualifications needed to meet the requirements involved in augmenting or developing our forces in accordance with the plan; needed to meet the requirement involved in developing the people's war within the locality; and needed to meet the requirements involved in supporting the political and economic tasks of the locality in time of war. In Nghia Binh, during the maneuvers held in May, 1982, as a result of registering and managing the reserve forces of the locality well, the reserves of the various districts and cities of the province quickly complied with the order to return to the army, arriving on time, in full force and fully qualified and, on this basis, formed the ready reserve battalions of the districts.

3. Building the battlefield deployment of the district military fortress: the battlefield deployment of the district military fortress is a pre-arranged battlefield deployment encompassing organization, politics and morale, material-technical bases and the basic combat defense plan of the district. The establishment of this battlefield deployment must progress from the plans of the combat villages to the plans of the combat clusters within the overall plan of the district. This battlefield deployment must be tested in practice and constantly solidified and augmented. Building it is very detailed work related to many state agencies and mass organizations. It is work that requires a supply of manpower and materiel. This must be achieved on the basis of solidifying and strengthening the party organization, government and mass organizations, on the basis of each citizen being thoroughly educated and clearly recognizing his responsibility in implementing the plan for the shift from peace time to war time where he lives and actively participating in the building of combat clusters that are capable of carrying out the combat plan to defend the locality. In the building of combat clusters, it is also necessary to coordinate the economy with the national defense system and specifically determine which jobs should be performed first and which should be performed later.

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## LOCAL MILITARY WORK IN THE BUILDING OF THE DISTRICT AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DISTRICT LEVEL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 61-62

[Article by the Phu Khanh Provincial Military Command]

[Text] Since the liberation of the province, the party organization and people of Phu Khanh have been focusing their efforts on many different jobs in order to build the national defense system within the district. Following the liberation of a province such as Phu Khanh that had been occupied by the enemy for many years and in conjunction with socialist transformation and socialist construction, the task of defending the locality became a pressing task, one that had to be coordinated at the very outset with building the economy and stabilizing the lives of the people, with maintaining security and strengthening the national defense system.

Under the light of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party and through the realities of local military work within the scope of the district, we have become increasingly aware of and gradually come to understand the fundamentals of the issue; at the same time, many problems have arisen that we must continue to study and resolve. Below are a number of matters that relate to local military work in the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level.

1. To build the district into a strong and solid military fortress, it is first of all necessary to define the position of national defense and the task of the district in a war to defend the fatherland.

Each district is different in terms of terrain, economic strengths, population density, level of political, cultural and social development and so forth. To develop our economic strengths and gradually establish the battlefield deployment of the people's war within the locality, we classified the districts on the basis of the basic intentions that have been established regarding their role in warfare, defined the tasks and requirements involved in winning victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage now being waged by the enemy and made preparations for joining the entire country in a fight to win victory over a war of aggression and defend the locality, defend the fatherland. The districts, municipality and city have adopted basic combat

plans that have received initial approval. The specific military task of the district has been defined and incorporated within the plan for building the district, in general, and is being carried out in the process of building cooperatives and production collectives, strengthening and developing the militia and self-defense forces, managing the population, managing labor, registering youths for military service, strengthening and developing the road network, planting trees for use in future warfare, etc.

2. It is necessary to establish strong installations.

Faced with a situation in which installations were weak and deficient in many respects, the Phu Khanh Provincial Party Committee decided to send groups of provincial and district cadres to participate in the building of installations. As a result, many villages, subwards, organizations of the party, government organizations and mass organizations have been strengthened and solidified and the quality of militia and self-defense forces has been raised. Through a steadfast effort to educate and mobilize the masses and raise the sense of collective ownership of the laboring people, the spirit of vigilance of cadres and the people has been raised and the people's awareness of their responsibility and role in the struggle to thwart the activities of the enemy, build the national defense system, maintain security and order and fulfill their military obligation has been heightened. As a result of building a strong base, our province successfully wiped out the FULRO reactionaries in the mountains, uncovered and promptly thwarted the majority of the attempts to illegally flee the country by sea and uncovered 80 clandestine reactionary organizations while maintaining political security and social order and safety.

3. It is necessary to provide stronger management and gradually purify the area politically.

Following liberation day, there were members of the former puppet army and government in every hamlet and village and members of reactionary political organizations and reactionaries masquerading as clergy at many places. Through the educational efforts of the revolutionary government, the majority of these persons were made aware of the policy of the revolution, devoted their efforts to earning a living and helped to build their native villages. However, there have also been some persons who have obstinately conducted clandestine acts of opposition and sabotage, threatened and attempted to control the masses and, at some times and places, created tense situations in society. By mobilizing the masses in struggle in coordination with taking administrative measures, our province promptly suppressed the counter-revolutionaries. As regards dangerous elements, the province has adopted a plan for managing and observing them, compiled files on them and prosecuted them under the law. The actions mentioned above have raised the spirit of the masses, especially in mountainous areas and areas in which Catholics are concentrated. In key areas, plans have been adopted for gradually redistributing the population. Today, many areas are providing good management and have accelerated production and maintained security.

4. Implementing the army's rear area policies well helps to stimulate the development of military work on the basic level.

At present, we are not fully meeting the legitimate requirements of policy recipients; however, on the basis of gaining a thorough understanding of the viewpoints, positions and policies of the party, through the capabilities of the locality, by mobilizing the people to participate and by acquiring the assistance and coordination of the various sectors and mass organizations, we have resolved a large number of the problems left behind by the war. The "In Gratitude for Service Rendered" movement had the effect of educating the masses and gaining everyone's participation in the effort to provide practical assistance to and encourage war veterans, the families of war dead, families who served the revolution, families of active military personnel and demobilized soldiers. The work of moving gravesites into cemeteries was carried out in an urgent manner, meeting 100 percent of the norm, and the movement to care for the children of war dead has also been carried out well. During the past few years, our province has made much progress in providing jobs and education to persons who have fulfilled their military obligation. In 1981, the standing committee of the provincial party committee issued a directive to the various party committee echelons instructing them to give greater attention to army rear area work. Each locality held a symposium to discuss this work. Since then, much more progress has been made in army rear area work. These efforts have created favorable conditions for the development of military work at installations, thereby providing stable rear areas, insuring that the organizing, building and training of militia and self-defense forces and reserve military personnel meet the plan and insuring that the induction of youths meets and exceeds quotas.

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## THE PEOPLE OF POLAND MARCH STEADILY FORWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 63-66

[Article by Huu Nghi]

[Text] On 22 July 1984, the People's Republic of Poland is 40 years old. Although its history has been brief, the achievements that the people of Poland have recorded have truly been large. The socialist system in Poland has been tested and proven through challenge.

The 1980 political crisis created by counter-revolutionary powers operating under orders from the U.S. imperialists has virtually been resolved. Socialism in Poland has been defended and is marching steadily forward.

The counter-revolutionaries have been making every effort to weaken the Polish United Workers Party and eventually topple the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland. They have employed every conceivable method in a vain attempt to shatter the alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union, separate Poland from the socialist community and ultimately bring Poland back under a pro-West capitalist system.

The insane activities of the reactionaries in the "solidarity trade union" have been guided and supported by the U.S. imperialists. The collaboration between internal and external enemies pushed Poland into a deep state of crisis, brought the Polish economy to the brink of collapse, plunged Polish society into a state of chaos and anarchy and threatened to destroy all the revolutionary gains and the very existence of the country and nation of Poland.

With the country in mortal danger, the Polish state was forced to take a special measure: the imposition of martial law. Martial law, which was established in late 1981 and lasted for 19 months, stopped the attack by counter-revolutionary forces, reversed the situation and created the conditions needed to restore order and gradually emerge from the crisis.

The reorganization of the Polish United Workers Party, 1 million of whose members had joined the "solidarity trade union," has been the most important measure in restoring the strength of the leadership corps and returning Poland

to normalcy so that it can resume its development within the correct orb. Having gained experience from its previous shortcomings, the leadership of Poland has attached importance to intensifying political, ideological and theoretical education within the party and raising the quality of party members; at the same time, it has been determined to expel from the party those members who lose their good qualities, consolidate the party organizationally and restore every party activity. Through the consolidation of the party, the number of party members has declined by about one-third; however, because the quality of party members has been raised, opportunist elements have been expelled and the party is more united internally, the leadership role of the party has been restored and strengthened. The re-election of the governments on the various levels marks a new step forward in restoring and strengthening the power of the state apparatus. To take the place of the former reactionary trade union, a new trade union, which has a membership of more than 4 million, has been established at all important industrial installations.

In Poland, because of previous mistakes made in political, ideological and cultural education and because of the influence of western bourgeois thinking, a rather large number of youths, intellectuals, writers and artists have drifted far from politics, expressed dissatisfaction with the system and even adopted an attitude of denying the gains made by the socialist revolution. In addition to this, the lack of cohesion between socialist ideals and the realities of life in Poland in previous years, years when negative phenomena were tolerated, caused them to become even more skeptical, to lose confidence in the new system and maintain that socialism has inherent flaws that cannot be corrected. As a result, the misrepresentations and slander of the enemy sounded even more appealing to these youths who lack experience and have not been challenged. In order to quickly correct this situation, the Polish United Workers Party has given special attention to the education of the various strata of youths and intellectuals with a view toward reducing and abolishing the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking and lifestyle among these strata. On the other hand, the party has engaged in frank self-criticism, resolutely denounced and struggled against negative phenomena within the ranks of the party and taken prompt action against persons who have made mistakes, regardless of their position. As a result, the prestige and power of the party, of socialism have gradually been regained.

In Poland, Catholicism has a history of more than 1,000 years; at present, Poland has more than 46,000 priests and monks and 65 Catholic newspapers. Catholics constitute 85 percent of the population of Poland. As a result, the influence of Catholic idealism in society is still profound. On the basis of guaranteeing freedom of religion in accordance with the Constitution, the Polish United Workers Party has been endeavoring to expand the influence of scientific socialism among the people in order to gradually create the ideological, political and organizational conditions necessary for Catholics to accept the socialist system and actively participate in socialist construction, in building a powerful Poland. Together with teaching socialism to the people, the party is determined to wage a relentless struggle against the counter-revolutionary and anti-communist powers within the Catholic clergy.

In the economic field, the main focus of the serious campaign of sabotage of the counter-revolutionary powers, the party and state of Poland face very large tasks. Prior to the crisis, Poland was one of the 10 leading industrial countries in the world, producing 2.3 percent of the industrial output value of the world with a population equalling less than 1 percent of the world population. However, because of past mistakes in economic policy, Poland's industry failed to develop in a balanced manner: very large, irrational investments were made in heavy industry at a time when only 4 percent of industrial capacity serves agriculture. Poland has much agricultural land, some 19.2 million hectares compared to a population of 36 million (as of the end of 1983). However, only 16.6 percent of its cropland and 15.8 percent of agricultural output are under state ownership; 3.2 percent of cropland and 2.5 percent of output are under collective ownership. The remainder is owned by private farmers. These production relations compounded by unreasonable price and procurement management policies resulted in a chronic, serious shortage of grain in past years, a shortage that became a factor of volatility.

In the early 1970's, the former leadership of Poland put into effect a strategy under which consumption was viewed as the force behind economic development, a strategy that allowed wages to increase at a rate that far exceeded the rate of increase of labor productivity and the output of grain, food products and consumer goods. Hostile powers and undesirable elements used this situation to provoke among many persons the psychology of making demands, of wanting an easy life, of wanting to get as much as they could from the state, even though the state was encountering many difficulties.

The policy of using loans from the western countries in a rush to import equipment, technology, grain, food products and so forth not only had serious economic consequences, but also became a factor that caused a lack of political and social stability.

The activities of the counter-revolutionary powers caused a serious slowdown in production throughout Poland, reducing the country's national income by 30 percent in 1980 compared to the previous year. In addition, the U.S. imperialists enacted economic "sanctions" against Poland, sanctions that have cost the Polish economy billions of dollars. In the face of this situation, the Polish state, immediately after imposing martial law, focused its efforts on quickly restoring production and raising labor productivity in all sectors, beginning in the key sectors of vital importance to the daily lives of the people, such as the grain and food product sectors, the consumer goods industry and a number of important heavy industrial sectors. With martial law having been imposed and through educational and mobilization measures, the Polish state forced everyone to return to their production jobs, thereby insuring the fulfillment of product output and product quality norms on schedule and maintaining the normal operations of production installations. While enacting an economic management reform program that corrects the mistakes and unreasonable aspects of economic policies and establishing tighter economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community, the Polish United Workers Party has adopted and encouraged everyone to uphold the slogan: socialist Poland can and must produce its own food, clothing and other daily necessities and the Polish

people must live primarily through their own means and on the basis of what they produce.

In 1983, as a result of these well coordinated measures, the Polish economy began to improve. Comparing the results achieved in 1983 to the preceding year, national income increased by 4.5 percent; agricultural output increased by 3.6 percent with grain output reaching 22 million tons, an increase of 4.4 percent; coal exports equalled 35.2 million tons, a 19 percent increase. The consumer goods industry grew by 7 percent, prices stopped rising and the supply of food products and vegetables increased. The Polish state has decided that it must, during the period from 1983 to 1985, bring the economy out of the recession, begin to develop the economy and eventually achieve self-sufficiency in grain by providing agriculture with much more industrial support and enacting policies that encourage farmers to actively increase production.

The achievements that the Polish people have recorded since the crisis, although only initial ones, are truly encouraging. As W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, said: "The worst is behind us but the largest difficulties still lie ahead." The Polish United Workers Party maintains that although class enemies have been dealt a mortal blow, they have not been completely wiped out. The U.S. imperialists and international reactionary powers continue to breathe life into them. The people of Poland must continue to display high vigilance and must work very hard to fully eradicate the harmful effects of the recent crisis. However, in fundamental terms, Poland has come through the most serious challenge in the history of the People's Republic of Poland. This is eloquent proof that, with the powerful Soviet Union and socialist community as their base of support, the party of the Polish working class and the heroic people of Poland possess the full strength needed to safeguard their destiny, to protect socialism and develop it in the correct direction. Although many difficulties remain, the horizon is bright and broad.

The Vietnamese are entirely confident that socialist Poland, under the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party, will surely overcome every obstacle, defeat each scheme of sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries, march steadily forward and be worthy of being a tested member of the socialist community, the pillar of which is the powerful Soviet Union.

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## THE STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 84 pp 67-70

[Article by Thien Dan]

[Text] The date 19 July 1979 represents one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Nicaragua. The victorious revolution in Nicaragua, which lies in a strategically important region, in the "backyard" of the U.S. imperialists, broke another link in the chain of U.S. neo-colonialism in the western hemisphere, thereby helping to create a new strategic position for the Latin American revolution. To win the victory mentioned above, the people of Nicaragua had to wage a bitter and heroic struggle. The organizer and leader of that struggle was the Nicaraguan National Liberation Front, which was established in 1961 and subsequently renamed the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

As soon as victory was won, although they faced the immediate need to resolve a host of pressing problems in order to stabilize the life of the people following the war and hold their ground in the face of the counter-attack by the enemy, the Nicaraguan leaders, clearly aware of the decisive role played by their leadership organization, turned their hands first to solidifying and strengthening the FSLN, turning the broad united front of patriotic forces in the national and democratic revolution against the dictatorial regime, a lackey of the United States, into the vanguard unit leading the cause of building and defending the new system. In order to establish correct guidelines for solidifying and strengthening the FSLN, the FSLN leadership first established the fact that the Nicaraguan revolution in its initial stage is a democratic, popular and anti-imperialist revolution. At the same time, the FSLN set the present strategic tasks of the Nicaraguan revolution as developing Nicaragua into a country without exploitation, without oppression, without backwardness, a free, independent and progressive country while arming all the people in order to defend the government, protect the gains of the revolution and be ready to crush each act of aggression and sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. In particular, the Nicaraguan leadership has pointed out that the Nicaraguan revolution is being fiercely opposed and attacked by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and faces dangers that not only threaten the gains of the revolution, but also threaten the country's very survival. As a result, building and strengthening the armed forces as

well as leading the daily fight against armed aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are a pressing, immediate task.

In the economic and social reconstruction of the country, the people of Nicaragua have recorded achievements very deserving of pride over the past 5 years. Most important are the achievements that have been recorded in their task of restoring production and stabilizing the life of nearly 3 million persons under extremely difficult circumstances: industry was heavily damaged during the war, 60 percent of cropland was fallow and hunger relief had to be provided to nearly 1 million persons. At present, although it is still experiencing many shortages and difficulties, Nicaragua is supplying grain and food to the people, beginning with children and the elderly.

Changing the structure of the economy is one of the major goals of the revolutionary government. The Nicaraguan leadership maintains that developing an economy that consists of many different segments is a policy that is consistent with the socio-economic characteristics of the country and is, therefore, of strategic significance. This policy is dependent upon the state controlling the key sectors of the economy; at the same time, the state must, by means of laws and various forms of assistance, stimulate the development of the other segments of the economy and guiding them in the direction of serving the interests of the laboring people.

At present, the Nicaraguan people's state completely controls the finance, banking, foreign trade, insurance, credit and mining sectors, 60 percent of communications-transportation activities, 40 percent of home trade activities, 23 percent of industrial output and 25 percent of agricultural land.

In 1981, an agrarian reform law was promulgated in Nicaragua. This was followed by the start of the cooperativization of agriculture. At present, the country has 4,000 agricultural cooperatives consisting of 60,000 families.

Despite a natural disaster in mid-1982 that caused much damage, the 1982-1983 crop season was a major success. The output of the country's four main products alone, cotton, coffee, sugar and meat, amounted to 301 million dollars, a 35 million dollar increase over the preceding season. Coffee production exceeded one-half million tons, a record in Nicaragua.

In the past, due to the consequences of the neo-colonialist policy, the Nicaraguan economy was almost totally dependent upon the U.S. market. During the period immediately following the success of the Nicaraguan revolution, more than one-half of Nicaragua's imports were from the United States. In recent years, Nicaragua has pursued a policy of diversifying its economic relations with a view toward reducing its dependency upon the United States. In 1983, Nicaragua's imports totalled 775 million dollars, only 19 percent of which were from the United States.

In order to reduce the importation of consumer goods, which is a chronic malady among countries dependent upon neo-colonialism, to the lowest possible level, Nicaragua has been making every effort to tap the initiative and creativity of workers, of scientific and technical cadres and trying to

develop many ways of making better, increasingly widespread use of domestic raw materials for the purpose of developing the consumer goods industry.

On the cultural and educational front, the people of Nicaragua have also recorded very significant achievements. In 1980, the "crusade to wipe out illiteracy" reduced the number of illiterate persons from 52 percent of the population prior to the revolution to 12 percent, thereby making Nicaragua one of the 10 Latin American countries with the lowest rate of illiteracy. The new educational system and its revolutionary curricula have been rapidly established throughout the country. Today, in Nicaragua, education, medical examinations and health care are free. In 1982, nearly 1 million persons, 1 of every 3 persons, attended school in Nicaragua.

To protect their sacred independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Nicaraguan people have constantly heightened their vigilance and are prepared to defeat each act of war of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; at the same time, the Nicaraguans are making every effort to build and consolidate their revolutionary government. On 4 November 1984, the Nicaraguan people will elect state leaders and National Assembly deputies. This policy represents a new political victory for the people of Nicaragua and deals a heavy blow to the sabotage plans of the U.S. imperialists. The strategy of the United States to oppose and attack the Nicaraguan revolution is still very brazen and malicious. They have mounted a campaign of propaganda and slander against the Nicaraguan revolution while constantly employing military and economic pressure with a view toward toppling the revolutionary government in Nicaragua. Militarily, the United States is waging a two-pronged war against Nicaragua: to the north, in Honduras, the United States is using 5,000 remnant Somoza troops, which are competently supported in combat by the Honduran army. To the south, on Costa Rican soil, the United States has 6,000 mercenaries led by the traitor Eden Pastora under U.S. sponsorship. Since late 1982, the counter-revolutionary forces directly supported by the United States have continuously infiltrated the areas along the northern and southern borders of Nicaragua, where they have launched attacks and committed crimes to disrupt and sabotage the life of peaceful labor in this country. They have also sent aircraft to attack the capital Managua and mined the harbors of Nicaragua. The U.S. Navy regularly conducts large-scale exercises in the Caribbean Sea, in the waters off Nicaragua. Recently, Reagan proposed an additional 21 million dollars in weapons for the reactionaries in order to actively oppose and attack Nicaragua. In actuality, Nicaragua is the sovereign country on the South American continent that is being threatened and attacked the most by the U.S. imperialists.

The actions being taken by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to escalate the war in Nicaragua are being met with well deserved retaliatory blows by the heroic people of Nicaragua. Each attack by the enemy has been thwarted. On the other hand, the revolutionary government of Nicaragua, brandishing the banner of peace, has called for negotiations with the United States to find a political solution to the conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean. Nicaragua has also demanded that the United State examine the initiatives proposed by the Contadora Group (which consists of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) with a view toward turning Central America and the Caribbean into a region of peace, independence and development.

The fight to defend the fatherland and the just stand of Nicaragua have won the widespread sympathy and support of world opinion, mainly the socialist countries, the countries of Latin America and such western European countries as France, Sweden and so forth, and even the sympathy and support of more than a few persons within U.S. political circles. The "lesson of Vietnam" is reverberating among the American people and becoming a real strength preventing Reagan from using arms in a vain attempt to crush the Nicaraguan revolution.

The people of Vietnam rejoice at the victory of the Nicaragua revolution. We are confident that, under the correct and steadfast leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the heroic people of Nicaragua, on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded, will surely overcome each difficulty and obstacle, defeat each plot and reckless action of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, firmly defend the Nicaraguan revolution and move the country of Nicaragua constantly forward.

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