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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 8, August 1983

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 8, Aug 83

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

## CONTENTS

Strengthen the Ideological and Organizational Tasks (pp 1-6) (Editorial).....	1
Speech by Council of State Chairman Truong Chinh at 14 April Meeting With Cadres and Representatives of People in Dac Lac Province (pp 7-18) (Truong Chih).....	8
Some Thoughts Contributing to a Thorough Understanding of the Resolution of the 4th Party Plenum (pp 19-25) (Hoang Tung).....	20
In Commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (pp 26-39, 78 (Ivan Kapitonov).....	28
Party Members' Quality (pp 40-46).....	44
Some Experiences in Building the District Into a Military Fortress (pp 47-54) (Nguyen Quyet).....	52
Improving the Quality and Effectiveness of the Teaching of Marxist-Leninist Theory (pp 55-59, 67) (Le Xuan Luu).....	62
Build a Contingent of New, Socialist Workers in Ho Chi Minh City (pp 60-64) (Anh Thong).....	68

Readers' Letters: The Opinions of a Party Member (pp 65-67).....	74
The Export Economy Within the District (pp 68-72) (Huu Hanh).....	78
An Example of Self-Criticism and Criticism: The Conference to Found the Party (pp 73-75) (Hong Chuong).....	83
Ideological Life: The "Team" and the "Gang" (pp 76-78) (Nguyen Trung Thuc).....	88
The Kampuchean People's Successes in Production and Maintenance of Security (pp 79-84) (Hong Canh).....	92
An Important Victory for the Peace Movement (pp 85-88) (Vu Hien).....	99

## STRENGTHEN THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 1-6

[Editorial; capitalized passages denote boldface as published]

[Text] Since the 5th CPV Congress, our people have continued to achieve great successes in building socialism and defending their socialist fatherland.

Despite a myriad of difficulties in all respects, agricultural and industrial production and the educational, cultural, social, and health activities of our country have constantly developed. Our greatest success is in the domain of grain production. Many production establishments and localities throughout the country, upholding their creative and dynamic spirit, have scored outstanding achievements. In 1982, for the first time we WERE ABLE TO MEET BY OURSELVES OUR MINIMUM GRAIN NEEDS NATIONWIDE.

Generally speaking, our country is making INCREASINGLY STEADY PROGRESS in the economic, cultural and social fields.

In face of the very wicked hostile schemes and tricks of the reactionary Chinese ruling clique in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, we have firmly defended the fatherland, strengthened national defense forces, and maintained political security. We have fulfilled and are continuing to fulfill our international obligations to the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples. Today, the position and strength of our country and the other two Indochinese countries are firmer than ever before.

The party and state apparatuses, through their daily operation and through the congresses of party organizations on all levels, have been further strengthened in terms of supervisory and managerial abilities.

These successes are due, first of all, to the completely correct line which our party has laid down in its 4th and 5th National Congresses and in the resolutions of its Central Committee; to the party and state's new policies on economic management; to the fact that much progress has been made in ideological and organizational tasks; and to the spirit of persistent and heroic revolutionary struggle of all sectors, echelons, party members and cadres, the armed forces, and all our people. Moreover, we have enjoyed the

great and valuable assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

At present, all kinds of enemies of our people inside and outside the country are seeking by all possible means to undermine our revolutionary cause, slander our party's leadership line, smear our regime, sow dissension between the party and the masses, and blur the Vietnamese image in the world. Faced with these schemes, we must vigorously affirm the great successes we have achieved, as well as our party's correct line, in order to strengthen solidarity and one-mindedness, to resolutely act upon our party's line, policies, and guidelines, and to achieve even greater successes in our socialist construction and national defense tasks.

However, besides the successes achieved, in the socio-economic situation as well as in ideological and organizational tasks there are weaknesses and shortcomings that must be overcome. At present, in the ideological and organizational situation the following problems need our attention:

Entering the new revolutionary stage, a great number of party members and cadres have continued to uphold their spirit of heroic struggle, overcome difficulties, maintain their good qualities, and further raise their political, cultural, and scientific and technical knowledge and their leadership and management abilities. However, a number of party members and cadres are showing unhealthy manifestations of revolutionary ethics. There are party members and cadres who do not yet understand the situation correctly, who are not aware of the successes we have achieved in various fields. This has adversely affected their confidence and their revolutionary struggle spirit. Many party cadres and members are still not thoroughly imbued with our party's general line on socialist revolution and line on building and developing the economy.

They are not thoroughly aware of the complex, fierce, and lasting character of the struggle between our people and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, as well as the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the first stage of our country's current transition period.

A number of party members and cadres and state personnel have become ethically decadent and even degenerate by seriously violating party discipline and state laws. The fact that they have not been promptly and severely punished has affected the masses' confidence and prestige of the party and state.

The principle of democratic centralism in party activity and in economic and state management has not been scrupulously implemented. On the one hand, democracy has not been fully developed within party ranks and the people's right to collective mastery has not been promoted and exercised vigorously; on the other hand, the principle of centralism and uniformity in leadership and management has been neglected. The situation of bureaucratic centralism has not been overcome. Manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, and indiscipline are prevalent.

Supervision and organization of implementation of tasks by various sectors and echelons are loose, inconsistent, and not centralized and uniform. This has

made it difficult for these sectors and echelons to promptly concretize the party's lines and policies and to institute control of their implementation. In many places, party organizations are still unable to perform their functions of controlling the implementation of the party's lines and policies and educating and managing party members.

In order to really create powerful changes in the economic and social situation, strengthen the national defense and security forces, and raise the party's fighting strength, the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee has affirmed THE URGENT PROBLEMS IN IDEOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION. The various sectors and echelons should deeply grasp this Central Committee resolution in their viewpoint as well as in their practical activities.

First of all, ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, we must further grasp the party's line of building and developing the economy and the major measures mentioned in the resolution of the 5th National Party Congress. In particular, we must thoroughly understand THE MAIN REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE PRESENT IMMEDIATE STAGE, which are: "CONCENTRATE ON VIGOROUSLY DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE, WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED A PRIMARY FRONT; ADVANCE AGRICULTURE A STEP FURTHER TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION; STRIVE TO ACCELERATE THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS; CONTINUE TO BUILD A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT HEAVY INDUSTRIAL SECTORS; AND ASSOCIATE AGRICULTURE, THE CONSUMER GOODS INDUSTRY, AND HEAVY INDUSTRY INTO A RATIONAL INDUSTRIAL-AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE."(1)

In the present stage, failure to recognize agriculture as a primary front in order to concentrate efforts on accelerating the development of agricultural production is a mistake. So is negligence of the central tasks of the entire transition period, which are to associate agriculture with industry right at the beginning of the socialist industrialization undertaking and to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry.

In the period of transition to socialism, THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO PATHS--SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM--IS TAKING PLACE IN A VERY ARDUOUS, COMPLEX, AND FIERCE MANNER in all fields of social life. This struggle is becoming even more fierce and arduous due to the frenzied opposition to us by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

In order to insure victory for socialism, the proletarian dictatorial state must strongly develop the working people's right to collective mastery and must simultaneously carry out the three revolutions. It must closely combine transformation with construction in order to build new production relations, new production forces, a new regime, a new economy, a new culture, and new-type socialist men.

The slackening for a period of time of the socialist transformation of privately owned bourgeois industry, commerce, small-scale industry, handicrafts, and petty trade; the delay in the readjustment of land and cooperativization and perfection of new production relations in agricultural cooperatives and in the state-run economic sector have caused many economic and social difficulties. The various sectors and echelons should clearly see this error and the consequences of such slackening SO AS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR

GUIDANCE OF THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION WORK AND TO MEET AT ALL COSTS THE REQUIREMENTS MENTIONED IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE 3RD PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

It is necessary to criticize and overcome the erroneous view and thought of neglecting transformation work and the task of consolidating and perfecting socialist production relations. We must resolutely apply measures against those party cadres and members who have continued to participate in exploitation, who have refused to implement the socialist transformation policy, and who have caused difficulties to transformation work.

At present, DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION ARE THE MOST URGENT AND BURNING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEM. This is where we find most clearly manifested the difficulties, weaknesses, and erroneous viewpoints, thoughts, and actions of various sectors and echelons adversely affecting production, livelihood, and managerial work. This is also where the struggle between the two paths and the struggle between us and the enemy are taking place. Consequently, an urgent task now is TO CONTINUE ACCELERATING THE STRUGGLE TO RESTORE SOCIALIST ORDER ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION FRONT AT ALL COSTS. It is imperative that the state control production, distribution and circulation, money, goods, and the market; and implement the policy of distribution according to the amount of labor performed. State-run industrial enterprises must strictly enforce financial discipline and discipline in the delivery of goods to the state. It is necessary to widen the scope, raise the quality, and improve the operational procedures of the socialist distribution and circulation network; to stabilize prices in the organized market; to put an end to the state-run trade sector's practice of increasing prices at will; and to insure the sufficient and prompt supply of essential goods according to the standards prescribed for cadres, workers, civil servants, and the armed forces. It is also necessary to end the practice of using the pretext of "improving" the people's life to wantonly set new regulations in addition to existing common policies. Market prices must be closely and constantly controlled, smugglers and hoarders must be wiped out, and severe punishment must be meted out to degenerate elements in state organs who have engaged in theft and illegal dealings with dishonest merchants.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TASKS ARE VERY IMPORTANT ASPECTS TO WHICH OUR PARTY AND STATE SHOULD PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION. The objective of the ideological and cultural revolution is to build a new culture and new socialist men. The building of a new culture and new socialist men must be associated with the struggle to wipe out the bad consequences of colonialist thoughts, to oppose bourgeois thoughts, to criticize petty bourgeois thoughts, and to eliminate the influence of feudalism thoughts and old social customs. In particular, it is necessary to be aware of and resolutely frustrate the wicked schemes of the enemy, who is seeking ways to undermine our ideology, erode our ethics, and corrupt the way of life of our party cadres and members and our people, especially our youths.

On the NATIONAL DEFENSE FRONT, we must understand more thoroughly THE REACTIONARY NATURE AND SINISTER PLOTS OF THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS AND HEGEMONISTS IN COLLUSION WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM AGAINST OUR COUNTRY AND THE OTHER INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES. In spite of their defeat in the war of

aggression against our country, they have not yet given up their long-term design of weakening and eventually annexing the three Indochinese countries, opening the way for their expansion to South Asia. The Chinese ruling clique's strategy and strategem toward Vietnam and the other two Indochinese countries are always the same and are even more hostile to us. We must understand this fact clearly and constantly uphold our vigilance and fighting will. We absolutely must not be vague and relax our vigilance against the enemy. In the immediate future, we must RESOLUTELY DEFEAT THE ENEMY'S MULTIFACETED WAR OF SABOTAGE. In this war, the enemy is striving to undermine our economy ever more vigorously in order to obstruct our people's socialist transformation and socialist construction tasks. Defeating this war of sabotage is an important requirement bearing on these two strategic tasks.

Another very important problem is that IT IS NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS' FIGHTING STRENGTH AND LEADERSHIP CAPABILITIES, THE STATE'S MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY, AND THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS' MOTIVATION AND EDUCATIONAL ROLE.

The most urgent current organizational problem is TO SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN PARTY ACTIVITY AND MANAGEMENT WORK. Sectors and echelons should adopt practical, specific, and resolute measures for immediately ending loose observance of party discipline and state laws. Sectors, localities, establishments, and workers need to develop their dynamism and creativity. On the other hand, they must oppose bureaucratic centralism and the subsidization-based administrative system and, on the other, resolutely struggle to overcome all manifestations of indiscipline.

An urgent requirement for increasing the party's fighting strength and the state's management efficiency is to make, through positive and resolute measures, PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS AND STATE PERSONNEL, including medium and high-ranking cadres, UPHOLD THEIR REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS AND VIRTUES. It is necessary to enhance the fighting spirit and revolutionary qualities of party cadres and members and state employees at all echelons and in all sectors, organs and units. "We must resolutely dismiss from the party and state organs corrupt and degenerate elements who have thus far continued to engage in exploitation and to abuse power to steal public property, receive bribes, and collude with dishonest merchants and the bourgeoisie in making riches and oppressing the people. We must apply really severe disciplinary measures against leading and managerial cadres who have displayed a sense of irresponsibility and who have not properly carried out tasks entrusted to them. We must resolutely prosecute elements who have taken advantage of their power to commit wrongdoings that have caused serious losses for the state and people and adversely affected the masses' confidence in the party. We must severely criticize and deal appropriately with those party cadres and members who have deliberately covered up transgressors."(2)

Along with educating party cadres and members and improving their revolutionary qualities, we must pay great attention to IMPROVING THEIR WORK KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITIES, especially in the economic management field, in order to build a contingent of cadres who really have good virtues and are capable of performing their duties. This is necessary to meet the requirements for developing the economy and culture now and in the years to come.

To truly create vigorous changes among party cadres and members in their awareness, though, ethics, virtues, and revolutionary actions and to accelerate the masses' revolutionary movement in all fields of activity, we must apply and closely combine ideological, organizational, and economic measures. First of all, the following main measures must be used:

The first measure involves STRENGTHENING POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WITHIN THE PARTY, IN STATE ORGANS AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS, AND AMONG THE PEOPLE in order to make these changes.

An important requirement for carrying out this measure is that in conjunction with the implementation of the resolution [of the 4th CPV Central Committee Plenum]it is necessary to conduct SELF-CRITICISM AND CRITICISM AT ALL LEVELS, IN ALL SECTORS, AND AMONG ALL PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS AND STATE EMPLOYEES CONCERNING THE LATTER'S STANDPOINT, VIEWPOINT, THOUGHT, AND REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS AND VIRTUES."

Each echelon and sector must direct its self-criticism and criticism drive at its main tasks and at the main manifestations of the work behavior of its organization, party cadres and members, and personnel, thus making it possible for them to thoroughly review what they have done. The self-criticism and criticism drive must be closely associated with the implementation of immediate tasks and with the adoption of practical measures aimed at developing strengths, effectively overcoming mistakes and shortcomings, strengthening internal solidarity, and making further progress in all tasks.

Another important measure is that all echelons and sectors must INTENSIVELY CONTROL THE WORK, QUALITIES, AND PERSONALITY OF PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS AND STATE EMPLOYEES; PERFECT ORGANIZATION; AND UPHOLD PARTY DISCIPLINE AND STATE LAWS.

Through self-criticism and criticism and control work, we will discover, commend, and reward collectives and individuals with outstanding achievements in carrying out their duties, recruit into the party outstanding persons; assign qualified and ethically good cadres to leading and managerial posts; promptly discover and justly and fairly punish corrupt and degenerate elements and persons who have committed serious mistakes; and insure the purity of party organizations and state organs. All cases of violations of party discipline and state laws are to be dealt with seriously and equally. Harsh punishment will be meted out to persons who hold high positions and assume heavy responsibilities but who have violated laws.

Party members who have failed to meet membership qualifications must be resolutely removed from the party, while state employees who have become corrupt and degenerate and who have refused to work or fulfill their duties must be dismissed from their organs.

THE PRIMARY AND IMPORTANT MEASURE for making a vigorous change in the current socio-economic situation consists of DEVELOPING THE WORKING PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY AND INITIATING SEETHING REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENTS in all places--in units, production establishments, and rural and urban areas--and among the people of strata. These movements must aim at promoting such main

tasks as working in a disciplined manner, according to proper techniques, and with high efficiency and output; truly exercising mastery in production, distribution and circulation work, and organizing everyday life; and resolutely struggling against the enemy's acts of sabotage and against all negative economic and social manifestations.

The ideological and organizational tasks play a very important role in increasing the party's fighting strength and enhancing the operational abilities and efficiency of the entire proletarian dictatorial system in the process of carrying out the party's political task. All sectors and echelons must be aware of the importance of the resolution of the Party Central Committee on the urgent ideological and organizational tasks. They must strive to implement this resolution in order to insure the successful fulfillment of immediate economic and social tasks and to contribute to achieving new, great success in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Document of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, pp 62-63.
2. Resolution of the 4th CPV Central Committee Plenum.

CSO: 4210/13

SPEECH BY COUNCIL OF STATE CHAIRMAN TRUONG CHINH AT 14 APRIL MEETING WITH  
CADRES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF PEOPLE IN DAC LAC PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 7-18

[Text] Dear comrades and compatriots,

For a long time I have been longing to visit the Central Highlands, Dac Lac Province -- the native place of national hero Ama Trang Long -- and Buon Me Thuot city where the 1975 spring general offensive and uprising was started, bringing the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation to total victory. It is only today, however, that I have fulfilled my wish. This is my fault, comrades and compatriots, and I accept this fault before you.

Our people's glorious history of defeating colonialism, both old and new, reflects the great contributions of the people of various nationalities in Dac Lac and the Central Highlands as a whole and their heroic achievements and military exploits. The solidarity between the peoples of various nationalities and their confidence in the leadership of the CPV and Uncle Ho have been constantly fostered, have gone through many ordeals, and have become a praiseworthy tradition of the Central Highland compatriots.

Today, together with other provinces in the Central Highlands, Dac Lac has become one of our country's strategic zones -- politically, economically and militarily. It holds an important position vis-a-vis the revolutionary undertaking of the three Indochinese countries.

Five million hectares of agricultural land in the Central Highlands and more than 2 million hectares in the eastern Nam Bo region make up a very fertile area of basalt soil, and the jungles provide our country with its largest reserves of timber. This is a particularly favorable area for the development of afforestation, industrial crops and cattle raising. On this basis, it is necessary to develop industries to process farm and forest products in order to create large quantities of high-value goods for exchange on the local market or for export. In addition to various kinds of mineral products now being explored, land and forests are highly valuable natural resources which promise us high production volume and quick economic results. Such natural resources, if rationally used and properly fostered, will develop resilience capabilities very quickly. Not only can land and forests in the Central Highlands serve as an assurance for us to meet demands for economic development and to improve the living standards of the people in this area but can also contribute greatly to socialist industrialization in our country and, above all, help the national economy overcome difficulties in achieving gradual stability and steady growth. Therefore, developing the economic strengths of the Central Highlands is a direct duty of the party organization and the people of the Central Highlands. It is also the responsibility of the central government and of the people nationwide.

In the past few days, I visited a number of economic, scientific and technical establishments, and some military units, met many cadres, workers, combatants and compatriots of various nationalities, and worked with various leading comrades of the province. I am highly impressed by them.

Today, I am very elated and pleased to meet all of you who represent various fraternal ethnic minority groups, the people of all walks of life, various religions and different sectors in the province.

I would like to ask you to convey to all cadres, combatants and the people of various ethnic minority groups in the province the solicitous and cordial regards of the party Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the SRV.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to speak about the question of how to apply and implement the general policies of the party and its economic policy in a way suitable to the situation in the Central Highlands and in Dac Lac Province.

#### 1. Initial Encouraging Achievements of Dac Lac Province,

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Since liberation, the party organization and the people of Dac Lac have constantly struggled and have scored many achievements and progress in economic transformation and development, in consolidating security and national defense, in stepping up educational, cultural and public health activities, and in building the party, the administration and mass organizations. These have led to many important changes in the socioeconomic life of the compatriots of various nationalities in the province.

I do not want to recall here those strong points and shortcomings in various fields of activity which have already been comprehensively reviewed by the third provincial party organization congress held last March. What I want to emphasize here is that the successes achieved in the past were merely initial ones. Although these successes were not up to required standards and the actual capabilities of the province, they were very encouraging and significant, and created new factors for greater developments in the time to come. These factors are:

1. Proceeding from an acute shortage of grain -- which required the central government to provide an annual rice supply of 5,000 metric tons -- the province has reached the present state of self-sufficiency in grain and has eradicated the chronic food shortage formerly facing the compatriots of various nationalities. These successes have created favorable conditions for the continual and firmer solution of the grain problem and have served as a foundation for the uniform development of the province's economic strengths and for further attracting more laborers coming from other provinces to build new economic zones.

2. From its experience of success and failure, Dac Lac Province has drawn many practical lessons and has created a number of good models which serve as a beacon for the province in the implementation of party policies and lines, especially those procedures on agricultural-forestry combination; and the campaign to promote settled farming and settled life in conjunction with efforts to develop the family economy and gradually build the collective economy among compatriots of various nationalities. In certain fields of activity, the province has succeeded in creating a revolutionary momentum among the masses.

3. As a result of having destroyed a bulk of the reactionary FULRO organization, prevented its sabotage activities in a more effective manner, and built and consolidated basic party and administrative organizations, military and paramilitary forces, and mass organizations, political security has been consolidated, thereby providing necessary assurances for the operation of various echelons and sectors.

4. The party organization of Dac Lac has further developed and matured. This is a nucleus which united and leads the people of various nationalities in the province in building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. Together with a large number of replenishments cadres from other areas, the contingent of party cadres and members belonging to various ethnic minority groups in the province have got along well.

They love, respect and assist one another. The leadership, managerial and organizational abilities of various echelons and sectors in the province have been further improved.

These new factors mentioned above have created more favorable conditions and served as a moving force for the party organization and the people of various nationalities in Dac Lac Province to surge forward more vigorously and steadily so as to score greater successes in the cause of carrying out socialist revolution and construction in this prosperous and beautiful highland region.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers, I warmly praise the entire party organization, the compatriots of various nationalities, those cadres and people coming from other areas to work and build new homes in Dac Lac, and members of the people's armed forces; and I warmly commend all progressive units and individuals in Dac Lac Province belonging to various centrally and locally run organizations for having scored many outstanding achievements in various fields of activity, especially on the economic and social welfare front, in education and public health development and in the strengthening of national defense.

## II. Advance the People of Various Nationalities in Dac Lac Directly Toward Socialism

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Since the total liberation of our country, Dac Lac has, together with other provinces in the Central Highlands, entered a period of transition toward socialism.

What socioeconomic bases should the ethnic minority groups of Dac Lac have to advance directly toward socialism? Given its specific situation, what are the problems to be faced and solved by Dac Lac during its transition toward socialism, especially during the present initial stage?

These problems are of great theoretical and practical significance not only for the Central Highlands but also for the revolution in our country.

It is regrettable that in past years, this very important problem has not been given adequate attention and has not been seriously and promptly studied. Therefore, the forms and steps to be taken in the process of socialist transformation and construction in various areas inhabited by ethnic minority groups have not yet been determined in a clear-cut and correct manner, thus slowing down the progress of the compatriots of various nationalities.

We should take urgent and positive measures to correct these shortcomings.

Through initial experiences obtained in Dac Lac, I have the following reminders which you may wish to ponder and study further:

1. As for the socioeconomic pattern of various ethnic minority groups in Dac Lac and the transformation of this pattern under the impact of the August revolution, the two wars of resistance against the French and the Americans and the national socialist revolution, there are still many questions to be further studied. One thing, however, is sure: The ethnic minority groups in the Central Highlands and Dac Lac will advance directly toward socialism from a very poor socioeconomic base which is poorer than any other area in the country. Before liberation, the mode of production adopted by various ethnic minority groups in Dac Lac was marked by the following features:

-- In cultivation, the chief method was gathering. Production was in the form of nomadic slash-and-burn farming. Farm tools were very rudimentary and farming techniques were very backward. Buffalo and cattle were not used as a draft force and there were no plows and harrows available. Slash-and-burn farming was carried out in a very primitive manner -- mainly burning the jungle and then making holes in the soil with a stick to sow seeds.

-- Production, characterized by self supply, was carried out mainly for self-sufficiency. In general, there were no markets at all, and in many areas the people did not know about weights and measures.

-- The system of private ownership over the means of production did not really take shape and class discrimination was not visible. There still existed vestiges of the system of public ownership characteristic of authentic communism. Several generations lived together under the same roof. A house usually sheltered 15-160 persons who were broken down into groups according to the number of kitchens (each kitchen belonged to a family comprising husband, wife, and their children). They worked together and socialized together. The fruits of their labor were deposited in the collective stock of their families. Such a family stock was kept by a woman who was the head of the family and who was dutybound to distribute this stock in accordance with the system of egalitarianism, that is distribute the stock equally to family members, including babies still in their mothers' wombs. In certain ethnic minority groups, including such fairly developed ethnic minority groups as the E-De, Gia-Rai and Ba-Na, there still existed the vestiges of clannishness and matrimony.

As the production force was hindered by obsolete production relations, its labor output was very low and there were no surplus products at all. The life of the ethnic compatriots was miserable and was marked by a shortage of food, salt and clothing. Not only uneducated and plagued with disease, they were also inexorably trapped by prejudices, obsolete customs and mores, and superstitious beliefs.

In a number of areas where there were rubber plantations owned by the colonialists or where there were large concentrations of lowland compatriots nearby, the local ethnic compatriots showed some improvements in their way of doing business and in their cultural life.

Eight years after liberation, the socioeconomic situation of the compatriots of various ethnic minority groups has undergone significant changes, especially in areas where the policy of settled farming and settled life is applied. But the vestiges of the old have not yet vanished. In areas where the compatriots are still adopting a pattern of nomadic farming and nomadic life or where they have been settled but continue to do nomadic farming (the people of this category constitute three-fourths of the total ethnic compatriots in Dac Lac Province), only small changes have been noted. The mode of production stated above has basically continued to exist, and this is the main reason for the poverty and backwardness of the ethnic compatriots in the Central Highlands.

2. The greatest difficulty facing our country's socialist revolution stems basically from an economy characterized by small production which is advancing directly to socialism, bypassing capitalist development. The ethnic minority groups in Dac Lac, while advancing directly to socialism, have met more difficulties and complexities, for they have to bypass not only the stage of capitalist development but also several social systems.

Our fourth and fifth party congresses charted out the general lines and the economic construction line for our country during its period of transition toward socialism. The ethnic minority groups in Dac Lac will also advance toward socialism in accordance with those lines through the three revolutions (the revolution of production relations, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution). However, they must adopt appropriate forms and steps to carry out socialist transformation during the initial stage of the transition and must not copy the process applied by various lowland, midland and mountainous regions in the north.

In the past, due to the simplistic view that ethnic compatriots, inherently imbued with the communal spirit, can easily adjust themselves to the mode of collective work, collective economic organizations have been developed in Dac Lac with superficiality, haste, duplication and inflexibility. According to a report from the provincial party committee, 93 percent of rural households have joined production collectives and cooperatives, but the majority of these organizations of ethnic compatriots are merely superficial. Many collective economic organizations continue to undertake nomadic farming as they keep burning down the jungle and carrying out slash-and-burn cultivation with the use of their original backward farming techniques. In many localities, only a small part of land area has been collectively cultivated by those collective organizations which wish to ensure their grain obligation toward the state. The remaining major part of the cultivated area, including slash-and-burn ricefields, continue to be privately cultivated by individual households. Certain localities, although having organized collective production, continue to distribute their products on an egalitarian basis because they do not know how to compute work credits and norms. Despite public reports about high achievements, the collectivization movement has been slow in overcoming the vestiges of backward and outmoded social systems.

Judging from the experiences gained by Dac Lac -- both successes and failures -- we can set forth the immediate requirements and some suitable measures for carrying out the three revolutions in those areas of the province inhabited by the ethnic minority people as follows:

The revolution of production relations in these areas must be designed to eliminate the vestiges of outmoded social systems whose method of equal distribution is tying down production forces. At the same time, it is necessary to introduce transitional economic measures for gradually establishing the new socialist production relations while developing production forces. The following measures that have been tested by realities may be applied in order to accelerate the revolution of production relations in Dac Lac:

First, it is necessary to apply organizational and managerial formats -- from low to high, and from simple to complex -- in order to systematically introduce the ethnic minority people to collectivized work. It is of special importance to gradually upgrade their knowledge of production organization, division of labor, distribution based on the amount of work done, and so forth by using suitable methods which benefit production and life in a realistic manner. For instance, we can start with the simple format of work rotation or work exchange, then organize work-exchange and production solidarity teams, and finally prepare conditions for setting up production collectives and cooperatives. Each organizational format should have its job description and managerial responsibility upgraded gradually to prepare for the adoption of a higher format.

In particular, the formats of collective economic organizations should be introduced with a scale and managerial method suitable to the knowledge of the ethnic minority compatriots. Generally speaking, as far as scale is concerned, collectivized work should be organized at the village level for a start. Statutes for production collectives and cooperatives must be compiled with greater simplicity than in the lowlands. Concerning management, product contracts may be given to families of cooperative members in a way suitable to the skills of the masses.

As far as the ethnic minority people are concerned, the establishment of collective economic organizations is only meaningful when it meets the following fundamental requirements:

- Improves work equipment and production techniques;
- Allows for settled farming, settled life, and rational use of land and forests in the direction of combining agriculture with forestry;
- Organize collectivized production and achieve higher labor productivity than before; and
- Replace equal distribution with distribution based on the amount of work done.

These are the factors ensuring that collective economic organizations will truly develop their effect in stepping up production, improving the income and living conditions of cooperative members, satisfactorily discharging obligations to the state, and encouraging the masses to embark on collectivized work with practical results.

Considering the basic requirements mentioned above, it is necessary to reexamine the collective economic organizations already set up, review the experiences gained by progressive units, and find out organizational and managerial methods suitable to the knowledge of the ethnic minority people as well as with the characteristics of each ethnic group. In those localities where the actual conditions and the knowledge of the masses do not permit, collectivized work should be organized with flexibility or in other words, lower transitional formats should be applied.

Second, it is necessary to allocate land to ethnic minority families for developing garden economies and building houses. This policy is applicable to all ethnic minority families -- be they families engaged in private production, families that have joined collective economic organizations, or families working for state farms and state forests -- and it is designed to encourage families that have long shared communal dwellings to live separately. Despite its supplementary nature, the garden economy of each family plays a decisive role in the promotion of set-led farming and a settled life. It helps eliminate the vestiges of the clan system and establish new production relations. At the same time it creates additional conditions for strengthening production forces and bringing about changes of a revolutionary nature in the material, cultural, and social life of the ethnic minority people. This policy receives a warm welcome from the ethnic minority people, especially the young of both sexes. This is a new factor that must be asserted; and at the same time, good models must be created so as to turn this into a voluntary movement of the masses. Attention must be given to caring for the livelihood and feelings of elder family members.

Along with developing the garden economy, it is necessary to proceed with the allocation of lands and forests to villages of ethnic minority people for management and use along the direction of combining agriculture with forestry. In those areas where private production still exists, lands and forests must be allocated to each family for preservation, exploitation, and use. People should not be forced to embark on collectivized work against their will; transitional formats should be introduced instead to organize

them on a voluntary basis. In those places where production collectives or cooperatives have been set up, land and forests must be allocated to these organizations for management. As actual conditions permit, collective economic organizations must allocate lands and forests to their members' families under the form of product contracts.

Third, localities having state farms, state forests, and state-run industrial enterprises must pay attention to employing ethnic minority people as workers. Practical experience shows that ethnic minority workers observe labor discipline well and readily understand simple technology. On the other hand, once they become workers, the ethnic minority people will undergo rapid changes in their material and cultural life as well as in their social relations. State farms and state forests, if unable to employ ethnic minority people living in village located in their areas, have the responsibility to help them adopt settled farming and a settled life, develop the garden economy and build their own houses, reorganize production, and gradually embark on collectivized work. It is necessary to review and broadly apply the work methods developed by the state forests belonging to the Ea-Sup forestry-agricultural combine for joining the districts and villages in helping villages of ethnic minority people in production and life.

In so doing, these state forests have not only brought practical benefits to the ethnic minority people but also ensure their fulfillment of the state plan.

Fourth, people from the lowlands now resettled in the new economic zones of Dac Lac -- except for those who have found employment with state-run economic establishments -- should embark immediately on collectivized production in accordance with progressive organizational and managerial formats which have been applied in the lowlands and are therefore familiar to them. Families that are still engaged in private production or business should be reorganized under suitable forms. Cooperatives of lowlanders are responsible for helping ethnic minority people living in the surrounding areas. It is necessary to review experiences gained in mixing ethnic minority people with lowlanders in collective economic organizations; but this must be done in a flexible manner so as to avoid disunity and the lack of positive results.

The aforementioned economic measures are closely interrelated and interactive with one another. The process of advancing the ethnic minority people in a locality to socialism is closely linked with the process of bringing in labor forces from other localities in order to tap the economic potential of Dac Lac, create socialist factors, transform the population profile, and bring about positive changes in the economic, cultural, and social life of the province. The agreement between internal and external conditions in the process of advancing Dac Lac to socialism requires that economic measures be employed to suit the characteristics of the various ethnic groups and at the same time, to develop the positive effect of advanced economic formats of the state-run sector and the progressive work methods of the people from the lowlands. It is necessary to firmly grasp and correctly apply the various economic measures in order to overcome two tendencies -- on being subjectivism, haste, simplicism, duplication, and rigidity; and the other being conservatism, sluggishness, overemphasis on the special characteristics of the various ethnic groups, and failure to carry out active transformation on the road toward socialism.

To the ethnic minority groups in Dac Lac at present, the scientific and technological revolution is aimed at no far-reaching objectives but at achieving two closely related goals mentioned below:

--Improve work tools; use plows and harrows and other ordinary tools of the lowlanders (with improvements to suit working conditions in the mountainous areas): use draft cattle; and apply ordinary technical measures for water conservancy, building embankments to contain water, soil preparation, fertilizer application, and seed selection, and other technical measures in forestry and the cultivation of perennial industrial crops.

--Do away with nomadic farming, forest destruction, and haphazard land exploitation, carry out settled farming with a rational production pattern, and ensure both the exploitation and restoration of lands and forests.

Efforts to reach the two goals mentioned above must be closely linked with the building of material-technical bases and the gradual development of industry -- including small industry and handicrafts -- in order to bring into full play the economic advantages of Dac Lac. As an immediate step, attention must be paid to making investments in solving problems involving water, electricity, and communications lines along the line of coordinating efforts between the state and the people and between the central government and the localities. It is also necessary to expand economic cooperation between Dac Lac and other provinces and municipalities, and secure international cooperation for developing the production forces of Dac Lac.

The ideological and cultural revolution in areas inhabited by the ethnic minority people will have a tremendous impact on the revolution of production relations and the scientific and technological revolution.

First of all, we must make the ethnic minority people fully realize that to have a plentiful life they must join the entire country in the advance toward socialism; and to advance to socialism it is necessary to promote culture, first of all by eliminating illiteracy. Dac Lac is correct in having both the E-De dialect and the standard language taught.

We must develop suitable educational contents and forms for the ethnic minority people to instill in them the socialist ideology and gradually enhance their cultural and technological knowledge; and eliminate superstitions beliefs and backward customs and habits while maintaining and promoting the fine cultural traditions of each ethnic group.

3. An immediate matter central to the simultaneous conduct of the three revolutions in the areas inhabited by the ethnic minority people is the realization of settled farming and a settled life. Only by promoting settled farming and a settled life can we avoid land disputes, strengthen unity among the various nationalities and between the local people and resettlers from the lowlands, smash charges of "land grabbing by the lowlanders," and create conditions for destroying by the roots the organizations of the FULRO and terminating the activities of other counterrevolutionary elements.

Our respected and beloved Uncle Ho taught: "The promotion of settled farming and a settled life constitutes an important task for our party and state. Carrying out this task satisfactorily is meant to contribute to implementing the party's nationalities policy successfully, building the economy and culture in the mountainous regions, and consolidating national defense. Therefore, all echelons and sectors -- from the central to local level -- must pay heed in carrying out this task properly and successfully" (Footnote: Ho Chi Minh: With Unity and Equality, All the Nationalities Help One Another Progress, Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 109).

Uncle Ho's words are all the more meaningful when we know that this was what he instructed the party Central Nationalities Commission on 17 July 1969, only a month and a half before he left us forever.

Dac Lac Province has organized settled farming and a settled life for only 50,000 out of a total of 200,000 ethnic minority compatriots. In the past the promotion of settled farming and a settled life has chiefly depended on the development of wet ricefields and on the local grain supply, and therefore progress has been slow.

Today, with the capability to balance and regulate the grain supply provincewide and with continued efforts to open more wet ricefields wherever conditions permit, we must step up the work related to settled farming and a settled life by allocating land and forests to the ethnic minority people along the line of combining agriculture with forestry and developing the economic strong points of the province.

### III. Firmly Resolve the Grain Problem and Develop the Economic Strong Points of Dac Lac Province

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Dac Lac Province has great potential for economic development, including such obvious strong points as forests, industrial crops, and cattle breeding. However, in order to develop these strong points, step up the realization of settled farming and a settled life, and receive additional labor, the province must successfully resolve the grain problem. In the current economic situation of our country, this is a compulsory requirement which Dac Lac Province has the conditions to fulfill.

In recent years the province has actively stepped up irrigation work and the building of ricefields, and has rapidly expanded its wet rice area. In 1982 the average per-capita grain output reached almost 300 kg.

Although wet rice has rapidly increased in area and slash-and-burn rice cultivation has gradually diminished, at present there still exist more than 30,000 hectares of slash-and-burn ricefields that account for 60 percent of the area and 40 percent of the output. As a result of this, despite the smaller area of terraced and slash-and-burn ricefields, the malpractice of forest destruction still remains very serious. Everyone knows that by burning and destroying 1 hectare of forests, we will lose hundreds of cubic meters of timber and other forest products to get only 1 metric ton of rice; and this is insane. To date, the area of barren hills and mountains in the province has reached 400,000 hectares (and even more according to new statistics compiled by the Ministry of Forestry). In a number of areas, forests have been destroyed so completely that even firewood is no longer available. Soil erosion, a decline in water sources, and abnormal climatic changes have wrought serious harm to the environment. The situation has reached alarming proportions and we have to answer the question of how we can put an end to the wanton destruction of forests while still continuing to firmly resolve the grain problem.

The experience gained by many localities, especially by progressive units in Dac Lac, has enabled us to adopt a solution suitable to current conditions in the province:

-- Step up intensive cultivation and multicropping on the existing wet rice, dry rice, and subsidiary food crop areas. The possibility of increasing output along this line is great because at present large areas are being cultivated with very rudimentary techniques.

-- Actively expand the wet rice area wherever conditions permit, first of all by building medium- and small-size irrigation projects.

-- Satisfactorily resolve the processing of subsidiary food crops in order to enhance the daily diet, increase the sources of feed for livestock, and exchange for goods from other provinces.

-- Cover barren hills with greenery and transform shrub forests which are of little economic value along the line of combining agriculture with forestry and with a crop cultivation pattern that meets both the two requirements of preserving and transforming the soil and achieving high productivity and economic results. Economic results

must be assessed in many respects, with attention given to irrigation capability, production costs, and the conditions for transportation, processing, and consumption.

Dac Lac Province has many types of crops having high economic value and it can cultivate various types of high-yield seeds -- including timber trees; industrial crops; perennial fruit trees such as coffee, rubber, cacao, cashew, breadfruit, and so forth; short-term industrial crops; grain crops; subsidiary food crops; medicinal herbs; green manure plants; and grass for livestock. The important thing is to correctly determine the various crop cultivation patterns for each type of soil along the line of combining agriculture with forestry.

Thus, apart from the existing wet rice, dry rice, and subsidiary crop areas, Dac Lac Province also has large areas of forested lands and perennial industrial crops where companion grain and food crops can be planted to firmly resolve the grain problem. In view of this, we must not only curb the malpractice of destroying forests for slash-and-burn cultivation but also devise measures to prevent it as soon as possible. At the same time, resolute efforts must be made to avoid letting logs rot, make full use of branches and twigs, and overcome serious waste in the utilization and processing of timber. This is also a positive and practical measure for preserving forest resources.

The entire province must meet its own demand for grain and build a grain reserve. Each locality must strive to produce as much grain as possible but the requirement for "self-sufficiency in grain" should not be mechanically imposed on all villages and districts.

Those localities that cannot produce sufficient grain may exchange forest, industrial crop, livestock, and other products for grain with other localities (including with the central government and other provinces). The province must take the initiative in balancing the grain supply and guiding such exchanges. With this work method, the movement for settled farming and a settled life can be promoted more rapidly and steadily.

The views expressed above reflect the spirit of the resolution of the fifth party congress: "The mountainous provinces and districts must exploit their own advantages; and in advancing from agriculture and forestry, it is imperative for them to use land along the line of combining agriculture with forestry" (Footnote: Documents of the Fifth Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Vol. 1, p 65). It is necessary to fully understand this viewpoint in making good plans for the exploitation of lands and forests and to step up the allocation of land and forests to every district, village, and agriculture or forestry production unit along the line for exploitation based on specific production orientations.

The development of agricultural and forestry production in Dac Lac requires that attention be paid to developing industry, small industry, and handicrafts; improving water conservance; and expanding communications and transportation. At the same time, it is necessary to revamp the distribution-circulation system and develop public health, educational, cultural, and social activities. Efforts must also be made to build the district and strengthen the district level in accordance with the resolution of the party Central Committee's Third Plenum.

It am not going to discuss these matters at length as they have been specifically dealt with in the resolution of the provincial party organization's ninth congress.

#### IV. Satisfactorily Implement the Nationalities Policy

Dear comrades and compatriots,

Satisfactorily implementing the nationalities policy and strengthening the solidarity bloc of various ethnic groups in the province constitutes a factor that determines the success of all tasks.

The most important task is to vigorously develop the economy and realistically care for the material and cultural life of the ethnic minority people. To the ethnic minority people, socialism must first of all be reflected in improved daily nourishment, clothing, housing, education, medical services, transport, and so forth; in a healthy cultural life; and in the suppression and elimination of backward customs and superstitious beliefs. Special attention must be given to ethnic groups with a lower level of development and to those compatriots living in former resistance base areas. Ethnic groups with a higher level of development must consider helping other groups as their glorious duty. Each step forward taken by Dac Lac Province in the economic and cultural field must be a step designed to gradually narrow the gap of development between the various ethnic groups in the province.

We must -- through efforts to develop economy and culture and the practical results thereof, as well as through the exemplary role of party cadres and members -- strengthen the national solidarity bloc; enhance the political awareness of the ethnic minority people and their confidence in and attachment to the party and socialism; and overcome the lack of mutual respect or trust between ethnic groups and the development of superiority or inferiority complex within each group. Efforts must be made to smash all the enemy's schemes and acts of psychological warfare designed to cause disunity among the various nationalities.

An issue that has a decisive impact on the implementation of the nationalities policy and all tasks is the cadre issue.

Dac Lac Province has 2,300 cadres with a college or advanced school education background and almost 4,000 others who have completed high school. This is a considerable force. However, according to a study made in late 1979 on the placement of cadres in the various sectors of the national economy, in Dac Lac, the two most important sectors -- agriculture and forestry -- claim only 4.3 percent of the number of cadres with a college or advanced school background and 12.6 percent of the number of cadres with a high school background. The Ea-Sup forestry-agricultural combine, although controlling more than 400,000 hectares of forested and agricultural lands, has no agricultural engineers on its staff. Meanwhile, about 75 percent of the province's agricultural engineers are working in nonproduction organs. The province must review the placement and employment of its cadres and create conditions for them to develop their capability and remain in their jobs. Competent organs at the central level are now being charged with the task of helping the various provinces further study the policy for cadres in the mountainous regions. The province must actively make use of all the local resources to satisfactorily organize the livelihood of cadres, meet their legitimate demands, and enforce realistic measures to encourage them to work for production and business units at the grassroots level.

In implementing the policy toward cadres in Dac Lac, special attention must be given to party cadres and members of ethnic minority origin.

In Dac Lac, ethnic minority people account for almost 40 percent of the population but only 10 percent of the province's party members. The number of ethnic minority people admitted to the party over the past 3 years only amounted to 11 percent. These figures show that more attention must be given to extending party membership to the ethnic minority compatriots. In so doing, we must avoid being narrow-minded and inflexible although all the criteria must be ensured.

Another noteworthy point is that of the cadres with a college or advanced school education background, those belonging to the local ethnic minority groups account for only 2 percent; and this ratio similarly stands at 6 percent for those cadres with a high school education. Furthermore, most of the cadres of ethnic minority origin are concentrated in education, public health, and management sectors, and very few of them are working in production branches, including agriculture and forestry.

Since liberation, Dac Lac Province has made efforts to develop general education among the ethnic minority people. In 1982 the number of students of ethnic minority origin increased by 50 percent over 1976 and accounted for almost 25 percent of the population. Good results have been initially achieved in experimenting with teaching primary school classes in both the E-De dialect and Vietnamese. We also have a policy that provides for the admission on a priority basis of applicants of ethnic minority origin to colleges, advanced schools, vocational middle schools, and technical workers' schools. Along with training cadres under the standardized system, it is necessary to provide short-term training to grassroots cadres of ethnic minority origin in various suitable forms, especially by organizing the study of experiences gained by progressive models and closely supervising and assisting them in the course of their work. Plans and policies should be formulated to encourage cadres of ethnic minority origin serving in the various sectors to volunteer for building and consolidating the grassroots level in villages inhabited by people of the same ethnic origin, with their main duty being discovering and fostering key personnel at the grassroots level so they can soon fulfill their duties. Attention must be given to training and fostering youths of ethnic minority origin who are discharging or have fulfilled their military obligation into key elements for advancing their ethnic groups to socialism with their ability to carry out such tasks as promoting and organizing settled farming and a settled life, applying technical measures along the line of combining agriculture with forestry, managing the collective economy, and so forth.

The entire party organization must pay heed to developing the party and uniformly building the contingent of cadres of ethnic minority origin, including leading and managerial cadres at all levels in the provinces -- especially the cadres of districts, villages, cooperatives, production collectives, state farms, state forests; and technical and specialized cadres and technical workers of the various production branches.

Dear comrades and compatriots,

The party Central Committee, the government, and the people throughout the country highly value the tradition of solidarity and mutual assistance, stalwart revolutionary ardor, and the positive and creative spirit of the party organization and people of various nationalities in Dac Lac Province.

I believe that the party organization, armed forces, and people of Dac Lac will develop their glorious traditions and great advantages and overcome all difficulties to build Dac Lac into a province economically rich, strong in national defense and security, and with a rich and healthy material and cultural life, thereby making a worthy contribution to the national cause of socialist construction.

May comrades and compatriots be in good health and successfully implement the resolution of the fifth party congress and the resolution of the Dac Lac party organization's ninth congress!

May comrades and compatriots score many achievements in your emulation movement to overfulfill the province's economic plan!

SOME THOUGHTS CONTRIBUTING TO A THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE 4TH PARTY PLENUM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 19-25

[Article by Hoang Tung]

[Text] The 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided a number of pressing ideological and organizational matters regarding the guidance and management provided by the party organizations and governments with a view toward stimulating the performance of the political tasks set forth by the 4th National Congress of the Party and the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee. This plenum was characterized by a debate concerning the guidance of the implementation of existing resolutions, especially by an examination of the thinking involved in the guidance and organization of implementation.

In order to thoroughly understand and correctly implement the resolution of the Party Central Committee, we must achieve a fuller understanding of several important theoretical and practical issues of the socialist revolution in our country. Today, in contrast to past years when our understanding of scientific socialism was based primarily on theory and international experience, the realities of socialism, especially of the class struggle in the socialist revolution, are quite diverse and we face many complex problems that must be resolved. Although we are advancing from a backward agricultural country directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development, the socialist revolution in our country is also being carried out in a stage in which the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world is a very sharp and fierce struggle and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, acting in the name of socialism and in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are making every effort to oppose the revolution in our country, oppose international socialism. The awareness that some of us possess has not developed in a timely manner, that is, has not kept pace with the realities of the revolution. For more than 20 years, the socialist revolution in the North was carried out under circumstances in which the entire country had to wage the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. Due to the impact of the laws of the revolutionary war, of the sacred patriotic struggle and due to the fact that we were receiving very large amounts of aid from the fraternal countries at that time, many difficult problems involved in the socialist revolution, especially objective

difficulties, and even subjective difficulties, were not fully evident. During the past 8 years, that is, ever since the entire country began advancing to socialism, the laws of the socialist revolution in our country have truly had their intended impact; however, some comrades do not understand or realize this fact, consequently, incorrect thinking, indecision and rightism concerning many matters of principle have arisen.

As we know, once the line has been decided, the guidance provided by the various organizations of the party and the state of the revolution determines the fate of the line. In the past, after establishing the general platform and the immediate platform of the Vietnamese revolution, our party had to focus all its energies on organizing and leading the masses in the struggle to secure their vital rights and, through direct revolutionary action, build and forge its vanguard corps and prepare for larger struggles: the uprising and the struggle to seize political power. In order for this uprising to be carried out, the masses had to undergo many different stages of training and the realities of the struggle had to be used to educate the masses and party members. These were the ideological and organizational issues of the revolutionary struggle during the period spent preparing for the uprising. Following the August Revolution, the party, in its leadership of the two wars of resistance against aggression, resolved the ideological and organizational problems encountered in these fights as they arose. As a result of always correctly resolving the ideological and organizational problems that arose following the adoption of its correct line, the party led our country's revolution through countless difficulties and won tremendous victories. This was the process by which the people's national democratic revolution and the wars of resistance against aggression were led.

Following the reunification of the fatherland, our party adopted the Platform on the Socialist Revolution. This platform was truly formed and perfected at the 5th National Congress of the Party. The 3rd National Congress had the wisdom to correctly establish the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, define the position of the socialist North in the revolutionary undertaking of the entire country, confirm the offensive position of the world revolution and the crisis and disintegration of imperialism and correctly resolve a host of issues regarding revolutionary war in the new age. Concerning the issues of the socialist revolution, the 3rd Congress only set forth major guidelines, guidelines that took the form of an outline. The realities of the revolution in our country and the world gave us an increasingly deep understanding of scientific socialism. The 4th Congress confirmed and perfected the line: "firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions..." The 5th Congress amended this line and defined it in further detail, pointing out the specifics and requirements of the present stage.

As mentioned above, once the line has been adopted, the matter of decisive significance becomes that of organizing its implementation. This is a simple matter but it is generally not readily understood. A correct line is the foundation of each and every victory but turning the line into reality is difficult because it involves educating and organizing millions of persons in revolutionary actions. The great strength of our party lies in the fact that

it has correctly analyzed and resolved the problems encountered in each stage of the revolution, especially at major turning points, consequently, our party has, throughout its long history, always been the wise political party of the working class. This is the revolutionary nature of the party and a fine tradition of our nation. When any party begins a new process or a new stage, its ability to perform practical organizational work usually lags behind the demands of its new task. In the past, when the masses were being mobilized to arise, stage an uprising and seize political power and during the years of the revolutionary war, we were able to win large victories because, on the one hand, our corps of leaders had been tempered and challenged and, on the other hand, because, and this is also very important, of the creativity, the intelligence, the dynamism and the brave spirit of the masses. It is necessary to realize this characteristic in order to gain a clearer understanding of the collective ownership role of the masses and clearly realize that upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people has been a major moving force of the revolution. As we entered the stage of the socialist revolution, we encountered the large difficulty of having to organize a unified national economy on the basis of a system of small-scale production. The key issues of the socialist revolution are to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, establish the public ownership of the instruments of production and reorganize production and distribution in accordance with the principles and laws of socialism; this organizational process is also the process of struggling against the resistance by the toppled exploiting classes and the spontaneity of small-scale commodity production. This is work that is totally new to us. It has been made more difficult by the fact that we must simultaneously resist a coordinated counter-attack by international enemies: imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries. The failure of the awareness of some persons to keep pace with the development of the revolution and poor organizational skills have caused additional difficulties. Many persons among us do not see all the objective and subjective difficulties that exist; in particular, they are not fully aware of the malicious scheme of the enemy, are rightist, lack vigilance and have not organized the struggle against the enemy's war of sabotage well; they do not fully see the sharp nature of the struggle between socialism and capitalism and do not fully see the relationship between the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country and the struggle between socialism and capitalism throughout the world. Following the war, our country experienced major economic and social upheavals. We have had to display a high spirit of self-reliance in the successful building of socialism, even though international assistance has been extremely important. We have also been affected by the world economic crises (the energy and fuel crisis, a series of increases in the prices of raw materials and so forth).

The 5th Congress of the Party amended and improved upon the economic development line. In keeping with the resolution of the congress, the 3rd Plenum of the Party established the guidelines, tasks and objectives of the socio-economic program for the next several years but there are still many matters that were decided upon by the congress that we must continue to work on, such as reorganizing production and building, establishing the new mechanisms for managing the economy and society, building the district and many other matters, included among which are matters in the nature of the line on and the specifics involved in the ideological and cultural revolution.

The matter of central importance in the line is that of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions. The resolution of the congress defined the position of each revolution and the relationship among them. However, in the organizing of implementation, in day to day management and with regard to our thinking and organization, it is clear that there are mistakes that must be corrected. Carrying out the production relations revolution is the first task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the socialist revolution in the economic field. Abolishing private ownership, abolishing the exploitation of man by man and establishing public ownership of the instruments of production are the ideals and objectives of the communist party. Our party was born and has fought for several decades for these great ideals and tens of thousands of party members and millions of our compatriots have bravely laid down their lives for them. The public ownership of the instruments of production is the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To implement the system of collective ownership of the laboring people, we must establish public ownership of the instruments of production. Without this public ownership, the dictatorship of the proletariat has no foothold; rather, the exploiting classes and private ownership continue to exist and the conditions also exist for them to oppose the state of the laboring masses, the center of which is the working class. The imperialists and international reactionaries will then surely support domestic reactionaries in their opposition to the people's revolutionary undertaking.

In the struggle between socialism and capitalism, rightism is the main obstacle. Rightism is quite prevalent in the struggle to abolish private ownership, even in the struggle to abolish feudal style exploitation, abolish the bourgeoisie and transform small producers and merchants. Many of us, because we come from the backgrounds of small-scale, private owners and have lived in a society of small-scale producers, still only have a vague idea of what is involved in the struggle between the two ways of life. Only by facing and making the choice between socialism and capitalism can one determine whether his communist awareness is high or low. As communists, our actions must leave no doubt that we intend to abolish exploitation, abolish private ownership, which are the origin of every social tragedy. Clearly, it would be a rightist mistake to relax our efforts in the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce and the transformation of small industry, the handicraft trades and small merchants, thus allowing old and new bourgeoisie to reappear or emerge, and by hesitating or delaying in the transformation of agriculture, thus allowing the spontaneous forces of capitalism to operate and disrupt economic and social order.

In conjunction with establishing public ownership of the instruments of production, the state must insure that laborers have jobs by making every effort to develop production and strengthen the new production relations, developing upon the superior nature of the new production relations, gradually improving and raising the material and cultural living standards of the people and accumulating capital in order to carry out expanded reproduction; these are key matters of strategy in the initial stage. To resolve these matters well, we must reorganize the entire system of social production.

The liberated laborer must become the collective master, must work with enthusiasm and creativity, with discipline and technical skills, with high

productivity and efficiency. To stimulate the enthusiasm and creativity of the laborer, we must, together with teaching politics and ideology, establish an appropriate management mechanism and abolish the style of management characterized by administrative procedures and restrictive bureaucratic centralism which does not take labor productivity or economic efficiency into consideration and limits the activism and creativity of the masses; at the same time, we must combat partialism, departmentalism, decentralization and liberalism, all of which are habits of small-scale producers and owners. The realities of the past 2 years have proven the impact of the new contract mechanism enacted within agriculture in keeping with Secretariat directive number 100. One need only recall the stagnation that existed within agriculture during the years preceding the implementation of product contracts with individual laborers to realize the full impact of the implementation of the new contract mechanism; this contracting method coordinates the interests of the state and the collective with the interests of the individual laborer. However, the new contract mechanism has been improved slowly and there are still many cases of "non-specific" contracts. Council of Ministers' Decision Number 25/CP on increasing the initiative and creativity of state-operated industrial enterprises has had a positive impact; however, there are also some necessary amendments, which were made by the Council of Ministers in Decision Number 146, that are not being fully implemented at many places. Many other directives and resolutions on economic work are not thoroughly understood and not being correctly implemented.

As regards the moving forces behind socio-economic development, there are many important matters that we must continue to study and clarify.

To begin with, there must be a system that upholds the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and insures the participation of the masses in the management of production and the organizing of distribution, thereby correcting the problems of democracy in name only and bureaucratic centralism.

Secondly, the principle of conducting distribution in accordance with labor and opposing distribution based on averages is a major principle of socialism. If the principle of distribution in accordance with labor is not correctly implemented, it is impossible to display the superior nature of the public ownership of the instruments of production. If common interests are not closely linked to the interests of the individual laborer, it is impossible to stimulate initiative and creativity. We have more than a small amount of experience concerning this matter.

Thirdly, it is necessary to thoroughly teach revolutionary ideals and revolutionary will, teach communist ideals in a manner closely linked to patriotism and display a high will to succeed in socialist construction and not yield in the face of any difficulty.

Concerning distribution, we must first insure that each laborer has a job. The distribution policy must reflect the class stand. The working class, which is the central figure in socialist construction, produces much important wealth for society. The class of collective farmers and the stratum of socialist intellectuals, together with the working class, comprise the pillar of our society and all are masters of the new society. Distribution and

circulation are a front of vital importance. If the state does not control goods and money, is not the master of distribution and circulation, it cannot carry out distribution in accordance with socialist policy and, for this reason, the superior nature of public ownership of the instruments of production cannot be displayed. Allowing goods money to slip into the hands of merchants, both bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, allows these powers to redistribute the income of society and causes harm to both laborers and socialism.

In summary, in all three areas of the production relations revolution (the system of ownership, the distribution system and the management system), there are rather serious manifestations of rightism that must be harshly criticized and resolutely overcome in order to move the revolution forward.

As regards the scientific and technological revolution, the immediate task of the social sciences is to clarify those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in the initial stage while delving deeply into researching those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution, beginning with small-scale production. The revolution in the technical sciences has the task of rapidly introducing technological advances in the production of much wealth for society; in particular, it must contribute to the implementation of the socio-economic program, make the best possible use of labor, arable land and material-technical bases, coordinate agriculture with industry from the very outset and establish an agro-industrial structure within the district. This will prepare the way for industrialization. Socialist industrialization is the central task throughout the period of transition. Each sector, each locality and each installation must contribute to the accumulation of capital for industrialization, for building the country into a modern industrial-agricultural country.

As regards the ideological and cultural revolution, the laboring people of our country are overcoming countless difficulties and hardships and making every effort to build socialism. The ideological and cultural revolution must be carried out at the same time as the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution. It is both the cause and the effect of the other two revolutions. The basic tasks of the ideological revolution are to turn the revolutionary line of the party into revolutionary actions of the masses, insure that the development of the country follows the socialist path, insure that Marxist-Leninist ideology becomes the ideology of all society and achieve an increasingly high level of political and spiritual unanimity throughout society.

In the immediate future, we must intensify our effort to teach about the struggle between the two ways of life, insure the performance of the political tasks set forth by the congress, raise the level of vigilance and struggle to thwart the multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy. The resolution of the Party Central Committee must be widely disseminated throughout the party so that the members of the party implement it in a manner coordinated with launching a movement of the masses to implement this resolution. The entire ideological revolution must have the purpose of building a society of which the collective masters are, in exact accordance with the thinking of Marx and Engels, the laboring people: the development of

each person is the prerequisite to the development of all society. Revolutionary thinking must prepare the way for revolutionary action, that is, must precede action. Our ideological work has not kept pace with the requirements of tasks and, as the resolution of the Central Committee clearly pointed out, there is much confusion on the ideological and cultural front. The manifestations of political rightism as well as rightism on the ideological and cultural front confirm the accuracy of the conclusions reached by the Party Central Committee.

The revolution in the cultural field, which involves building the socialist culture and national educational system, has the important objectives of molding the new man, the collective master, and establishing the system of new relationships within the new society, relationships which are consistent with the new political, economic and social systems and the new style of life. On the ideological and cultural front, a complicated and relentless struggle has been under way ever since the new system was established against the influence of the old ideologies, the old culture, the old style of life. The imperialists and international reactionary powers are waging a widespread ideological and cultural war against socialism. Therefore, we must be the masters on the cultural front and combat the schemes of the enemy.

On the ideological and cultural front, there are also manifestations of rightism and a relaxation of efforts in the struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution, between socialism and capitalism and a relaxation of effort in the struggle to protect the principles and discipline involved in the activities conducted within the organizations of the party and the state. The teaching of communist ideals and revolutionary qualities and lifestyle is work of constant importance, work designed to guarantee the fighting strength and prestige of the party, especially at times when the revolution must contend with major difficulties. The struggle against phenomena that reflect a decline in personal qualities and lifestyle has not had a strong impact. If we are not the masters on the ideological front within each party chapter and party organization and in each field of the revolution, we cannot promote the entire socialist revolution. It is necessary to rapidly organize the ideological and cultural revolution well throughout society and all party organizations must be the masters on this front.

The 4th Plenum of the Party decided matters of pressing importance concerning ideology and organization with a view toward insuring the successful performance of immediate economic and social tasks. Instead of conducting a general discussion of ideological work or the ideological and cultural revolution, the plenum only decided matters of pressing importance regarding ideology. These ideological matters are both pressing nature and must be resolved because they are impeding the performance of our present socio-economic tasks and very basic in nature because they are matters pertaining to the guiding thinking of the party; they are related to matters regarding line, the class struggle and the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country as well as the struggle between our people and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists.

The effort to research and gain a thorough understanding of the resolution of the Central Committee must be closely linked to the organizing of its

implementation and the debate of the resolution's implementation must be well organized on each level, within each sector and at each basic unit. The study of the resolution must give everyone a deeper understanding of the political line and the economic line and raise everyone's socialist awareness. On this basis, each level, each sector and each locality must examine the guidance it has provided and adopt plans for simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, waging the class struggle, waging the struggle between the two ways of life, restoring socialist order in all fields, beginning with the field of distribution and circulation, and strengthening the forces of the national defense and security systems while deciding effective policies and measures for performing the socio-economic tasks that have been established.

This plenum of the Party Central Committee only decided pressing ideological and organizational matters, matters related to the performance of revolutionary tasks and the implementation of the socio-economic program; matters regarding the improvement of the economic management mechanism and specific economic policies will be studied and resolved later. In the implementation of the resolution, importance must be attached to such pressing matters as the measures for insuring that the state controls goods and money, strengthening socialist commerce, managing the market and stabilizing prices; intensifying the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce and the transformation of small industry, the artisan trades and small merchants and thoroughly abolishing the bourgeoisie in commerce; accelerating agricultural cooperativization in Nam Bo, perfecting the new contract mechanism within agriculture and fully implementing Council of Ministers Decision Number 146 on improving the management of state-operated industrial enterprises; improving the qualities and revolutionary lifestyle of cadres, party members and state personnel; taking disciplinary action against persons who have made serious mistakes, expelling degenerate, deviant elements from the party and state agencies and so forth.

In ideological work, attention must be given to the following several matters:

--Clarifying the basic viewpoints of the party and criticizing mistaken viewpoints and thinking;

--Helping to mobilize and organize movements of the masses to carry out socialist transformation, carry out production and building campaigns and implement socio-economic positions and policies.

--Improving the work performed by the agencies engaged in ideological work and helping to bring about the improvement of the leadership of ideological and organizational work by the various levels and sectors.

The resolution of the Central Committee explains the basic situation of our country's revolution. The criticism of incorrect viewpoints and thinking has the objectives of correcting shortcomings and completing each task well. The impact of this resolution in terms of the guidance and the education that it provides is extremely important. Therefore, it must be fully and widely disseminated within each basic unit, within the organizations of the party, the state apparatus and all mass organizations.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY

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[Article by Ivan Kapitonov, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU]

[Text] The communists of the Soviet Union, their friends and supporters are commemorating the 80th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

At that congress, V.I. Lenin and his followers struggled to establish a new style proletarian party. The congress was a significant event not only in the history of our fatherland, but in the history of the world as well. It was then, during the summer months of 1903, that Bolshevism--a great ideological-political force--stepped onto the stage of social life. It was then that a key issue concerning the revolutionary movement--the issue of what kind of party would the vanguard political unit of the working class be in the modern age--was resolved. The entire experience of the past 80 years, our own experience and that of the world as well prove the correctness in principle of that decision. This experience teaches: without a party that is organized, thinks and acts in the style of Lenin, the working class and laboring people cannot seize political power and socialist society cannot be built.

When founding our party, Lenin maintained that the significance of the party's existence lay in "helping the working class to develop politically and organize itself politically."(1) Therefore, the party of the Leninists devoted its efforts to serving the proletariat and all the interests and aspirations of the party were subservient to the highest class interests of the proletariat. This defined the class nature of our party at the very outset.

In 80 years, our party, once a small organization of Marxist revolutionaries, has become a powerful party, a party united as one, a party that today has more than 18 million members. Regardless of which stage of development of the CPSU we discuss, the class nature, the proletarian nature of the party is clearly evident in its ideology, policies, principles of organization and makeup.

The ideology of our party is nothing other than the scientific expression of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class, the class that stands in the center of the present age. In the thinking of Lenin, the thinking that inspired his followers at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, the founding of a new style party meant the coordination of scientific socialism with the worker movement. This task was successfully carried out primarily as a result of the important theoretical and practical activities conducted by Lenin himself, the brilliant thinker, the person who carried on the work of K. Marx and F. Engels. Lenin developed upon the doctrine of these two gentlemen in a manner consistent with historic conditions, which had changed, and enhanced this doctrine by means of new principles and conclusions, which became the foundation of the inevitably victorious strategy and tactics of the working class in the struggle to liberate labor and transform society along socialist lines.

Under the ideological banner of Marxism-Leninism, the communists of the Soviet Union have travelled a difficult but grand and glorious path from organizing the first struggles of the Russian proletariat against the czarist autocracy to leading the society of developed socialism. As we have travelled this path, we have always believed that only a party that is armed with revolutionary theory and strictly complies with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology can embody and protect the basic interests of the working class.

Politically, the line of our party has always been and is defined by the specifics involved in the historic mission that the objective laws of development of society have assigned to the working class, namely, the mission of aligning itself with the laboring masses and leading them in order to bring the rule of capital to an end and successfully build socialism and communism. The party of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin quickly became the recognized leader of the Russian revolutionary proletariat. The party steadily and confidently led the working masses to power and, in the process, skillfully employed diverse forms of political activity and different methods of revolutionary struggle. The victory of the great October Revolution, which put the working class at the helm of state management, was the total and true victory of the political line of the Leninist party.

In the course of building the new society in our country, the role played by the working class as the fundamental social force within the socialist system of production has grown and been strengthened. The progress that we have made in the decisive areas of communist construction has always--today, as well--depended upon the contributions made by this class through its labor. The working class is the natural symbol and the firm social foundation of socialist social relations. The viewpoint of this class and its very humanitarian ethical standards are shared and accepted by all Soviets. In summary, in the life of socialist society, the dominant role is played by the working class. Strengthening this role even more is a very important factor in and a necessary requirement of the entire domestic policy of our party.

As regards the international activities of the CPSU, strengthening our friendship and developing our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries have been and continue to play a special role and are given

priority. Strong ties link our party to the international communist and worker movement. The entire world is cognizant of the constant and effective solidarity between Soviet communists and the anti-imperialist forces of revolution and liberation. Thus, the class nature of our party is as eloquently expressed in its foreign policy as it is in its domestic policy.

The principles that underlie the building of the party organizationally are of very important significance in the revolutionary struggle and the creative activities of the party of the working class. At the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, an intense struggle occurred concerning the issue of what these principles would be. Lenin and his followers resolutely opposed all organizational ambiguity that was opportunistic in nature and stood behind the principle of thorough centralism in the building of the party's organization, a principle which requires that all organizations of the party obey the highest agencies of the party and that communists conduct their activities on the basis of a unified platform, unified statutes and a uniform code of discipline binding upon each person and in a manner closely linked to the principle of democracy within internal party relations and adherence to the standards of comradeship within the party. By accepting and affirming these principles as its own, the party brought a political strength to the most important, inherent attributes of the working class, namely, the sense of organization and solidarity of the working class and the sense of discipline, the mutual help given in the spirit of comradeship and the collectivism of this class. And, today, in its organizational activities, the CPSU relies primarily upon these attributes of the dominant class within Soviet society.

From the time that it was born, the social makeup of our party has been proletarian in nature. Even before 1905, workers accounted for more than 61 percent of the party's membership. Today, workers are the backbone of the party, constituting 8 million of its members, and workers also constitute the majority of the new members joining the party. Of the reserve party members accepted into the party last year, workers accounted for 59.4 percent.

From the time that it first embarked on its historic path, the Leninist party, a party whose relationship with the working class is as close as a blood relationship, has not only personified the class interests of the proletariat, but has also been the militant that has struggled unselfishly for the democratic demands that are common to each laborer and each nationality in Russia.

The Platform of the Party, which was adopted by the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, set forth the immediate tasks of the Russian proletariat in the democratic-bourgeois revolution (the minimum platform) and set forth the objectives for which there was hope of achieving--toppling the capitalist system and establishing a socialist state (the maximum platform). This reflected the different stages of the struggle for socialism; however, at the same time, it also reflected the close, objective relationship between the socialist thinking of the working class and the democratic aspirations of each laborer, of the broad masses. This marked the start of the political line of the Leninist party that has run throughout the history of the party and been clearly expressed in the party's struggle against every

form of factionalism, in the party's attitude of not reaching a compromise with "leftwing infantilism," in the communist movement, in the party's concern for building and strengthening the revolutionary alliance between the working class and farmers, in its active support of the thinking and policies of the broad popular front against fascism and imperialist reactionaries and in the wholehearted solidarity with the national liberation movements and the unselfish assistance given to them.

Our party does not close its doors to anyone who voluntarily and actively participates in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and displays a complete readiness to link his fate to the creative activities of the working class--the builders of socialism. Today, along with industrial workers, the membership of the CPSU encompasses a large number of workers at state farms and collective farms (2.25 million), agricultural specialists, technical and creative intellectuals, education, public health and state management cadres, military personnel and students. One of every 11 citizens of the Soviet Union above the age of 18 bears the noble title of communist party member.

In history, we have seen--and there are even more than a few now--political parties, even ones operating within a society divided by class antagonisms, that have proclaimed themselves to be the "representative of all the people" and have stated that they are not associated with any particular class and serve "the entire nation." Close examination, however, shows that this is nothing more than a screen concealing their dependency upon the ideology and policy of the ruling class--the bourgeoisie. Marxist-Leninists realize that wherever people are divided into exploiters and the exploited, into oppressors and the oppressed, a political party can only be a party of a class nature, not a party of all the people.

Only under socialism and, moreover, only in its higher stage of development, is there an actual oneness between the class factor and the national factor in the nature of the party of communists. Here, that is, under the conditions of a society that has abolished social antagonisms, the trend of development of the Marxist-Leninist party, a trend described by Engels in the words "the party develops increasingly deep roots among the people," is fully carried out.

Over the past several decades, fundamental socio-economic and political changes have occurred in our country, as a result of which the country has reached a new milestone, the highest in the present age, in the formation of a communist form of society--the milestone of developed socialism. Our economy is now a powerful and unified national economy that develops in a planned manner. All the Soviet people have become the social base of our socialist system--a new historic community of man that was formed and is developing as the unshakeable alliance among the working class, farmers and intellectuals, as the fraternal friendship of all nationalities and tribes within the country. The ideological and political-spiritual unity of society has been strengthened. The dictatorship of the proletariat state that was given birth by the October Revolution has, in our country, become the state of all the people. Due to the results of these changes, changes that have transformed all aspects of the life of Soviet society, our party, while maintaining its

working class nature, has become the party of all the people. It embodies the interests of all classes and social groups of Soviet society.

Today, we say: "The people and the party are one"; this, as Y.V. Andropov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, observed, is the result of "the observation of an irrefutable fact that the goals and tasks that have been established by the party for itself accurately reflect the aspirations and needs of each Soviet person and the millions of us who, through our work, are implementing the policy of the party."(2)

The most important point in the summary made by the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party was: the Leninist doctrine concerning the party has become the living reality of the revolutionary working class. At the center of this doctrine is the thinking concerning the leadership role of the proletarian vanguard unit in the political struggle of the laboring people, of the masses, and in the building of the new society. At the congress, Lenin and his supporters resolutely rejected the scheme of the opportunists to turn the party into a revisionist organization of a dogmatic nature that allowed the worker movement to take the lead and acclimated itself to the spontaneity of this movement. And, the entirety of the 80 year journey that has been made by the CPSU has, in essence, reflected the principle of Lenin that the historic mission of the party is "to provide unified leadership of all the activities of the entire proletariat, that is, to lead them politically and, through them, lead all the laboring masses."

The role of the communist party within the worker movement, within the revolutionary struggle and within socialist construction is one of the key points in the debate concerning ideology and theory, in the political struggle. Concerning the communist parties of the socialist countries, the accusation is frequently made that these parties seem as though they have "placed themselves above society," have "impeded the development of society" and "do not allow the initiative of the people to blossom." We sometimes hear it forthrightly stated that socialism might not need communists, might not need the leadership role of the party.

Our view concerning this point is clear and known by many persons. It arises from Marxist-Leninist theory and is based on the profound experiences of real socialism. It has been verified by the entire history of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the other countries, by the entire course of the struggle waged by the working class, by the laboring people against the bourgeoisie, counter-revolutionaries and anti-socialist elements.

Life points out that weakening the role of the communist party and every concession to opportunism and revisionism always harm the interests of the working class, the interests of the people, and, under certain conditions, can even threaten the very existence of the socialist system. Conversely, as the party implements its leadership more thoroughly, more results are achieved in socialist construction. Of course, this argument is in no way similar to the vulgar explanation of the role of the party as "the one who issues the orders."

On the basis of summarizing its experiences and generalizing the realities of socialist construction, the CPSU reached important conclusions concerning theory and politics, concerning the increasing role of the party in the life of Soviet society. These conclusions became one of the basic points in the concept of developed socialism and have found a place deep within the storehouse of ideology of the party, the people. The increasing role of the party, which is in the nature of an objective law in the development of society, is most fully evident in the stage of developed socialism. However, the increasing role of the party is not something that comes about automatically. In order for the party to increase its role, the party itself must make efforts to bring a greater thoroughness and efficiency to all of its work, strengthen the ties between the party and the masses and improve the activities conducted within the party.

In this area, the activities of the highest agencies of the party are of tremendous significance. Our party congresses "chart the course of the progress of Soviet society." The resolutions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU are of such significance; the congress established the tasks concerning the economic and social development of the country under the 11th five year plan and during the 1980's, in general, concerning the political system of Soviet society and concerning the improvement of ideological work and education. The peace platform for the 1980's that was adopted by the congress charts a realistic course for saving mankind from the danger of a hot nuclear war and ending the arms race.

The November, 1982 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU deeply analyzed the situation surrounding economic construction and cultural development in the basic fields and the situation surrounding social life. It marked a new qualitative stage in the organizational and political work of the party. After evaluating the undeniable achievements that have been recorded, the plenum raised matters that have not been the focus of the party's attention. Importance has been attached to improving planning and economic management, improving the style of work, intensifying the enforcement of resolutions that have been adopted and raising party discipline, state discipline and labor discipline. There is perhaps every basis for saying that the implementation of these guidelines has yielded results, especially in increasing the rate of economic development. The party had done everything possible to develop upon the achievements that have been recorded and bring stability to positive trends.

The plenum confirmed the long-range strategy of the CPSU to constantly improve the standard of living of the Soviet people, constantly increase the results of their efforts at work and tap the creativity of the socialist system more widely with each passing day. An integral part of this strategy is the grain and food program of the Soviet Union that was adopted by the plenum of the Party Central Committee that was held in May, 1982. Under this program, our country is redirecting the efforts of all sectors of the national economy toward resolving the problems of further developing agricultural production, developing the agro-industrial combines and guaranteeing a regular supply of food to the people. The Party Central Committee and government of the Soviet Union are taking major steps to increase the production of domestic consumer

goods, expand the variety of products being produced and improve product quality.

Caring for the happiness of man has been and continues to be the general line of our party. The party considers developing the production of consumer goods for the people and developing the various services together with resolving the grain and food problem to be central parts of the social program that was ratified by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. All of these matters have been regularly examined during the conferences of the Political Bureau of the CPSU and always have the Political Bureau's attention.

The entirety of the party's policy and its leadership of Soviet society are based on the actual achievements and capabilities of our country. The main achievement of our creative efforts, the one point that summarizes these efforts is our completion of the building of developed socialism in the Soviet Union. The country is in the initial period of a long historic stage, a stage that is consistent with the laws that govern the formation of communism. At present, perfecting our developed socialism is the essential element, the basic factor in the work of the communists of the Soviet Union, in the life of labor of each nationality in the Soviet Union. This has faced us with more than a few large and important tasks: further increasing our production forces, developing and strengthening collective social relations and developing and strengthening the Soviet state, the Soviet system of democracy, science and the culture.

The focal point of the attention of our party, of all the people is implementing the line on increasing the efficiency of social production and accelerating its development in depth. Of foremost significance is the need to accelerate, in every way possible, the achievement of scientific and technological advances, the mechanization and automation of production and the improvement of product quality while economizing on and making efficient use of every form of raw materials and building materials and increasing the returns from capital and investments. Included among the requirements we face are the need to improve the economic system and the need to heighten the effectiveness of the material and psychological incentives to work. The party is endeavoring to thoroughly implement the socialist principles of distribution. The party has emphasized: only labor and the results of labor can and must be the source of happiness of the citizen of a socialist society.

The resolutions of the November party plenum and the speech by Y.V. Andropov are focusing the attention of the entire party and all the people of the Soviet Union on the need to view our society as one that is undergoing a process of practical significance. The problem is that we must be clearly aware of where we are now and not try to make progress too quickly or begin tasks that cannot be completed. However, we also should not stop at what we have achieved and not make use of the abundant capabilities that we do have.

A scientific view toward the issues of social progress, the development and creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory and the review and positive utilization of the experiences that have been gained in socialist construction insure that our party retains its position as the wise and trusted collective leader, as the political organizer of the people.

The CPSU has maintained and continues to maintain that the leadership role of the party will be fulfilled with increasing effectiveness as the relations between the party and the masses become increasingly close and diverse. Lenin taught that: "To serve the masses and represent their proper interests while conducting a careful and objective inspection with each step that it takes to determine whether or not the relationship with the masses is being firmly maintained, whether or not this relationship is a close relationship." (3) To the communists of the Soviet Union, this teaching of Lenin is of lasting value. The experience of the past as well as the actual situation that exists today show that strengthening the leadership role of the party is a constant process when the party is becoming ever more closely united with the laboring masses.

The party acquires new thinking and abundant energies from within the daily lives of the people, combines them with its thinking and energies and gives them expression in its policies, in its practical activities. In turn, the thinking set forth by the party becomes a factor that stimulates the creativity of the masses, establishes a necessary sense of organization and guidelines, guidelines that can and must be accepted by the masses. This thinking then becomes a true material strength.

In order to expand its ties to the people, the party makes widespread use of the press, television, radio and other capabilities to fully inform the Soviet people about the resolutions and the work of the party. The principle of openness in the work of the party organizations is not some abstract concept but a living reality in our day to day work.

The exchange of information between the party and the people is a process that can be called a two-way process. To the CPSU, information from below, from the laboring masses has always been and continues to be valuable information; it informs the party of the requirements, the attitudes and the opinions of the Soviet people. Information channels are varied. They include opinions expressed at meetings and in the press, suggestions sent by citizens to the agencies of the party and state and letters from citizens. Last December, the Political Bureau of the CPSU examined a matter of special importance, the handling of letters from the laboring people. The Political Bureau observed that letters are evidence of the political activism of the Soviet people, evidence of their direct participation in the improvement of the various forms of socialist economic management and the management of the work of society and the work of the state. The Political Bureau assigned the agencies of the party and state, the ministries and general departments of Soviet Union the responsibility for taking necessary steps to carefully study and act upon the requirements, suggestions and opinions set forth in letters.

In the effort to expand the ties between the party and the people, no one can replace the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the members of the various local party committees and the other leaders who have direct contact with collectives of laborers, with the people. Y.V. Andropov's meeting with Moscow machinists to discuss pressing issues facing the country received widespread attention within the party and the country. This meeting was an eloquent example of the close, strong ties between the party and the masses.

The basic organizations of the party play a large role and have a major responsibility in the effort to consolidate and strengthen these ties, in increasing the influence of the party within the collectives of laborers. At present, our party has 427,000 basic organizations. They are active in all enterprises, farms, collective farms, agencies and schools and insure the coordination of the policies of the party with the vibrant creativity of the masses.

In April, 1983, the All-Union Science and Practice Conference was convened in accordance with a decision by the Central Committee of the CPSU; at that conference, cadres and core cadres of the party and social scientists analyzed in detail how well the basic organizations of the party are fulfilling their role today with a view toward tapping the spirit of activism of laborers in social activities and production and with a view toward strengthening their discipline and improving their workstyle. The documents of the conference have helped us to deeply examine the many different experiences that the localities have gained and more fully analyze the measures and methods that must be employed so that the activities of the basic organizations meet the requirements raised by life today.

The role of the party as the leader of developed socialist society raises high requirements regarding the cadre policy of the party. At present, we have a rather effective system for selecting, assigning and educating cadres. The attitude of respecting and caring for cadres has been established. We are deeply concerned with improving the specialized skills, the political qualifications and the experience of leadership cadres. At present, for example, all party members who are secretaries of provincial party committees, secretaries of interzone party committees or members of the central committee of the communist parties of the federal republics are specialists in the sectors in which they work. Nearly one-half of the secretaries of the local party committees have attended political schools of the party.

The Central Committee of the CPSU realizes that there are certain shortcomings in cadre work. Sometimes, persons are assigned to leadership positions who are behind the times and do not possess the work skills needed to meet the requirements of our present level of economic, social and cultural development. There have also been cases in which some leadership cadres have violated the discipline of the party and state or violated our ethical standards. The Central Committee requires that all organizations of the party wage a determined struggle against such phenomena. The CPSU has clearly established the task of endeavoring to assign persons who possess political experience, ethical purity and specialized skills, persons who are innovative, possess organizational skills and are sensitive to the new to the leadership agencies in all fields of party work, state work, economic work and cultural-educational work.

The CPSU considers the establishment of the Leninist style everywhere to be a matter of great importance; this style, the creative style, demands a scientific view toward all social processes and phenomena, demands routine reliance upon the masses, demands true practicality and a specific, serious viewpoint. Rely upon deeds, not upon loud words, this is what we must do.

The party is always endeavoring to eliminate every shortcoming, every negative phenomenon. It is engaged in a determined struggle to eradicate, at their very roots, formalism and the bureaucratic "fondness for organization"; it is engaged in a stubborn struggle to remove from our path each and every obstacles that impedes the initiative, the thinking and the creative energies of the laboring masses. The party constantly concerns itself with creating the conditions needed to tap the enthusiasm for work and the social activism of the Soviet people and truly develop their consciousness as the masters of their socialist fatherland.

The Leninist style is democratic in nature. Y.V. Andropov said: "As the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, the party itself sets an example by the way it democratically organizes all of its activities; the party sets forth and develops upon the principles of democracy, principles that are being applied in every field of our socialist life. This is one of the most important manifestations of the leadership role of the party in social life, of the impact of the party in motivating the masses."(4)

The principles of Bolshevism that Lenin argued for and defended at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party became the foundation of the organization and the activities of the CPSU. The party must be a large, strong party of a mass nature, must be free of opportunist elements and must guard against the development of an organization that lacks form and clear boundaries--Lenin considered these to be extremely important factors in party building. On the basis of Lenin's doctrine, the internal relations of the party have constantly been improved, the ideological and organizational unity of the party has been strengthened, the principle of collective leadership has been developed and the spirit of initiative and sense of responsibility of communists regarding the situation within their party organization and throughout the party, in general, have constantly been heightened. As a result of fully complying with Leninist principles in its activities and fully respecting the principle of democratic centralism, the CPSU always insures that its activities are highly effective. Properly combining centralism and democracy, this is the origin of the party's strength and stability, is the guarantee that the party develops in a robust manner, possesses high fighting strength and strengthens its close ties with the people.

Our party has always considered and continues to consider the principle of centralism in its life and activities to be that which insures the highly organized and unified nature of the activities of communists. As regards the principle of democracy, its essence was clearly defined in the following words spoken by Lenin: "Each and every job of the party is performed, in total equality and without exception, by all party members, either directly or through representatives."(5)

The prestige and influence of the party and the effectiveness of all the work performed by the party directly depend upon what is done to insure the unity between words and actions, to place resolutions upon the firm foundation of organizing their unconditional implementation. It is not surprising that we have recently given much more attention to inspection. Of prime importance in this work is the need to conduct inspections to determine how the resolutions

adopted by the party are actually being implemented. In keeping with the requirement set forth by the November, 1982 Plenum of the Party Central Committee, one thing is becoming a rule within the party: only adopting new resolutions concerning major issues that have truly matured and only after previous resolutions have been implemented. This is totally consistent with Leninist tradition: everything that has been decided upon must be implemented. In practice, this has the effect of heightening the spirit of responsibility of the various party committees and party organizations, of the leadership cadres on all levels, of each and every member of the CPSU in the work assigned to them.

One characteristic of the CPSU is that party discipline has been strict and self-imposed ever since the party was born. Today, this characteristic of our party assumes special importance. The large scale and the complex nature of the tasks that face Soviet society demand that we heighten the regulated nature and the degree of organization of all elements of the national economy, strengthen plan discipline, strengthen labor discipline and strengthen state law. In view of our circumstances, it can readily be seen that these efforts depend very much upon the examples set by communists. They must, as Lenin appealed, truly "take the lead in all areas of labor discipline and work hard."(6)

The party teaches its members that they must understand and respect the interests of all the people. It wages a determined struggle against partialism and localism. Soviet communists must truly resolve every economic and social problem on the basis of the party's viewpoint, that is, must perform every job on the basis of the political stand and the common interests of the entire country. The party considers maintaining the oneness between organizational work and the teaching of ideology to be an extremely important principle. Experience has shown that political and ideological work, if not reinforced by organizational work, achieve poor results and that organizational work, if separated from ideological work, is usually lacking in content.

Party member conferences are a method whereby party members participate, in a practical way, in the debate and resolution of problems of their party, itself, as well as major social issues. They provide a forum for the forthright and thorough expression of opinions concerning the policy and work of the party and the country. Recently, party member conferences have been more substantive in nature and yielded better results, thereby making a clear contribution to increasing the effectiveness of party work.

This year, Soviet communists, together with all the people, are actively participating in the debate of the Draft of the Law on Labor Collectives and heightening the role of these collectives in the management of enterprises, agencies and organizations. Together with the masses outside the party, they have made more than 100,000 suggestions that reflect the concern of the laboring masses for strengthening these cells of our economic and political body.

We have attached very much importance to establishing the spirit of self-criticism and the spirit of not being lenient toward shortcomings in all

organizations of the party in order to create within each collective an atmosphere conducive to constructive criticism given in the spirit of comradeship. The party considers criticism and self-criticism to be prerequisites of vital importance in insuring the wholesome development of the party, in heightening the influence and prestige of the party and in strengthening the unity of the party's ranks; it also considers them to be an effective way to educate cadres. The party makes a determined effort to insure that leadership cadres, that all organizations and agencies make the proper response to criticism and reach the necessary conclusions.

Deeply interested in the continuous progress of Soviet society, in developing the spirit of initiative and activism of all party members, the CPSU has made it possible for every party member to forthrightly express his or her opinions concerning any issue whatsoever, persuade other comrades to accept his or her reasoning, point out the shortcomings that exist in the work being performed and endeavor to correct them. Party members are guaranteed total freedom of expression and have the right to voice their criticism at party congresses, from the basic level to the all-union level, at meetings of the party organization's executive committee and in the press; this right applies to every cadre, regardless of his or her position. The right to criticize is stated within the Statutes of the CPSU and Soviet communists actively exercise this right.

The development of democracy within the party is closely linked to heightening the role of the elected core cadres of the party. It is they who have the task of implementing Lenin's principle of collective leadership within the party. More and more core cadres are being elected in our country each year and their political and work qualifications are gradually being improved. Some 4,650,000 of the most prestigious and influential persons within the organizations of the party have been elected to the party committees and party chapter committees and serve as secretaries and the leaders of party cells. Nearly 40 percent of them are workers and state farm members. They comprise a large organizational force. The party makes an effort to insure that the collective agencies of the party perform specific jobs and do not substitute a style that involves nothing more than holding meetings for practical work so that their leadership of the collective is always closely linked to personal responsibility.

Thus, in the internal life of the CPSU, both factors of the principle of democratic centralism are simultaneously developed and strengthened. The effort to increase the activism of communists is combined with doing more to set clear limits and achieve coordination in the work of all elements of the party.

In our society, communists have no special rights or privileges whatsoever. Being a party member only means that one has a greater responsibility for everything that occurs within the country, for the destiny of socialist construction and social progress.

The higher the ideological and ethical qualities of each communist are, the more the prestige and influence of the party are raised. Ideological firmness, devotion to one's job, loyalty, adherence to principle, a high

spirit of responsibility, a readiness to be present wherever the difficulties are the greatest and living for the interests of the masses, these are the qualities through which communists cause others to follow them. "We must try to constantly enhance the title 'party member' and the meaning of being a party member..."(7) These words, which were spoken by Lenin at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, still embody a standard of an inspirational nature and a requirement in the life of the party, of each Soviet communist.

In the first platform adopted 80 years ago, the party of Lenin declared that it considered itself to be an integral part of the international revolutionary worker movement. Bolsheviks entered political life as a party of staunch internationalists. Loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism has been the red thread running throughout the history of the CPSU.

When beginning the building of the first and only socialist state, Lenin emphasized that the international obligation of communists is to do everything possible within their country to awaken, support and develop the revolution in all countries. Today, this teaching of Lenin is expressed in the dual international task now being thoroughly carried out by the CPSU. The essence of this task is to try to record new achievements in the progress of Soviet society and, in this way, have an impact upon the balance of power in the world, upon the course of development of the world and effectively support the revolutionary and progressive movements of the modern age. The party subscribes to the wise teaching of Lenin that we have an impact upon the course of the world revolution primarily through our economic policy. Every achievement that we have recorded in the perfection of developed socialist society and in increasing the strength of the Soviet state is of international significance and serves the common cause of world socialism, of the struggle by nations against imperialism for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

The positive steps taken to broaden our relations of comradeship with the communist parties and workers of the world and the strengthening of class solidarity are bright expressions of the international nature of the policy of the CPSU. Occupying the dominant position within the international activities of the CPSU is the effort to develop and promote cooperation with the incumbent parties within the fraternal socialist countries.

Regular high level meetings are being held among the leaders of the fraternal parties and states and regular exchanges are occurring among party and government delegations. The conferences of secretaries of the communist and worker parties of the socialist countries concerning international issues and ideology are being held on a regular basis; at the meetings of the secretaries of central committees, there is also an exchange of opinions concerning economic cooperation.

From 1972 to 1982, special conferences of the secretaries of central committees concerning matters involved in party organizational work were held in Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague. They examined questions of pressing importance regarding the development and strengthening of the organization of the communist and worker parties of the socialist countries

under present conditions; examined the role of the parties within the political system of society; examined the experiences gained in implementing the cadre policy; and examined the matter of heightening the role played by the basic organizations of the party and increasing their influence upon the collectives of workers.

The communist and worker parties of the socialist countries have gained abundant experience concerning party leadership of the different fields of the economy and culture and concerning internal party relations. Taken together, these experiences are a common international asset of the entire socialist community. The incumbent parties in the fraternal countries attach importance to studying these experiences, to creatively applying them. Since its 26th Congress, the CPSU has sent to the various countries within the community 10 delegations to study the experiences gained in party organizational work; on the other hand, the CPSU has welcomed more than 30 delegations from the socialist countries to study its experiences.

The broad cooperation in many areas and the enrichment of one another through experiences gained in serving the common cause of our community have made significant contributions to the strengthening of socialism. This is made even more important by the fact that the process of perfecting the new system is occurring amidst a difficult international situation. Imperialism is constantly exerting pressure upon the socialist countries and intensifying its acts of sabotage against these countries. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties maintain that, under these circumstances, it would be an especially dangerous political mistake to weaken, even slightly, the leadership role of the party or the party's ties to the masses and to make a miscalculation in ideological work. In order to avoid these phenomena, of which the enemy can take advantage in the struggle against us, it is necessary to more closely unite the people of the fraternal countries, develop the comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance among them and strengthen international solidarity.

The CPSU considers its international obligation to be to support and assist the national liberation movement and develop cooperation with those countries that have escaped the yoke of colonialism and are struggling for political and economic independence. Our party has waged a determined struggle for the right of each nation to determine its destiny and course of development. The party and state of the Soviet Union pay special attention to expanding and strengthening the relationship with those countries that are following the socialist course. We have a high evaluation of the non-aligned movement and its anti-imperialist and anti-war guidelines.

Internationalism, the humanitarian heart of our party's policy, is seen in the struggle to prevent the tragedy of world war, to implement the peace strategy of Lenin. Today, this is the struggle of foremost significance as regards the destiny of mankind. From an international perspective, the CPSU has no more important task than that of safeguarding peace on earth.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state have the sympathy and support of the largest circles in the social organizations of the world. Not only communists and representatives of the revolutionary and

liberation movements, but millions of persons with very diverse political viewpoint and religious beliefs wholeheartedly welcome the new peace initiative proposed by the Soviet Union in the recent past and in the Political Declaration of the Conference of Political Consultation Committees of the Warsaw Pact member countries held in Prague.

The tireless struggle that we are waging for peace is not divorced from resolutely retaliating against the schemes of aggression of the imperialists, of U.S. military circles, which are planning to organize an anti-communist "crusade." Being highly vigilant against the schemes of the bellicose, imperialist, reactionary powers--this is the teaching of Lenin that communists always follow.

The peace-loving policy of the CPSU is effective because it satisfies the interests and the aspirations of all workers, of all peoples. It is based on the actual economic might and defensive strength of the Soviet Union, of the community of socialist countries, on the boundless support of the people and on the determination of millions of people in all countries to safeguard peace. Our party firmly believes that these factors are a real guarantee of victory in the great struggle by all nations for peace, for the preservation of life on the planet.

The Soviet Union is commemorating the 80th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in an intense atmosphere of labor and on a broad political momentum, which reflect the unshakeable unity between the party and the people and show the even closer unity of workers around the CPSU.

The Soviet people have the right to closely associate each of their achievements with the multifaceted activities of the party of Lenin. The course that the party has been following is the course of truly heroic struggle and victory. The Soviet people, who see in the CPSU the representative of their basic interests, are actively supporting the domestic and foreign policies of the party and supporting the party's unswerving struggle for the cause of peace throughout the world. The party attaches importance to its unshakeable unity with the masses and considers this unity to be a priceless asset, to be an inexhaustible source of strength. In a boundless spirit of sacrifice, the party is determined to perform its tasks just as it performed its tasks in the 80 years of following the teachings of Lenin.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 4, p 472.
2. Y.V. Andropov: "Sixty Years of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," Russian version, Moscow, 1982, pp 57-58.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 24, p 51.

4. Y.V. Andropov: "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Matters Regarding Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5-1983, p 20.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 14, p 324.
6. Ibid., Volume 39, p 349.
7. Ibid., Volume 7, p 354.

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## PARTY MEMBERS' QUALITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 40-46

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The quality of party members constitutes one of the most important requirements of party building. Realities show that in any stage of the revolution, the quality of party members invariably serves as a factor directly influencing the leadership role and militant strength of the party. Only by enhancing the revolutionary quality of party cadres and members can we satisfactorily consolidate the fine relationship between the party and the masses and make our party fully capable of successfully carrying out all revolutionary tasks. The report on party building presented at the 5th National Party Congress stresses: "The party's leadership quality and its prestige lie in correct policies and the effectiveness of their implementation. Nevertheless, another no less important factor for insuring the correctness of policies and their satisfactory implementation and for firmly maintaining the party's prestige is the quality of party cadres and members as displayed in their work and in their collective and private life."(1)

In past years, entering the new stage of the revolution--a stage of socialist transformation, nationwide socialist construction, and national defense--the majority of our party cadres and members have remained steadfast and continued to uphold the fine qualities of communists, thus deserving the confidence of the party and masses.

On the other hand, faced with challenges of the class struggle in the new stage and with difficulties concerning the economy and life, and influenced by the enemy's psychological warfare, a number of party cadres and members who fail to correctly understand the situation have shown signs of pessimism and weakness, thereby affecting the confidence and revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses. Some party cadres and members (including mid and high-level cadres) have even displayed qualitatively unhealthy phenomena such as liberalism, failure to strictly carry out party directives and resolutions and state policies and law, irresponsibility while on duty, corruption, debauchery, authoritarianism, making unlawful deals, accepting bribes, oppressing the masses, misappropriating public property, causing schism and

disunity... While the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads is taking place in a fierce and complex manner, some party cadres and members have failed to implement the socialist transformation policy of the party and state; they have exploited the masses in one form or another and colluded with dishonest traders and bad elements in illegitimate activities. Some party cadres and members have led a wanton and decadent life.

All the unhealthy phenomena mentioned above are completely at variance with the revolutionary nature of our party as well as with the quality and dignity of members of a communist party. Such erroneous actions have done no small harm to the party's revolutionary undertaking and adversely affected the leadership role and militant strength of the party as well as the relationship between the party and the masses.

To enhance the militant strength of the party and insure the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 5th National Party Congress and other directives and resolutions of the party, it is now extremely important that we pay even greater attention to improving the revolutionary quality of party cadres and members and resolutely struggle to overcome qualitatively unhealthy phenomena in an effective manner.

First, it is necessary to develop a correct understanding of the requirement concerning qualitative education for party cadres and members at present. The quality of party members is not a general and abstract concept. Hence, we cannot determine in an abstract and general manner whether a party cadre or member possesses quality or not. The quality of party members must always be linked with the requirements of the party's political tasks for each stage of the revolution in order to increase the party's militant strength and insure that all the lines, viewpoints, and policies of the party are implemented most correctly. Lenin said: "Our ethics are totally dependent on the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."<sup>(2)</sup> Lenin also said: "The foundation of communist ethics is the struggle to consolidate and complete the building of communism."<sup>(3)</sup>

To say that party members' quality must be closely linked to the requirements of political tasks for each stage of the revolution does not mean to negate the value of the fine qualities already forged and accumulated during the previous stages. Nevertheless, as the socialist revolution is the greatest, most profound, and most thorough revolution in history, party members only equipped with the old qualities cannot meet the requirements of the party's political tasks for the new stage. The new tasks of the revolution require that we, on the one hand, further enhance the existing fine qualities to meet the new requirements, and on the other hand, forge for ourselves qualities that we did not possess during the previous stages or that were not required so directly and stringently by the revolution then as they are now.

Patriotism and loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the party, the class, and the nation is basically the fundamental qualitative requirement demanded of party cadres and members in each stage of the revolution; but, obviously, patriotism and loyalty in the present stage are of a higher level than in previous stages. In the present stage wherein the entire country is advancing toward socialism, patriotism is closely linked with love of socialism.

Patriotism and love for socialism are one and the same. In other words, patriotism today is "socialist patriotism." By the same token, loyalty to the party's revolutionary cause in the present stage requires that party members not only fight selflessly for the fatherland's independence and freedom but also struggle persistently and intensively for the success of socialism. It is a grave error in terms of both awareness and quality to love the country but hesitate in the advance toward socialism, or to verbally support socialism but fail to implement party and state policies that are designed to insure success for socialism.

In the people's national and democratic revolution, the organization of collective work and the setting of a boundary separating labor from exploitation were not strictly required of party cadres and members; but at present each of these issues has become a criterion and a requirement concerning the quality and status of party members. This is because a basic task of the socialist revolution is to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man and nationalize key production materials. As party members, we must definitely not participate in exploitation. Any cadre who exploits must have his party membership status examined regardless of his official level.

It must be affirmed that an exploitative person is not qualified for party membership because the party statutes state that a party member must be a person "who performs labor, does not exploit..."(Article 1, Chapter I, CPV Statutes) Party members who share capital with the bourgeoisie in business or who use their capital for bourgeois-type business fall into the exploitative category. Party members must deposit their extra money into savings funds of a bank instead of using it for exploitative business. Party members who hire laborers to work on their large land holdings, lend money for interest, buy green produce, or force debtors to repay their loans at harvest time with agricultural products and at a high interest rate as charged by the bourgeois or rich peasants also fall into the exploitative category. Party members who own rental houses or sublet part of the housing quarters provided them by the state are also guilty of exploitation. All those exploitative persons mentioned above are not qualified for party membership. In the south at present, the party and state maintain the existence of five economic components; as a result of this, a number of economic policies of the state toward private individuals who were formerly bourgeois or rich peasants still allow for some sources of income of an exploitative nature. However, party members cannot engage in exploitation under these policies and justify their actions by claiming that they only follow party and state policies.

What is the most important quality of each party cadre and member in the current revolutionary stage? It is awareness of the communist ideal? It can be said to be "the quality of all qualities" of the communists.

Hitherto, in whatever revolutionary stage, our party has always required that each party member possess awareness of the communist ideal. In the present stage, this quality must be defined even more strongly with concrete contents. The report on party building presented at the 5th National Party Congress stresses: "Party members, regardless of their work positions, must all be communist fighters possessing an ideal and acting in accordance with party lines."(4)

Awareness of the communist ideal requires that party members first of all realize the inevitability of the elimination of the capitalist system and the building of a new socialist and communist society, and fully grasp the role and historic mission of the working class in eliminating the old system and building a new society; and on the basis of this understanding, be resolved to forge themselves in accordance with the stand of the working class and struggle for the success of socialism.

The stand of the working class, as we all know, is the very Marxist-Leninist stand; and this stand encompasses not only the revolutionary theories of the party but also its political line and practical activities. All of our party lines have hitherto been a product of the correct combination of Marxist-Leninist theories with realities of the revolution in our country. Awareness of the communist ideal requires that all party cadres and members fully support the party lines concerning socialist building as well as national defense and foreign affairs; and resolutely act in strict accordance with these lines under all circumstances.

Awareness of the communist ideal demands that party cadres and members adopt a steadfast and unswerving stand in the face of all challenges, especially in the present situation wherein there are difficulties concerning the economy and life; firmly believe in the leadership of the party and the success of the revolution; and neither waver nor remain indifferent, nor shirk responsibility.

Awareness of the communist ideal requires that we uphold their exemplary vanguard role in all spheres of activities, first of all in exemplarily implementing the lines and policies of the party and state; setting an example in our work, production and combat as well as in life; firmly maintaining diligence, thrift, honesty, justice, and impartiality; and avoiding being swayed, tempted, or corrupted by material desires.

At present, the class struggle--which is the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads--is taking place in a fierce and complex manner in all areas of our country's social life. Awareness of the communist ideal demands that party cadres and members adopt a clearcut concept and a resolute attitude toward this struggle, firmly uphold the stand of the working class, and actively participate in the struggle to win victory for socialism. To be more precise, every party cadre and member must choose between "the two roads:" either be faithful to the party ideal, follow the socialist road traced by the party, and stand in the party ranks; or do none of these things.

In the current stage, awareness of the communist ideal also demands that party cadres and members recognize clearly and without a trace of doubt the reactionary nature and perfidious schemes of the Maoist Chinese ruling clique, constantly maintain vigilance against U.S. imperialism, and enthusiastically take the lead in the struggle to defend the fatherland against the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage. At the same time, they must firmly grasp and scrupulously implement the party's international line and foreign policy; and particularly, continue to fulfill their international duties toward the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and closely unite and cooperate with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Another very important quality of party cadres and members at present is the sense of organization and discipline. The sense of organization and discipline is basically a manifestation of the party character, a requirement of the principle of democratic centralism, an indispensable quality of the communists, and it serves to insure unity and uniformity in thought and action within the party.

First, the sense of organization and discipline requires that all party cadres and members always maintain their identity of views with party lines and strictly and unconditionally implement all policies, directives, and resolutions of the party as well as the law of the state. In the course of implementing party lines and policies, it is unavoidable that differences of opinions arise among party cadres and members but the party demands that all of us, without exception, strictly carry out its lines and policies in spite of any disagreement, for personal or departmental interests cannot be allowed to hinder the implementation of party policies, directives, and resolutions.

The sense of organization and discipline demands that every party cadre and member be aware of their duty to protect the party and its prestige, maintain the party's fine tradition of unity and respect, scrupulously observe the principle of democratic centralism in party activities and management, and actively struggle against all manifestations of liberalism and anarchy within the party organization, in all organs and units, and among party and members, as well as against all slanders and attempts at division by the enemy.

As our party has pointed out many times, revolution is an undertaking of the masses and the invincible strength of the party lies in its close relationship with the masses. Speaking about party members' quality, it is impossible not to consider the relationship between party members and the masses. The party demands that all its cadres and members respect and develop the right to collective mastery of the masses, wholeheartedly serve the masses, care for their living conditions, always maintain close association with the masses, teach them to understand party lines and policies, listen attentively to the masses' opinions to correct their shortcomings and improve their work, create favorable conditions for the masses to participate in party building and state management, and not adopt a bureaucratic, commandist, authoritarian, and arbitrary attitude or oppress the masses. At the same time, the party also demands that we firmly uphold the party's position and viewpoints to correctly examine and resolve all issues without tailing after the masses and breaking away from party and state principles and policies.

An issue that has a great bearing on the quality and personality of party members as well as on the party's prestige but that has so far been improperly regarded by many is the lifestyle of party cadres and members. As we all know, political quality is very important to communists but this does not mean that party cadres and members need not care about their lifestyle and can lead a carefree life to their own liking.

In reality, the quality of a person and his lifestyle are closely interrelated; and even more than that, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between quality and lifestyle. A party cadre or member having

good quality is also a person who chooses for himself a clean and healthy life and does not allow himself to be swayed and tempted by petty calculations and material desires. An irresponsible, freewheeling, and undisciplined lifestyle that defies public opinion reflected by itself more or less the quality of party cadres and members, and if such a lifestyle is maintained, the party cadres and members concerned will face the danger of becoming degenerate and degraded.

Realities of life show that with the party leading the administration, the lifestyle adopted by party cadres and members is an issue that draws great attention from the masses, and the masses only respect and like those who lead a clean life. Life has also proven that the corruption, degeneration and degradation of many party cadres and members often stem from the manifestations of an unhealthy lifestyle.

Party cadres and members who possess quality and are aware of the communist ideal are persons who know how to live and adopt a clean, healthy, simple, and honest lifestyle with full realization that their lifestyle directly affects their quality and status as party members, the party's prestige, and their relationship with the masses.

Striving to improve revolutionary quality is a lifelong duty of the communists. Nothing can replace the voluntary efforts of party cadres and members to forge themselves. It can be said that as long as our hearts still beat, we, the communists, will have to forge our quality. It will be subjective and erroneous if one considers that there is no problem of quality because he has gone through trials, "seen the face of death," and "stayed in many jails."

To enhance quality and fulfill our role as revolutionary vanguard fighters of the working class, we must constantly take up study and training in all respects. Only by studying to firmly grasp the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and party lines and policies will we have a foundation for thinking and acting correctly, and develop our capability for educating and motivating the masses. Without the necessary knowledge and a thorough understanding of party lines and policies, it will be impossible for us to firmly believe in the victory of socialism, distinguish right from wrong in dealing with the new and complex problems of the socialist revolution, and consequently muster enough resolve to implement party and state viewpoints and policies.

As President Ho said, the forging and enhancement of revolutionary quality must be closely linked with the conduct of self-criticism and criticisms. Only by making strict self-criticism and criticism within the party and inviting criticisms from the masses will we be able to consolidate and develop fine qualities and correct errors and shortcomings, just as "precious stones must be well cut to become sparkling and gold must be refined to become pure."

In the forging and enhancement of the revolutionary quality of party cadres and members, party committee echelons and party organizations play a very important role. First, they must pay constant attention to educating party cadres and members politically and ideologically so as to enhance their

awareness of the communist ideal, their communist *raison d'être*, and their understanding of party lines and policies and revolutionary ethics and qualities. The education of party cadres and members must be closely linked with the conduct of self-criticism and criticisms within party chapters, and efforts must be made to nip in the bud all unhealthy manifestations.

Along with carrying out education activities to improve awareness, it is necessary to strictly uphold party discipline. Only with strict discipline can we firmly maintain unity in thought and action, increase the party's fighting strength, and educate errant persons while preventing others from making mistakes. Insuring strict and just discipline means that those who commit errors and shortcomings must be dealt with according to the nature, gravity, and consequences of their failings and in strict conformity with party discipline and the law of the state; we must neither protect nor condone anyone nor differentiate between high-ranking cadres who hold important positions and authority and ordinary party cadres and members. The report on party building submitted to the 5th National Party Congress points out: "In the party and state apparatus, discipline must be enforced on an equal basis and without exception to anyone... The higher his position and the longer his service to the party, the more severe the violator of discipline must be dealt with."(5)

At present there exist erroneous viewpoints regarding the observance of party discipline. Some comrades hold that the quality and lifestyle of party cadres and members are not cause for "concern" as long as they are able to fulfill their duties, or that "emphasis" should not be placed on discipline in the difficult and complex starting period of socialist construction, especially now when life and the economy are beset with numerous difficulties. Such erroneous viewpoints have led to the slackening of party and discipline, and this is one of the causes of the slow progress in overcoming unhealthy manifestations concerning the quality and lifestyle of party cadres and members. At present the class struggle as well as the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads is daily and hourly weighing down on the ranks of party cadres and members. The enemy is also resorting to many maneuvers designed to corrupt party cadres and members. Therefore, our party must pay more attention than ever before to urging its cadres and members to observe discipline. Lenin stressed: "Those who weaken--even only slightly--the ironclad discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the period of its dictatorship) are actually helping the bourgeoisie oppose the proletariat."(6)

Our party has many times pointed out that in order to enhance the quality and personality of party members and make the party clean, firm, and strong, we must resolutely expel from the party degenerate and degraded elements and those who do not qualify fully for party membership. Over the years, our party has removed from its ranks many such persons. However, since correct viewpoints have not yet been adopted and resolute and positive measures have not been taken in many localities, a few persons not qualified for party members and degenerate and degraded elements have not been expelled from the party. We must grasp even more firmly the party's guiding thought regarding this problem. Following the resolutions of the 5th National Party Congress, the resolution of the Party Central Committee's 4th plenum "on pressing

ideological and organizational issues" points out: "We must resolutely remove from the party and organs degenerate and degraded elements who are still engaged in exploitation, who abuse their positions and authority to steal public property, receive bribes, collude with dishonest traders and the bourgeoisie in amassing riches, and oppress the masses. It is necessary to resolutely prosecute before the law elements who take advantage of their positions and authority to carry out misdeeds that cause serious losses to the state and the people and adversely affect the masses' confidence in the party. It is also necessary to seriously criticize and duly deal with party cadres and members who deliberately protect violators of the law."

The basic measures for educating party cadres and members and for enhancing the revolutionary quality consist of carry out political and ideological indoctrination, maintaining strict and just party discipline, and expelling persons not qualified for membership from the party. At the same time, proper attention must be given to caring for the living conditions of party cadres and members, workers, and state employees; plans must be made to provide realistic assistance to those faced with difficulties in their everyday life. In the current situation, this is a positive measure that creates conditions for party cadres and members to maintain and forge their own quality.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Documents of the 5th Party Congress, Volume III, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, p 59.
2. V.I Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 352.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 357.
4. Documents of the 5th Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 104.
5. Documents of the 5th Party Congress..., p 59.
6. V.I. Lenin: Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 34.

CSO: 4210/13

## SOME EXPERIENCES IN BUILDING THE DISTRICT INTO A MILITARY FORTRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 47-54

[Article by Lieutenant General Nguyen Quyet]

[Text] Building the districts into military fortresses is a necessity in meeting the requirements of the present revolutionary situation and tasks.

In conjunction with the policy of taking positive steps to build districts that combine agriculture and industry (or forestry, agriculture and industry, fishing, agriculture and industry) and using the district as the base for redistributing labor and reorganizing production, the district not only directly organizes production and manages agriculture on the basic level, it is also the place that supports the material life of the people and organizes every aspect of that life, such as cultural activities, education, public health, physical education and sports and so forth, well. Our party also advocates: "On the basis of planning economic construction and cultural development within the scope of the district, we must plan the building of the national defense system, closely coordinate the economy with the national defense system, build the districts into strong and solid military fortresses..."(1)

From the activities conducted in Military Region 3, we have begun to see some of the fundamentals that must be fully understood and implemented well in order to build the districts into military fortresses.

In the Building of the Districts into Military Fortresses, It Is First of All Necessary To Build Districts That Are Strong and Stable Politically

In the face of the malicious schemes and actions of the enemy and in the face of our acute economic difficulties, our people's work of building and defending the fatherland has become extremely arduous and complex. This demands that we attach appropriate importance to teaching politics and ideology so that each citizen has a profound understanding of the two strategic tasks of the country as a whole, has a profound understanding of how these two strategic tasks specifically apply to their locality and installation and a profound understanding of the line on socialist construction as well as the line on waging a full-scale, modern people's war

under the specific circumstances of our country today. At the same time, suitable, practical forms of activity and measures must be adopted to heighten the patriotism, the love of socialism, the spirit of mastery in terms of obligations and rights, the sense of revolutionary vigilance and the readiness to give one's life for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism on the part of each citizen, each cadre and each soldier. To achieve good results under present conditions, the teaching of politics and ideology must be closely linked to building and strengthening the organizations of the party, the government and the masses. Political strength and stability primarily involve the ideological and organizational strength and stability of these organizations, among which the party organization must be strong in order for the other organizations to be strong. This is the nucleus of the strength of the military fortress. Therefore, the main requirement of us is that we attach full importance to building installations that are strong and stable in every respect and create new factors, create a new quality.

At present, it is necessary to give each sector, each level and each person a clear understanding of the importance of the basic level, of the extremely important position and role of the basic units and overcome the phenomena of giving light attention to and relaxing the effort to build the basic level.

The agencies on the upper level should adopt specific plans and routinely concern themselves with guiding and assisting the basic level, especially in key areas; they must correctly evaluate the situation and the causes of the weaknesses and the strengths of each installation and assemble cadres from the various sectors under the direct guidance of the party committee to successfully meet the requirements of installations so that those that are strong become stronger, those that are strong in one area become strong in all areas and there are no longer any weak and deficient installations.

The upgrading of weak and deficient installations demands careful, accurate research to determine precisely which steps must be taken and determine which steps must be taken by the installation itself and which are to be taken by the upper level either by itself or in conjunction with the installation. It is necessary to correctly determine the factors that have impeded the progress of the installation and, on this basis, adopt suitable, correct measures for resolving these problems while concentrating on building the installation. Thus, any installation, regardless of how long it has been a weak and deficient installation and regardless of the difficulties it faces, can make progress. During the past 5 years, as a result of operating in this manner, the provinces of Military Region 3 have upgraded many weak and deficient installations. These installations have increased certain areas of their production two to three times, completed all tasks assigned to them well and maintained order and security well. The weakest and most deficient of the 31 villages in one district actually moved forward to become to leading village in the district. In 1977, 28 percent of the villages within the military region were weak and deficient; in 1982, this figure was 7 percent. Ninety-six formerly weak and deficient villages have become "determined to win" units, 144 have become above average villages, 121 have become average villages and the number of villages that have earned the title "Determined To Win" within the military region has increased by 15 percent compared to 1978.

The facts presented above permit us to reach the conclusion that without building installations that are politically stable and without correcting the weaknesses and deficiencies of installations, it is impossible to build installations that are militarily strong. And, without strong installations, the district cannot be built into a military fortress.

Building the Economy, Coordinating the Economy with the National Defense System, the National Defense System with the Economy Through Appropriate Forms and Requirements That Yield Marked Results

As everyone knows, economic strength is the basis of military strength. These two strengths create the basic strength of the country. In socialism, building the economy and strengthening the national defense system are one and the same thing. In peace time, everyone works, produces and builds the country with enthusiasm, which reflects the patriotism, the love of socialism, the spirit of collective ownership and the attitude of defending the fatherland. Each person, each household and each installation has the obligation to develop their potentials in every area in order to stimulate the development of production, move forward and bring about economic change, thereby not only insuring that they have enough to eat, but also contributing something to the state and building a reserve for use in time of natural disaster or war.

Although our country still faces many difficulties, every locality, every place that takes the initiative in developing the strength of each area, mobilizing each person, each household and each installation, making good use of labor and arable land and expanding the trade sector possesses real capabilities for "becoming prosperous and winning victory."

Experience has shown that in order to coordinate the economy with the national defense system within the scope of the district, it is of utmost importance to develop specific guidelines, forms, requirements and measures that are consistent with the characteristics of each district and area and establish a good relationship between the economy and the national defense system, a relationship in which light attention is not given to the economy or to the national defense system, the economy develops with each passing day and the national defense system becomes increasingly strong.

The coastal districts have mobilized the entire party and all the people to "go out to sea to become prosperous and win victory," using the militia and self-defense forces as the nucleus of the effort to develop fishing and maintain security at sea. They have mobilized the tens of thousands of militiamen and self-defense forces to join the people of the locality in building dikes, reclaiming land from the sea and expanding the amount of area under cultivation and have sent persons to establish new villages in order to carry out production and create additional border defense "belts" to maintain order and security and maintain combat readiness, thereby bringing about a substantive change in coastal areas and turning each village there into a unit that is a skilled production unit and a strong national defense unit while bringing prosperity to each locality and constantly improving the living standard of each household. Over the past several years, the localities of Military Region 3 have reclaimed land from the sea and put tens of thousands

of hectares into use. In one province, the amount of land that has been reclaimed from the sea equals the size of an entire district. The lowland districts that lie inland and other places have used the mobile forces of the militia and self-defense units in campaigns to "improve fields and complete farmland water conservancy projects" through various forms of organization patterned after the manual labor worksite. Densely populated places have practiced intensive cultivation and multicropping in order to increase the number of crops raised per year from two to three, four or five, continuously cultivated their crops and applied scientific and technical measures, thereby increasing their yields; at the same time, they have established defense and combat lines, suitable rear services and good evacuation centers.

The mountain districts have developed upon the strengths that they have in forestry and livestock production while opening new roads, strengthening socialist production relations and using the terrain to coordinate economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system and the maintenance of security.

As a result of starting to learn how to coordinate the economy with the national defense system in a manner consistent with the specific circumstances of each district, many places have created the conditions for "resolving the difficulties" encountered in economic life, accelerating production, building the battle position of the local people's war, building strong and solid local armed forces and gradually become strong military fortresses.

#### Building the Battle Position of the Local People's War

Building the battle position of the people's war within the district involves deploying forces in accordance with basic combat plans. This battle position is based on political, moral and economic advantages, the plans and methods of the enemy, our combat objectives and the terrain and geography of each area. It enables the people and the armed forces within the district to engage in combat, carry out production and build up their forces so that they can fight on their own for long periods of time, maintain control of the locality and help to maintain control of the entire country.

In view of the fact that this battle position is formed within the battle positions in each village, factory, enterprise, worksite, state farm and forestry site and the battle position of each cluster of combat bases, it insures that these units are linked together in many different lines, lines that have both breadth and depth, so that they can tenaciously hold their positions and support one another in maintaining continuous control over the area of operation; behind these lines are rear bases that make it possible to continue production under all circumstances of a war and firmly maintain ties to the province and the military region.

The building of the battle position of the local people's war must also be based on the requirements of war and our capabilities within each area so that suitable methods of fighting can be adopted.

The coastal districts must be able to win victory over enemy troops conducting a seaborne landing while they are still in the water and prevent them from

reaching the shore. To accomplish this, these districts must establish strong defense lines consisting of fortifications, obstacles, concealment and barriers so that their forces are able to hold their positions and annihilate the enemy. The inland districts must be able to win victory over enemy air raids and airborne landings by killing the forces of the enemy before they reach the ground or as soon as they land, that is, before they are on their feet. The mountain districts must be able to win victory over the mountaineer forces of the enemy and prevent them from along or against the flanks of our forces from the mountains. The municipalities and cities must be able to win victory over the multifaceted war of sabotage of the enemy and resist enemy air raids.

On the basis of the task and position of each district, the building of the battle position must focus on key points and result in strong and solid key areas in order to insure that "key points are strong, all areas are solid, speed is rapid and quality is high." Besides these key points, the other areas must also formulate plans and planning for coordinating the economy with the national defense system, be ready to shift from peace time to war time and make all the necessary preparations so that they can immediately go into combat against the enemy when ordered.

The most significant achievement that has been recorded in the building of battle positions within Military Region 3 has been the focusing of efforts on the building of key points and the coastal line, which has resulted in the establishment of scores of combat alert positions and a network of observer stations manned by militia and self-defense forces, forces which are on combat alert duty day and night and produce enough food for themselves as well as some for their families. The warning signal system and the liaison system between border defense units and key points have been continuously improved and rear service, technical and combat readiness reserve stockpiles have been regularly inspected and supplemented or replaced where necessary.

The coastal districts within the military region have planted slightly less than 2 million clumps of bamboo, nearly 1 million clumps of rattan, tens of thousands of beefwood trees and hundreds of hectares of mangrove trees, which cover 87 percent of the length of the seacoast within the military region and have created a network of hedges along the shore and a line of living obstacles that assist in the maintenance of security and combat readiness and yield high economic returns, thereby creating the conditions for the future development of the trade sector.

All localities and sectors have mobilized the people to join the armed forces in the construction of vehicular roads, both main roads and secondary roads, extending from inland areas to the shore and to some islands. Ha Nam Ninh Province has mobilized 3 million mandays and spent 11 million dong in the construction of inter-district roads that extend all the way to the seacoast; the province has upgraded 47 kilometers of roadway, constructed 87 new bridges and repaired 150 old bridges, at a total cost of 12 million dong, to support production and everyday life and enable the movement of artillery vehicles and mobile troops when a war breaks out.

In the building of the district military fortress, one pressing requirement being faced is the need to adopt in peace time a very well prepared plan for building the local rear service network, one that supports both the immediate

task of maintaining combat readiness and the long-range combat task. To accomplish this, there must be truly close coordination between economic development and the improvement of the people's standard of living, on the one hand, and combat requirements, on the other hand. A plan must be adopted for investing in and directing the efforts of the industrial and handicraft installations within the district toward the creation of the conditions needed to produce combat weapons for the fight waged by all the people against the enemy, produce necessary tools for the armed forces and possibly meet some of the light weapons repair needs of the infantry.

Organizations that have transportation capabilities must be included in planning, given training and assigned specific tasks even in peace time so that they are ready to meet emergency combat requirements. Hospitals and the information and post-telegraph networks must also be suitably reorganized and given training in peace time so that they can, in time of war, fulfill their functions and effectively support the armed forces and the people in combat and the maintenance of production.

All of the preparations mentioned above must be thoroughly made in peace time and revolve around developing production in a manner that yields the highest possible economic returns in order to meet the need for grain and food products and satisfied an appropriate percentage to meet war requirements. Of utmost importance in this work of making preparations and providing training is the need to be fully aware of the requirements and laws of war and clearly understand the requirements and laws of the economy in order to develop appropriate guidelines, forms, and measures and apply these laws in a coordinated manner in order to meet the requirements mentioned above.

On the basis of this realization, the districts within Military Region 3 are intensifying the "become prosperous and win victory" movement and focusing their efforts on successfully resolving the immediate grain and food problem and helping to build increasingly large stockpiles. Practically all localities have strengthened their local rear service networks from the basic to the provincial levels. The weapon repair sections at installations and the emergency medical stations for wounded and ill soldiers have been put under the management of each line.

As a result of making such positive preparations, the communications-transportation sector within the military region was, by itself, able to mobilize 4,658 trucks to transport 62,000 tons of supplies to reinforce the frontlines when the Chinese reactionaries launched their war of aggression against the six northern border provinces of our country (February, 1979).

In the various maneuvers that have been held, the local rear service system and the rear service system of the army have combined to form a complete system of rear service bases that has completed its task well and competently supported the armed forces and the people of the military region.

Building the Armed Forces of the Masses and Organizing All the People in the Fight Against the Enemy

The entire country united as one and all the people fighting the enemy are a military tradition of the Vietnamese. They are also the military viewpoint and line of our party.

Building strong armed forces of the masses is one of the most visible expressions of the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, the spirit of all the people participating in the fight against the enemy, the entire country fighting the enemy, the spirit that each citizen is a soldier, each village, worksite, state farm, forestry site and enterprise is a combat base and each district is a strong and solid fortress defending the fatherland.

Together with regularly teaching awareness of national defense and a regimented lifestyle to all the people, to the students of the colleges, vocational middle schools and general schools and planning the reorganization of combat forces, combat support forces and the labor force when war breaks out, the various localities are urgently building up their militia and self-defense forces so that they are capable of serving as the nucleus of the fight waged by all the people in the task of defending the locality, are capable of playing the shock role in economic development and are, at the same time, a powerful and ready source of reserves of the army. In the present situation, the militia and self-defense forces have a very important role in resisting the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage. Closely linking their national defense mission to the task of maintaining security, these forces have developed suitable forms of organization and activities that enable them to perform both of these tasks well. Many places have organized security-national defense platoons within villages. These platoons have been conducting successful operations.

Militia and self-defense forces must be of adequate size and high quality and consist of stationary forces and mobile forces, of forces within the various branches of the military and strong reserve forces.

The scale and number of militia and self-defense forces must be based on the characteristics, requirements and capabilities of each district, city, factory, enterprise and so forth so that these forces are able to defend the locality and ready to move to another area to engage in the enemy in combat or reinforce forces elsewhere when necessary. In the buildup of forces, attention must be given to establishing a good relationship between size and quality so that the organization of these forces is pure, stable and strong, so that every unit is strong and streamlined.

The average village has one or two stationary combat companies, one or two mobile companies and detachments within the various branches, such as the anti-aircraft artillery, ground artillery, engineers, the signal branch, the reconnaissance branch, the chemical troops and so forth. The interconnected combat bases organize mobile combat battalions. The district can organize many mobile battalions and, as conditions permit, gradually organize a regiment.

As regards weapons, the task and nature of each detachment must be used as the basis for selecting suitable modern or relatively modern weapons in coordination with rudimentary weapons and weapons manufactured by the detachments themselves and in accordance with the guideline of fighting well with whatever weapons the detachment has. Utmost importance must be attached to technical and tactical training centered around the training of cadres and attention must be given to providing training in how each arm of the military fights and coordinating these methods of fighting to create a combined strength.

To improve the quality and accurately assess the qualifications and capabilities of the forces of each locality and unit, many places have conducted inspections and exercises based on combat plans with a view toward improving staff procedures, organizational work, the command procedures of cadres and the mobility of units and gradually establishing a deployment of forces that conforms with combat objectives when war breaks out.

Importance must be attached to building the militia and self-defense forces; at the same time, attention must be given to making the local army the "strong fist" of the district, making it a highly mobile force that is ready to fight the enemy on the main fronts, assist the combat bases maintain firm control and attack the enemy both within and outside the district, especially key districts and coastal districts.

Through study and training, the local army must learn how to fight as centralized units in coordinated combat operations within defensive formations in the combat villages and interconnected bases; at the same time, they must be able to serve as the nucleus guiding the militia and self-defense forces within the district in their combat operations and must properly perform their task of building the political base in the locality and working with the other forces to prevent negative phenomena, maintain order and security and accelerate production. The coastal districts and key districts must attach importance to building border defense troops that routinely serve as the nucleus of the effort to assess the activities of the enemy and the work of conducting patrols, standing guard and controlling traffic at river ports, sea ports, wharves and storage yards while combating attempts to flee the country by land or by sea. Those border defense troops that are stationed within interconnected combat bases must adopt complete combat plans, plans in which their specific area of operation is the border defense post and their general area of operation is the combat village. The general area of operation is designed to protect the specific area of operation; the latter coordinates with the former to annihilate the enemy. Therefore, it is necessary to build border defense troops that are strong and stable ideologically, organizationally and professionally, are absolutely loyal to the party and state and know how to build and strengthen the basic level. At the same time, we must always be concerned with building strong and solid reserve forces that are ready to supplement main force troops when necessary. Each locality must closely coordinate with ready reserve units, keep abreast of the number and quality of reserve troops and officers and take measures to tightly manage reserve forces in accordance with the regulations of mobilization staff work.

Close Leadership by the Party Committee and Close Guidance by the Local Government Are the Decisive Factors in the Building of the District Military Fortress

In order to build itself into a military fortress, every district must endeavor to become politically stable and economically prosperous, build a strong national defense and security system, carry out cultural and social development and tap the combined strength of all the people, the strength of every sector in every area so that everyone carries out and smoothly coordinates the two strategic tasks of the party so that they stimulate each other's development.

Here, strengthening the leadership provided by the party means strengthening the organization and comprehensively improving the leadership skills of the basic party organizations and chapters as regards the performance of the two strategic tasks of the party and the performance of the specific tasks involved in building the district into a military fortress. The district party committee must adopt basic guidelines, requirements and measures designed to gradually build the military fortress within the district; in particular, it must know how to closely coordinate the plan for the building of the military fortress with the socio-economic development plan of the district within a common plan for building the economy and strengthening the national defense system. This plan is the concretization of the two strategic tasks within the locality. The village party committees must also adopt similar plans that are consistent with their villages' circumstances. The provincial party committee and people's committee must concern themselves with leading and directing the provinces in adopting plans for building military fortresses that are suited to each district and which, at the same time, meet the general national defense requirements and requirements of the people's war battle position of the entire province, thereby creating a network of strong, interconnected military fortresses that serves as a good base for main force troops to attack and annihilate the enemy. Requirements that go beyond the capabilities of the district and problems encountered by the districts regarding the relationships involved in coordinating the economy with the national defense system must be promptly resolved by the provincial level.

Within each party committee, it is necessary to assign reasonable responsibilities to each member and thoroughly prepare each member in peace time so that the party committee itself and the entire party organization can take the initiative regardless of the situation, take the initiative in production as well as in combat. All party members are the key force in the performance of the two strategic tasks as they specifically apply within their locality.

In the building of the district into a military fortress, it is the local government that proposes suitable operational plans and measures for implementing the plan to build the district military fortress. By means of building its various organizational apparatus, managing all activities within the locality, supplying the necessary means and creating the necessary material conditions, the government manages the various organizations within its system so that their activities support the national defense requirements of the locality. The government concerns itself with building up the local armed forces, creating the conditions needed for their operations and meeting their necessary requirements while strengthening the sectors and installations that are related to the national defense system, such as the public health, commerce, information, posts-telegraph, communications and liaison sectors and installations, the machine stations and centers of the district and so forth so that it can convert them into rear service organizations and forces when war breaks out. The mass organizations, such as the Youth Union, the Women's Union and so forth, can make positive contributions to this work and, in this manner, organize and teach the masses to exercise their right of mastery not only in the field of the economy, but also in the fields of national defense and security.

In particular, the local military agencies on the various levels must improve their staff qualifications, especially with regard to the latest knowledge

concerning a war to defend the fatherland in modern times, the present struggle against the multifaceted war of sabotage of the enemy and the requirements involved in the relationship between the two strategic tasks, between the two modes of war and between the economy and the national defense and security systems in our country's present situation; at the same time, they must do a good job of researching and proposing matters, formulating proposed work plans that are of high quality and highly effective plans for directing and commanding combat operations and truly play the role as the competent staff of the party committee. Thus, the local military agencies on the various levels must not only be skilled in commanding combat operations, in guiding the building of the political base and the development of the movement of all the people participating in national defense work, but must also be skilled in economic construction and the development of production within the locality. Every local military cadre must know how to organize the performance of his task in the best possible manner, maintain close contact with installations, be involved in the movement and turn the directives and resolutions of the party and government into revolutionary actions by the masses.

Building the districts into strong and solid military fortresses involves a long process of continuous and very intense struggle. To perform this large and difficult task, it is most important to always have a thorough understanding of the viewpoints and line of the party, creatively apply the experiences that were gained in the building of combat villages under the present, actual situation of each locality and installation, clearly define the specifics and requirements involved in building the district military fortress and, on this basis, set forth precise plans and suitable stages of development and measures for building each district into a military fortress that is strong and solid in every respect and is part of the battle position of the people's war throughout the country in order to successfully build and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Party Secretariat Directive Number 38 on local military work in the new situation.

7809  
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## IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE TEACHING OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 55-59, 67

[Article by Le Xuan Luu]

[Text] The teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory is an important part of the ideological work of the party. Our party routinely concerns itself with and gives its attention to improving the quality and effectiveness of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in order to train a corps of leadership cadres, management cadres and scientific-technical cadres whose thinking has been tempered and who possess both the knowledge and the ability to conduct revolutionary activities.

In the new stage of the revolution, this matter has assumed even more important and pressing significance because our party, our corps of cadres and party members face a host of new and complex matters in socialist construction, matters that require deep knowledge and the correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition. The directive of the Party Secretariat "on the training of theory cadres at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School" states: "In the present stage of the revolution, especially to help implement the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress, the tasks faced in work involving theory are larger. In the advance from an agricultural country in which small-scale production predominates directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the socialist revolution in our country faces many theoretical and practical questions that must be studied in a comprehensive and systematic manner."(1)

The cadres of the party are the persons who have the task of propagandizing, teaching about, providing a thorough understanding of and organizing the implementation of each line, position and policy of the party. Today, in order to successfully carry out the two large, difficult and complex tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the cadre must have a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and policies of the party and must employ the class political viewpoints and its scientific methods in order to recognize, analyze and correctly resolve the difficult problems that are being faced in social life as well as in their own field of

activity. Cadres and party members who are aware, possess an unswerving, firm stand and, on this basis, teach the masses and raise their awareness are an extremely important factor in insuring victory in the present struggle in our country between socialism and capitalism as well as the struggle against each scheme and trick of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, of the anti-communism of the imperialists and international reactionaries and the relentless struggle against hostile ideologies. The guideline "theory linked with practice" as well as the educational principles set forth by the party of "learning in conjunction with practice," "coordinating education with labor and production" and "closely linking the school with society" have the significance of important methodology in evaluating the effectiveness of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory. This effectiveness must be measured against the following standards:

1. The breadth and the depth of the comprehension of knowledge concerning Marxism-Leninism. Today, in view of the rapid development of the social sciences and the huge increase in the volume of information available, it is important to select that knowledge which is of foremost significance, select the latest knowledge and lay the foundation for the formation of the scientific world view and for equipping with the correct methodology, thereby providing cadres, the specialists of the future, with a correct political-class guideline in life, a correct viewpoint concerning the various processes of development of society, economic work, cultural activities, the technical sciences and so forth. Depth of comprehension of the knowledge regarding every matter of theory requires a firm grasp of the classical Marxist-Leninist base underlying the matter at hand and a firm grasp of our party's viewpoint that we incorporate, in a logical manner, and develop upon the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the matter. Opposite, reactionary viewpoints concerning this matter must be thoroughly criticized.

2. The degree to which knowledge has evolved into firm confidence. K. Marx wrote: "The same applies to our thoughts that we have comprehended through our thinking; these thoughts bolster our confidence and once reason has closely linked our conscience to them, these thoughts become tightly binding ties that cannot be broken without our heart being torn to pieces."<sup>(2)</sup> V.I. Lenin considered the most important characteristics of confidence to be the ability to fully assume, on one's own initiative, the Marxist stand in the analyzing of social processes and phenomena; to be to embody the truth of the principles of theory and be ready to prove and defend the truth under all circumstances; and to be a consistency between recognizing the truth and acting in accordance with it. Confidence is the highest and most complex level of the world view, is a complex component of cognition, emotion and the will to act. Confidence is the result of teaching that is of high quality, is highly persuasive and closely links theory with practice; it is the result of the attitude of actively seeking knowledge, of accepting matters in an independent and creative manner and reaching correct conclusions and general observations on one's own.

3. The ability to apply the principles of theory to the realities of life for the purpose of resolving specific social problems. This is the main standard and also represents something much more complex. However, "a Marxist is only

of value when he knows how to apply the Marxist method to resolve specific problems."(3)

4. The spirit of responsibility, the will to fight and the positive attitude displayed by students in their implementation of the lines and policies of the party, in the performance of their daily task and in their personal lives as well as social activities while in school as well as after graduating from school.

The main guideline for increasing the effectiveness of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory is to develop the teaching-learning process in depth, with the first step being to closely link this process to training objectives. These training objectives are the qualities and skills that we seek to develop within those who are being trained, are the character of the cadre who, upon graduation, is competent in his occupation and has the ability to continue to develop in his new social position.

Simply learning general Marxist-Leninist theory without the purpose of training someone in a specific occupation or teaching and learning Marxist-Leninist theory and teaching and learning an occupation "side-by-side" without the two being linked in any way whatsoever are a method of teaching and learning Marxist-Leninism in an abstract manner, a method which lacks vitality and, consequently, is the least effective method.

Every cadre must be closely associated with a specific occupation, a specific field of social activity. The task of equipping the specialists of the future with whole systems of scientific knowledge must be carried out in a manner closely linked to training them in the method of applying this knowledge to solve specific problems encountered in their occupational lives. Marxism-Leninism must be presented to them as both a world view and a methodology and these two functions must be linked, one to the other, without any opposition or gaps between them. Rather than stopping at presenting Marxist-Leninist theory as a means that helps cadres to explain reality and define their attitude toward it (which is the function of the world view), we must help cadres to use this theoretical knowledge as a tool in order to have an impact upon reality, to transform reality. K. Marx, himself, said: "Previous philosophers only explained the world in many different ways; the issue, however, lies in transforming the world."(4)

To accomplish this, the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory must relate to the specialized field of the persons being trained, to the tasks of the revolution, the pressing realities of the country and the function and task of the cadre being trained. Only in this way is it possible to cultivate within the student a creative, independent and scientific method of thinking; only in this way is it possible to truly improve the student's ability to take action, to cultivate occupational skills, aptitudes and habits.

To improve the quality and increase the effectiveness of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with the guidelines presented above, it is necessary to establish a system of Marxist-Leninist textbooks suited to each specialized field of training and necessary to improve teaching and

learning methods with a view toward encouraging creative thinking on the part of students.

By its very nature, Marxism-Leninism is never lacking in creativity. The present stage of our country's revolution is making higher demands upon the creative thinking of the cadre. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress on education stressed the need to "turn knowledge into confidence, into a scientific world view and method of thinking and, on this basis, equip persons with the ability to think creatively and act correctly."(5)

It has come time to improve the "convey information" style of teaching and learning (explanations and illustrations), in which the teacher presents theories, conveys "conclusions that have already been reached and resolves every question or problem that might arise while the students play a passive role and commit to memory all that is told them. While we must firmly maintain the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory as a scientific subject and must present the fundamentals of its principles as matters that have been tested in history and confirmed, we must create an atmosphere of inquisitiveness and independent thinking, without which principles of theory lose all their vitality. Studying classical Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner does not mean committing the statements of classical Marxism-Leninism to memory, but learning the way that classical Marxism-Leninism views history, learning the dialectical method of thinking and learning the creative spirit of classical Marxism-Leninism. President Ho pointed out that learning Marxist-Leninist theory is "Learning the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and studying the stand, the viewpoints and the methods of Marxism-Leninism in order to apply this stand, these viewpoints and these methods to successfully resolve the practical problems encountered in our revolutionary work."(6) It is necessary to show everyone that Marxist-Leninist theory is not dogmatic, is not something rigid, rather, that it is the science of the continuous development of the world, a science that is always consistent with development and derives its robust vitality from this development.

Every form of teaching and learning in lecture halls, in seminars and so forth must be designed to highly develop the independent and creative style of thinking of the student, to turn the process of training into a process of self-training and closely relate the teaching of fundamental theory to pressing contemporary issues in a way that encourages the student to find his own answers to the questions that he has, to find solutions to the problems being encountered by many persons. As M. I. Kalinin said: "To some extent, the study of Marxism-Leninism is similar to the study of mathematics. Mathematics is an abstract science, if not the most abstract science. However, how is the teaching of mathematics organized? First, we study the principles; then, we do specific, entirely practical mathematical problems. Thus, the study of Marxism-Leninism must be carried out the same way, that is, must be supported by specific facts, by examples taken from real life."(7)

The creative method of teaching and learning demands that the instructor not only be a person who can convey Marxist-Leninist theory, but also a person who can organize the study of this theory by students. The activism of the teacher is expressed mainly in the form of skillful guidance that is highly pedagogical in nature, is scientific in content and points the way toward the

truth. Above everything else, the teacher must truly understand and apply principles and laws as scientific methodology and must have firm confidence in the truths of Marxism-Leninism, in the lines and viewpoints of the party, must be able to precisely evaluate that which is correct and that which is incorrect in the viewpoints, stand and method of thinking of his students; and must guide students in applying theory to solve problems that arise and criticize the mistakes reflected in their stand, viewpoints and methods.

Activism on the part of the student, which is an indispensable prerequisite to creative study, is manifested first in the independent search for the best methods and ways to gain a deep understanding of the subject matter being studied. As V.I. Lenin said: "Without making this painstaking effort on one's own, it is impossible to find the truth in any important issue; and, anyone who is afraid to make this effort, cannot find the truth."(8)

Every student must be thoroughly instructed in how to read and take notes on the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of the party, textbooks and other scientific works, instead of reading them in a cursory manner or simply committing matters to memory without trying to grasp their essence.

In the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, as well as in every process of teaching and learning, the role played by the student is of major significance. This significance arises from the special characteristic of study as an activity that has the purpose of changing the student himself. In other activities, the persons who participate in them are also changed. K. Marx pointed this out when he wrote: "Man has an impact upon and changes nature; at the same time, he also changes himself."(9) However, this is not the main result, not the objective that man seeks to achieve, rather, man's objective is to change the objective world. In the activity of learning, the person who is engaged in this activity must change himself. Through learning, through the acquisition of new knowledge, this person broadens his vision and improves his thinking; if he does not, this thinking is of no practical value. This is a matter of extreme importance in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory because the first result that the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory seeks to achieve is to mold ideological motives, and ethical and psychological factors that are of decisive significance concerning the stand that one adopts in life and one's responsibility to the collective, to society; therefore, the student must make a very large effort on his own to improve his personal qualities. V.I. Lenin said: "The objective of political culture, of political education is to train genuine communists"(10), train persons who have a profound understanding of the phenomena of social life and know how to conduct all their practical activities upon the foundation of consciousness. These are definitely not persons who are "weak or hesitating with regard to matters of theory"(11) and view things from the standpoint of narrowminded pragmatism.

The process of educating and teaching persons at schools is not limited to the teaching and learning process but must be carried out throughout the educational environment and only within a good environment is it possible to achieve the full results of teaching. Developing upon this argument made by the classicists of Marxism concerning the social nature of education, V.I. Lenin taught: education does not stand in isolation from all the systems of social relations, from a given set of social circumstances. For this reason,

the activities that lie outside teaching and learning, such as the close management of persons throughout the years of their training, play an extremely important role in developing the character of the student in accordance with training goals. Each facet of the activities of schools in teaching and learning as well as outside the teaching and learning process, in leadership and management, from matters of major importance to matters of minor importance, must be thoroughly organized and standardized in order to create a social environment that supports character development. The student must be "immersed" in a pure and wholesome psychological and ethical atmosphere, in a collective life that reflects the spirit of true comradeship, a life in which there is respect and concern for one another, public opinion sets high demands, inter-personal relationships conform with rules and political, social and cultural activities are intense and highly educational. These circumstances, this environment, which are created through the coordinated activities of the entire educational, leadership, management and support apparatus, will combine to form a large strength and truly increase the effectiveness of teaching in order to create the final product, as V.I. Lenin said, "genuine communists."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Directive of the Secretariat "on the training of theory cadres at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School," 5 August 1982.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume I, p 118.
3. M.I. Kalinin: "Communist Education," Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 493.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume II, p 659.
5. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 96.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 73.
7. M.I. Kalinin: "Communist Education,"....p 492.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, Volume 19, p 198.
9. Karl Marx: "Das Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book I, Volume 1, p 246.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, Volume 41, p 479.
11. Ibid., Volume 6, p 162.

## BUILD A CONTINGENT OF NEW, SOCIALIST WORKERS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 60-64

[Article by Anh Thong]

[Text] Eight years after liberation day, Ho Chi Minh City "has changed from a consumer city into a productive city and has shifted from an economy in support of war and totally dependent on foreign countries to an economy which is independent, supports the people's welfare and advances toward socialism." (Resolution 01 of the Political Bureau)

In transforming and building the city, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has attached importance to educating the working class to enhance its perception of socialism and of its own mission and position and to enable workers to understand that they are members of the vanguard class which leads the revolution and a main force army in socialist revolution. The party organization has mobilized and organized workers to develop their sense of collective mastery and take the lead in simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in the city. Proceeding from the vigorous revolutionary movement for continuously transforming and building the city, the party organization has gradually trained and built new, socialist workers.

A major component of the Vietnamese working class, the workers of Ho Chi Minh City have for a long time had high professional skills and been rich in the tradition of revolutionary struggle.

In 1954, the working force of Saigon-Cholon numbered more than 100,000. During the 20 years under the U.S. puppet rule, the number of workers of the city fluctuated according to the enemy's need to support its war effort. After liberation day (30 April 1975), the city had about 180,000 workers and more than 100,000 small industry and handicraft laborers. According to the statistics of the Ho Chi Minh City Federation of Trade Unions, the city now has approximately 330,000 workers and civil servants and 200,000 small industry and handicraft laborers (there are 593 state and joint state-private enterprises and about 1,400 private enterprises for industrial production and 22,000 installations for small industry and handicraft production).

The city's workers work in a great many sectors and trades. The major sectors include processing industry, textile industry, mechanical engineering,

printing, communications-transportation, construction, chemical industry... The workers in all sectors are highly skilled (the Caric Machine Works alone has as many Grade 7 workers as the Ministry of Engineering and Metals had before 1975). The city's production capability is considerable: Each year, it can produce more than 2 million bicycles, thousands of sewing machines for export and various high precision articles. Many products manufactured by the city have been awarded gold medals at various national industrial exhibitions.

Since its birth, the working class of Ho Chi Minh City has upheld its stalwart and indomitable patriotic and militant spirit. Benefitting from the party leadership, the city's workers, together with the working class in the rest of the country, have been in the van of the protracted and fierce revolutionary struggle against imperialist aggressors and have led the cause of national liberation to final victory.

Throughout the 20 years of resistance against America, the Saigon-Cholon workers movement was a deep-seated and vigorous movement which simultaneously waged overt, legal and clandestine struggles and a combined political struggle with armed struggle in the heart of the enemy's lair.

The workers' seething revolutionary movement stemmed from the party's line of people's war, which called for attacks against the enemy in all three strategic areas: the cities, the countryside and plains, and the mountains. During the Tet of the Year of the Monkey general offensives in early 1968, the workers in Ho Chi Minh City fought side by side with the liberation army and rose up to win back mastery. In the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, workers of the railway, electricity, water supply, textile, port, and other sectors promptly rose up from 27 April 1975 onward to form armed self-defense units to protect their material and technical bases and to prepare to welcome the liberation forces. The revolutionary flag was hoisted on all workers quarters before the Saigon puppet administration surrendered.

After liberation, implementing the various resolutions of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization and the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, the city's Federation of Trade Unions educated, motivated and organized workers and civil servants to participate enthusiastically in the emulation movement for productive labor, thriftily build socialism, and actively overfulfill the state plans. The purposes of this emulation movement were to promote innovation, practice thrift, and support agriculture, with the promotion of innovation being considered the movement's main thrust. "Work in a disciplined manner and with technical know-how and high productivity" became the watchword of the workers' labor emulation efforts. The workers' revolutionary labor movement has helped resolve many difficulties of the city and given rise to new, socialist workers.

A major difficulty facing the Ho Chi Minh City's working class was that it must resolve by all means the exhaustion of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and spare parts for which the city used to depend on foreign countries. Instead of waiting helplessly for a solution, the city's workers have actively and creatively labored to successfully resolve this problem by launching a vigorous and continuous movement to promote more and more innovations. (A

total of 3,500 innovations were carried out in 1976; 4,475 in 1977; 8,400 in 1978; 12,000 in 1979; 14,000 in 1980; and 12,000 each in 1981 and 1982).

The movement to promote innovations was the spearhead clearing the way for textile mill 13 to overcome difficulties, as it used domestic sources of raw materials to turn out export products of high value. The Sinco Sewing Machine Enterprise turned its installation for assembling sewing machines from Japanese-made parts into a factory to produce sewing machines with 100 percent of the parts being made by itself. The 2 September pharmaceutical products increased the ratio of domestic pharmaceutical products used in the manufacturing of drugs to 80 percent, producing dozens of various highly valuable medicines for export and use in giving medical treatment to the people.

The workers' economization movement has helped effectively resolve the following major problems:

- Reducing the consumption of supplies in the production of a product unit;
- Improving the quality of products and reducing the percentage of defective goods and goods of poor quality;
- Recovering and fully using discards and rejects to make products for daily use;
- Improving planning, projects, and products to save raw materials and supplies or to find substitutes for them;
- Struggling against corruption and waste of raw materials, supplies and labor.

Workers of the textile sector have increased the ratio of Grade A products from 85 percent to 95 percent. Electricity workers have reduced fuel consumption by dozens of metric tons of oil annually. Workers of the canned goods industry, using the same amounts of raw materials as before, have increased production by 15 percent. Workers of the communications sector have launched a movement to satisfactorily maintain vehicles and to learn from combatant Do Can Nghe, saving tens of thousands of liters of gasoline annually. Workers at various warehouses and ports have initiated a movement to safeguard supplies and raw materials following the examples set by fallen heroes Nguyen Thi Hai and Dan Van Dau.

Carrying out the central tasks of supporting agricultural production and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, the city's workers have contributed to completing hundreds of water conservancy projects, irrigation-drainage systems, and electric power installations for the city's suburban areas and various provinces in the Mekong River delta. Workers of the mechanical engineering sector have repaired mechanical pumps and tractors, helped build district agricultural implements works, and produced millions of hand-operated farm tools. Workers in the fertilizer and insecticide industries have overcome difficulties regarding raw materials, producing tens of thousands of metric tons of organic fertilizers and doubling the output of insecticides.

Tractor drivers have opened up tens of thousands of hectares of new land in Song Be, Dong Nai, Tay Ninh... In the field of ecology, researchers and workers have made great efforts and have obtained good results in basic research work which serves as the basis for building the agricultural economic structure and determining the types of animals and crops to be farmed in each area, thereby helping to bring about high economic efficiency. They have successfully applied a number of progressive agricultural techniques such as the use of planthopper-resistant rice varieties, the transplanting of plant cell tissue, the use of microorganic insecticides, and the exploitation of mangrove swamps. At present, the movement for worker-peasant brotherhood linking the city's enterprises with its suburban agricultural cooperatives and with the Mekong River delta provinces is developing.

Over the past 8 years, many new factors, model collectives, and outstanding individuals have emerged from the revolutionary movement of the city's workers, contributing to improving the management mechanism, abolishing the subsidization administrative system, and implementing socialist business. These progressive models have cast an even more brilliant luster upon the revolutionary heroism of the working class in the new stage of the revolution.

Among these models was Comrade Pham Su, a worker of the Thanh Cong Textile Enterprise who worked for 40 years in his profession. Realizing that his illness had reached a critical stage, Pham Su mustered all his remaining energy to write 40 lectures and directly train younger workers. Before dying, in his last words, he recommended a young, competent worker to take charge of the factory in his place. There was Nguyen Thi Hai, a worker at the Binh Dong Wheat Flour Mill, who resolutely resisted all temptations and bribes offered by thieves and courageously gave up her life in the gallant struggle to protect socialist property. And then there was Comrade Do Van Nghe of the Eastern Region Interprovisional Bus Company, who was the first to set an example in reducing fuel consumption norms while insuring that transportation plans were overfulfilled by a higher percentage even with the smaller amount of fuel distributed to him. He resolutely returned hundreds of liters of oil in spite of threats by those who wanted to sell this extra fuel. The shining example set by Do Van Nghe has converted many people and given rise to a movement "to love vehicles as if they were one's children, to cherish gasoline as if it was one's blood" among bus drivers and boatmen.

There have been good workers who worked in a disciplined manner and with technical knowhow and high productivity in all production teams and enterprises, such as Tran Thi Be Bay at the Viet Thang Textile Enterprise, Nguyen Thi Phuong at the Phuoc Long Textile Enterprise, Tran Van Dam at the Siloco Factory, Vy Van Long at the 2 September Pharmaceutical Enterprise, Nge Duc Thang at the Tong Hop Printing Shop, Mai Van Truc at the Saigon Brewery...

An outstanding feature of these progressive models is that they always overcome difficulties to step up production and overfulfill the state plans. This is precisely the quality and ethics of new, socialist workers.

Party organizations in the progressive model units have attached importance to political and ideological indoctrination while actively applying various economic measures, correctly attending to "the three interests," caring for

the laborers' livelihood, and paying attention to the building of revolutionary forces, the consolidation of trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and the development of the party among workers.

Implementing Resolution 01 of the Political Bureau, Ho Chi Minh City is gradually developing its strength and important position, first, to support agriculture in the Mekong River Delta, a key grain production zone for the entire country; and secondly, to correctly resolve the distribution-circulation problem, a burning front in the "who-will-beat-whom" struggle between the socialist and capitalist road, and to fulfill the city's role as a business center and an international trading center.

Ho Chi Minh City is also a "key target of the enemy's multifaceted sabotage activities."

Therefore, the working class must serve as the leading, main force in the transformation, building and defense of the city.

To struggle against and thoroughly transform the bourgeoisie, to educate and attract the peasantry, to satisfactorily achieve an alliance with the peasants, sever all their ties with the bourgeoisie, and gradually lead them onto the road of collective production, the working class itself must be awakened to socialism, strictly observe discipline, and have firm and strong organizations. At present, however, the ranks of Ho Chi Minh City's workers still have some weaknesses which must be overcome. A fairly large number of workers have someone in their families who derives income from agricultural work or trade or do so themselves. When encountering difficulties in daily life, some workers leave their enterprises for private business to make more money. Labor discipline is loose. Workers often attend to private business during official working hours or use their enterprises' machinery to produce goods for private individuals to help them make profits. In many places, petty theft remains serious. In the struggle against negativism, indulgence, forbearance, and fear of revenge still prevail. The sense of and capacity for collective mastery are still limited. Many workers are still superstitious, fond of gambling and drinking, and maintaining old funeral and wedding customs. A fairly large number of young workers are influenced by bourgeois, foreign lifestyles. Many Hoa workers satisfactorily carry out productive labor and unite with their Vietnamese colleagues, but still nurture a nationality complex, have scant knowledge of socialism, and lack class consciousness.

The Ho Chi Minh City party organization applied and is applying positive measures to train, forge, and build the new contingent of workers in all respects so that the working class can fulfill its historic tasks. Through the trade unions, the party organization rallies, educates, and organizes the working masses to implement the party's policies. It has set for all party members, regardless of their position, the task of actively motivating workers, participating in trade union activities, and fulfilling the tasks entrusted by the trade unions. The implementation of the regulations on workers' collective mastery according to Decree 182 is being promoted. The building of a civilized lifestyle and a new culture and the struggle against

negative manifestations on the cultural, literary and artistic front is being stepped up.

To build and strengthen the city's contingent of new, socialist workers, the party organization is continuing to lead the implementation of the following concrete tasks:

--To strongly develop the right to collective mastery among workers and civil servants and create favorable conditions for them to participate in formulating and successfully implementing state plans.

--To continuously launch among factory workers and laborers a movement for revolutionary action to develop innovations, practice thrift, support agriculture, and overfulfill the 1983 and 1983-85 plan targets. On the basis of this movement, new factors should be discovered and progressive models multiplied.

--To care for the living conditions and protect the health of cadres and workers and educate workers in the viewpoint that improvement of living conditions must be based on the development of production.

--To heighten the class consciousness and understanding of socialism of the working class, educate workers in the revolutionary tradition, and turn their revolutionary heroism in the past wars of resistance into revolutionary heroism in creative labor to build socialism.

CSO: 4210/13

READERS' LETTERS: THE OPINIONS OF A PARTY MEMBER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 65-67

[Letter from Huynh Tan Xa, the Dong Nai Post-Telegraph Facility Party Committee]

[Text] Over the past 8 years, our people have recorded many achievements in the economic field. However, we are also weak and deficient in many areas. At present, there is a situation in our country in which:

- Workers, farmers included, are still being exploited;
- Intermediaries and persons with connections are living in luxury;
- The state is suffering losses and experiencing shortages.

The causes of this situation are that we have relaxed the dictatorship of the proletariat, relaxed the management of the economy, society and the market and even relaxed our effort to build the party and build the revolutionary state. We have also be rightist and lacked vigilance.

Our greatest weakness is economic management. The field in which our problems are most pressing is distribution and circulation. Here, the class struggle is the sharpest.

Veteran bourgeoisie have re-emerged and new bourgeois elements have appeared. They are exploiting the working people and sabotaging the economic construction of the state. Using illegally gained income, they have purchased or constructed large houses filled with conveniences. In the struggle against these persons, the capital Hanoi, the heart of the fatherland, has fired the first shot. The entire country applauds and thanks Hanoi for bravely sending its troops into battle first. And, what does Ho Chi Minh City, the city that has the honor of bearing the name of Uncle Ho, plan to do? And, what about Dong Nai, Song Be and the difficult provinces of the east that bravely fought in the two wars of resistance? What must the other provinces of the South do?

Not only in Hanoi, but in the other municipalities and provinces as well, there is the problem of dishonest merchants engaging in smuggling,

profiteering and hoarding and the problem of cadres, party members and personnel of the state becoming corrupt, abusing their authority and conspiring with dishonest merchants, stealing public property and slipping materials that belong to the state onto the "free market" in order to make themselves wealthy. These persons live in extravagance and luxury and compete with one another by buying luxury goods, houses and movie projectors to show decadent films. They hire manpower in order to exploit it, etc.

I do not say these things without a feeling of resentment and anger:

--Resentment because ours is a revolutionary, incumbent party and our state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state; however, we have relaxed the dictatorship of the proletariat so much that we have allowed veteran bourgeoisie and new bourgeoisie to act at will and exploit the people, allowed persons who have become degenerate and deviant to masquerade as cadres, party members and state personnel and harm the prestige of the party and state.

--Anger because at a time when our people do not have enough food, do not have enough clothing to protect them from the cold, at a time when our armed forces are fighting and dying, are enduring hardship and deprivation to protect the borders, protect the islands and fulfill their international obligation and at a time when the vast majority of our cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants are experiencing shortages everywhere they turn but still doing their very best to overcome their difficulties and complete their production and work tasks, dishonest persons, smugglers and thieves are living in luxury and extravagance.

Who is it that supports these persons who earn their livings illegally?

At a time when our cadres, manual workers and civil servants lack adequate housing, at a time when the construction projects of the state do not have all the materials needed to continue construction, these persons have purchased and built many houses and have all the cement, iron and steel needed to repair old houses and build new ones. Where do they obtain these building materials? Why is it that our cadres cannot buy airplane tickets when they need to travel in their work but these persons can obtain round-trip airplane tickets to bring an entire private construction crew from the South to Hanoi to build houses for them? We must rely upon the people to expose and exterminate these parasites upon society.

In agricultural transformation, there are many problems deserving of concern.

According to an initial investigation conducted in the provinces of Nam Bo, the number of cadres and party members (together with their families) who still own cropland and use it to exploit others is not small. These persons constitute 16.8 percent of the total number of party members, 15.4 percent of the total number of village and hamlet cadres and 22.7 percent of the total number of cadres above the village level. Some cadres and party members own dozens of hectares of cropland, which they use for purposes of exploitation. In addition to cropland, some cadres and party members own dozens of hectares of mangrove forest, earn incomes that are quite high and have surpluses amounting to dozens of tons of paddy and dozens of tons of other agricultural

products. These persons raise prices through speculation, disrupt the market through their business activities, buy rice crops from farmers before they reach maturity, grant farmers loans in the form of money or paddy at cut-throat interest rates, etc.

On the agricultural transformation front, Tien Giang Province has taken the lead. Closely behind it are Tay Ninh and Minh Hai Provinces. I wholeheartedly congratulate Tien Giang Province for being the province in the vanguard of agricultural transformation and the redistribution of cropland, for closely coordinating these efforts with the effort to build a pure, solid and strong party. Tien Giang has expelled from the party 10 district party committee members and 200 party members; it has also accepted into the party many outstanding elements that have emerged within the agricultural transformation and cropland redistribution movement.

Long Phu District in Hau Giang Province has also set a good example in the redistribution of cropland. Long Phu redistributed the cropland owned by party members first. Because they saw that party members had taken the lead and were setting a good example, farmers responded to the cropland redistribution program of the party and implemented it with great confidence and enthusiasm. Within a short period of time, Long Phu had completed the redistribution of cropland and established many good production collectives, including the best of them all, Truong Khanh Village. The party chapter in Truong Khanh Village has become one of the pure, solid and strong party chapters of the district.

Tien Giang, Tay Ninh, Minh Hai and Long Phu have recorded initial achievements in the transformation of agriculture. But how well are the other provinces and districts of Nam Bo doing?

The ideals of we communist party members are to liberate the worker, abolish the exploitation of man by man and build socialism and communism. As communist party members, we are forbidden to exploit anyone. Exploitation of others is a violation of communist ethics, is a betrayal of communist revolutionary ideals.

Our party is making a determined effort to expel party members who still practice exploitation, party members who will not carry out the policies of the party and state regarding the redistribution of cropland, the transformation of agriculture and the transformation of industry and commerce and party members who support bourgeoisie and wealthy peasants who earn their livings illegally, disrupt the market and exploit workers and laboring farmers.

In keeping with the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the 3rd and 4th Plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee, we must intensify the socialist transformation of industry and commerce as well as agriculture and do so in a manner that is closely coordinated with building a pure, solid and strong party. I suggest that we be determined to expel unqualified members from the party, especially those who still practice exploitation, those who are degenerate or deviant and conspire with private merchants to steal materials and merchandise from the state, thereby causing

chaos within distribution and circulation. Only in this way will the laboring people develop greater confidence in the party, in the state, bring greater enthusiasm to the effort to accelerate production and win even larger victories in the work of building and defending the fatherland.

Dong Nai, 10 July 1983  
Huynh Tan Xa

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## THE EXPORT ECONOMY WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 68-72

[Article by Huu Hanh]

[Text] Nga Son is the district that has the best export economy in Thanh Hoa Province. Nga Son's main export product is rush mats. At present (1983), all villages in Nga Son District are producing rush mats for exportation. Each year, the exported rush mat business in Nga Son earns considerable income for the district economy. The output value of Nga Son's exported rush mats (calculated at fixed 1970 prices) was 9.8 million dong in 1977; 10.6 million dong in both 1978 and 1979, which amounted to 16 percent of the national income generated within the district; 12.5 million dong in 1980, 22.2 percent of the total national income produced within the district; and 14.3 million dong in 1982 (33.7 million dong when calculated on the basis of new prices), or 28 percent of the total national income generated within the district. In addition, Nga Son also supplied to the state 20 tons of shrimp for exportation in 1982.

The export economy in Nga Son District is expanding more with each passing day and steadily growing.

### I. The Advantage of Local Sources of Raw Materials

Nga Son has a centralized rush growing area and fields that are dedicated solely to rush cultivation in eight coastal villages. Once every 5 or 7 years, Nga Son has built dikes to reclaim land from the sea and expand its rush fields. As a result, over the past 20 years, the rush fields of Nga Son have been expanded by 1.5 kilometers. The alluvial soil and salinity of the brackish water in the district are very well suited to the growth of rush plants. The rushes grow well, their stems and fibers are long and yields are high. As a result, the woven rush products of Nga Son have been famous since antiquity, as indicated in the praise given them by the To Huu in his poem: "Nga Son Mats, Bat Trang Bricks..."

The soil suited to rush cultivation in this area measures approximately 2,400 hectares. At present, Nga Son's rush fields measure 1,600 hectares. Each year, 10 percent of this land must be replanted (after 10 years of continuous

harvesting, rushes must be replanted), consequently, 1,437 hectares of rushes are now being harvested there; in 1982, the average yield was 76 quintals per hectare and output was 10,600 tons of split (dried) rushes.

The weight of dried rushes equals about 17 percent of the weight of fresh rushes. That is, it is necessary to dry 6 tons of fresh rushes to harvest 1 ton of dried rushes. Fresh rushes that are cut must be split and set out to dry immediately in order to prevent them from spoiling and insure high quality dried rushes. All of the rush growing areas in our country use sunlight to dry their rushes. Nga Son's rush drying yards give it an advantage over many other places. Running along the rush fields in the eight coastal villages of Nga Son is a broad strip of sand that abuts the rush fields and serves as an ideal and inexpensive place to dry rushes. The sun bakes the sand and greatly increases the surface temperature of the drying yards. As soon as they are split, the fresh rushes are set out to dry on the sand; they become dried, fragrant, shiny products of high quality in just one sunny day. As a result, the majority of Nga Son's split rushes meet the standards governing raw materials used in the processing of exported rush products.

The small industry and handicraft sector producing rush mats for exportation and some rush products for domestic consumption has developed in all villages; within Nga Son District, this sector only used about one-third of the split rushes produced in 1982, with the remaining two-thirds of split rush output being supplied to rush product installations in other districts of the province and outside the province.

The raw materials used in the production of exported rush mats include jute as well as rushes. Nga Son District has planted nearly 800 hectares of jute, recording an average annual yield of 20 quintals per hectare and an output of 1,547 tons of jute (1982).

In 1982, 443 tons of jute were all that Nga Son District needed to provide a full supply to the installations producing rush mats for exportation (328 tons) and domestic consumption and supply the ocean fishing industry with jute (115 tons). The more than two-thirds of its jute output that remained was supplied by Nga Son to the province for distribution to installations producing rush mats and jute rugs in the other districts.

The advantage that it has in its local rush and jute raw materials has provided Nga Son with a firm and stable base for developing and constantly expanding the various trades engaged in the production of exported rush products, using them as the leading edge of the export economy within the district. Neither the quantity nor the quality of the exported rush mats produced from the local raw materials within the district decline (because there is no loss of quality or shrinkage in quantity due to improper storage at trans-shipment warehouses or improper transportation), circulation costs are not high, the quantity of products produced is large, the quality of these products is high and production costs are low, consequently, the district continually earns a higher income than other places. The split rushes sold from 1 hectare of rushes (at an average yield of 12 tons per year, which is the yield at Nga Thuy) earn 32,400 dong (based on state procurement prices). The processing of 4,000 square meters of vehicle mats that meet export

standards earns 100,000 dong. If additional products that require few raw materials and make use of various types of rushes of different lengths are produced, income is much higher. Therefore, the average worker who is directly engaged in the production of rushes (which includes rush production and the processing of rush mats for exportation) in Nga Thuy produces 4,000 dong worth of product per year.

## II. Organizing Labor To Work in the Export Economy

With available local sources of rushes and jute, Nga Son possesses favorable conditions for developing and expanding the trades that produce export goods. The eight villages that specialize in the cultivation of rushes on the seacoast have organized the production of rush mats and rush rugs for exportation. The 14 villages that lie within the subsidiary food crop and jute growing area have organized the production of rush mats and jute rugs for exportation and some rush mats for domestic consumption. The four villages in the rice growing area, which receive a full and timely supply of split rushes and jute from the district, have organized the processing of exported rush products.

The forces that produce exported rush and jute products in Nga Son consist of the following: state-operated forces, specialized handicraft cooperatives (Nga Son does not advocate developing this form of organization, consequently, only a few installations remain in operation within the district) and the handicraft forces within agriculture, which consist of specialized units within the agricultural production cooperatives that produce export goods and comprise the largest and most important force in the export economy of Nga Son District. One quarter of the labor at the agricultural production cooperatives in Nga Son specializes in the production of export goods. In 1982, the average laborer at the agricultural cooperatives in Nga Son worked 54 days producing rush mats for exportation, that is, cooperatives allocate one-quarter of their manpower each year to the production of export goods. Contracts with households for work performed in the various stages of the production process (such as spinning jute fibers, spinning the pith fibers of rushes, weaving rope, weaving bags and so forth) provide work for each force of students, subsidiary laborers and idle labor in the countryside and provide overtime work for cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the state who live and work within the district. This contract force contributes about 20 percent of the mandays worked in the production of exported rush products in Nga Son.

By organizing the production of exported rush mats by each family, within each agricultural production cooperative and at the other collective production installations within the district, Nga Son has provided a job to everyone who is able to work, thereby producing many products for society and raising the income and improving the living conditions of the people. This is also a way to redistribute and make efficient use of the labor force at installations and within the district by shifting a portion of the labor force in the countryside that has long worked only in agriculture with low labor productivity to small industry and the handicraft trades, primarily the processing of agricultural raw materials into commodities of higher economic value, thereby helping to create higher labor productivity within the

agricultural production cooperatives. Within Nga Son District, the average laborer at a cooperative raising rushes produces 1,500 to 2,000 dong worth of agricultural products, that is, split rushes, each year; at cooperatives that raise grain, the average laborer only produces about 1,000 dong worth of agricultural products annually. The average laborer engaged in the production of rush mats for exportation at the cooperatives mentioned above produces from 3,500 to 4,000 dong worth of products per year. As a result, the overall income of the agricultural cooperatives that participate in small industry and the handicraft trades (through the processing of exported rush mats) is higher than at those cooperatives that participate only in agriculture.

This development, which conforms with laws, clearly reflects the initial steps being taken toward the formation of an agro-industrial economy at installations and within Nga Son District. The total output value of Nga Son's small industry and handicraft trades in 1982 exceeded 18.6 million dong and accounted for one-third of the gross social product of the district, with more than 14.3 million dong in value coming from the production of export goods. This proves that the export economy in Nga Son is the leading edge not only of the district's small industry and handicraft sector, but of the entire district economy as well because it is the economic force that makes the most important contribution to re-equipping the district economy for its development toward large-scale socialist production.

### III. Resolving the Problems

The 1983 economic development plan of Nga Son District set the target for the total output value of small industry and the handicraft trades at 66 million dong (new prices), with 54 million dong coming from exported rush products (16 million dong at fixed 1970 prices). This is a completely realistic target. Moreover, it can be surpassed if solutions are found to the problems that are posing obstacles, creating difficulties and giving rise to negative phenomena within the rush production and exported rush mat processing sector in Nga Son.

Recently, the rush procurement agency in Thanh Hoa enacted a two-tiered procurement policy concerning rushes in Nga Son: one kilogram of dried rushes is sold under obligation for 2.70 dong and may be traded for 0.500 kilogram of grain or 0.060 kilogram of nitrogen fertilizer (based on state supply prices). The price paid for 1 kilogram of dried rushes sold over and above obligations is 3.70 dong (1 kilogram higher than the price paid for dried rushes sold under the obligation); however, 1 kilogram of dried rushes over and above obligations may not be traded for any other product and payment, instead of being made immediately, is usually spread out over the year! Thus, it is less profitable to sell rushes over and above obligations than under obligations. Therefore, assigning a low rush sales obligation in order to purchase many rushes over and above obligations is to the advantage of the rush procurement agency. Rush producers realized this immediately and began looking for ways to deal with this matter in order to get their share of the profits! Thus, in 1982, a few thousand tons of split rushes (usually special grade or grade I split rushes) in Nga Son took wings and "flew" to other districts in the province (a small portion) and to other provinces (the major portion).

Rushes are an industrial crop product that is purchased exclusively by the

state at obligatory prices and which may be traded for grain, industrial goods and instruments of production on a prorated basis so that the state controls the entire output of rushes produced within each cooperative and throughout the district. This is a demand as well as an aspiration of rush producers and the leaders on the village and district levels in Nga Son. If this were done, the Thanh Hoa Rush Procurement Agency could procure the entire output of rush products produced within Nga Son for the state. If such a uniform rush procurement policy had been in effect in 1982, instead of purchasing 10,600 tons, we could have purchased the 13,000 to 13,500 tons of split rushes that were actually produced within the district and the target of 13,500 tons of rushes established under the 1983 production plan of Nga Son could have been met in 1982.

The supplying of grain (in two-way trade with persons who raise rushes and process exported rush products) has never been adequate and debts are carried over from one year to the next. In Nga Thuy Village, the grain agency owed 319 tons of rice in 1980, 92 tons in 1981 and 200 tons in 1982; the 611 tons of rice owed during those 3 years still have not been paid to the cooperative. In addition, the grain agency also deducted 10 percent (called savings!) of the grain provided in two-way trade with persons in the rush trade. There have been many times when 3,000 to 3,500 laborers have had to leave their work in the cultivation or processing of rushes and travel 60 to 70 kilometers to Thieu Yen District or Trieu Son District to receive their grain.

Each time that rushes or exported rush mats are being sold, cooperatives ask the procurement agency to make 10 percent of its payment in cash in order to provide them with money with which to pay their labor; however, this request is never granted.

Therefore, persons who are engaged in the cultivation of rushes and the processing of rush mats for exportation do not have enough rice and do not have enough money to purchase food, items used everyday and clothing for their families and children. The effort to compensate for these shortages has unavoidably given rise to the pilfering of rush products and rush mats for exportation and their sale on the free market!

As regards the materials supplied to installations producing rushes and rush products for exportation under two-way contracts, the agencies that sign these contracts do not fully implement them. The spare parts and repair services needed for the thousands of machines used in the production of rush mats for exportation must be obtained by production installations on the free market. From the end of 1982 to the end of the 1st quarter in 1983, no coal was supplied to dry exported rush mats. Lacking the coal needed to dry them, large numbers of rush mats and rush rugs for exportation became mildewed at production installations (the humidity was very high in Nga Son during that season); whole warehouses filled with products could not be marketed, capital was tied up and production declined as a result.

All that is necessary is for the concerned agencies to enact correct policies and correctly implement two-way contracts with production installations in order for all the problems mentioned above to be completely resolved and Nga Son to produce additional export goods for the state.

AN EXAMPLE OF SELF-CRITICISM AND CRITICISM: THE CONFERENCE TO FOUND THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 73-75

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] The founding of the Vietnam Communist Party marked a turning point in the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. The Conference To Found the Party that was convened and chaired by Nguyen Ai Quoc unified the various communist groups in our country and established a genuine communist party to lead our country's revolution. The conference was conducted in exact accordance with the principles of party activities set forth by Lenin. If we reread "The Summary Report of the Conference"(1), we see that the conferees displayed a high spirit of self-criticism and criticism, deeply researched our country's situation and adopted correct measures for resolving, in a practical way, the pressing problems that had arisen in our country's revolution, especially that of establishing the vanguard unit of the working class to lead our country's revolution to victory.

The Conference To Found the Party was held on the Kowloon peninsula (Hong Kong) from 3 to 7 February 1930 and coincided with the Canh Ngo Tet.

Present at the conference were: a delegate from the Communist International (that is, Nguyen Ai Quoc), two delegates from the Indochinese Communist Party and two delegates from the Annamese Communist Party.(2)

The agenda was as follows:

1. The reasons for convening the conference explained by the delegate from the Communist International.
2. Discussion of the suggestions made by the delegate from the Communist International:
  - a) To merge all communist parties within one organization and form a genuine communist party;
  - b) To adopt a plan for achieving this merger.

On 7 February 1930, following 5 days of intense work, the conferees unanimously adopted resolutions which, in effect, stated:

The delegates of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Annamese Communist Party endorsed the opinions expressed by the delegate from the Communist International.

Concerning the plan for founding a genuine communist party, the conferees decided the following matters:

--To elect the Provisional Central Committee of the Party;

--To have the delegate from the Communist International issue an appeal to the Vietnamese to arise in revolution;

--To draft the Summary Platform and Summary Tactics of the new party (drafted by the delegate from the Communist International);

--To draft the Summary Statutes of the new party (drafted by the delegate from the Communist International); to read the statutes within the organization;

--To give the new party the name "The Vietnam Communist Party."

--To hear delegate reports;

--To criticize the shortcomings of the Annamese Communist Party and the Indochinese Communist Party;

--To establish mass organizations;

--To publish a party newspaper.

As regards the shortcomings of the Annamese Communist Party and the Indochinese Communist Party, the conferees made the following assessment:

The shortcomings of the Annamese Communist Party:

1. The requirements for becoming an official member were too stringent (too high).

2. The requirements for being accepted into the Workers' Association, the Peasants' Association and the Student Association were too stringent (too high).

The shortcomings of the Indochinese Communist Party:

1. The requirements for becoming an official member and the requirements for being accepted into the Workers' Association were too stringent (too high).

2. Organizational mistakes had imparted a factional nature to the party and caused it to be far from the masses, thus creating two dangers: an internal danger and an external danger.

3. The undermining of the two mass organizations "Youth" [the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth] and "Tan Viet" [the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party] was contrary to the policy of the Communist International.

As regards the method by which the Provisional Central Committee of the Party would be elected, the conferees decided:

1. Bac Ky and Trung Ky, of which the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party was in charge, would appoint five members to the Provisional Central Committee of the Party.

2. As regards Nam Ky, the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Provisional Guidance Committee of the Annamese Communist Party would introduce their members to the two Nam Ky delegates and convene a general meeting to appoint two members to the Provisional Central Committee of the Party.(3)

Concerning the mass organizations and other parties, the conferees decided:

--Regarding the "agitation teams": to disband them by the following methods:

1. To stop organizing persons in "agitation teams."
2. To transfer to the Workers' Association and the Peasants' Association those workers and peasants who are members of "agitation teams" but not fully qualified to join the party.
3. To transfer to the Anti-Imperialist League the members of the "agitation teams" in the other strata of the population (such as intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, etc.).

--Regarding the "support" groups: to disband the "support" groups by the following methods:

1. To suspend the organizing of persons in "support" groups.
2. To transfer the members of the "support" groups to the Anti-Imperialist League.

--Regarding the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth: to put party members in Nam Ky in charge of leading the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth there and have the members of the association there join the Anti-Imperialist League.

--Regarding Tan Viet:

1. To not disband Tan Viet.
2. To accept the members of Tan Viet into the Anti-Imperialist League.
3. To accept the outstanding members of Tan Viet into the party.

--Regarding the Nationalist Party:

1. To make an effort to win over the forces of this party.
2. To organize its members within the Anti-Imperialist League.

The conferees made the following decision concerning the anti-imperialist organization:

The party would appoint one comrade to convene a meeting of delegates of all parties, such as Tan Viet, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, the Nationalist Party, the Nguyen An Ninh Party and so forth, to found the Anti-Imperialist League; later, any individuals or organizations that agreed to join could join.

The conferees also made the following decision concerning the relief organization:

The party would first have several of its members establish the Relief Organization; then, it would propagandize for new members. The presence of female party members within the Relief Association at the time of its establishment would be very beneficial.

Concerning the newspaper of the party, the conferees decided:

1. To cease publication of the newspapers of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Annamese Communist Party.
2. To have the Provisional Central Committee of the Party publish a theoretical journal and a three page newspaper for propaganda purposes.
3. To cease publication of the mass newspapers published by the party.
4. To maintain the publication of those papers published by the masses themselves.

Under the leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Merger Conference was a fine success and led to the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party. The presence of Nguyen Ai Quoc played a decisive role in the success of the conference. Because he had been forged in revolutionary struggle, was skilled in politics and theory, possessed leadership skill, possessed revolutionary ethics and high prestige, Nguyen Ai Quoc was able to persuade the other persons there. He drafted the various documents of the conference: the Summary Platform, the Summary Tactics, the Summary Statutes of the Party and the Summary Statutes of the Mass Organizations of Workers, Peasants, Youth and Women. Nguyen Ai Quoc was the soul of the conference to found the party. He was the founder of the Vietnam Communist Party.

As a result of displaying a high spirit of self-criticism and criticism, the Conference To Found the Party, which was guided by President Ho, was a fine success. From that conference, our party, a genuine, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, was born. Brandishing the banners of patriotism and

socialism, our party has led our working class and people in a stubborn and brave struggle and brought the Vietnamese revolution steadily forward to the great victory it enjoys today.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This document was obtained by French Secret Service agents during a search of the house of Nguyen Ngoc Vu on 6 December 1930. (See: Public Correspondence Number 1759S dated 9 February 1931 of the Bac Ky Secret Service in file number 10/163 HVI). Nguyen Ngoc Vu was the secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee in 1930. "Secret Service agents arrested Nguyen Ngoc Vu as he was walking down the road near Ho Lake. Aware of the fact that he was the secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, they tortured him barbarously. Displaying the character of a communist, he died in the Hoa Lo Prison in early 1932."(excerpt from "Nhưng sự kiện lịch sử Đảng bộ Hà-nội"[Events in the History of the Hanoi Party Organization], published by the Party History Research Committee of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee). The French Secret Service translated "the Summary Report of the Conference" into French in order to study it. This translation is on file in the Archives Room of the Office of the Party Central Committee.
2. The two delegates from the Indochinese Communist Party were Nguyen Duc Canh and Trinh Dinh Cuu. The two delegates from the Annamese Communist Party were Chau Van Liem and Nguyen Thieu. In addition, two persons assisted at the conference: Ho Tung Mau and Le Hong Son.
3. In keeping with the resolution of the conference, Bac Ky and Trung Ky appointed Trinh Dinh Cuu, Tran Van Lan (alias Giap), Nguyen Hoi, Nguyen Phong Sach (alias Thinh) and Le Mao (alias Cat); Nam Ky appointed Ha Ba Cang and Pham Huu Lau. On the way to the plenum of the Central Committee, some of these persons were arrested.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: THE "TEAM" AND THE "GANG"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 76-78

[Article by Nguyen Trung Thuc]

[Text] The concept "team" is one that is wholesome in content. Ordinarily, when we talk about a team, we are talking about a collective of co-workers in which each person possesses a sense of collective ownership, shares a common spirit of responsibility and places common interests above everything else; a collective in which everyone tries to fulfill the personal responsibility assigned by the organization by making the greatest possible effort and displaying the highest possible degree of self-imposed discipline. When we talk about a team we are talking about a collective, a working community whose members closely collaborate with one another, supplement and support one another and help one another to develop their knowledge, capabilities and strength for the purpose of performing the work assigned to them in the best possible manner. A team is a collective in which everyone truly loves one another, is happy over the success of a co-worker and considers this success to be his own; in which everyone considers the difficulty of his co-worker to be his own; in which everyone is as happy over the progress made by co-workers as if it were their own; in which no one has personal ambitions, no one has personal motives and no one is ever jealous or envious. It is impossible to establish a good team without firmly adhering to the principles of party life and the discipline of the state. Practicing self-criticism and criticism is a law in the development of the party. Without practicing self-criticism and criticism in the communist spirit, it is impossible to establish a good team. These are requirements that every genuine team must meet.

Putting together a team that is truly competent, united and loving is very important and very necessary. Le Duan stated: "Leadership ability and the effectiveness of leadership depend directly upon whether or not the leader of the organization has assembled around himself a team of co-workers who are competent and united and love one another."<sup>(1)</sup>

In our organizational and cadre work, we have long been trying to put together such teams. It can be said that we have succeeded in this effort and even done quite well. Countless advanced models and new factors have emerged in very many localities, on many levels, in many sectors... They are the result

of the activities of organized, disciplined and truly united collectives of persons who love one another and work together for a common goal: to achieve success in the implementation of the lines and policies of the party.

However, in reality, there have been more than a few cases in which persons who were supposedly putting together a team actually assembled a "gang."

A gang is a collective, or, to be more precise, a group of persons who temporarily join forces for dishonest purposes.

This can be clearly seen if we take a look at a few of the actions in which gangs engage:

To retain their positions or "rise" to higher positions, they find like-minded persons and establish a gang in order to then flatter, praise and protect one another and join in a common effort to propel one another into positions for which they are not qualified.

To maintain their positions and propel one another upward, they must also "unite with one another" and achieve a "consensus of will and action" with regard to eliminating their opposition. If you are someone who is loyal and honest, if you dare to struggle against their shortcomings and mistakes, you are an obstacle standing in their way. Joining forces, they will surround you and look for every way to cause you to lose all your prestige and effectiveness, at which time you will become alone on the battlefield. They can then easily kick you out, easily "put you out of combat."

To embezzle property or money from the state or collective, to conspire with or bribe another unit, to accept a bribe from another unit, and so forth, they must "unite" with one another, "protect" one another, assign each person a job, the job best suited to him and arrange the necessary papers and records, with everything being "collectively discussed" and performed by the "collective"; they blindfold their subordinates and conceal their actions from their superiors and act in smooth, close coordination.

Thus, the objective of this "unity," this "consensus of will," this "consensus of action" of theirs is clear. Such is the true face of a gang. An owl in peacock feathers is still an owl, not a peacock.

It is not difficult to distinguish between a real team and a fake team or, in other words, between a team and a gang. A team is not something perfect. Teams also make mistakes and commit shortcomings but they are essentially different from gangs. On one side is a collective of co-workers based on awareness of ideals, of the spirit of responsibility, of the sense of organization and discipline; on the other side is a group of persons who have aligned themselves on the basis of no principles whatsoever. On the one side, every thought and action is directed toward a common goal, directed toward the victory of the revolution; on the other side, everything is done for the sake of personal motives and personal interests with no regard for the directives and resolutions of the party, for the common interests of the revolution. On one side, there are true unity, love and mutual help; on the other side, there

is only a coalition, an external shell and if their personal desires are not satisfied, they are ready to kick one another out and even harm one another.

If we are to insure that the lines and policies of the party are correctly implemented, we cannot tolerate the formation of factions and gangs. Because, they inflict very serious harm upon the prestige of the party, upon the interests of the state and the people and monopolize and eventually undermine the entire organization. And, we would face an even greater danger if we allowed them to develop to the point where they become widespread, become universal.

Building good teams, teams that are pure, solid and strong is not easy. To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to clearly define the function and task of each organization. Because, "in an organization that does not have a clearly defined function and task, does not have an efficient division of labor, lacks clearly defined work standards and responsibilities, lacks relations and cooperation between one component and another, lacks the ability to establish coordination and so forth, everyone becomes weak and ineffective because the organization itself is weak and unorganized."(2)

On the other hand, we must correctly select and assign cadres; in this area, the key is selecting persons to head organizations who truly possess good qualities and are competent. Of course, within the leadership and management apparatus, every cadre has a specific job. The success of each person in fulfilling his duties or his failure to do so naturally affects the operation of the entire apparatus. However, the role played by the head of the organization is decisive in nature and very large. If the head of the organization possesses a strong sense of party consciousness, is thoroughly familiar with his work, possesses foresight and breadth of vision, knows how to correctly evaluate and utilize cadres, truly respects and calmly listens to the opinions of the masses, is magnanimous in his attitude, possesses a high spirit of self-criticism, dares to admit to mistakes, is determined to rectify mistakes and so forth, he will acquire prestige and be able to put together a correct team of co-workers who possess good qualities, are competent, unite with and love one another and make every effort to complete their task well.

In addition, attention must be given to strengthening the discipline of the party and the effectiveness of state law; improving the education of and tightly managing the corps of cadres and party members; intensifying the practice of self-criticism and criticism; taking stern action against persons whose thinking and actions are divisive or factional in nature, persons who want to establish gangs, etc.

These are necessary prerequisites to the building of good teams and are also necessary measures in preventing the growth of gangs.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, pp 433-434.

2. Ibid., pp 427-428.

7809

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## THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE'S SUCCESSES IN PRODUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 79-84

[Article by Hong Canh]

[Text] The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique plunged Kampuchea into an indescribable state of destruction. After its overthrow, surviving Kampucheans returning to their villages, as well as foreigners visiting this country, do not believe that in a matter of a few years Kampuchea has recovered its normal life. After the birth of the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea, this country has daily and hourly undergone complete changes, and within a period of only 4 years has achieved marvelous successes in its revival. The state of utter misery and horrible destruction caused by the Pol Pot genocidal clique is gradually becoming a thing of the past.

The party and the PRK government, overwhelmed by a huge amount of urgent work, have concentrated efforts on two main fronts: recovering and developing production and maintaining security.

Determined to revive the entire nation and refusing to have its hands tied in the face of the national tragedy, the PRK government has mobilized the people to strive to recover and develop the economy, especially agriculture. Starting from scratch, they have achieved important successes in this regard.

Based on Kampuchea's characteristics as a backward agricultural country which has a self-supplied and self-sufficient economy and which still produces goods on a small scale, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) has devised a line on economic recovery and development. This line consists primarily of recovering agriculture and using it as a central basis for resolving the people's livelihood and contributing to the creation of initial capital accumulation to help other sectors develop. Efforts to stave off famine in conjunction with recovering agricultural production have become an urgent political task of decisive importance to the stabilization of the entire country's political and social situation.

Sympathizing with the friendly country's initial difficulties, Vietnam's party and government have sent to the Kampuchean people tens of thousands of tons of grain, food products, paddy seeds, farm implements, cloth, and medicines to

help ward off famine, recover production, and stabilize the Kampuchean people's livelihood. The Soviet Union, other fraternal socialist countries, and a number of humanitarian and progressive international organizations have also offered emergency aid to Kampuchea. The campaign to receive and transport grain coming from abroad to relieve hunger was properly organized, grain was handed over to the people by hand, thus helping ward off the terrible famine in Kampuchea.

Meanwhile, the Kampuchean people have scored great achievements in recovering agricultural production. In spite of the fact that the country was heavily ravaged by the Pol Pot clique, that paddy seed, cattle and buffaloes were still in short supply, and that the enemy carried out acts of sabotage intensively in the western and northern areas, the revolutionary Kampuchean authorities motivated and actively helped peasants to engage in agricultural production as soon as they returned to their native places.

Wholeheartedly assisted by Vietnamese provinces which have sworn brotherhood with their Kampuchean counterparts, in 1979 the entire country sowed and transplanted over 850,000 hectares of rice, this first crop yielded about 600,000 metric tons of paddy. This has great political significance and was a remarkable contribution to relieving hunger.

Overcoming difficulties in the early stage, in 1980 the Kampuchean people concentrated on agricultural production. Thanks to adequate preparations, favorable weather conditions, and additional Vietnamese aid and, in particular, inspired by the existing momentum, Kampuchea satisfactorily carried out its production plans. Not only did the grain output meet the people's needs, but the state also procured more than 175,000 metric tons of grain, overfulfilling the plan by 50 percent. The 1982 10th month rice crop, harvested in early 1983, yielded 1.9 million metric tons (including subsidiary crops). In the 1983 10th month rice crop, despite the unfavorable weather conditions, Kampuchean peasants, encouraged and assisted in all respects by the party and state, are concentrating their efforts on achieving even greater successes on the agricultural front by striving to attain the target of sowing and planting 2 million hectares (including rice, subsidiary, and industrial crops) with higher productivity and output than the 1982 10th month crop.

A problem for Kampuchea's party and government is how will agricultural transformation be achieved? During the 4 years of the Pol Pot regime, the peasants were utterly terrified by the mistreatment and hard labor in the so-called "collective cooperatives" set up by Angka. They are still frightened out of their wits upon hearing mention of "collective labor." However, this should not permit Kampuchean agriculture to remain forever at the stage of individual and fragmented production. Peasants will neither be liberated nor will their lives improve if individual agricultural production is not transformed and if they do not take up the collective production path. This will occur just as Engels has said: "The result is that we will not be able to liberate peasants, but only to prolong the period of their misery a little bit further."(1) And, "the peasants' property can be saved and preserved by transforming it into that of cooperatives and into cooperative economy."(2)

What is encouraging is that Kampuchea's party and state have found a creative agricultural production form suitable to Kampuchean realities: production solidarity teams. Members who work hard will receive a larger share of income; those who perform a small amount of work will be given a sufficient share according to the spirit of mutual assistance.

To date, more than 90 percent of Kampuchean peasants have been organized into over 100,000 production solidarity teams, each consisting of about 10-15 families. These teams have constantly been consolidated as firm economic and political bases to oppose the Pol Pot clandestine forces((cacs dqooij quaan ngaamf)), defend hamlets and villages and implement the policies and lines of the party, government and front ((Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense--FBIS)). Forestry, fishery, and handicraft sectors have also set up appropriate production solidarity organizations.

Family-sided economy has been encouraged to develop. The state has not yet collected taxes in this area, but has only purchased products from peasants who, conversely, have bought industrial goods at appropriate prices. Under favorable weather conditions, with the industriousness of peasants, and encouraged by appropriate policies, Kampuchea's agriculture has bright prospects.

The Kampuchean people have also actively recovered fishery, developed the rubber sector, and restored cultivation of some other industrial crops such as pepper, tobacco, jute, cotton, sugarcane and so forth. In 1980, some 5,000 hectares of rubber trees were restored and rubber processing establishments destroyed by the Pol Pot clique were rebuilt. Prospects for developing the rubber sector will be better in the coming years. Attention has been paid to perfecting the organization of the sector from the level of general department to state farms and to studying regulations and policies on improving the rubber workers' lives.

Fishery has also been developed as a result of the improvement of its organization and the application of appropriate incentive policies. Its annual output has constantly increased: from 40,000 metric tons in 1980-81 to 50,000 metric tons in 1981-82. Comprehensive preparations are underway in this sector to attain the old target of 80,000-130,000 metric tons a year.

The Fourth KPRP Congress held in May, 1981 set forth the following guidelines for guidance of agriculture for the next 5 years: struggle to increase the cultivated area to 2.3-2.5 million hectares; grain output to 2.5-2.8 million metric tons, including 2.3-2.5 million metric tons of paddy (nearly the same target attained prior to the 1970-75 anti-U.S. war); rubber to 40,000-50,000 metric tons; cotton to 3,000-4,000 metric tons; tobacco to 5,000-6,000 metric tons; jute to 2,000-3,000 metric tons; sugarcane to 200,000-250,000 metric tons; herds of cattle and buffaloes to 1.4-1.5 million head; hogs to 800,000-900,000 head; and fish to about 100,000 metric tons a year. Kampuchea is struggling to attain the export targets for corn, rubber, fish, and a number of other agricultural products. Handicrafts, trade, communications, and transportation...have also been restored and developed step by step with emphasis on key projects.

Public health, culture, and education have also been developed fairly quickly throughout the country. Many progressive examples have been set and are spreading their effect.

As the country was heavily destroyed by the Pol Pot clique and the people were plunged into a horrible famine unprecedented in Kampuchea's history, the achievements scored under the revolutionary power are of very great strategic importance. These achievements are a firm basis for the continued acceleration of the economic recovery and development and the stabilization of the people's livelihood. They are also creating material and technical facilities for Kampuchea's gradual transition to socialism.

The Kampuchean people have also won great victories in maintaining security. thanks to the armed forces' victories in continuing to track down and sweep away the Pol Pot remnant troops in firmly maintaining political security and social order throughout the country, the Kampuchean people have been able to develop their creative labor capabilities on the production front. Now, in Kampuchea production and maintenance of security are two closely related and interdependent tasks. The results of sweeping away the Pol Pot remnants and firmly maintaining political and economic security have prompted the people to place confidence in and support the revolutionary power and to set their minds at ease in engaging in production and quickly stabilizing their livelihood. Conversely, the fact that the people's livelihood has been quickly stabilized and that they have been attracted to the front-sponsored mass organizations and educated to follow the revolution has provided a prop for the revolutionary armed forces to successfully search for and annihilate the Pol Pot remnants, to destroy the latter's organizations "planted" among the people, and to maintain political security and social order. Thanks to this interdependence, over the past 4 years and more, despite the efforts of the Pol Pot clique and its master--the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists--to resort to every possible trick and scheme of opposition, the Kampuchean revolution has continued its advance and won great victories.

After being defeated on 7 January 1979, the Pol Pot remnant troops gathered in various rural and mountainous areas in western and northern Kampuchea. They plotted to create a situation of "two administrations, two armies, and two areas of control," and conducted Mao Zedong-oriented protracted "guerrilla warfare" pending the opportunity to reoccupy their lost areas. Assisted by the Vietnamese armed forces, the Kampuchean army and people have attacked and smashed the enemy at their last hiding places, forcing the survivors to flee to "sanctuaries" in Thai territory. Before retreating, however, the enemy tried to "plant" their men among the Kampuchean people, especially in the revolutionary administration's grassroots organizations in order to establish a "clandestine army" and intelligence organs to conduct sabotage activities and psychological and espionage warfare. The reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circle, the U.S. imperialists, and reactionaries in Thai leadership have supplied, supported, and assisted these Khmer groups in all aspects to enable them to oppose and undermine the Kampuchean revolution on a long-term basis. Various armed forces of the Kampuchean revolution, with assistance and combat coordination provided by the Vietnamese Army, have stood firmly to defend Kampuchea's strategic and key areas. They have stopped enemy intrusions from Thai territory and have consistently wiped them out. They

have discovered and punished those Pol Pot remnant troops and espionage rings hiding in forests as well as the clandestine army and the "double-face administration" clique in villages and hamlets. They have repeatedly foiled various summer and rainy season sabotage plans of the enemy, thereby firmly defending the country.

The Kampuchean party and government have paid special attention to strengthening national defense and maintaining security. Kampuchean young men and women regard the task of joining the army and the guerrilla militia forces to defend the fatherland as a great honor. They are ready to be enlisted as reinforcement units for the revolutionary army. Thanks to these efforts, the three armed branches quickly developed and reached maturity. From their scattered small groups, the Kampuchean main forces have now been formed into military corps ((binh doanf)) and regular military regiments and divisions comprising various armed services and branches, and are equipped with sufficient facilities. All these forces have been trained and forged through ordeals in combat, in maintenance of security, and in helping the people to improve their production and livelihood. Various military units have also produced grain to partially feed themselves and have provided relief food for the people. Many units have scored achievements in combat, in enemy proselyting, and in motivating the people. They have won the people's live, confidence, and support. this sentiment was clearly manifested during the recent campaigns launched by the revolutionary army to attack the enemy at their hiding places along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Local armed forces have been organized and strengthened in all provinces and districts--at regiment size in some places. They have been armed, trained satisfactorily, and are able to coordinate with various main forces in combating, in enemy proselyting, in motivating the people, and in protecting strategic communications lines and so forth. From almost all hamlets and villages, tens of thousands of guerrillas have been selected, armed, and given political and military training. This will enable them to defend their localities and to serve as a defense base for the revolutionary administration. Various guerrilla militia units which carry out their activities right in their local places understand the people well, know the enemy's strength, thoroughly control their areas, and effectively fight against the enemy.

As a result, many units, though small in size, have wiped out or captured many enemies and confiscated a large quantity of their weapons. Many units have been commended and awarded for their performance. The contingent of military officers has been strengthened. They have been trained by military officer's schools and forged by real combat. These officers have been assigned to various command organizations, combat units, political staff, and rear service agencies as well as to other specialized branches in the army.

Security forces of various echelons have been established. With the people's coordination and assistance, the security forces have discovered and suppressed many reactionary groups and organizations and foiled many enemy schemes to stage rebellion. They have captured many scouts, spies, and commandoes who intruded into Kampuchea from Thai territory. They have re-educated bad elements and persuaded those who took the wrong path or sided

with the enemy to defect and return to live with their compatriots. Various echelons of security forces of localities and sectors have been consolidated and strengthened through political courses which were organized from the central to the grassroots levels. The sense of responsibility showed by each citizen in maintaining social order has contributed to strengthening security at hamlets and villages. As a result, political security has been effectively maintained in Phnom Penh as well as in other municipalities and cities. The administration has consistently consolidated and strengthened various echelons of the security forces to enable them to promptly punish those who sought to undermine social order and those who carried out various forms of espionage activities. It has strived to foil the enemy's schemes to establish their clandestine army and the double-face clique in various revolutionary organizations. Through its achievements during the past 4 years, the Kampuchean Army and people have gradually foiled all enemy schemes and vigorously built the revolutionary forces, thereby effectively controlling the people and maintaining internal security. As a result, political security has been guaranteed and social order has been strengthened. Various enemy political organizations were severely disintegrated. Leaders of intelligence and espionage groups or bases which were planted by the enemy among the people have been gradually discovered. Many people who were forced to follow the enemy have defected and are leniently treated by the revolutionary regime. They are now striving to work to score achievements to expiate their sin and wish to start a new life under the new regime.

However, the more successful the Kampuchean revolution became, the more frenzied efforts the enemies would make to oppose the Kampuchean people. These enemies, while nurturing the Pol Pot remnant troops and other Khmer reactionaries at the Kampuchean-Thai border, have pushed these troops and reactionaries to persistently launch attacks and conduct provocations against the PRK. They even deployed Thai troops to help them in these tasks. When they were counter-attacked, they would noisily claim that the Vietnamese forces "encroached" upon Thai territory. They have also sought by all means to weaken and discredit the PRK in the international arena. At the seventh nonaligned summit conference held in New Delhi on 7 March this year, they resorted to prolonging a dispute in order to turn the conference's statement on Southeast Asia into a statement on Kampuchea in order to impose the erroneous resolution of the 37th UN General Assembly on the so-called "Kampuchean situation" on this summit conference. Their scheme is to force the Nonaligned Movement to recognize the disguised Pol Pot clique. However, their scheme failed. The consensus of the countries participating in the conference was to support the revival of the Kampuchean people and to demand recognition of the PRK Government headed by Chairman Heng Samrin.

Many countries have affirmed that the resolution of the Havana summit conference is correct, and demanded respect for this resolution concerning the vacating of Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations.

Regardless of the frenzied opposition by the imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, and other reactionary forces, the Kampuchean revolution is continuing its advance. The major characteristic of the Kampuchean revolution in the present stage is the simultaneous carrying out of construction, combat, and combat readiness tasks. Based on this

characteristic, the party and state of Kampuchea have set forth the following basic tasks for the entire party and people: strive to maintain political security and social order and protect revolutionary gains, the political power, the armed forces, production and the people's lives and property; take the initiative in struggling to frustrate all schemes and acts of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan lackey clique; struggle to foil all plots and acts of the U.S. imperialists, other international reactionary forces, and their lackey cliques--the Son Sann clique and the reactionary feudalist, bourgeois, and bureaucratic clique; be resolved to suppress counter-revolutionary elements engaging in acts of sabotage; and resolutely punish other criminals, especially ruffians, hooligans, murderers, and bandits in order to help the Kampuchean revolutionary undertaking take each steady step forward.

To insure the successful fulfillment of these basic tasks, besides the armed forces, the Kampuchean revolution is paying great attention to building the people's security forces--a dictatorial tool of the revolutionary power at all levels--into increasingly firm and strong forces that are pure and absolutely loyal to the revolution and people and which are trusted, loved and supported by the people.

With the feelings of a close neighbor and with the comradeship that has developed between the two peoples fighting in the same trenches, the Vietnamese people are very pleased with and proud of the great successes which the Kampuchean people have achieved in production and in the maintenance of security over the past years. The Vietnamese people also thoroughly understand that these successes, as well as each step forward of the Kampuchean revolution, are the common successes of the militant solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea as well as of the Vietnamese-Lao-Kampuchean militant alliance in the struggle against the common enemy for independence, freedom, and socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 2, p 529.
2. Ibid., p 531.

CSO: 4210/13

## AN IMPORTANT VICTORY FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 83 pp 85-88

[Article by Vu Hien]

[Text] The architects of the peace movement recently assembled in Prague to conduct the World Congress "For Peace and Live and Against Nuclear War." For 6 days, more than 3,000 delegates representing the citizens of 132 countries of different races and nationalities and different philosophical, political and religious viewpoints, representatives of 1,843 national organizations, trade unions, peace movements, movements of women, youth and college students, political parties and religious organizations and representatives of 108 non-government international organizations and 11 government affiliated organizations debated the most pressing issue now facing the world: preventing nuclear war. The Prague congress was truly a new pinnacle of the world peace movement, was an explosion of human conscience in the face of the fully criminal intentions of the warmongers, was a display of the strength of the solidarity of large and widespread forces determined to protect peace and life on earth. The results of the congress were an important victory for the world peace movement.

The congress pointed out that the danger of a new world war--a nuclear war--is real and increasing as the United States and NATO prepare to deploy new U.S. medium range missiles in Europe. In the course of its development, mankind has experienced countless wars with painful and terrifying consequences. The Swiss scholar J.I. Babit calculated that in the past 5,500 years, 14,500 large and small wars have occurred in the world, wars that have killed 3.64 billion persons, or roughly the present population on earth. In the 20th century alone, wars have caused the loss of more than 100 million lives. The two atomic bombs dropped by the United States on Japan in 1945 killed more than 200,000 persons. Yet, the nuclear weapon stockpiles in the world now have a destructive force 2 million times greater than those atomic bombs. It is necessary to reiterate this fact because the imperialists are frantically waging an arms race, primarily a race to produce especially dangerous nuclear weapons because they have never displayed good will in any of the negotiations to reduce and limit the spread of nuclear weapons and because they are still constantly creating hotbeds of tension that could easily explode into war, such as in the Middle East, Central America and the Caribbean, South Africa,

Southeast Asia... There can no longer be any doubt that "mankind has reached a dangerous threshold in its development. One more wrong step could plunge the world into the abyss of war"(from the appeal "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War"). Therefore, if not promptly prevented, a world war, which will mainly be a nuclear war, will break out, the consequences of which will be immeasurable. When it breaks out, this war will leave no place untouched, not Europe or Asia, not cities or the countryside, not military positions or economic and cultural projects, not the land, the sea or the air. And, there will be no victor in this war nor will there be any survivors who will not experience terrible suffering. For this reason, now, more than ever before, mankind must be vigilant and alert, must awaken those who are still naive about their very own lives and existence, must strongly denounce the warmongers and promptly prevent a nuclear holocaust.

Together with pointing out the danger of nuclear war facing mankind, the Prague Peace Congress confirmed the source of this danger and the reasons why it has arisen. The congress harshly denounced warmongering imperialist circles, especially the U.S. imperialists, for creating a tense international situation and pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. For the sake of their selfish interests, for the sake of super profits, they stand ready to throw hundreds of millions of persons to their deaths. On the other hand, they have been unwilling to accept the continuous defeats they have suffered in past years in the face of the strengthening of world socialism, in the face of the victories of peace, freedom and independence. The victories of the three revolutionary currents in the world over the past several years have completely changed the world political map in a manner favorable to the forces of national independence, democracy and socialism, reduced the base of the colonial imperialists and changed the sphere of influence and the markets of each imperialist power; as a result, the inherent internal antagonisms of imperialism have become acute, the tendency of the other imperialist countries to go their separate ways in defiance of the U.S. imperialists is increasing and change the world in a manner patterned after U.S. style "order," successive administrations in Washington, especially the extremely bellicose Reagan administration, have adopted an insane arms race policy designed to restore U.S. power and achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Because they have the strongest economy and technical sciences in the capitalist world, the U.S. imperialists calculate that "a truly serious arms race will break the back of the Soviet economy" and force the Soviet Union to try to "catch up," which, if it is unable to do, will force the Soviet Union from the arms race, thereby disrupting the strategic military balance, especially the balance of nuclear weapons, and giving superiority to the United States. On the other hand, this arms race, because of its cost, will even be too much for the "allies" of the United States to undertake on their own, thus, they will be forced to meekly obey the orders of the United States and, in this way, the United States will be able to realize its dream of hegemony. To implement this plan, the U.S. government has continuously increased its military budget. The U.S. military budget was 100 billion dollars during fiscal year 1975-1976 and 150 billion dollars during fiscal year 1980-1981; recently, the Reagan administration forced the U.S. Congress to approve a military budget for fiscal year 1983-1984 of 200 billion dollars. The most cruel of genocidal nuclear weapons, weapons with greater destructive force than ever developed before, are being researched and mass

produced by the United State; U.S. military bases in foreign countries are being strengthened and expanded and new ones are being built. The United States is pressuring its "allies" to rapidly increase their military expenditures and promoting the deployment of 572 medium range missiles in Western Europe with a view toward delivering the first nuclear strike against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

To defend their plans to increase their military strength and unleash a war, the United States has made loud propaganda statements about the "Soviet threat" and "Soviet military superiority" in order to intimidate the people of the western countries; on the other hand, the United States has deceived public opinion by means of bizarre "theories" about a "limited" war, about a "global nuclear conflict" in which the United States is the victor! These attempts at deception have been refuted by public opinion in all countries, including the United States. Facts have proven that the United States, and no one but the United States, has long been scheming to attack the Soviet Union. Vice President W. Mondale himself stated: "Ever since the emergence of nuclear weapons, the United States has been first in the arms race." From the very outset, the arms race has been characterized by the law of "action and reaction," with the United States taking the initial action and the Soviet Union reacting because, in order to defend itself, the Soviet Union has been forced to take counter measures. The viewpoint of the Soviet Union is very clear: the Soviet Union will not start a war; the Soviet Union will not use nuclear weapons first; the Soviet Union is determined to maintain the nuclear balance at the lowest possible level; and the Soviet Union is always ready to seek solutions through negotiations based on the principles of equality and mutual security. Therefore, the world peace movement has perceived its responsibility to be exposing the United States as opposing peace and planning to unleash war and supporting the important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The world peace movement also opposes the argument that the threat of war arises from both sides and that both the United States and the Soviet Union are responsible for the tense situation in the world today.

Whereas the danger of a nuclear holocaust has increased, the peace and anti-war forces of today are stronger than ever before. The Prague Peace Congress clearly reflected this strength. The congress pointed out that preventing a nuclear war is a realistic possibility. Today's peace movement is larger and stronger than ever before and has an extremely broad social base. It encompasses the largest forces of each nationality, race, skin color, religion and political tendency everywhere, even within the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union, the pillar of the world peace movement, and the other countries of the socialist community have always taken the lead in the movement to safeguard peace and protect life. The Soviet Union is determined to not allow the U.S. imperialists to disrupt the strategic military balance that has been established between the Soviet Union and the United States. Y.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, stressed during a reception for Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany: "If the new missiles of the United States are deployed in Western Europe, the Soviet Union, instead of yielding and weakening its defense capabilities, will take prompt and effective retaliatory measures to protect the security of the Soviet Union and its allies." Clearly, the

powerful strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community together with their stand based on principle are always the most basic factor guaranteeing the stability of peace. Peace has also been strengthened by the increasing awareness on the part of the various strata of people in the world, an awareness that constitutes a dynamic political force that will prevent the imperialists from taking reckless actions. Americans are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the escalation of the arms race only benefits the military industrial complex and high ranking personalities in the United States while placing the entire burden upon them. The people of Western Europe, Japan and the other capitalist countries are also becoming increasingly aware. They know that as long as the authorities in their countries continue to follow the United States in rapidly increasing their military expenditures, they will be the ones who suffer every misfortune caused by the heavy burden of inflation and economic recession as well as by a harsh tax policy. They have strongly denounced their authorities for allowing the United States to establish military bases and deploy nuclear weapons in their countries, because they consider this action to be nothing more than "setting one's house afire" and "bringing calamity upon oneself," with all the benefits going to the United States. The people of the developing countries have also become aware of one fact: in the 32 years of NATO's existence, while the unjust economic policy of colonialism has caused 30 million to 40 million persons on earth to die from starvation each year and caused 1.5 billion persons to not even receive minimum public health care each year, NATO itself has spent 2,625 billion dollars. The various strata of the people in the United States as well as Western Europe, in Japan as well as the developing countries realize that accelerating the arms race as proposed by the United States is a crime against mankind. This explains why the movement for peace and life and against nuclear war is an intense movement throughout the world, why the Reagan administration is encountering increasingly sharp denunciations and becoming severely isolated in the face of the strong and continuous struggle being waged by the people of the United States, the people of Western Europe and the people of the world to safeguard peace.

Having experienced many years of suffering as a result of war, we Vietnamese have a very deep love of peace. The people of Vietnam wholeheartedly welcome the success of the World Congress "For Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War"; completely support the Appeal of the Congress; completely support the peace proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist community; and completely support the declaration of the high level meeting of Warsaw Pact member countries held on 28 June 1983 in Moscow. We vehemently protest the acceleration of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe by the United States and NATO. We promise to do everything that we can, to stand shoulder to shoulder with the peace loving people of the world in the determined struggle to safeguard peace and protect life on our planet.

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