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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 8, 1979



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

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ALL THE PEOPLE PARTICIPATE IN WORKING OUT THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 1-5 BK

[Editorial; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Following the middle- and high-ranking party and state cadres' discussion of the new draft constitution, the constitution drafting committee compiled their views and the Party Central Committee Political Bureau reviewed them and decided to have all the people discuss this new draft constitution.

This is the first time such a debate on a new draft constitution has been broadly organized among the people throughout the country.

This debate primarily responds to the desire of our people throughout the country to share in establishing a new constitution. It answers our people's wish to discuss and determine comprehensively their right to collective mastery in the fundamental state law which establishes and consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat to firmly build and defend a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam, and which determines the people's benefits and duties and state restrictions.

This discussion is a very important step in making our constitution truly reflect our people's desire and will to successfully build socialism and firmly defend their socialist homeland.

While striving to accelerate production, control typhoons and flashfloods and stabilize the people's livelihood, our entire country is preparing to fight Chinese expansionism. The glorious victories of the past two national defense wars strongly encourage our people to enthusiastically implement the immediate duties. The results of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National Assembly manifest the iron-like will of our 50 million people to resolutely build and defend their country.

The discussion of the new draft constitution must become truly /a broad and major political activity and a democratic socialist campaign among the

entire people,/ which is aimed at promoting our people's right to collective mastery, attaching all the people to the socialist regime and enhancing their sense of responsibility for building and protecting socialism.

In a socialist regime, the people master the institution of law and the law itself. Law is a tool to serve and protect the laboring people's system of collective mastery. The new constitution--our state's fundamental law--systematizes the laboring people's right to collective mastery in our country. It determines the basic principles and the vital institutions of the collective mastery system, and the fundamental benefits and duties of the laboring people in the socialist society. The new constitution further recapitulates the revolutionary achievements scored thus far and includes the scientific conclusions which our party-led people's administration have drawn from its experiences over the past few decades. At the same time, it is a fundamental law to insure success for socialist transformation and construction which includes the principles for guiding our people's action in the construction and defense of their socialist homeland. Therefore, the establishment of the new constitution does not merely rest with some specialized agencies but it requires broad and active contributions by the people.

As a result, the most important requirement of this discussion is to /actually promote the people's right to collective mastery and mobilize all the cadres, party members and people throughout the country to actively participate in discussing and contributing their realistic views to the establishment of the new constitution./ With their political awareness tested and tempered in the past few decades and in the position of a master, builder and defender of their country, our people will certainly share many of their correct views in establishing the new constitution, making it adequately reflect all of their aspirations, their will and their right to collective mastery. Our people's broad and enthusiastic participation in establishing the new constitution reflects the superiority of the socialist regime and the popularity of the new constitution.

The discussion and contribution of views to the establishment of the new constitution constitute a good opportunity for our cadres and people to /heighten their awareness of socialism, socialist law and the benefits and duties of citizens, and to develop their ability and creativity in national construction and defense./ Judically, the new constitution manifests and determines the socialist model, the fundamental principles for building socialism in all fields, the basic goals and laws of socialism and the key measures to insure the success of socialist construction in our country. Consequently, through this discussion, our people will gain a profound knowledge of socialism and the fine characteristics of the socialist regime.

/The constitution is a fundamental law which all citizens are dutybound to understand and observe scrupulously./ It generally defines acts authorized or prohibited by law and embodies the socialist legal principles. At the same time, it specifically determines the basic benefits and duties which each citizen can enjoy and fulfill. As a result, this discussion

will enable our people to firmly grasp socialist law, enhance their sense of respect for laws and their spirit of struggle against all law violations, clearly see the difference in character between the socialist and capitalist constitutions, and to overcome the capitalist concept of democratic freedom and justice. At the same time, it increases the citizens' knowledge of their benefits and duties under the socialist regime and makes all the people clearly see the relationship between benefits and duties. Our state has the mission to insure the implementation of all its citizens' legitimate rights. At the same time, it requires all its citizens to fulfill their obligations to the state and society. By fulfilling their obligations to the state and society, the citizens will realistically secure their own benefits.

Through this discussion, our people will be imbued with the spirit and fundamental contents of the new draft constitution, thereby enhancing their sense of collective mastery and the level of their political knowledge. As a result, they will /more intensively love their country and socialism, accelerate the emulation movement for productive labor and combat readiness, practice thrift, increase labor productivity and overfulfill the state plan norms and all other tasks./ Enthusiasm and love for the beautiful regime which our people manifest in this discussion will constitute one of the political and moral factors in urging our cadres and people to surge forward to overcome difficulties, develop their creativity in productive labor and official work, and be ready to fight and win.

To insure good results from the discussion, it is most significant and decisive that all echelons thoroughly understand the requirement of promoting the laboring people's right to collective mastery throughout the campaign. This requirement must be reflected in the scope of propaganda and education, in the method of organizing and providing guidance and even in the leadership over the discussion, so as to insure freedom of thought and a bold and democratic debate and thus further clarify the viewpoints and concepts of the new constitution.

The participants in this discussion include broad segments of the masses, namely workers, peasants, intellectual laborers and all strata of the laboring people who belong to different collectives, circles, nationalities and religions of various ages and occupations, living in various localities and under different conditions and possessing different levels of knowledge. To meet the requirement, the discussion must necessarily be /conducted carefully, realistically, broadly and in depth in several flexible and fruitful forms and in accordance with a properly devised plan, especially with respect to the grassroots level./ Only in such a way can all the people have favorable conditions for easily participating in this important political activity.

In the course of discussion, the participants may refer to the realistic situation to clarify their views by pointing out the shortcomings and mistakes of various agencies and cadres. Those organizations, cadres and personnel who are designated to join this campaign must actively mobilize broad segments of the masses to enthusiastically present their views by

upholding socialist democracy and must adequately collect all the people's suggestions in order to satisfactorily compile the draft constitution. At the same time, they must adopt a truly respectful attitude toward the constructive comments of the masses by seriously listening to and recording them adequately. Together with the responsible agencies they must actively correct the errors pointed out by the masses or answer those questions which the people have not fully understood. By satisfactorily performing this task, they will realistically encourage the masses to develop their right to socialist collective mastery and will increase the people's confidence in the socialist regime and strengthen the close relationship between the administration and cadres and the people, thus contributing to making the people's administration firm and powerful, strengthening the all-people solidarity and consolidating the unified national front. All erroneous thinking and attitudes and all perfunctory and negligent methods of organizing discussion of the new draft constitution must be criticized and promptly remedied. Obviously, we must also prevent bad elements from engaging in distortional instigative and disruptive acts of sabotage.

All agencies, factories, project sites, state farms, afforestation stations, hospitals, shops, schools, communes, hamlets and city wards constitute the units where grassroots-level discussion must be organized. The results of discussion at this level largely depend on the way in which the various party organizations, cadres and party members carry out their duty of mobilizing and joining the people in actively discussing the draft constitution, on the quality of rapporteurs and instructors, on the conduct of propaganda to explain the purpose and requirement of discussing the fundamental issues in the draft constitution, and on the timely correction of erroneous thinking which limits the results of the discussion.

Discussing and sharing views regarding establishing the new constitution of one's own country is a benefit which only people under the socialist regime can enjoy after a long revolutionary struggle. Each article of the constitution is closely related to our people's material and moral lives and to the present and future of our country. The superiority of socialism is clearly manifested by the fact that the people have the right to discuss and express their views on all the important political events and major decisions concerning their country, and that the state listens to, studies and accepts all the sound and constructive suggestions of the people. Therefore, let the people throughout the country enthusiastically participate in discussing and sharing many views on establishing the new constitution so as to make the new constitution really belong to the people and to make it a sharp weapon in the people's hands to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland.

With patriotism and love of socialism, let our cadres and people eagerly participate in the discussion to establish the new constitution, making it a really broad and major political activity which vividly manifests the consciousness and right to collective mastery of the laboring people in our country.

COMMUNIQUE

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 20 Jul 79 OW

[20 July Communique issued by the VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers of the SRV and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee, on the demise of Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang, member of the VCP Central Committee, deputy of the Sixth National Assembly and vice president of the SRV and vice president of the SRV--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79 p 6; translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 142, 23 Jul 79 pp K13-K14]

[Text] The VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers of the SRV and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee, with boundless grief, herewith announce to the entire party, people, armed forces and Vietnamese residents abroad that Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang, member of the VCP Central Committee, deputy of the Sixth National Assembly and vice president of the SRV passed away at 0350 on 20 July 1979 in Hanoi at the age of 75 after a period of serious illness. Despite the wholehearted care given him by the party and state and the devoted treatment given by physicians and medical personnel, he succumbed to his illness because of its seriousness. Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang's demise is a great loss to our party, state and people.

In order to show their respect to Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang, the VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee herewith decide that:

1. A state funeral shall be organized;
2. The whole country shall be in mourning for Comrade Vice President Nguyen Luong Bang for 3 days from 22 to 24 July 1979;
3. The party Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee shall organize a solemn memorial service for Comrade Vice President Nguyen Luong Bang, the peoples' committees of provinces and cities directly under the central government shall organize memorial services in their localities;

4. A state funeral committee comprising a number of highest ranking leaders of the party, state, VFF and mass organizations shall be in charge of organizing the funeral.

Let our entire party, people and armed forces turn grief into strength and endeavor to fulfill all tasks, first of all those designed to build socialism and defend the fatherland.

Hanoi, 20 July 1979.

[Signed] The VCP Central Committee, the SRV National Assembly Standing Committee, the SRV Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee.

CSO: 4209

WE PROMISE TO FOREVER BE WORTHY OF YOU!

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 7-8

[Eulogy by Phan Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Premier, during the funeral ceremony for Vice President Nguyen Luong Bang; excerpts of this item were published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 143, 24 Jul 79, pp K13-K14]

[Text] The revered Nguyen Luong Bang is no longer with us!

His passing is a very great loss to our party, state and people.

Our entire party and all our people are deeply grieved over the loss of you, a wise leader, a staunch communist fighter and a brilliant example for many generations of us communists since the birth of the party.

Coming from the working class, Nguyen Luong Bang, who adopted the famous alias "Red Star" for his revolutionary activities, was among the first fighters of the Vietnamese revolution. As a young patriot, he received guidance from President Ho Chi Minh early and became an outstanding activist of the Association of Revolutionary Youth of Vietnam, became an outstanding member of the Vietnam Communist Party.

Under President Ho Chi Minh's direct guidance, he conducted his activities among overseas Vietnamese patriots, on ocean-going ships and in the North as well as the South of our country. He actively spread Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam and was one of the builders of our party politically, ideologically and organizationally.

During his 20 years of activities under the colonial regime, from 1925 to 1945, he was arrested three times and escaped from prison three times. Subjected as he was to barbarous tortures by the imperialists, he remained undaunted and stood loyal to the fatherland, the people, the communist party and the working people and upheld the spirit of a true revolutionary. "Red Star" was a shining beacon to revolutionaries and struck terror in the hearts of

the enemy. Despite their countless cunning and insidious tricks, they were unable to break the will of this staunch communist fighter. During the more than 10 years he spent in many different prisons, where he experienced every challenge of brazen terror, deprivation and illness, he continued to display a tenacious, unyielding spirit, led and educated his comrades and struggled ever more strongly against the enemy and traitors.

After his last escape from prison, Nguyen Luong Bang, together with other leaders of the party and the Central Committee of the League for the Independence of Vietnam, spared no efforts in building the National United Front and organizing the people in a struggle under the most difficult circumstances against the oppression by French and Japanese imperialism, bringing the movement for national salvation and independence to a new height. He joined President Ho Chi Minh and the Central Committee of the party in leading the August general uprising to success, and was one of the founders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He made important contributions in building the revolutionary government, building our country's financial system and organizing the war of resistance against the French.

As the first ambassador of our country to the Soviet Union, he actively contributed to the strengthening and development of the fraternal ties and militant solidarity between the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

During the two wars of resistance, he worked on many occasions beside President Ho Chi Minh and, as one of the competent architects of our party, he taught party members and concerned himself with the ideological and organizational strength and stability of the party.

In his capacity as vice president of the country, he was a dear friend of President Ton Duc Thang, our head-of-state, and continued the work of President Ho Chi Minh, fighting for peace, independence, reunification, socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

Whether engaged in foreign or domestic work, he always combined ardent patriotism with the noble international spirit, was always united with the international communist and worker movement, united with the national liberation, democratic and peace movements.

Learning from the great virtues of President Ho Chi Minh, he always displayed modesty and simplicity, practiced industry, thrift, integrity, devotion and selflessness, practiced democracy, maintained strict discipline, obeyed the organization, united widely, closely and in a very loving manner with his comrades and concerned himself with the life of the people. The appellation "eldest brother" by which we often addressed him is indicative of his highly valued example, of the purity of his comradeship and brotherhood.

Your active life was a shining example of a Vietnamese communist, a life rich in patriotism, rich in the proletarian international spirit.

respected and beloved elder brother,

Your heart has stopped beating. However, our entire party, our entire army and all our people are very proud of you, proud of "Red Star," of Nguyen Luong Bang. You turned 75 this year; ever since you became enlightened, you devoted your entire life to the revolution. The example set by you is a spiritual value that will shine upon many generations of our communists, our youths and our people. Your revolutionary spirit, your communist ethics are immortal.

Your objectives and ideals have been fulfilled and will be completely fulfilled. The country is independent and reunified and the entire country is advancing to socialism. The revolution of the people of the world is continuing to win victory. Socialism has become a great reality on this planet and will surely win total victory, as was your daily desire.

Although we must still overcome numerous difficulties, our people, under the leadership of the party, will surely advance heroically to successfully build socialism and firmly protect the socialist fatherland, thereby making worthy contributions to the work of safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world, as you often reminded us.

Farewell revered and beloved elder brother, we promise to forever be worthy of you!

7809

CSO: 4209

**BRING TO COMPLETION THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND
TRADE IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES AND CITIES**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 9-16 BK

[Article by Do Muoi; passages between slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] One of the important tasks of our people at present is /to satisfactorily bring to completion the socialist transformation of private industry and trade in the southern provinces and cities so as to consolidate and perfect the socialist production relationships in the various national economic sectors/. The satisfactory completion of the socialist transformation of private industry and trade in the southern provinces and cities is of very great significance. Only by establishing, consolidating, broadening and perfecting socialist production relationships can the development of productive force be promoted; all potential capabilities of the country be mobilized to serve economic construction, to step up production, to expand the circulation and distribution of goods, and to successfully implement the state plan; and manpower and material resources be mobilized to defend the fatherland. The tendency to relax the socialist transformation in the southern provinces is detrimental to the defense of the fatherland against the big-power expansionism and hegemonism of the reactionary Beijing rulers and to the building of socialism, the development of production and the stabilization of the people's living conditions.

Over the past few years we have achieved much in the transformation and building of industry and trade in the southern provinces along the line of socialism. To date, we have virtually completed the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and basically abolished the urban bourgeoisie class in the southern provinces and cities.

Large and medium-sized private capitalist establishments in the industrial, construction, transportation, public health and service sectors and other sectors have been turned into state enterprises or state-private joint enterprises. A number of small-sized private capitalist establishments have been reorganized into cooperativized enterprises [xis nghieep] howp] tacs] to work for the state on a contractual basis. We have abolished bourgeoisie trade business and the private trade of goods placed under the exclusive management of the state.

The state has assumed the direct management of key economic sectors and important economic and cultural installations, and has placed under its exclusive management and expanded the trade of goods essential to production and the people's livelihood. The socialist market has been gradually expanded and consolidated. The socialist economic system has achieved absolute superiority in the various industrial and trade sectors. The state-run economy now plays the key role in the entire economic system in the southern provinces and cities.

We have made the first step in reorganizing the production, circulation and distribution of goods in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan, and have taken another step in redistributing the social work force and population of populous cities.

Under the present particularly difficult and complex circumstances, the virtual completion of the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and the virtual abolition of the urban bourgeoisie in the southern provinces and cities constitute /a major economic and political victory/.

This victory has created favorable conditions for building an independent, sovereign and socialist economy throughout the country; stepping up the production of goods and expanding their circulation; strengthening the management of the market, prices, finance and money; insuring and stabilizing the people's living conditions; promoting the socialist transformation of southern agriculture; bringing into full play the role of the southern workers and laboring people as collective masters; building the new culture and the new type of people; contributing to the strengthening of the all-people national defense; maintaining political security and social safety; and insuring victory over any aggressive acts by the Chinese reactionaries against our country.

However, we still have many shortcomings to overcome and much work to do. Many privately owned industrial and commercial installations have not been transformed--nearly a thousand small privately owned capitalist installations and many handicrafts and artisan industry units with nearly half of the total professional craftsmen and more than half a million small merchants. Socialist trade is still weak from several standpoints. Few results have been obtained by the state in collecting, purchasing and controlling goods and commodities, especially agricultural and maritime products. The state has not been able to control the market, which is still widely unorganized and poorly managed. As a result, the prices of many consumer goods have soared very high.

Socialist transformation of private industry and trade has not been closely linked to the reorganization of production, the circulation and distribution of goods in the country, and the establishment and strengthening of management of various sectors and echelons.

In the transformed enterprises, socialist production relations have not been firmly consolidated, the level of management in several fields in

terms of socialist business is still low, and existing potential to expand production, insure the implementation of the state plan and stabilize the people's livelihood has not been developed.

Due attention has not been paid to the education and building of new men and to the enhancement of the laboring people's socialist awareness. The continued education and transformation of capitalists has almost been completely neglected. The correction of mistakes in the implementation of socialist transformation policies in several units and localities has not been continuous and positive.

Therefore, the task of continuing the socialist transformation of private industry and trade in the southern provinces still presents many problems to be resolved. The most outstanding one is: /along with accomplishing the socialist transformation of private industry and trade, attention must be paid to consolidating and gradually improving socialist production relations, and efforts must be concentrated on accelerating production and satisfactorily establishing the socialist market./

In the time ahead, it is necessary to firmly grasp the following basic goal of socialist transformation set forth by the party central committee and government: /to accelerate production, expand socialist circulation and distribution, and closely link transformation with the reorganization of production and the circulation and distribution of goods in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan, so as to make the state control the market./

To attain the above goal, it is necessary to more thoroughly understand the party viewpoint on /combining transformation with construction./ In analyzing the relationship between transformation and construction, it is imperative to consider construction as the main task. Management in accordance with socialist principles must be consolidated and strengthened gradually as transformation is completed. The socialist transformation of private industry and trade must be coupled with the education and building of new men among the laboring people, and with the transformation of exploitative capitalists into laboring people.

It is necessary to clearly realize that the entire process of combining transformation with construction is aimed at creating new production relations and forces, new economic institutions and superstructures, and new material, cultural and social lives.

Actual experiences in the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade in the southern provinces and cities over the past few years have clearly shown that those sectors which have firmly grasped the viewpoint of combining transformation with construction and know how to closely connect transformation with the reorganization of production and the circulation and distribution of goods in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan can fulfill their task of socialist transformation and thus satisfactorily support production and the people's livelihood.

The major shortcoming in the socialist transformation of trade in the southern provinces lies mainly in the failure to combine the elimination of private trade with the reorganization of trade along socialist lines to satisfactorily support production and the people's livelihood. As a result, the internal trade network for collecting and purchasing grain and maritime products is weak, showing very poor results. The state-run trade organization is very weak from the standpoints of goods and commodities, material and technical bases and organization and labor. The organized market in the south accounts for only about 40 percent of the retail amount of the social market. The free market is still widespread and replete with small merchants, and the soaring prices of commodities have adversely affected several balances in the national economy, the development of production and the stability of the people's livelihood.

Transformation of production relations means that the old, backward and outdated production relations must be eliminated so that new socialist production relations which are advanced and clearly superior to the old ones in several aspects can be established. If we are able to wipe out the private capitalist trade but are then unable to establish a fully and comprehensively strong socialist trade system--which can not only replace but also operate better than private capitalist trade to insure good support for production development and the people's livelihood, how can the new production relations firmly stand and develop, and how can socialism triumph over capitalism in the field of circulation, distribution and marketing? And in turn, how can the dictatorship of our proletariat fulfill the socialist revolution in the southern provinces so as to accelerate production, stabilize the people's livelihood and build the south into a firm and strong rear area for national defense against the Chinese aggressors?

Therefore, all sectors must /firmly grasp the party viewpoint on combining transformation with construction, with the reorganization of production and with the circulation and distribution of goods, /and must satisfactorily fulfill the socialist transformation of private industry and trade in the southern provinces. The satisfactory fulfillment of the socialist transformation of industry and trade must be demonstrated by the fact that the transformation supports and stimulates production sectors to develop and turn out many consumer goods for the people and for export. This is the first criterion for evaluating the results of our socialist transformation.

To correctly carry out the above party viewpoint, all sectors /should satisfactorily fulfill the socialist transformation of private industry and trade while consolidating and improving the socialist production relations, concentrating on accelerating production and building a good socialist market./

/It is primarily necessary to carry out socialist transformation and consolidate the socialist production relations in various industrial production sectors, handicrafts and artisan industry;/ to quickly and completely transform the remaining private capitalist industries into

various suitable forms; and to reorganize the handicrafts and artisan industry units by absorbing 70 percent of their specialized workforce into various work cooperation teams and cooperatives. It is necessary to consolidate and enhance the transformation results and to consolidate and improve the new production relations in the transformed installations so as to develop the superiority of socialist production relations and utilize all the latent potential in the fields of industrial production, handicrafts and artisan industry with a view to accelerating the production of many consumer goods for the people and for export and to satisfactorily implementing the state plan.

Production determines the circulation distribution of goods which conversely effect production. Therefore, after transforming the private capitalist industry and trade and reorganizing production sectors into various socialist forms, if we want to accelerate the development of production sectors, we must "reorganize the circulation and distribution sectors, transform and shift large numbers of small merchants to production and other services essential to the people's livelihood, and manage the market well. The state-run trade organizations must quickly and vigorously develop so as to sufficiently meet the requirements of production and the people's livelihood and control the market, eliminating all speculative activities, price increase and market manipulation. This is /the key/ problem and also the present /weakest/ point of the southern provinces' economy.

Therefore, on the one hand, the state must /quickly develop the force of state-run trade and marketing cooperatives;/ expand circulation and distribution; consolidate and enlarge the socialist market; control the market, circulation and distribution; and insure good distribution of staple commodities to the people. On the other hand, the cadres and people should be educated to satisfactorily implement all the state policies on circulation and distribution. In particular, peasants should be educated to fulfill the obligation of selling products to the state. All cadres and party members must be exemplary in implementing these policies.

The circulation and distribution sectors must closely watch production, capitalize on all the latent potentials to accelerate production, arrange jobs for unemployed people, reform small merchants by definitively shifting large numbers of them to production, and transform all cities from the status of "consumption" to "production". On the basis of developed production, these sectors should intensify their collecting and purchasing activities and centralize the flow of goods into the state so that the state can have enough goods and commodities for distribution to meet the essential requirements of the whole society. Only on the basis of firmly controlling the flow of goods, can the circulation and distribution sectors secure favorable conditions for managing the market well, fighting speculation and smuggling, protecting the interests of producers and consumers and stabilizing the people's livelihood. The present status of collection and purchasing in the southern provinces which is defined by

free market prices, has only a stimulative effect on traders and does not encourage producers or protect the interests of workers and peasants.

The circulation and distribution sectors must undergo some /basic changes in collecting, purchasing and controlling goods and commodities./ This means highly mobilizing the flow of goods into state hands, thus enabling the state to obtain the bulk of society's products and commodities and encouraging the laboring people to be active in production.

We must understand that the concentration of society's products and goods into the hands of the state is /a principled matter/ to organize the circulation of goods and commodities in a planned manner. Only by so doing, can we insure the development of production in the correct direction, encourage small producers to follow socialism, manage the market well and protect the interests of producers and consumers. At a time when major imbalances prevail in the economy, if the above sectors fail to accelerate the collection, purchase and control of goods to insure that the requirements of the people and export can be met, the imbalances between goods and currency, budgetary income and expenses, cash credit and debit and export and import will worsen. Consequently, the state will not fulfill its mission to stabilize and protect the people's livelihood and to firmly defend the socialist fatherland.

The procurement of agricultural products is an important structural part of the economic relations between industry and agriculture and between the cities and the countryside. The policy for procuring agricultural products basically stipulates that all economic sectors must refer to the production programs and plans and /use two-way economic contracts to implement the policies on collection, purchase and rational pricing as directed by the state./ The Party Central Committee has decided to implement nationwide Political Bureau Resolution No 12 on the collection and purchase of grain, which includes three points: tax, two-way contract and purchase of surplus grain at agreed prices. The Party Central Committee has also decided to apply the above stipulation to improve the policy of procuring other products of the collective and individual economies. Some industries, factories and collective and individual economic units are authorized to expand the production and circulation of some items requiring no material supply from the state and the management of these items is unified according to a system of adjustable prices. The production of such items by these units, using domestic raw materials and scrap materials and supplies, must be encouraged.

This policy of procuring agricultural products through the two-way economic contracts which the Party Central Committee has set forth involves a very new and comprehensive scope. It is closely linked to the formulation and implementation of the state plan, ranging from production to circulation and distribution. It is also closely connected with socialist transformation and construction, and with the acceleration of the "three revolutions" in the countryside to build districts and strengthen the district level, to consolidate production units, to revamp the organization and to improve the management of various sectors and echelons.

This is not merely a simple exchange of goods, but a matter of /economic and political significance/ which plays the role of promoting and improving socialist transformation of agriculture in the south. It supports and promotes all other party and state policies in the rural areas to advance the countryside in accordance with the lines and policies set forth in the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress and various Party Central Committee plenums.

The socialist state cares for the livelihood of the people of all strata, especially workers, cadres, troops and all "laborers" on the state payroll. At present, they all have many difficulties in their livelihood. The state is especially concerned with resolving the problems in the livelihood of workers and civil servants, so that they may enthusiastically engage in production, official work and combat.

Therefore, the state must seek measures to accelerate production in order to satisfactorily resolve the problem of stabilizing the people's livelihood. At present, we must rely on the result of the socialist transformation in the south to accelerate the development of production, collect and purchase goods and products, concentratedly place the source of goods and commodities under state control and satisfactorily distribute staple commodities to the people. Particularly at a time when there is a major imbalance between supply and demand, the circulation and distribution sectors must /uphold their sense of responsibility for the people's livelihood/ by most satisfactorily implementing the tasks of collecting, purchasing and distributing goods and commodities in accordance with party and state policies by opposing all acts of corruption, collusion and officialism which cause trouble to the people. They will not allow the free market to develop all the activities of speculating in and hoarding goods and commodities in order to increase the prices of staple commodities and to stifle the people's livelihood.

In the present situation, the circulation and distribution sectors must firmly grasp and most satisfactorily implement the following /central and immediate tasks:/ accelerate the procurement and control of goods and commodities, especially staple commodities, in various concentrated production areas; correctly implement two-way economic contracts to establish a good relationship between the state and peasants, fishermen and all other craftsmen; fairly distribute staple commodities to the people in accordance with party and state policies; and protect producers and consumers against exploitative traders. Only by so doing can the state stabilize the people's livelihood, develop the results of the socialist transformation, consolidate the new production relations and create conditions for accelerating production, especially the production of consumer goods.

/In order to consolidate and improve the new production relations in the transformed installations,/ all sectors and localities must rely on the production and business programs of these installations to determine the production guidelines and plans for them and, at the same time, must guide these installations in correctly implementing the state plan and in complying with party and state policies. On the basis of consolidating and enhancing

the transformation results, all sectors must continually improve the organization and operation of various state-run economic installations, making these installations clearly superior to the collective and individual economies and becoming socialist bulwarks.

We must firmly grasp and immediately apply the principles of socialist management to the newly transformed installations. As soon as an installation is completely transformed it should be managed according to the socialist principles. The promulgated state regulations on state-run enterprises must be immediately applied in accordance with the premier's directive No. 463/TTG governing nationalized enterprises which are placed under the managerial control of the central or local level. At the same time, regulations on joint private-state owned factories on cooperatives must also be immediately applied to the joint private-state owned factories and the collectively run business installations respectively.

Moreover, we must pay attention to the establishment of various organizations of the party, administration and the masses within the transformed enterprises, and help these organizations develop their active role.

Along with consolidating the transformed installations, we must /continue to accelerate the transformation of the remaining private capitalist installations and must complete the socialist transformation of the communications and transportation and forestry sectors, the construction contractors and construction material production units, and various health, cultural, house renting and other important service and business installations./ With respect to the maritime products sector, we must complete the socialist transformation of various processing installations and the logistical units supporting fishing activities. Particularly, it is advisable to establish a major fishing component in various collective work organizations.

In the process of transforming and developing industry and trade along socialist lines, our party and state have promulgated many policies and regulations. All sectors and localities must firmly grasp and satisfactorily implement these policies and regulations, and must control their implementation by subordinates to insure that the economic transformation and development can progress in accordance with the lines and policies of the Party Central Committee and government.

The economic transformation of private industry and trade in the southern provinces and cities must /be coupled with the education and building of new men/ among the laboring people and with the transformation of exploitative capitalists into laborers. This is the heaviest and longest task of the socialist transformation.

We know that the dictatorship of the proletariat is aimed at eliminating the exploitative class, reforming the old society and building a new society. Its main motive force lies in the laboring people, who hold the right to collective mastery over the society under the leadership of the working class. Our party has clearly specified that we must /firmly grasp the

dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the laboring people's right to collective mastery/ to carry out socialist transformation and construction. Our party has also several times stressed the self-imposed role of the laboring people in socialist transformation and construction. If we cannot develop the mastery role of the masses in this revolutionary cause, we will not be able to succeed in socialist transformation and construction. After the private capitalist enterprises have been transformed along the socialist line, if their workers are not aware of socialism and if we cannot develop the workers' right to collective mastery so as to develop the enterprises, who will then protect and develop the achievements of the socialist transformation? Lenin used to say: "Socialism is active; creativity is the nature of the masses." (Footnote: V. Lenin: Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1963, Brochure 26, p 327)

Therefore, it is a wrong tendency to belittle the education and building of new men among workers and the laboring people of newly transformed installations and to neglect the reform of capitalists. This tendency is harmful to the socialist revolution.

In order to satisfactorily fulfill this mission, we must rely on and trust the workers, and must strive to educate, train and make them truly worthy of their role. This is a persisting and entirely revolutionary task of the party in educating the masses, with a view to wiping out all the bad habits and evils left behind by the neocolonialist regime and eliminating the bad practices of the exploitative clique and the backward customs which have deeply impregnated the laboring masses.

The struggle to eliminate the ideological vestiges of the former regime among the laboring people is also aimed at building new men who know /how to love their country, socialism and labor and to treasure public assets, who do not steal and hoard, and who are always attached to the collectives, factories and the socialist state./

This is a very heavy yet glorious mission. Our party has taken upon itself the mission of helping the working class satisfactorily assume the role of educator, organizer and leader of this revolution. Without this role of the working class, socialism cannot triumph. Therefore, we must trust and rely on the workers, and must develop the role of workers and laborers as collective masters in the management of transformed enterprises.

CSO: 4209

REDISTRIBUTE THE WORK FORCE IN ORDER TO BUILD AND DEFEND THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 17-22 BK

[Article by Che Viet Tan; passages within slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] Despite their heavy defeats in Kampuchea as well as in our southwestern and northern border provinces, the reactionary forces within the Chinese ruling circles are still nurturing their mad expansionist ambition and plotting to annex our country and fraternal Laos and Kampuchea.

At present as well as in the future, in our country and in our fraternal neighboring countries--Laos and Kampuchea--the law of building socialism in coordination with the defense of the socialist fatherland is of even greater significance.

/“The important thing now is that we must thoroughly understand the basic relationship between national construction and defense, and between economic development and the strengthening of national defense”/ (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Vo Nguyen Giap: “The People’s War to Defend the Fatherland in the New Era,” TAP CHI CONG SAN, May 1979 issue, p 17). Understanding the relationship between the economy and national defense in redistributing the work force in our society is a matter of strategic importance for the entire country. It will enable us to satisfactorily fulfill two tasks: /build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland,/ and carry out our people’s international obligation. A large-scale redistribution of the work force and the population will be continuously achieved in the coming years under all circumstances in conformity with the principles of the new division of labor during the industrialization period. This task not only meets the immediate requirements for national construction and defense, but is also very necessary for the future development of our fatherland.

Our 4,000-year national construction and defense efforts have affirmed an important development law of Vietnamese history; /national construction and defense are closely related./

Our country is rich in natural resources and is in a vitally strategic position on the Pacific coast in the Southeast Asian region. From time immemorial up to now, no expansionist forces wanted to dominate the Southeast Asian region without concocting a scheme to invade and occupy our country, in order to turn it into their strategic springboard and their military base.

Of 23 centuries--from the struggle against the Qin Dynasty (in the 3d century B.C.) to the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation (late in the 20th century)--the Vietnamese people have spent more than 12 taking up arms and fighting their enemies. Throughout the 20 centuries of struggle against the expansionist acts of the ancient Chinese feudalist dynasties--that is, from the 3d century B.C. to the 18th century--our people defeated all schemes of aggression and assimilation by their enemy. After more than a century of struggle, from the mid-19th century to the great victories in the springs of 1975 and 1979, our people defeated many big imperialist powers, ranging from the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists to the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese hegemonists. Obviously, foreign aggression has been a constant threat to our country, and our peaceful construction period has been interrupted by our fierce struggles against foreign aggression.

Therefore, in our present peaceful national construction cause, we must always be ready to oppose all acts of aggression and enslaving schemes against our country. The law of history has created a new standing for the Vietnamese people in history, which they must never forget: /build and defend the country at the same time and always be ready to oppose foreign aggression."

The resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party (held in December 1976) said: "National construction must parallel national defense. Along with building the country in every respect, we must build a strong all-people national defense, people's armed forces and a national defense industry and insure that the country is ready to defeat any act of aggression. We must closely combine labor duty with military service in order to step up economic construction while insuring the steady consolidation of national defense." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of Party Delegates; the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 25, 65).

The congress resolution pointed out: "The duties to build and consolidate national defense must be performed by all the people, the whole army and the entire proletarian dictatorial system under the party's leadership. Our mighty people's armed forces comprise a powerful standing force and a large and well trained reserve force, with the modern regular people's army composed of the necessary branches and services, and with mighty main forces, regional forces, militia-guerrillas and militia self-defense forces. So long as imperialism exists we must pay adequate attention to modernizing our defense forces and capabilities. In the new state, our armed forces have two tasks: Always to stand ready to fight and to defend the fatherland and to actively participate in economic construction. In this spirit, we must

enforce the regime of military service and the army's duty to build the economy. We must strive to develop the national defense industry." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of party delegates; the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 25, 65).

The redistribution of the work force and the population, which is aimed at achieving a division of the social labor force, must be closely related to the demands for increasing national defense capabilities. It is necessary to "closely combine the economy with national defense and vice versa in distributing the work force"/. (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Council of Ministers' report to the Fifth Session [held in May 1979] of the Sixth National Assembly). The redistribution of the work force and the population must be carried out according to the following guidelines:

--In a firm strategic position in which Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are interdependent, it is necessary to combine the disposition of strategic regions with economic regions and to regulate and distribute the work force and the population for building grain production bases, industrial zones, infrastructure... [ellipsis as published]

The relocation of about 10 million people in the years to come from the overpopulated regions (more than 10 persons living on 1 hectare of land) in the Red River delta and in the central provinces to the border regions, offshore islands, the Mekong River delta, the central highlands and the western areas of the provinces along the Truong Son mountain range is aimed at increasing twofold the present cultivated area, developing the economy, forming in-place combat lines, creating direct base areas for battlefields in the event of war and establishing for our country a firm and strong rear connected with those of fraternal Laos and Kampuchea.

--The comprehensive planning of the production forces and the relocation of population must involve reorganizing the network of urban centers and industrial zones, rearranging the rural populated localities, establishing new places for nomadic ethnic people to settle and engage in cultivation, reorganizing and developing the communications and transportation network and building for our entire country a firm and strong strategic economic and national defense system stressing our relations and cooperation with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, in order to insure that our people will defeat any kind or scale of war that might occur.

This planning of production forces and this relocation of population will be constantly adjusted in keeping with the development of science and technology and of the new knowledge of national defense.

--The armed forces must be built into three categories of troops comprising the seasoned main forces equipped with the most modern weapons, the regional forces and the militia and self-defense forces.

The main forces must have sufficient personnel to perform combat and economic construction missions and, at the same time, must have a well-trained and combat-ready reserve force which, when necessary, can be mobilized to replenish them at the shortest notice.

The self-defense militia forces must attain a high level of training and must be flexibly organized so that they can be engaged in production while carrying out their combat and combat readiness missions.

--The training of a technical work force of technical cadres and skilled workers must be conducted in the direction of, on the one hand, placing emphasis on the requirements for economic construction, for national defense industrial construction and for scientific and technical development and, on the other, making it possible for the technical work force to replenish the armed forces with an increasing number of technical workers so as to enable the technical combat branches to attain advanced knowledge and be qualified to use all kinds of modern weapons to defeat all enemy aggression.

Our nation's long history has witnessed constant maneuvers by the northern expansionist enemy aimed at annexing and enslaving our country. Our ancestors built and defended the country, arming themselves even during peacetime so as to remain ready to defeat all foreign aggression.

At present, as in the future, we should not forget the lessons that we have repeatedly learned from history and should take up the cause of national construction and defense from our ancestors and bring it into full play in the new situation.

Historical speaking, as a small and thinly populated country, we still victoriously dealt with northern aggressors coming from many directions, including the most truculent of the era. Our ancestors who used to "mentally labor when the country's fate was at stake," to ponder "on the means for national defense even in peacetime," and "refer the present to the past, considering all causes of rise and fall," drew lessons and experiences from "the causes of past defeats and victories." On this basis, they understood the rules for preparing the country for an anti-aggression war and determined a superior national defense plan for each era. This plan, though changing in applying to different historical situations, involves the basic principles of how to promote patriotism and national unity, "recuperate the people's strength" and mobilize and muster the force of the entire nation for national defense against foreign aggression.

Formerly, in building forces, our forefathers formed a well-seasoned army and provided it with the best weapons and technical equipment, while devising plans to develop an armed force among those engaged in productive labor, to be mobilized in case of necessity. As a result, in several instances they could gather a large and well-commanded force within a short period in order to defeat large numbers of well armed enemy troops.

With a view to having a regular army of sufficient strength while always maintaining a workforce for agricultural production, our forefathers implemented the policy "of placing troops in agriculture and the countryside." According to this policy, all youths had to perform their military obligation and troops were allocated public land and ricefields in villages and hamlets for agricultural production on a rotation basis. Soldiers had to perform their military duties while engaging in agricultural production.

This policy, in effect under the Ly, Tran and Le dynasties in the 11th and 14th centuries with such famous political and military strategists as Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, was a decisive factor for victory during the glorious resistance struggles against foreign aggression, defeating huge columns of Chinese feudalist troops.

Our country is now much different from before. Extending from Lung Cu in the northern province of Ha Tuyen to Ca Mau Cape in the southern province of Minh Hai, with the sea to the east, with large rivers and high mountains, and closely united with Kampuchea and Laos, our country has created a strong position on the Indochina Peninsula. Our more than 50 million people, together with the fraternal Kampuchean and Lao peoples, now possess a different strength. Advancing on the socialist industrialization path, our country is no longer a country with backward agriculture as before, when villages and hamlets were sparsely located. We now have some industries in various cities and some industrial complexes, and our countryside has been reorganized for collective work with various populated zones being relocated. We are becoming a country with a modern industrial-agricultural economy and strong national defense. The very important factor which decides all victories is the socialist regime and the leadership of the working class party in our country.

We must make our country strong enough to oppose all forms of slavery and annexation by foreign countries which are likely to occur in such forms as armed and economic aggression and slavery by "grey matter." Therefore, it is very important that we vigorously develop our national economy, constantly consolidate our national defense and strengthen our scientific and technical potential with a contingent of cadres who can understand the peak of the scientific and technical knowledge of the era, in order to insure our national independence and freedom.

The division of labor must insure the establishment of a /comprehensively modern all-people national defense/ against all forms of aggression.

Our armed forces must be sufficiently strong to defeat the various force of armed aggression which are numerous and possess modern weapons and technical equipment. Inheriting the historical experiences of our nation, we will develop and train most of our armed forces in agricultural and industrial production along the line of combining the economy with national defense while maintaining a well-seasoned regular army capable of defeating all types of war no matter on what scale. These forces must include a high proportion of technicians capable of using various items of military and technical equipment, and those combatants who have been well trained in the art of combat in different situation and who can, when time permits, participate in production to turn our material assets for society.

Moreover, we must implement a system of military obligation "arm all the people," properly organize the reserve force, redistribute the workforce and relocate the population with a view to creating a strategy such as Sen Gen Vo Nguyen Giap outlined: "Our strategy must be the strategy of all the people and the whole nation using the people's armed forces as the

mainstay to readily defend the country from the border and mainland to the islands and continental shelf. The enemy who encroaches on our territory no matter where--either in the air, on the ground or by sea--will be appropriately punished.

"In order to establish such a strategy, along with organizing and mobilizing all the people to fulfill their national defense obligations, strengthening the armed forces and improving and taking advantage of natural and territorial features, we must satisfactorily resolve the problem of combining the strategic arrangement of national defense with the strategic arrangement of the economy. It is most necessary to redistribute the workforce and devise plans to gradually mobilize the people to the mountainous and coastal areas and to develop new economic zones so as to establish strategic areas which are strong in both the economic and national defense fields." (Footnote: TAP CHI HOC TAP No. 5, 1976 p 39)

In the present situation, it is important for all sectors, localities, organizations (particularly those at the district level), agricultural and handicraft cooperatives, enterprises and worksites to combine the military obligation with the labor obligation, satisfactorily rearrange the productive labor force, step up production and construction under all circumstances and, at the same time, strengthen the combat force.

Our country will devote a necessary proportion of its outstanding labor force to effectively serving national defense purposes. Therefore, each locality and organization must undertake the distribution of manpower for production and combat purposes, must formulate flexible manpower distribution plans to quickly mobilize more manpower and necessary material means and, at the same time, must insure that those areas where the revolutionary movement is still weak be strengthened with more technical cadres, skilled workers, key cooperative managerial cadres and able-bodied laborers so as to continue to step up production and economic construction, consolidate the mass movements and build stationary standby combat forces.

All technical cadres and workers of military age now engaged in public missions or in production and construction activities must be given military training. If they are drafted into technical combat branches, there must be a reserve force ready to take over their positions, thus preventing any repercussion on production or construction.

It is necessary to improve the combat and combat support effectiveness of the self-defense militia force so as to meet the requirements of a modern war by turning out more officers and noncommissioned officers for the self-defense militia force.

To insure rational distribution of manpower for production and combat purposes, "it is necessary to determine a rational ratio of the people's army to the self-defense militia force, of the regular forces to the regional forces and of the combat branches to the armed services of the people's army." "It is also necessary to determine a rational ratio of

the regular forces to the reserve forces, plan the mobilization and expansion of the armed forces under all circumstances, and prepare plans to insure requirements in equipment, logistics and technology of the armed forces." (Footnote: From the report of the Council of Ministers at the Fifth (May 1979) meeting of the Sixth National Assembly) each sector, locality, grassroots-level unit, enterprise and cooperative must build a reserve force for the army in accordance with its own manpower arrangement plans aimed at insuring its production and nonproduction work and meeting the state's mobilization requirements for reinforcing the regular army under all circumstances.

It is necessary to reinforce the regular army on the principle of recruiting troops in accordance with set objectives and the state plan, and great attention must be paid to insuring that manpower necessary for production is sufficiently maintained in accordance with the party's policy line: "To be strong both economically and militarily, to be economically strong in order to achieve strong national defense and to be militarily strong in order to defend the country and the economic construction process."

All-out efforts must be made to economize on expenditures and the use of manpower in the army. Labor forces serving national defense work, such as building defense lines and combat fortifications, must be used in accordance with the appropriate method and a specific plan with accurate norms and avoiding haste formality and waste in order to achieve good results.

When and where war has not yet broken out, all units of the armed forces must engage in economic work in order to help create more material wealth for society. All army units, including small units, must join the local people or formulate their own plans to participate in economic construction with practical objectives and through careful study of economic measures and specific techniques, with the emphasis on achieving good economic results.

In so doing, the armed forces will be able to contribute to reinforcement of the economic construction forces, which serves as a strong foundation for national defense. Faced with the new situation in the country and responding to the Party Central Committee's appeal and the state order for general mobilization, by intensifying economic management, increasing labor efficiency in production and construction and developing the fine nature and improving the fighting strength of the armed forces along with the efforts to promote the right to collective mastery of the laboring people in all grassroots units and to satisfactorily deploy and arrange manpower for production and combat activities, we will be able to successfully build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland.

THE MOVEMENT TO EMULATE THE DINH CONG COOPERATIVE IN THANH HOA PROVINCE

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[Article by Le The Son]

[Text] In past years, Thanh Hoa Province has had many advanced model units in agriculture. However, many of the experiences of the advanced cooperatives were not widely applied. Average and subpar cooperatives had not undergone significant changes, negative phenomena developed at some places and these cooperatives were trapped in a cycle of prolonged difficulties. This situation caused the agricultural production movement and the development of agricultural cooperatives to stand still.

In 1977, the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee researched and summarized the experiences of the Dinh Cong Cooperative and a number of other advanced cooperatives within the province. On the basis of this review of the advanced cooperatives and the establishment of an advanced model, our province launched an emulation movement to "Dinh Cong-ize" the cooperatives throughout the province.

Since then, the movement to emulate the Dinh Cong Cooperative has been and is reaching new stages of development. The most notable aspect of the movement is that the sense of collective ownership of the masses has been heightened and practical economic returns have been achieved. The movement has had the effect of encouraging agricultural cooperatives to expand their production, improve their management and build material-technical bases supporting production and everyday life. Many new factors relating to opening new farmland, increasing the amount of area under cultivation, developing the production of subsidiary food crops, cultivating winter crops, developing collective and cooperative member household livestock production, expanding the handicraft trades, organizing everyday life and so forth have emerged, not only within the good cooperatives, but also among average cooperatives and cooperatives that had long been deficient.

The movement to emulate the Dinh Cong Cooperative has also been closely linked to the other emulation movements within the province, such as the movement to organize worksites to build water conservancy projects within the province and the districts, the movement of industry to support agriculture, the movement to mold new persons who exercise collective ownership, etc.

As a result, the movement to work, produce and organize life within the province has continuously spread and become increasingly stable.

The movement to emulate the advance model unit is of a distinct revolutionary and mass nature and has yielded practical economic returns in production, construction, the organization of life and social management within the province.

The above mentioned developments of the movement have primarily been due to the fact that our province has given its attention to selecting and reviewing advanced model units while organizing and launching a continuous and widespread emulation movement.

Developing Advanced Model Units and Summarizing Their Experiences

When first established, the Dinh Cong Cooperative was poor and backward as were many other cooperatives within the province. Following a merger of small cooperatives to establish a village-size cooperative (1970), Dinh Cong brought about changes of a comprehensive nature in production, construction and the organization of life. In 1977, Dinh Cong averaged nearly 9 tons of paddy per hectare and 3.5 hogs per cultivated hectare; the trades constituted 23.75 percent of the cooperative's income. Labor began to be reorganized along specialized lines. Annual labor productivity rose 14.7 percent.

As a result of the development of production, the life of the people was significantly improved. In conjunction with the improvement of their material and cultural lives, their spiritual lives also markedly improved. Working people have jobs. Children are cared for and educated within child care centers, kindergartens and general schools. The disabled, the elderly and persons in need receive assistance from the cooperative. Cultural activities, literary and art activities, public health work, information activities and wired radio activities have developed well.

The cooperative has implemented the principle of distribution in accordance with labor well; at the same time, it has insured that everyone enjoys social welfare by concerning itself with the interests of farmers, increasing the accumulation of capital for the cooperative in order to expand production and fulfilling obligations to the state.

Although the Dinh Cong Cooperative still has a number of weaknesses, it does possess the conditions of a comprehensive, advanced model capable of

persuading and guiding the various cooperatives within the province in the effort to study and follow the example of model units.

First, the Dinh Cong Cooperative has begun to escape the vicious cycle of small-scale production within a lowlying area and has reorganized its economy on the basis of an efficient structure encompassing specialization and cooperation, crop production and livestock production, agriculture and the handicraft trades and the smooth coordination of economic and cultural development. This structure of production has truly had the effect of stimulating the continuous expansion of production, has met the challenges posed by natural disasters and has insured the constant development of both production and everyday life.

Secondly, in the process of moving forward, Dinh Cong has established coordination between the improvement of the new production relations and the strengthening of production forces; between building material-technical bases and gradually improving the life of cooperative members; between displaying self-reliance and receiving assistance from the state and the various economic sectors within the district and the province; between increasing the fighting strength and the leadership ability of the party organization and upholding the collective ownership role played by the mass of cooperative members, etc. All of these efforts have created a combined strength for simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in order to build the new economy, build the system of socialist collective ownership and build the new culture in the countryside. The cooperative has employed every available measure to develop the potentials it has in its cropland and labor; at the same time, it has utilized industrial support of agriculture to develop production and raise labor productivity, thereby providing incentive for the working people, gradually increasing the accumulation of capital and gradually raising the level of collective welfare. On this basis, it has mobilized the masses and brought the mass of cooperative members close to the collective in labor, production and the effort to build the new life.

Thirdly, the cooperative has a corps of cadres and party members who are pure and devoted to the collective to serve as the leadership nucleus of each mass movement. On the basis of achieving unanimity concerning its political task, the Dinh Cong party organization took steps to strengthen its organization while improving the revolutionary qualities, raising the political level and improving the leadership and work ability of cadres and party members.

On the basis of the evaluation presented above, our provincial party committee selected the Dinh Cong Cooperative as a unit to be reviewed and analyzed in order to learn lessons and gain experience of basic and universal value and mobilize the cooperatives within the province to study and endeavor to catch up to and exceed the Dinh Cong Cooperative.

Reviewing the experiences of the Dinh Cong Cooperative was a process that was carried out from bottom to top, beginning with debate among the party organization and cooperative members of the Dinh Cong Cooperative with the participation of the agencies of the specialized sectors on the district and provincial levels; at the same time, the guidance and economic management agencies as well as theoretical research cadres of the central level contributed their opinions. Finally, the provincial party committee listened to reports, conducted on the site inspections, conducted debates and reached conclusions. Although there were differing opinions concerning the achievements of the Dinh Cong Cooperative (some achievements have not been very high) in the course of this research and debate, everyone agreed that the Dinh Cong Cooperative is truly a comprehensive model unit, one that possesses an attraction and is superior to other cooperatives in many basic ways. The attraction of Dinh Cong lies in the fact that its economic structure is efficiently balanced among crop production (primarily grain), livestock production (primarily hogs) and the trade sector (primarily bricks and tiles) and the economy is coordinated with the culture, production and everyday life.

The process of reviewing the experience of Dinh Cong was also closely coordinated with reviewing individual activities of other advanced cooperatives, such as the intensive cultivation of rice by the Xuan Thanh and Dong Hoa Cooperatives, the livestock production of the Dinh Tan Cooperative, the development of winter crop production by the Hoang Hop Cooperative, the intensive cultivation of subsidiary food crops by the Phu Loc Cooperative, afforestation and the planting of subsidiary food crops by the Dien Lu Cooperative and so forth. This method of review shed light on the value of the Dinh Cong Cooperative as a comprehensive model unit; on the other hand, it supplemented the advanced aspects of the other cooperatives, thereby making the effort to study the model units and multiply their numbers more complete, more diverse.

Organizing the Emulation of Advanced Model Units

Organizing the emulation of an advanced model unit and studying an advanced model unit require the preparation of spiritual and material conditions and factors to insure that advanced experiences permeate the masses and become concrete revolutionary actions that yield practical economic returns. The "Dinh Cong-ize" movement is, in substance, a method for expanding an advanced model unit. This movement has developed widely in only a short period of time.

First, we introduced and discussed the experiences of the model unit under a system extending from top to bottom. The collective of the provincial party committee personally researched the matter in order to achieve unanimity from the very outset. The unanimity of the provincial party

committee created the strength for organizing the effort to launch the movement to study and follow the advanced model unit. In addition, there was also the coordinated use of the various forms of motivational propaganda in the press, on the radio, through guided tours and so forth, thereby showing each sector and cooperative the basic value of the model unit, creating a high degree of unanimity from the provincial to the basic levels, from the party committee echelon to cadres and party members and causing everyone to think about the experiences of the model unit. On this basis, agreement is reached concerning the experiences of the model unit, the fact that a cooperative is a model unit is recognized and everyone becomes determined to study and emulate the advanced model unit.

On the basis of agreeing upon and recognizing the experiences of a model unit, the other cooperatives within the province can apply these advanced experiences in a manner consistent with their specific conditions in order to rapidly catch up to and surpass the advanced model unit.

Secondly, we have classified the various cooperatives within the district on the basis of certain economic standards in order to guide and help each type cooperative adopt a specific plan for developing its existing potentials, raising labor productivity, rapidly increasing the output of grain and food products, gradually improving the life of cooperative members, strengthening its material-technical bases and rapidly increasing the volume of products sold to the state. The classification of cooperatives can be based on the following four standards: 1) they can be classified on the basis of the average amount of farmland per capita within the cooperative in order to help the cooperative make good use of its land and labor; 2) they can be based on their total output value and the average income of one laborer (equivalent) (this is a labor productivity norm related to establishing the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption within the cooperative); 3) they can be classified on the basis of the output of grain per capita during the year in order to meet the food needs of cooperative members, allocate some grain for livestock production and sell commodity grain to the state; 4) they can be classified on the basis of meat output during the year in order to establish the relationship between crop production and livestock production, between the need of cooperative members for meat and the need for products to sell to the state.

The standards on average output value per laborer, grain output per capita and pork output per unit of farmland are economic targets that must be met and exceeded in the emulation of an advanced model unit. The actual situation of the advanced cooperatives has shown that one laborer (equivalent) must produce products worth 900 to 1,000 dong or more per year in order to meet the needs of cooperative members and accumulate capital for the cooperative. Grain output per capita must equal 450 to 500 kilograms or more in order to stabilize the standard of eating of cooperative members, expand livestock production and have grain to supply to the state. The Dinh Cong Cooperative,

which has 938 square meters of farmland per capita, averaged 534 kilograms of grain per capita and had a total output value of 1,349 dong per laborer (equivalent) in 1977.

On the basis of classifying cooperatives in order to invest in instruments of production in a selective manner, the various sectors and upper levels must deliver to districts the supplies needed to have an impact upon each type cooperative.

Thirdly, training a corps of leadership and management cadres from the district to the cooperative levels in the lessons of the advanced model units is a matter of decisive importance in expanding a model unit to all cooperatives of the province. The cadres sent to study the experiences of advanced model units are selected by the masses. The training of cadres must give them a firm understanding of the basic viewpoints of the party concerning the development of agricultural production. On this basis, they must deeply research the experiences of advanced model units, especially their experiences in reorganizing production, and must delve deeply into their organization of management, use of arable land, use of labor and economic returns. Cadres must also be provided with additional training in management knowledge and the techniques of crop and livestock production in order to help them to clearly and fully understand their function and task and the relationship between the party organization at the installation and the cooperative, especially help them to uphold the right of collective ownership of cooperative members. Through the corps of cadres who have been trained, it is necessary to train the mass of cadres, party members and cooperative members in the experiences of the advanced cooperatives, select targets and jobs and adopt measures for mobilizing cooperative members to achieve these objectives and perform these jobs (in coordination with having the mass organizations from the provincial to the installation levels study and follow the example of advanced model units), measures that yield increasingly comprehensive returns so that cooperatives can become advanced cooperatives.

Fourthly, the various sectors of the province and districts must be mobilized to support the effort to develop new advanced model units. All jobs performed by cooperatives are related to matters governed by the economic policies of the party and state. Therefore, to expand the scope of advanced model units, it is imperative that the management of the various sectors and levels be improved.

Fifthly, it is necessary to constantly improve advanced model units so that they continue to play the role of the "banner" of the emulation movement. We have helped the Dinh Cong Cooperative to make progress in areas in which it is not very strong, such as building the party, training cadres, resolving problems regarding the technical regulations of hog production, providing more equipment for the tile production trade, improving the management procedures of

the cooperative, creating the conditions for opening new farmland, etc. As a result of these specific jobs, the productive labor movement at Dinh Cong is more intense than ever, cooperative members are more enthusiastic and the party organization and cadres have displayed greater responsibility in their work. And, within the emulation movement, the "leading banner" itself has also actively engaged in emulation and new factors have emerged within the model unit itself. As a result, the model unit is not only the "leading banner" setting examples to follow, but is also part of the emulation movement.

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CSO: 4209

HA BAC PROVINCE REORIENTS ITS LEADERSHIP AND GUIDANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
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[Article by Nguyen Van Noan]

[Text] Since the 4th National Congress of the Party and the 4th Congress of Delegates of the Ha Bac Provincial Party Organization, the people of the various nationalities within our province have made major efforts to develop production, fulfill their obligations to the state and support their own lives.

In agriculture, despite many difficulties with the weather, a shortage of supplies and fertilizer and the transfer of many young workers to other places, Ha Bac exceeded its plan norms on the amount of area under cultivation for the 2 years 1977 and 1978. The norm for 1977 was exceeded by 2.8 percent, which represented a 10.6 percent increase over 1976. The norm for 1978 was exceeded by 0.3 percent, which represented a 9.3 percent increase over 1977. In particular, the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops exceeded the plan by 1.9 percent in 1977, with a 31.3 percent increase in 1978 compared to 1977. The amount of area under the cultivation of cassava increased four times in 1977 compared to 1976 and more than five times in 1978 compared to 1976. The intensive cultivation movement has undergone good changes, especially in the areas of constructing water conservancy projects and improving the soil. Many advanced models of intensive cultivation have emerged, such as the Canh Thuy Cooperative, the Tan Hong Cooperative, the Tan Cau Cooperative, the Quy Son Cooperative, etc. Several negative phenomena within management have markedly declined. Such negative phenomena as contracting with households for the production of subsidiary food crops, carrying out distribution on the basis of units, misappropriation and the illegal occupation of cropland have virtually been eliminated. As a result of these efforts, total grain output in 1978 was 498,000 tons, an increase of 88,000 tons over 1977 and 72,000 tons over 1976, a year in which we had a bumper harvest. In particular, the output of subsidiary food crops has increased rapidly from 13.7 percent (1976) to 24.2 percent (1978) of total grain output, thereby exceeding the norm adopted by the provincial party organization congress by 2.2 percent.

Progress has been made in industry, the handicraft trades, capital construction, communications and transportation, circulation and distribution and so forth and we have begun to record encouraging results in these areas.

Generally speaking, as a result of the advances made in production, the life of the people within the province has been stabilized and some aspects of life in some areas have even been improved. The volume of commodities contributed to the state under obligations has constantly increased. In 1978, Ha Bac exceeded its grain obligation by 3 percent, its food products obligation by 10 percent (the buffalo meat obligation was exceeded by 30 percent) and the total value of exports exceeded the plan by 2.2 percent.

At a time when the party organization and people of Ha Bac were making every effort to develop production and build the economy with a new determination and spirit in keeping with the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party, the reactionary authorities in Peking, resorting to many decadent tricks, brazenly undermined our people's revolutionary undertaking. In the face of this situation, our provincial party committee adopted the position that we must, on the one hand, overcome every difficulty, continue to accelerate production, build the economy and increase the rate of development of production and economic construction; on the other hand, we must actively strengthen the national defense system and make all the preparations necessary to be ready to deal with the reckless military actions of China. All localities within the province launched an intense emulation movement to accelerate production and maintain combat readiness. As a result, when the gang of reactionary authorities in Peking launched their war of aggression against our country on 17 February 1979, Ha Bac Province was in a state of readiness in many areas of activity. We rapidly sent one combat unit to the Lang Son-Cao Bang front to strengthen our neighboring provinces, purchased 1,900 tons of grain over and above the plan and contributed 40 percent more pork and 32 percent more buffalo and cattle meat than called for under obligations in order to promptly support emergency needs. The communications-transportation, commerce, posts-telegraph, public health and other sectors urgently implemented plans to support combat on the frontlines and support the maintenance of combat readiness within the locality. Ha Bac also received and cared for wounded soldiers and organized and assisted compatriots fleeing from border areas.

Despite numerous shortcomings, we did make our own small contribution to the common fight of our people against the Chinese aggressors.

The matter of extreme importance facing our province at this time is that we must bring about a strong and fundamental change in all leadership and guidance activities to be consistent with the new situation in order to meet the requirements of the new period as positively as possible. This change must thoroughly reflect the spirit of accelerating production,

maintaining combat readiness and supporting combat and must fully implement the Appeal of the Party Central Committee and the General Mobilization Order of the state. We know that Ha Bac Province occupies an important strategic position as the immediate rear area of the border provinces and a "gateway" to the capital, an important position as a "shield" of the provinces in the Red River Delta. In ancient times, in the history of resistance against the Chinese feudalists, this piece of land was the scene of battles of strategic importance, such as the battles of Nhu Nguyet, Xuong Giang and so forth, and tens of thousands of aggressor troops met their graves here. The people of Ha Bac are very proud of their 5,000 year old Kinh Bac region, proud of Quan Ho folk singing and of the tradition of Nhu Nguyet and Xuong Giang, of the Yen The combat zone of Hoang Hoa Tham in the resistance against the French and proud of Ngo Gia Tu and Nguyen Van Cu, famous, tenacious communist fighters, persons from their own birthplace. Therefore, we have done more than we would have otherwise to mobilize the people of the various nationalities within the province to be fully aware of their honor and responsibility and uphold the glorious traditions of Ha Bac, ready to win victory over the Chinese aggressor army in any war situation.

As regards the organization of actions, we have adopted a plan for rapidly shifting to the guideline of accelerating production while maintaining combat readiness and closely coordinating production requirements with combat requirements. We know that the strengths of Ha Bac are grain production and food product production; in the new situation, we must develop upon these strengths even more in order to create the conditions for supporting the lives of the people within the province, prepare good, local rear bases and meet the common requirements of the country. We have decided that we must be determined to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of grain crops (with full importance attached to subsidiary food crops, especially cassava, corn and sweet potatoes), expand the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops and upgrade the winter season to a main production season while producing manure, improving fields, completing farmland water conservancy systems, accelerating intensive cultivation to increase crops yields and developing livestock production in order to rapidly increase the output of grain and food products. We have attached particular importance to strengthening the new production relations within agriculture and reorganizing production in coordination with improving management, primarily the organization and management of labor, considering this to be a matter of extreme importance in insuring the acceleration of production and the maintenance of combat readiness. Because, only by doing this well can we withdraw labor from agriculture to perform combat and combat support tasks, can we meet the requirement that each production unit be a combat unit, can we have the conditions needed to fulfill obligations to the state and reinforce the frontlines. In Ha Bac, the work of strengthening cooperatives and improving management has been marked by negative phenomena and slowness for many years; on this occasion, in coordination with the requirements of the new situation, we wish to advance this work to a new stage of development.

With this in mind, we have been and are intensifying our guidance of the strengthening of agricultural cooperatives in coordination with the reorganization of production and the improvement of management, with attention to helping deficient cooperatives make progress and maintaining and developing the role played by advanced model units. In the mountain districts, to coordinate the assigning of forest land to cooperatives for management and business purposes with the reorganization of production, we must quickly overcome the negative phenomena that now exist within management work. We have held conferences to review the experiences of the advanced model units within the province and have launched a movement to study and follow the example of the Vu Thang Cooperative in Thai Binh Province, the Dinh Cong Cooperative in Thanh Hoa Province and the Canh Thuy Cooperative in Ha Bac Province. At the same time, we have held leadership cadre training classes from the provincial and district to the installation levels in labor management to help cadres improve their knowledge of how to organize and regulate labor in an efficient manner that yields high returns. The provinces and districts are providing detailed guidance of the management of labor.

Activities in industrial production, handicraft production, capital construction, communications-transportation, circulation-distribution, finance and banking, culture, society and so forth must be reoriented to be consistent with the requirements of the new period.

Together with accelerating production and in close coordination with production, we have urgently strengthened and built combat and combat support forces, intensified military training and achieved combat readiness in the spirit of "militarizing all the people." Each village, each agency and enterprise is a fortress, each person is a soldier, the entire province is a battlefield annihilating the enemy." Each and every person of the stipulated age has been assigned to the militia or self-defense forces. All agencies, enterprises, worksites, state farms, cooperatives, schools, hospitals and so forth have been organized into three components: a direct combat component, a combat support component (which is also organized into squads, platoons and companies which have regular activities and a tight command structure) and a component to protect and move documents and property and evacuate elderly people and children when ordered. At present, every village has a mobile combat company. The 202 water conservancy units are also mobile combat units. Every hamlet has a militia platoon. Every production unit is a combat force. Every production cluster is an integrated combat cluster. Within the enterprises, every production shift has a combat unit tasked with producing and maintaining combat readiness. To date, militia and self-defense forces constitute 15 percent of the province's population and have been armed with many additional weapons. The local army units of the province and districts have been strengthened, their troop strength has been increased and a number of new branches have been established for them. The military agencies of the province, the districts and many villages have been supplemented with

additional forces and their quality has been improved, especially in strategically important areas. These agencies have adopted plans for tightly controlling and regulating the activities of the armed forces and have established and supplemented combat and combat support plans, from plans for fighting the enemy at night and during the day on each front, in each direction, on each line and at each location to plans for establishing rear service stockpiles, storing grain and ammunition and evacuating people, supplies and machinery. We have held combat maneuvers in a number of villages so that all villages within the province could gain experience. In the work of preparing to support combat, we have attached importance to rear service support, to building signal-liaison systems and strengthening the village public health networks in coordination with establishing and training medical evacuation teams and units and mobile surgery units of the districts and province.

With the deep understanding that this fight was a fight to protect the fatherland and that each citizen had to tenaciously cling to his position, fight with resolve and maintain control of each bit of sacred soil of the fatherland, we encouraged the people to make every effort to build and strengthen the various combat lines. In all localities within the province, there is a movement to provide combat training in conjunction with digging fortifications, building trenches, erecting combat fences and turning each village into a fortification, each street corner into a fortress, each production cluster into an integrated combat cluster to annihilate the enemy. To closely coordinate preparations for fighting the enemy within the locality with taking steps to block the enemy while they are still far away, we have sent forces to build combat lines on the borders. At the end of 1978, we sent youth units to the border to build the economy in coordination with strengthening the national defense system. Recently, our province mobilized tens of thousands of persons to build combat fortifications.

As regards the maintenance of order and security, the various party committee echelons have adopted plans for providing more centralized, more determined and closer guidance. When the fight on the northern border ended, the provincial party committee held a conference of provincial and district leadership cadres to gain experience and take steps to continue to intensify the maintenance of order and security. On the one hand, we have continued to mobilize the people to participate in the "all the people emulate to maintain the security of the fatherland" movement; on the other hand, every effort has been made to strengthen the security organization and build up its forces. We realize that in order to thwart the schemes of sabotage of the enemy, it is necessary to strongly uphold the right of collective ownership of the people and closely coordinate the building of strong armed forces with the establishment of people's security teams at installations, thereby creating a dense and strong security network among the people. The provincial and district public security agencies are directly responsible

for this work and have adopted plans for training cadres and sending them to help and strengthen installations. All agencies, especially important ones, must re-examine their corps of cadres. At the same time, they must fully comply with the regulations on combat alerts, patrols and guard duty. The implementation of notice number 17 of the standing committee of the provincial party committee on mobilizing all the people to participate in the maintenance of order and security has begun to achieve good results. In all necessary villages and units, the establishment of people's security teams has been completed and their areas of operation have virtually been purified. The incidence of thievery has declined significantly.

Together with reorienting the various areas of work mentioned above, we have been and are making every effort to consolidate and strengthen the organization of the party, the government and the mass organizations, especially at installations, considering this the key to each victory. During the 2 years 1977 and 1978, in keeping with the resolution of the 4th congress of the provincial party organization, we organized a campaign to study the party statutes in coordination with implementing notice 22 of the Party Secretariat in order to improve the quality of party members, consolidate and strengthen the basic organizations of the party and strengthen the internal unity and improve the leadership ability and fighting strength of the organizations of the party. This was a major campaign in building the party in our province. This campaign had the effect of bringing about strong changes in every area of work within the locality. The organizations of the party, especially the basic organizations, were further strengthened. Some 72 village party organizations and hundreds of cooperative party chapters that were once deficient have now been upgraded; thousands of party committees and party chapter committees have been strengthened. The number of deficient party organizations declined from 21.5 percent in 1977 to 14.5 percent in 1978. To develop upon the results of this campaign, we are continuing to educate and train party members in accordance with the requirements of each party committee echelon and requiring that all party members fully respect and scrupulously implement the party statutes. Following the defeat of the Chinese aggressor army, the Ha Bac Provincial Party Committee organized a phase of widespread political activities among all party organizations to conduct reviews and gain experience with a view toward strengthening the organization of the party and improving the quality of the corps of party members. The various party committees and all party members seriously engaged in self-criticism and criticism of their thinking as well as actions and praised comrades who displayed bravery and tenacity and properly dealt with persons who degenerated and displayed cowardice. In the eight districts, 6,502 party members who were rated as average became active party members through this campaign. Some 3,583 party members were praised for their achievements in combat and the support of combat operations and 336 outstanding persons were accepted into the party. During this phase of activities, the provincial party committee also assigned 20 additional comrades to the district party committees and 315 additional comrades to the installation party committees. We have attached

importance to assigning more cadres to installations, beginning with weak installations and ones that occupy an important economic or military position. To date, hundreds of provincial and district cadres, including leadership cadres, management cadres, technical cadres, military cadres and cadres engaged in mobilizing the masses, have been sent to installations. The various levels and sectors have attached importance to improving their leadership and guidance, establishing a thorough, detailed style of work and working under a program and plan with investigations, research, supervision, inspections and preliminary and final reviews to gain experience working in the military style. Efforts are being made to gradually put party activities, the practice of self-criticism and criticism, the assignment and management of party members and so forth on a regular basis.

The mass organizations of youths and women and the Trade Union have begun to change for the better. The Youth Union has launched the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement to eagerly join the army, volunteer for combat and combat support work and accelerate production. The Women's Union has launched a productive labor emulation movement, is encouraging husbands and brothers to go into combat and combat support work and is encouraging good compliance with army rear area policies. The Trade Union has accelerated its emulation to produce, improve work, provide military training, maintain combat readiness, protect agencies and protect socialist property.

In the recent past, we have made many efforts to reorient our leadership and guidance to be consistent with the requirements of the new situation. However, we still have shortcomings and weaknesses, still have areas of work in which improvements must continue to be made. We believe that, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Party Central Committee, Ha Bac Province as well as the other localities of the country will surely win new and larger victories in socialist construction and be ready to thwart each sinister scheme of the Chinese expansionists.

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PARTY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE PARTY ORGANIZATION OF THE YEN VIEN MACHINE WORKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
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[Article by Dan Mai]

[Text] The Yen Vien Machine Works of the Ministry of Power and Coal, formerly the DK 120 Machine Works, was formed from a repair shop tasked with repairing automobiles and diesel generators. Over the past several years, the machine works has undertaken the additional task of manufacturing spare parts for mining equipment, diesel generators and so forth. At present, the machine works has nearly 600 cadres and manual workers, including 165 highly skilled workers and nearly 80 scientific-technical cadres who have a college level education or technical middle school education. The machine works' party organization has 115 members. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union of the machine works has 230 members.

For many years in a row, the party organization of the machine works did virtually nothing to develop the party (only one party chapter accepted one person into the Ho Chi Minh Class in 1971). Developing the party has only been given attention by the party organization since 1976 and 1977. In 1977, six persons were accepted into the party; in 1978, 10 persons were accepted; during the first 5 months of 1979, three persons were accepted. Party development here has made a positive contribution to improving the quality of party members, strengthening the organization of the party, heightening the leadership role and militant strength of the party organization and stimulating the performance of each task of the machine works.

Below are several experiences of the party organization of the Yen Vien Machine Works in party development.

--Deepening the understanding of party members and the masses of party development work;

In 1975 and 1976, when implementing the program to improve enterprise management, put management on a regular basis and carry out cadre planning, one major problem faced the party organization: a shortage of cadres, a shortage of party members. Within the party organization, the number of older party members constituted a high percentage (the average age of party members was 41), and not one party member was less than 30 years of age. There were fewer party members in direct production than in the various offices and departments (in 1976, party members in direct production constituted 47 percent of the total number while those in indirect production constituted 53 percent). Many production sections had no or only a very few party members. The majority of core cadres at the installation were outside the party. Many positions and resolutions of the upper echelon, of the party organization could not be promptly disseminated to workers.

This situation faced the leaders of the machine works with numerous difficulties. Everyone realized that this situation was due to the fact that, for decades, the party organization had not concerned itself with developing the party and that if this situation were not corrected, it would surely have an adverse effect upon many areas of work. The party committee decided to organize a phase of special party development activities within the party organization. To begin with, the party committee conducted a review of how it had discharged its responsibility with regard to party development and analyzed the situation in order to determine the causes of this slow development. A transcript of the review conducted by the party committee was sent to the various party chapters so that party members could discuss it and relate its contents to their own party chapters and so that each party chapter could make specific additions to it. The transcript of the review was also sent to the various mass organizations for their discussion and opinions.

Through this discussion, it was found: the party committees, from the party committee of the machine works to the party committees of the various chapters, had failed to give attention to party development, had not assessed the aspirations of the masses and had not adopted a plan for teaching and training the masses; instead, the party committees simply waited until persons were qualified before accepting them. And, also as a result of not developing the party for a long time, all party chapters became confused and did not adhere to the procedures for accepting persons into the party.

As regards party members, the majority did not know the objectives or requirements of party development work; some party members tended to be perfectionists, to "absolutize" the standards for accepting persons into the party and felt that no one was qualified; some party members felt that if accepted into the party, certain persons would be better than they; and other party members undervalued the masses, especially the mass views, saying that they did not want to join the party.

As regards the masses, because they were not educated or trained, they had little knowledge of the party and did not concern themselves with the work of party chapters or party members. They maintained that accepting persons into the party was the work of the party organization and party chapter. Moreover, due to the above mentioned shortcomings on the part of party committees and party members, the masses were hesitant and did not boldly approach the party to be accepted.

Having analyzed the actual situation, all party members came to see that the slow development of the party could not be allowed to continue and became determined to concern themselves with developing the party within the machine works.

In order to deepen the understanding of party members, the party committee had party members study and learn the objectives, requirements, guidelines and methods of party development, learn the standards and procedures for accepting persons into the party and so forth. Periodically, a review is held to gain experience in the education and training of the masses by party members and a plan is adopted for making detailed preparations for gradually accepting persons into the party. The party committee has also organized specialized activities to help party members develop the correct viewpoint with regard to evaluating the masses, special activities such as arranging meetings between older party members and youths. During these activities, youths report on the results of their work in production, in the cultivation of manual skills, in combat and combat support work and even report on their shortcomings so that party members can wholeheartedly help them. These meetings helped party members gain a better understanding of youths and corrected such misunderstandings as youths only like to joke and are not willing to forge manual skills, do not want to struggle to make progress; at the same time, they have helped party members see their responsibility in guiding youths. As a result, many party members have truly worked closely with and helped youths.

The party committee has also attached importance to deepening the masses' understanding of the party. Through the mass organizations, such as the chapters of the Youth Union and the Trade Union organization, the various party chapters have trained the masses in knowledge of the party, such as the objectives and ideals of the party, the character and tasks of the party member, the prerequisites and procedures for acceptance into the party, etc.

During this period of time, the machine works wired radio station has routinely discussed party development, explained the prerequisites for accepting persons into the party and the five tasks of the party member and answered the questions of the masses concerning party development. During each quarter or in each emulation movement, the party committee of the machine works also has the masses contribute their opinions on building the

party chapter and party organization and criticize party members. As a result, the masses have become increasingly concerned with the activities of the party chapter and party members, have felt increasingly close to the party and their desire to struggle to join the party has become increasingly evident. The movement of the masses to submit applications for struggling to become party members is more intense than ever. In only a short period of time, the party organization accepted 108 applications to join the party. The political consciousness of the masses has been markedly raised. Party members also have a better understanding of the masses and more clearly see their responsibility toward developing the party.

In conjunction with deepening the understanding of the party through education, the party organization of the machine works has taken the following measures:

--Formulating a detailed plan for developing the party:

The party organization of the Yen Vien Machine Works considers formulating a plan for the development of the party to be an important measure in gradually putting party development on a regular basis. In 1975 and 1976, the party committee, all party chapter committees and all party members realized the importance of party development; however, due to the failure to adopt a detailed plan and the lack of inspections and supervision, no results whatever were achieved. During the past several years, party development has been incorporated within the work plan and been the subject of party chapter resolutions, consequently, the members of the party chapter committees as well as all party members see their responsibility to find ways to develop the party. In the experience of the machine works' party organization, this is the requirement of foremost importance not only in heightening the responsibility of the party chapter and party members, but also in insuring that party development achieves specific results. In order to take the initiative in preventing deviations that might occur, the party committee has also pointed out that party development must meet qualitative requirements without lowering standards or placing emphasis solely upon numbers. Although a place might have accepted many persons into the party, if there is a case of a person failing to meet qualifications, this place has not done a good job of developing the party.

The party organization of the machine works formulated the plan for the development of the party from the bottom upward, from the party chapters to the party organization. The plan for the development of the party was formulated on the basis of the requirements of the political task of the machine works. To begin with, there is the requirement that there must be an ample number of party members for assignment to the various production units, the various key jobs and the executive committees of the mass organizations to insure the proper dissemination and strict and creative compliance with the decisions of the upper level and the leadership of the machine works. On the other hand,

with regard to the plans for upcoming years when production will be expanded and the number of party members who are old and in poor health retire, we must determine what kind of corps of cadres and party members is needed to meet the requirements of the machine works. Each party chapter must formulate a specific plan for developing the party on the basis of this requirement and on the basis of examining the specific situation within its unit.

The plan for the development of the party must also be formulated on the basis of clearly determining who must be accepted into the party. The party committee has clearly stated that party development work must be designed to improve the quality of leadership and increase the fighting strength of the party organization, increase the efficiency of management of the machine works, strengthen and uphold the role of the mass organizations, stimulate the emulation movement to excellently complete the political task of the machine works and reduce the average age of the corps of party members of the party organization. On the basis of this requirement, the party organization has pointed out that the candidates for the party development work of the party organization of the machine works are outstanding persons in productive labor and work, with importance attached to direct production workers, production management cadres and mass organization cadres, especially Youth Union members, scientific-technical cadres and units that have no party members.

The formulation of the party development plan must also be based on the classification of persons outside the party. This classification of persons outside the party is designed to assess the strengths and weaknesses of these persons, train and help them develop upon their positive aspects and correct their negative aspects and, on this basis, select the most outstanding persons for acceptance into the party. Each party chapter must fully assess the persons outside the party within its unit and have a full understanding of everything from their jobs to their private thoughts and aspirations in order to adopt a suitable plan for training and teaching them. Persons who eagerly and zealously struggle must be assigned jobs in order to challenge them, must be trained in order to deepen their understanding, must be helped to establish the proper motive for joining the party. Persons who are "average" and whose desire to struggle to join the party is unclear must receive training to heighten their class awareness, heighten their socialist awareness; good examples within the unit must be used to teach and encourage these persons to make progress. On the basis of classifying persons who are outside the party, the party chapter must assign each member the responsibility of helping a number of persons. Within each emulation movement, the mass organizations must set forth clear requirements of each type person outside the party and promptly develop upon their positive aspects. The persons who have submitted applications to join the party must be grouped in one of two categories by the party chapter: those who are fully qualified and show prospects of being accepted at an early date and those who must receive additional training and must be challenged for a longer period of time.

In order for party chapters to have the basis needed to properly classify the persons who are outside the party, the party committee of the machine works and the various party chapter committees have guided the Youth Union chapters and the Trade Union teams in periodically holding activities so that Youth Union and Trade Union members can evaluate and contribute opinions to help one another on the basis of the effort made by each individual to forge himself. On this basis, the party chapters learn which progressive persons have made a positive effort and have a proper motive in order to train and accept them into the party.

--Creating sources for developing the party by accelerating the various mass movements;

One of the reasons for the slowness of party development at the Yen Vien Machine Works has been the passive attitude on the part of party members of waiting for the masses to struggle on their own to meet the qualifications for acceptance instead of creating the conditions for the masses to struggle and be forged.

To correct this situation, the party organization of the machine works has adopted the position of using the mass movement to create many outstanding persons to serve as an abundant source of candidates for developing the party. Outstanding persons can only emerge and develop within emulation movements to complete the political task. On the basis of clearly defining the political task of the machine works, the party committee, together with the board of directors and the executive committees of the mass organizations, have launched many emulation movements, such as the "each person makes or applies an innovation" movement, the "perform the work of high grade workers" movement, the "set aside old quotas, establish new, advanced quotas" movement, the "masses voluntarily struggling to become party members" movement, etc. These emulation movements have not only helped the machine works to resolve many difficulties caused by the shortage of supplies and equipment and raise labor productivity, but also helped to heighten the collective ownership role of cadres and workers, thereby causing many outstanding working people to emerge. It is these emulation movements that challenge and forge the masses. Once they have been trained and educated well, the progressive persons within emulation movements constitute a high quality source of supplements to the corps of party members of the party organization.

--Establishing a section specializing in party development;

The party organization's section specializing in party development has a party committee member as section chief and one person from each of the party chapter committees as members. The task of the section is to help the party committee guide the implementation of the party development plan within the party organization and research and resolve specific problems related to party development. Specifically, it helps the party committee

organize training classes for candidates for acceptance into the party in order to deepen the understanding the masses have of the party and of communist ideals, stipulates the various stages involved in party development work, puts together various files in preparation for accepting persons into the party and insures compliance with all procedures for accepting persons into the party. The section also has the task of helping the various party chapters verify the personal histories of persons whom they intend to accept. Verifying personal histories in the process of developing the party is something which more than a few party chapters hesitate to do because it requires much time, and there have been more than a few cases in which the hesitancy to verify personal histories has resulted in the failure to accept persons into the party. The party organization of the machine works begins verifying the personal history of a person seeking admission to the party as soon as this person becomes a candidate for acceptance into the party. Verifying a person's personal history at an early date has the advantage of making it possible to learn the family's history because there have been cases here in which a candidate has been trained in a very detailed manner but was found to be unqualified once his personal history was examined. In order for the investigation of personal histories to be carried out smoothly and require less time, the specialized section and the organizational component of the machine works verify the personal histories of a number of persons on the same trip. For example, to whichever province they go, they investigate the personal histories of persons who belong to different party chapters but are from the same province and agreement is reached ahead of time with the party chapters concerning the matters to be verified in the personal history of each person. Although personal history investigations still involve regulations that pose a bother, they are no longer something to fear. Conducting personal history investigations at an early date helps the person seeking admission to the party to feel both peace of mind and enthusiastic because he knows that after his personal history has been investigated, his admission to the party is determined solely by his efforts, his forging of himself.

To help the party committee reach correct decisions in determining whether or not to accept persons into the party, the specialized section also researches and completes the files of the persons to be accepted, files that are forwarded by the party chapters before they are presented to the party committee for its evaluation and decision.

The specialized section has helped the party committee and the various party chapters with many jobs, thereby creating the conditions for party development to be carried out smoothly.

Closely coordinating the organization of the party with the government and the mass organizations;

The party committee of the machine works realizes that performing good party development not only improves the leadership ability and increases the fighting

strength of the party organization, but also improves the management ability and effectiveness of the machine works and develops the role played by the mass organizations for the purpose of completing the political task.

Therefore, together with heightening the responsibility of the party chapters and party members, it is necessary to have the close coordination of the government organization and mass organizations within the machine works in order to develop the party well. The government organization has the responsibility of obtaining the personal history files of cadres and manual workers as soon as they begin working at the machine works. Through the forging and challenging of cadres and manual workers in the work assigned them by the government organization, the organization of the party must assess the abilities, qualities and the motive for joining the party of each person. Periodically, the government organization works closely with the Trade Union and the Youth Union to observe and evaluate the masses, participate in the classification of the masses and, when necessary, works with the specialized section in charge of party development to investigate and verify personal histories. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Trade Union have the responsibility of teaching communist ideals, the viewpoint and stand of the working class and the lines and policies of the party to cadres and workers. Once every 3 months, Trade Union teams and Youth Union chapters hold a meeting so that the masses can evaluate and contribute their opinions concerning the strengths and weaknesses of each person and select the most outstanding persons for introduction to the party chapter. The party chapters only evaluate for acceptance into the party those persons who have been unanimously introduced by the mass organizations. The mass organizations also train outstanding persons through mass organization work. Practically all new party members and persons about to be accepted into the party at the machine works are persons who have participated in Trade Union work and youth work. The mass organizations not only evaluate and introduce outstanding persons to the party chapter, but also evaluate and contribute their opinions concerning the strengths and weaknesses of alternate party members before party chapters decide whether or not to make them official party members.

--Coordinating party development with improving the quality of party members and strengthening the organization of the party;

The party committee of the machine works realizes that the acceptance of persons into the party and the improvement of the quality of party members are closely related and support each other. To accept many good persons into the party, the party organization and the various party chapters must be strong, must have many good party members. Prior to 1977, the party organization of the machine works failed to develop the party well partially because 47 members of the party organization at that time were average or deficient (of the total 118 members). The existence of many average and deficient party members not only weakened the leadership ability and fighting strength of the

party organization, but also posed an obstacle to party development. These persons were unable to perform the work involved in developing the party and also restricted the effort to develop upon the positive aspects of the masses. Therefore, in order to develop the party well, the party organization has attached importance to improving the quality of party members and has focused its efforts on teaching and training average and deficient party members. The party chapters have looked for the reasons for the deficiencies of each party member and adopted specific plans for helping them. Party members who were unable to play their role because they were not assigned a proper job were reassigned in order to provide them with the conditions needed to complete their task. Members of the party committee or good party members are assigned to work with and help party members who have lost their good qualities and revealed shortcomings. The party chapters adopt plans for training party members who are deficient because their level of awareness is low and organize study programs for them to raise their level of awareness. The party committee of the machine works and the various party chapter committees have also given their attention to improving party chapter activities and, through these activities, have heightened the awareness of party members, promptly praised good work and criticized negative phenomena. The party organization expelled three members who committed serious mistakes and removed from party roles one party member who, although he received much help, did not make progress due to his very low level of awareness. At present, except for three party members awaiting a decision on their expulsion for disciplinary reasons by the district party committee, the party organization of the machine works has no average or deficient party members. Through the implementation of Party Secretariat circular 22, the quality of the members of the party organization has been gradually but markedly improved and the organization of the party within the machine works has heightened its leadership role and increased its fighting strength. On the other hand, the improvement of the quality of party members and the strengthening of the organization of the party have created favorable conditions for developing the party within the machine works.

In addition, on the basis of investigations by the party committee and the party chapters and the observations of the various mass organizations, all 19 of the persons accepted into the party over the past 2 years and more have fulfilled their role well in production and work and shown themselves fully qualified to be party members. Some 89 percent of these new party members are key cadres consisting of production management cadres and cadres of the various mass organizations, consequently, they have made positive contributions to improving the leadership ability and increasing the fighting strength of the party organization while developing the role played by the mass organizations. Seventy-three percent of these new party members were members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, consequently, they have helped to reduce the average age of the corps of party members of the party organization (the average age of party members has been reduced from 41 to 39). Of these new

party members, 73 percent are direct production workers and 27 percent are engineers and middle level technical cadres, consequently, they have strengthened the direct leadership role of the party organization in production. It can be said that although the number of persons accepted into the party over the past 2 years and more has not been high, it is clear that they have helped to increase the strength of the party organization, have brought to the party organization new vitality, new abilities. The comprehensive achievements of the machine works over the past several years show that strong, comprehensive changes have occurred in the leadership and guidance of the machine works' party organization, changes in which party development has made an important contribution.

To date, if we include the three persons awaiting a decision by the district party committee on whether or not they will be accepted into the party, all 11 party chapters within the machine works have accepted persons into the party. Over the past 2 years and more, party development has been given appropriate attention by the party committee and the various party chapters and is gradually being put on a regular basis. The party organization has established a good relationship between the organization of the party and the mass organizations, between party members and the masses.

However, party development at the machine works has also displayed certain shortcomings to which attention must be given. Over the past several years, the party committee, the board of directors of the machine works and the mass organizations have launched many intense emulation movements. In view of the mass movement and the strong spirit of the masses within the machine works, party development, despite the changes for the better mentioned above, still fails to meet the requirements of the mass movement and the requirements of the political task, especially in the new situation in which it is necessary to maintain production and maintain our readiness to fight in defense of the fatherland. Looking farther into the future, to 1980, when the scale of production of the machine works will be expanded in accordance with its plan, it is clear that the party organization will still lack party members, still lack cadres. Deserving of attention is the fact that the Yen Vien Machine Works is classified as a developing enterprise and its force of young workers is becoming increasingly large. The machine works now has more than 300 youths; however, youths comprise a very small percentage of party members (only 14) and many Youth Union chapter secretaries are not party members (only 7 of the 16 Youth Union chapter secretaries are party members). The machine works' force of female workers consists of nearly 200 women, the majority of whom are in direct production; however, the entire party organization only has 15 women party members.

Clearly aware of this situation, the party organization of the Yen Vien Machine Works has been and is gaining experience in order to continue to adopt better plans and measures for providing guidance with a view toward achieving better results in its work of developing the party.

THE BASIC RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE CITIZEN UNDER THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 40-44

[Article by Thien Nhan]

[Text] The basic rights and obligations of the citizen are one of several very important matters. The draft of the new Constitution defines the basic rights and obligations of the citizen of our country in the spirit emphasized by the 4th Congress of the Party: upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and building the system of socialist collective ownership. The basic rights and obligations of the citizen are primarily manifested in the system of collective ownership of the working people of our country.

We all know that the socialist system determines both the nature and the content of the rights and obligations of the citizen. In primitive communist society, although the people exercised ownership on a low level, they were equal in terms of rights and obligations. Actually, during this period, their rights and obligations were inseparable. According to Engels, they were unable to differentiate between rights and obligations. To them, fulfilling an obligation was the same as exercising a right. Thus, even within the system of ownership in primitive communist society, rights and obligations were closely linked, exercising a right was the same as fulfilling an obligation; these were working people exercising ownership when there was no state. When society divided into classes, the exploiting classes assumed the ruling position, the working people lost their right of ownership and the state became a tool used by the exploiting classes to oppress the working people, the rights and obligations of the citizen became polarized: rights were separated from obligations and the worker had no rights, only obligations, while the ruling exploiters had rights but no obligations. The separation and opposition between rights and obligations is a century-old malady of societies that are divided into classes. The loud proclamations of equal rights in capitalist society are nothing more than deception because the interests of the capitalist class are opposed to the interests of the working people. Lenin said: "The

capitalist system promises equality of each citizen without regard for sex, religion, race and nationality everywhere and at all times but has never implemented this equality and never shall because of the rule of capitalism."(1)

Only under the socialist system is this malady cured, is the unity of rights and obligations returned to the citizen, is the thinking of Marx set forth in the statutes of the International Labor Federation truly implemented: "Without rights, there can be no obligations, without obligations, there can be no rights."(2) In our system, the working people are the masters of the country, the masters of society. The people organized the state and it is primarily through the state that they exercise collective ownership. The state is a state of, by and for the people. Therefore, the interests of the state and the interests of the people are identical. The rights and obligations of the citizen are inseparable. There is no person who has only obligations but possesses no rights nor is there anyone who possesses only rights and has no obligations.

The rights and obligations of the citizen as defined in the draft of the new Constitution represent the will and aspiration of the people and are based on the level of development of society, on the requirements of the tasks of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland. The draft of the new Constitution is the smooth coordination of the requirements of social life, of the system of socialist collective ownership with the genuine freedoms of the individual and reflects the oneness of the interest of the state, collective and individual on the basis of the principle "one for all, all for one." Therefore, in many cases, obligations are also rights, rights are also obligations. Under the socialist system, labor is both a right and an obligation, is the foremost honor of the citizen. The citizen has the right to work. Those who are able to work must work. To learn is both a right and an obligation of the citizen. Protecting the socialist fatherland is a sacred obligation and a precious right of the citizen. Parents have the obligation to raise their children, that is, have the right to educate their children and so forth.

The unity of the rights and obligations of the citizen in socialist society is based on the level and consciousness of ownership of the people, on the spirit of responsibility and the new ethical qualities of the worker. However, due to the lengthy influence exerted by the separation of rights and obligations under the old society, there are persons within our society who only want to enjoy rights but do not want to fulfill their obligations or want to enjoy many rights but only fulfill a few obligations. This thinking is totally incorrect.

In a society in which every worker is a master, being the master in terms of one's rights naturally requires being the master in terms of one's obligations. These are the two aspects of collective ownership. These two aspects are not opposed to each other, but closely linked. Rights are dependent upon

obligations, obligations are dependent upon rights. Only by fulfilling one's obligations well do the conditions exist for fully exercising one's rights; only by fully exercising one's rights is it possible to fulfill one's obligations well. Only in this way is it possible to implement the principle "one for all, all for one." Equality of rights and equality of obligations is a revolutionary change in the relationships among each citizen in the new society.

In Article 26 of the draft of the new Constitution, which stipulates the rights and obligations of the citizen, we see that the rights that are set forth are both broad and tightly defined to insure that the citizen enjoys his rights more fully with each passing day in a manner consistent with the law of development of socialism and the conditions of the country and to prevent decadent elements from using these rights to infringe upon the interests of the state and the people. The obligations that have been set forth are designed to insure the existence and development of the country, of the system as well as each member of society. These rights and obligations encompass every field of politics, the economy, the culture and society.

Defining rights and obligations in this manner expresses a general principle set forth by Marx, namely, that rights cannot be higher than the state of development of the economy and the other areas of society and must be consistent with the nature and the length of time the constitution will be in effect, namely, 15 to 20 years. If we only record those rights that we can implement in the immediate future, the new Constitution will quickly become backward compared to life and will represent a step backward compared to the previous constitution. Moreover, depending upon the development in each area of society, the rights of the citizen are increasingly broadened in terms of their content and in terms of the conditions needed to implement them. The actual situation in the developed socialist countries has proven this. In the past, the Constitution of the USSR guaranteed the right to work; today, this right has been supplemented by the right to select an occupation suited to the strength and abilities, the professional training and the level of education of the citizen, with consideration given to the needs of society. The Constitution of the GDR guarantees the right to be trained in an occupation, the right to have a house for oneself and one's family and so forth. The Bulgarian Constitution states the right to a tuition-free education, the right to receive medical treatment when ill without having to pay for medicine, etc. Rights in the fields of state management, economic management and social management have also been defined in detail and heightened.

In contrast to the selfish individual freedoms in capitalist society to which bourgeois constitutions often refer, the rights of the citizen in socialist society are not only closely linked to obligations, but also closely linked to each other within the framework of the socialist community. These rights are exercised not only for the interests of the individual citizen, but the interests of everyone. The common principle is that the exercise of these

rights must be consistent with the interests of society and cannot harm the interests of society and the state or infringe upon the rights of other citizens; no one can use the rights of freedom and democracy to violate the interests of the state and the people; at the same time, the exercise of rights must be based on the special characteristics of the relationship among citizens, namely, respect for everyone and mutual help, and the principles of socialist ethics. These are also lofty legal standards that differ completely from the selfish way freedoms are exercised under the capitalist system.

Therefore, the limitation of certain aspects of a number of rights of the citizen is totally due to the objective requirements of the social situation, to the requirements of the effort to guarantee the basic and long-range interests of the people.

In socialist society, man is the center of every effort made by the state and society. The basic rights and obligations of the citizen as set forth in the Constitution of our country clearly show this. It is the legal foundation guaranteeing that each citizen can display initiative and creativity and actively participate in every activity in the fields of politics, economics, the culture and social life. It is the concrete expression of the principles of socialist humanitarianism for the purpose of protecting and respecting human dignity and developing the character of each citizen.

Therefore, in order for the basic rights and obligations of the citizen to be fulfilled, it is of decisive significance that the state truly guarantee the rights of the citizen and that the citizen fulfill his obligations. The tendencies of the state only seeing the obligations of the citizen and giving light attention to guaranteeing the rights of the citizen and of the citizen only seeing his rights and giving light attention to fulfilling his obligations represent the whip of the old society. At a number of places, there is a situation in which the rights of the citizen have not been upheld well and citizens have not fulfilled their obligations in a serious manner. This situation must soon be corrected. Of course, under our country's present circumstances, guaranteeing that each citizen fully enjoys his rights is not easy or simple. However, if the various levels of government deeply realize that they are the servants of the people, have the sole objective of serving the people and have the task of upholding the right of collective ownership of the people, this problem will be correctly resolved. The rights of the people have been secured through a process of revolutionary struggle by the people under the leadership of the party, not granted to them as a "favor" by the state. The state manages society on behalf of the people and has the responsibility of guaranteeing the rights of the people. This is also the reason for our state's existence. Therefore, the various levels of government must do everything they can to create the conditions for insuring that citizens can utilize and implement their various rights while protecting and combating each violation of these rights.

In guaranteeing the rights of the citizen, material guarantees play the foremost role. These are guarantees of an economic nature, are material conditions designed to insure that the rights of the citizen can be firmly implemented. According to Marx, if we simply declare the rights of the citizen on a piece of paper, we have, in effect, declared nothing at all, rather, it is necessary to put these freedoms into material form by means of reasonable and practical social organizations. This is also a fundamental difference between our state and bourgeois states. The material measures employed by the socialist state originate in the fundamental economic law of socialism and in the fine nature of the socialist system and are based on socialist production relations. For example, when the economy and culture develop strongly, unemployment no longer exists and the standard of living has been improved, the state will surely have many material conditions for guaranteeing the right to work and the right to learn of each citizen. These measures will become increasingly diverse and effective as society develops.

Political and social measures are also very important in guaranteeing the rights of the citizen. Under the leadership of the party, through the structure of the socialist state, with the support of the mass organizations, under the pressure of public opinion and under the system of socialist ethics, the political and social measures that are adopted will play an increasingly large role in the process of protecting and broadening the rights of the citizen.

Our state has also adopted legal measures designed to prevent and combat violations of the rights of the citizen. The basic rights of the citizen have been increasingly codified in regulations and laws of the state. These laws must be fully obeyed. Every violation must be dealt with in a strict manner. With the various forms of inspections, control work and supervision of the state agencies and the people and with the activities of the various organizations that protect the law and prosecute violators, the effectiveness of the various legal measures will constantly be increased.

The measures mentioned above are closely linked to one another. Only by properly implementing all three types of measures can the rights of the citizen truly be guaranteed.

It is not only the state that guarantees the right of the citizen, rather, the citizen himself has the responsibility to uphold his own rights. The greatest responsibility he has is to fulfill his obligations. This is because when the citizen fulfills his obligations well, he also helps to uphold his rights and creates the conditions for himself to exercise his rights more fully. As the master of society, the master of the country, the citizen fulfills his obligations in a conscious manner; the fulfillment of obligations is not a matter of blind obedience. The citizen fulfills his obligations for the sake of the development of society, the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people. For this reason, the fulfillment of obligations is not only a mandatory requirement, it is also a need, an honor,

an expression of the new ethics of the citizen. Obligations are not only of a legal nature, they also are in the nature of the new social ethics. The citizen who possesses the sense of collective ownership, possesses patriotism and love of socialism, possesses a high spirit of responsibility and possesses revolutionary skills and ethics does not give light attention to his obligations but fulfills them in a conscientious manner.

In our country there are countless beautiful examples of citizens fulfilling their obligation to work to build the country and protect the socialist fatherland. They are never afraid to endure any sacrifice in the fulfillment of their obligations to society.

Surely, through the discussion and contribution of opinions by all the people concerning the draft of the new Constitution, the understanding which everyone has of the rights and obligations of the citizen as well as all other areas will be deepened and the new Constitution itself will fully reflect the aspirations and will of our entire people, who are determined to successfully build socialism and firmly protect the socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 23.
2. K. Marx-F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 1, p 615.

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REREADING 'DAI CAO BINH NGO'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 45-53

[Article by Vu Khieu]

[Text]

I

A Classic Work of Eloquence

The "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" has for generations been regarded as a "classic work of eloquence" which reflects the heroic spirit and the noble souls of the Vietnamese people.

The "Dai Cao Binh Ngo," which emerged from the talented pen of Nguyen Trai, became the finest moral work of his time. It may be said that the "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" was a collective work by all our people under the unparalleled guidance of their leader, Le Loi. To say that is not to denigrate Nguyen Trai's part in writing the "Dai Cao Binh Ngo," but to place him in the highest position in Vietnamese literary history.

A true poet of the nation is never merely a person who incubates and issues forth his own private thoughts. A true poet must be a person who night and day lives with the concerns, aspirations, and will of the nation in order to, by that means, crystallize in his soul and works those things regarding the nation which are noblest, grandest, and most profound. Nguyen Trai was such a poet, and it was he who established that tradition of true poets in Vietnam.

The "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" is a work that is both literary and scientific. It explains who we are, who the enemy is, why we resolutely fight, and why our nation always wins and is immortal.

The "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" is a mirror image of the Vietnamese nation, of Vietnamese society, and of the Vietnamese people. It is an epic about the thought, attitude, and deeds of generation after generation of our people. It is a declaration of our *raison d'etre*.

II

Our Dai Viet Nation Regarded as Truly Civilized

The establishment of a civilized country is a characteristic of our nation's history, a direction of struggle and source of pride of our people, and the ultimate affirmation of the everlastingness of our nation.

Nearly 500 years before Nguyen Trai, Ly Thuong Kiet affirmed our nation's civilization by means of a powerful poem that began "The southern king resides in the southern kingdom."

Nearly 500 years after Nguyen Trai, Ngo Thi Nham once again proudly spoke of Vietnamese civilization in the face of bragging by the Chinese rulers.*

What is a civilized country? Aggressor armies have always invaded to occupy the territory, devastate the villages, and enslave the people of other nations in the name of one "civilization" or another. They have caused untold suffering and sorrow under their signboards of "teaching a lesson," "quelling insurrection," "propagandizing," and "civilizing." "Civilization" was only the external shell covering countless acts of savagery and violence.

As far as we are concerned, civilization is a certain developmental status of a nation, which reflects the tendency to always overcome the status quo in order to advance to an increasingly better life. Civilization signifies the level man reaches in the process of conquering nature. But that is not all. Civilization is also manifested in good relationships among people, in the level of knowledge and behavior of people with regard to the world around them and to themselves.

When speaking of our country's civilization, Nguyen Trai stressed that:

"Our country is separate,
Our customs also differ from Chinas."

Our country! How much blood has been shed there while our forefathers struggled to defend it over a period of 3,000 years!

Our country! Beautiful mountains and rivers, fertile fields, forests of gold, and seas of silver, where "each inch of land is an inch of gold" and is soaked with sweat and tears.

We do not occupy anyone's territory, and we are determined not to allow anyone to encroach on our territory. Our territory is sacred and "will ensure throughout eternity." Nearly 1,000 years ago Ly Thuong Kiet

* When Ngo Thi Nham was travelling as an emissary through Henan Province he was invited by Qi, the provincial governor, to visit the tomb of Zhu Xi, with the intention of reminding him that Zhu Xi had widely propagated Chinese civilization. Ngo Thi Nham replied, "I recall that Zhu Xi wrote a very good line: 'The South has its own civilization'. I am honored to have been born in the South."

emphasized that territory and told the enemy to their face, "If you invade our country you will be smashed to smithereens."

The 4,000 years of our history have been 4,000 years of continuously defending our territory, of simultaneously opposing natural disasters and destruction by the enemy. When there were floods we "tilted the fields and poured the water into the river." When there were droughts we "wrung water from the sea and replaced the sky in making rain." Ours was a small country which continually had to cope with a large nation, but when the homeland was imperiled the child of three immediately became Phu Dong to smash the enemy troops. That tradition has been continually strengthened and expanded since ancient times!

Since our territory is integrally related to our flesh and blood, it always stimulates actions, develops talents, and demands creativity. Within that territory, 4,000 years ago our forefathers created a glorious civilization which we can still see today in the bronze arrowheads of Co Loa citadel and in the bronze drums of the Hung Vuong and Au Lac periods.

Our civilization is signified not only in our "separate country" but also in the fact that "our customs differ from those of the Chinese."

The customs of a nation reflect its way of life. The strength of a nation is always manifested in the durability of its noblest customs.

The traditional way of life of our nation is true love among the working people, close adhesion to one another, and a spirit of "loving others as one loves oneself." It is assisting one another: during times of turmoil it is "the younger sister helping her fallen elder sister" and during difficult times it is "sharing rice and clothing." In emphasizing that, Nguyen Trai began his "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" with the lines:

"Love and righteousness live in a tranquil populace.
Troops are used only to quell wickedness."

In Oriental society, love and righteousness are the fundamental pillars of ethics. But love and righteousness have different meanings among the various classes and the various nations. Love is the relationship between people and righteousness is the responsibility in that relationship. According to Confucius, love includes five relationships: ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friendship. Among those relationships, that between ruler and subject is the central, most decisive one. Righteousness, according to Confucius, is the ethical responsibility in those five relationships. Confucius demanded that everyone have the duty of absolute loyalty in the relationship between ruler and subject, and that everyone blindly revere the emperor of China, who on behalf of heaven ruled the people of all nations under heaven.

Our people do not accept that kind of love and righteousness, and Nguyen Trai stressed that the first requirement of love and righteousness is a tranquil populace, loving the people and helping them eliminate wickedness. Our people respect the peoples of the neighboring countries and thus respect the rulers of those countries. But when those rulers send troops to invade our country our people immediately regard them as cruel troops. In ordinary relationships, Nguyen Trai was ready to respect them, but when they are obstinate he shook his finger in their face and said, "I'll tell you about the fierce bandit Phuong Chinh." When he invaded Vietnam, Nguyen Trai even scolded the Ming Emperor who sat on his high throne:

"The brat of Xuan De
Mobilizes troops incessantly!"

Our love and righteousness are also the noble humanitarianism. Throughout a period of 4,000 years, 60 brotherly ethnic groups in this land, with a spirit of "sharing thick and thin," have always worked shoulder to shoulder in building and defending our country.

That love has not been restricted to Vietnam, but has expanded to the working people of the other countries. During generation after generation of repelling aggressor armies, our people have always distinguished between the Chinese feudalists--the common enemies of the two peoples--and the Chinese working people, our miserable brothers. That grand attribute of the Vietnamese people has been proved by history in the course of fighting the Song and the Yuan, in annihilating the Ming, and in smashing the Ching. Our people have not only defended their country but have used their flesh and blood to stop their aggression against the fraternal nations in Southeast Asia. If in the past Qin Shi Huang Ti built the Great Wall but could not end aggression by the Xiong Nu troops, the Vietnamese have had a different, more durable great wall: Their heroic spirit and brave sacrifice in defending their homeland.

If a person is not righteous he cannot be a brave person. But "righteousness" in this case does not mean blind loyalty to the cruel kings and lords, but noble responsibility toward the destiny of the homeland and the happiness of the people.

Our customs also differ from those of the Chinese in that our people always strive for the noblest qualities of mankind: "Always maintain one's dignity" and "better to die with honor than live with dishonor," loyalty in friendship, faithfulness in love, and sincerity in neighborly relations. Our history began its international relations with the sorrowful drama of the young maiden My Chau. In many invasions of our country, Trieu Da was shamefully defeated by the resolute and ever-victorious strength of our people. But when Trieu Da changed over wily schemes in order to strike at our noble soul, the innocent, pure Vietnamese girl tricked him. The aggressor troops trod upon the fine qualities of mankind in love, friendship, and neighborliness. From the very beginning the cruel, deceitful fact of the enemy aggressor was exposed, as has been done continually throughout several thousand years of history. Nguyen Trai exposed them

and reminded us to seek to understand the enemy and always be on guard against them: They were "Deceivers of heaven, deceivers of people, crooks with a myriad schemes."

Throughout 4,000 years our people, coping with an enemy who always rely on having a large nation with a large population, and who are always deceitful, have continued to use justice to defeat barbarity and replacing cruelty with benevolence.

The source of the limitless strength of our people is the enduring civilization of our Dai Viet of old.

That civilization helped our forefathers to build our nation generation after generation, and enabled the Dinh, Le, Ly, and Tran dynasties to be "comparable to the Han, Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties, but ruling in a different country." That civilization has enabled our country "although sometimes strong and sometimes weak, to never lack courage!"

III

"Roasting People on the Kiln of Cruelty, Burying Babies in the Pit of Calamity"

Our people, over a period of 4,000 years, have continually taken up arms to fight. During wars they have tilled the fields while killing the enemy. In peacetime they "quartered troops and practiced agriculture," and always remained vigilant and trained.

However, war is unfortunate and peace is always the profound aspiration of the immense spirit of Vietnamese who love their country and love the people. When the enemy comes the golden turtle appears to present the hero with a sword, but when there are no more enemy the sword, amidst the sound of singing, is returned to the lake.

Nguyen Trai, in times of distress and danger, as well as during fierce warfare, recorded in his poems countless desires for a peaceful life for the people of the two countries. As far as Nguyen Trai was concerned, splendor and riches were only like floating clouds. He built for himself a pure life in the midst of moonlight, cool breezes, flowing streams, and high mountains, with singing birds and blossoming flowers. He wanted the people to lead the happy life of tilling the fields and weaving cloth, in which everyone trusts one another and loves one another.

In a letter sent to the enemy, Nguyen Trai many times encouraged them to lay down their arms, so that the people of the two countries would not have to shed so much blood, so that they could stop fighting and return to peaceful lives.

Nguyen Trai's aspiration was also the long-standing desire of the Vietnamese people and the heroic will of Le Loi. We were fighting to "wash away a thousand years of shame," and also to "begin an era of peace."

It is not surprising that the names of our provinces, districts, and villages often include the characters "binh" and "thai" [peace]: Thai Binh, Hoa Binh, Ninh Binh, Quang Binh, Yen Binh, Yen Bai, Quang Yen, Yen Hoa, Yen Lang, Yen Chau, Yen Thai, etc.

We desire peace, but that is not entirely up to us. When our country is invaded, our people, millions as one, arise to fight, resolutely defeat the enemy troops, and eliminate them from our territory. For that reason, the enemy has always failed.

"When reviewing the past
It is recorded that
Liu Gong thirsted for merit but were defeated.
Zhao Yi had big plans but were disappointed.
Sogetu was captured at the Ham Tu mouth,
And Toghan was killed at Bach Dang River."

Nguyen Trai profoundly analyzed the evil intent of the enemy troops and emphasized the inevitability of our people's victory.

Over a long period of 20 years, the Ming bandits invaded our country and committed countless crimes:

"Roasting the people in the kiln of cruelty,
Burying babies in the pit of calamity.
There was no benevolence toward the people,
And heaven and earth were torn asunder."

With very moving words, Nguyen Trai painted a miserable picture of the people having to go to the mountains to dig gold, going out to sea to search for pearls, and every day hunting black deer and seeking kingfishers. Countless people were lost at sea and died because of the fog deep in the forests. There were many pitiful cases of sons leaving their fathers and wives losing their husbands!

The invaders, living on the flesh and blood of the people, residing in sumptuous houses, and heating all sorts of delicious foods, imposed many kinds of compulsory service and taxes, and forced our people into a situation in which they died bit by bit.

The enemy's cruelty reached the extreme:

"All the water in the Eastern Sea
Could not wash out the dirty marks,
All the bamboo at Southern Mountain
Could not record all the crimes."

Under those circumstances, Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, the heroes of that era, along with all the people, had to "think until their heads hurt and their brains pained," and to "eat honey and lie down on thorns, to refrain from eating during the day and sleeping at night," in order to find ways to kill the enemy.

Who were the enemy? What was the situation in the past? What was the situation then? How could they be fought? Nguyen Trai stressed that it was necessary to

"Apply now the experiences of the past.
Carefully consider all opportunities."

The Ming feudalists, like the feudalists of many other dynasties, were of the exploiting class that for thousands of years ruled China with an extremely harsh militaristic bureaucracy. They continually propelled the Chinese people into a cycle of killing so that they could annihilate one another and compete for hegemony. "Endeavor to achieve hegemony over all under Heaven" - that has been a familiar expression and constant goal of the Chinese ruling circles for thousands of years. Toward the small countries, they have always taken advantage of all opportunities to commit aggression. When sending troops to steal other people's countries, they say that they do so to "punish," "console," or "teach" them. In the name of "punishment," Qin Shi Huang Ti burned countless books and buried alive countless Confucian scholars. In the name of "punishment," Wu Chi and Hang Wu each buried alive 700,000 brave soldiers, and every time they entered a city they burned all and killed all. In order to "console" and "teach," the Han, Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties continually expanded their territory and enslaved and assimilated the people of other nations. Because of their cruelty, many nations and peoples have been wiped off the map.

Williness and treason have been traditional stratagems of the expansionists for thousands of years. As far as they are concerned, sentiment among brothers, friends, and husbands and wives are always facilities for winning territory and power. Confusing black with white, deceiving teachers, and betraying friends are commonplace and have taken place countless times in the history of the Chinese feudal class!

At that time the cruel Ming bandits repeated the ancient scheme of their forefathers. They sent troops to our country with the announced intention of punishing the Ho Dynasty and restoring the Tran Dynasty. But after defeating Ho Qui Ly they remained to rule our country and change it into districts of the Ming Dynasty. In addition to egregious crimes mentioned above, they confiscated all of our people's books and cultural works. They forced thousands of intellectuals and skilled workers to go to their country. They compelled our people to abandon their ancient traditions and wear their hair and clothing according to the Chinese customs. In brief, they endeavored to assimilate our people in order to annihilate our race and erase all vestiges of our people from this land.

Faced with that horrendous prospect of annihilation, the only course open to our people was resolute struggle. Once again there occurred a clash not only between two armies but also between two cultures, between two ways of life. The many neighboring countries that had been annihilated became a living lesson for our people. The countries of Viet and Man, the languages and customs of which differed from those of China, became the provinces of Guangxi and Fujian. The countries of Dai Ly and Nam Chieu, which even Gong Ming and Gao Bian could not conquer, eventually became Yunnan Province.

Throughout a period of 1,000 years our Vietnamese people lived a nightmare filled with iron and fire and blood and tears. When one of us fell another would rush forward, and in the end we were able to preserve our race, develop our civilization, and win back our country. What strength enabled our people to be like an indestructible diamond? The ancient tradition of an heroic and indomitable people, well-deserved pride in the Vietnamese homeland and the moral strength and responsibility of everyone as Vietnamese. Throughout a period of 1,000 years the enemy forced our people to study Chinese, but Vietnamese was a language that could not be eliminated, and the superb works of literature that were never lacking generation after generation were a source of strength with which our people could kill the enemy and save their nation.

Throughout a period of 1,000 years the enemy forced our people to observe Chinese customs, but Vietnamese clothing, the Vietnamese hair style, the daily habits of the Vietnamese, and in general the Vietnamese way of life proved indestructible. It is not that our people stubbornly cling to the old, with a conservative attitude, but that our people do not want to live like the enemy! Confronted by the enemy troops, our people stubbornly adhere to what has always been Vietnamese and has a Vietnamese flavor. It is not surprising that some intellectuals, when forced by the enemy troops to cut their hair, calmly said that "You may cut off this head, but you cannot cut off this hair."

The Ming Dynasty, which did not realize that resolute strength, wasted its efforts in using the cruelest methods to eliminate Vietnam's customs and way of life. Therefore, our people's resistance became increasingly stronger and widespread. The uprisings against the enemy that occurred everywhere were integrally related to the careers of Tran Gian Dinh and Tran Quy Khoang, with the indomitable spirit of Nguyen Bieu, with the inspirational poems of Dang Dung, Le Canh Tuan, etc.

Blood flowed from the heads of tens of thousands of people onto millions of people who continued to arise. The great undertaking of our nation was unsuccessful because the movement lacked correct policies and because there were no leaders of sufficient talent. The needs of society inevitably created Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, and placed on the shoulders of those two men the glorious destiny of history.

IV

"At Mt. Lam Son we raised a rebellion,
And sheltered ourselves in a wilderness area.
We hated the enemy so much
We swore never to live together with them."

In the "Dai Coa Binh Ngo," Nguyen Trai referred to the extremely great difficulties:

"The banner of rebellion was raised
At a time when the enemy forces were strong!"

Our country was not lacking for outstanding talent, but people of talent were still like "autumn leaves" or "morning stars."

Over a long period of time, endured much hardship and many setbacks, and lacked people to assist and advise him. At that time our forces were in very perilous straits, so at times the fate of the commander-in-chief and of the movement hung by a thread.

"At Linh Son there was no food for several weeks,
When the district was retaken there were only a few troops."

For Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, those circumstances were an opportunity for "fire to test gold, hardship to test strength." That was an opportunity "to continually seek stratagems to annihilate the enemy."

Nguyen Trai summarized in a few short sentences the path followed by the rebels from the time when they had nothing to final victory. The first lesson was to rely on the strength of the people.

A major concept Nguyen Trai often brought out in his poems was that the people could be regarded "as flowing water, strong enough to either push the boat along or to overturn it." Placing all of his confidence in the people was a wise, progressive viewpoint of Nguyen Trai in his era. The strength of the rebel forces grew steadily because Le Loi cleverly rallied the people and lived with his troops as if everyone belonged to a big family:

"The banner was held high
The people assembled from all over,
The troops were treated to whiskey and water,
The commanders and men were like fathers and sons."

The second factor in achieving success was to be resourceful and creative. What were the most appropriate fighting methods for a small country to fight a large country, for a small number of troops to defeat a large number of troops? How would it be possible to simultaneously fight and build so that the troops could become strong? Nguyen Trai clearly expressed our operational slogan at that time:

"Fight strength with weakness,
Launch frequent surprise attacks,
Use few against the enemy's many,
Make frequent use of ambushes."

The initial victories are very important with regard to strengthening the combat will and shoring up the confidence of the three types of troops. Therefore:

"The Bo Dang battle was thunder and lightning,
The Tra Lan battle smashed bamboo into splinters.
The troops became increasingly enthusiastic
And their strength became increasingly great."

Those initial battles caused a great echo and greatly surprised Chen Zhi, Shan Shou, Li An, and Fang Zheng, who were terrified. Those victories began a whole series of glorious victories which resulted in the liberation of Tay Kinh and the reoccupation of Dong Do. Since then the writings of Nguyen Trai, overflowing with vigor, have resounded like the sound of drums and thunder, praising the most glorious victories in the history of our nation.

"Ning Jiao's blood flowed like a river and the
scent carried ten thousand miles.
Zu Dong's troops were slaughtered and stunk for eternity.
Chen He the reliable had to be beheaded.
Ly Zhong was corrupt and was killed."

When the enemy reached the end of their rope, Nguyen Trai sent them one letter after another advising them to awaken and realize that they must lay down their arms, sue for peace, and save their lives. Who would have thought that they would continue to be obstinate and be hopeful up to the end.

In October 1427, a 200,000 troops and 30,000 horses followed Liu Sheng, Ma Cheng, Liang Ming, admiral Cui Shen, and Minister Li Keng. Wang Fu's forces poured in from Guangxi and Yunnan. Our troops waited in ambush at Chi Lang Pass. When Liu Sheng brought in the main force our troops attacked from all directions. The enemy troops were routed. Our troops beheaded Liu Sheng, Li Keng, and more than 10,000 of the enemy. We burned large amounts of military equipment.

When Cui Shen and Wang Fu reached Ma Yen Son and Xuong Giang they were also met and attacked by our troops. We captured Cui Shen, Wang Fu, and more than 30,000 of the enemy.

Ma Cheng's forces arrived from Yunnan and set up camp at Le Hoa market. When they learned of Liu Sheng's disastrous defeat they were terrified, and trampled one another in fleeing.

Meanwhile, our troops continued to make earth-shaking advances.

"When a sword is sharpened on rock, a mountain
of rock is worn down,
When an elephant drinks water, a river will run dry.
The first battle was not terrifying
But in the next battle even the animals were slaughtered.
A strong wind blows away all the dry leaves.
A hollow ants' nest is easily collapsed.
Admiral Cui Shen knelt and offered to take his punishment."

Minister Wang Fu tied his hands and turned himself in.
At Lang Son and Lang Giang dead bodies lay everywhere
At Xuong Giang and Binh Than flowing blood reddened the water.
Thus the color of the clouds changed
And the sun and moon were blocked out."

V

"Oh! It was a mighty sword,
So the glory has lasted a
thousand years."

When the war ended Le Loi, with a gesture that exemplified ancient times, pardoned 300,000 prisoners and allowed them to return home.

"Enemy generals were captured, like hungry
tigers wagging their tails and asking mercy.
When Shen Wu was not killed, he
expressed eternal gratitude.
General Fang Zheng and the official Ma Qi
led 500 boats to sea but were terrified.
Commander Wang Dong and adjutant
Ma Ying had thousands of horses
but their hearts raced and their legs shook."

In "Lam Son Thuc Luc," Nguyen Trai also dealt with those matters. At that time, our officers, along with our people--men and women, young and old--miserable because the enemy cruelly oppressed them and killed their parents and relatives, asked the king to kill the enemy "to placate the anger of heaven and earth, of the spirits, and of the people; in order to pacify the souls of the departed; in order to absolve the great shame of the nation; and in order to strengthen the morale of the soldiers. The king called together his generals and a large number of people and told them that "Taking revenge for injustice is human nature. Not liking to kill people is an attribute of benevolent people. And when people are killed after surrendering, that is unwholesome. To satisfy anger quickly but be known forever for killing prisoners is not as good as allowing tens of thousands of people to live and eliminating cause for war in the future." When he finished speaking, the king ordered that boats, horses, and food be given to 300,000 Ming troops so that they could return home. From that point on the fighting ended, our territory was recovered, the country was at peace, and the people returned to their peaceful pursuits.

In a few brief pages, the "Dai Cao Binh Ngo" recapitulated an entire heroic struggle against the Ming to save the nation which lasted a decade. The matters Nguyen Trai wrote about in his era also topical during the time of Ly Thuong Kiet and Tran Hung Dao. They were also carried on in the brilliant career of Quang Trung and were even more prominent in the era of Ho Chi Minh, the era of leadership by the Vietnam Communist Party.

That is a tradition of "using justice to defeat cruelty and replacing ruthlessness with benevolence." That is a tradition of 4,000 years of civilization, of all-out patriotism, love for the people, cooperating in labor and combat, and bringing about wealth and strength for the homeland and well-being for the people.

Today, after 30 years of continual fighting to defeat the cruelest aggressor armies, our entire population is further developing the heroic tradition

of the era of Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, and are both positively promoting production and maintaining readiness to smash all aggressive schemes of the enemy.

We are also endeavoring to realize the concluding words of the "Dai Cao Binh Ngo":

"Our territory thereafter was secure
And our country thereafter made progress."

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DEBATE: THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 54-64

[Text] Editorial Note: Recently, the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN organized a debate concerning the new socialist culture. Participating in this debate were many research cadres and leadership cadres concerned with this matter. In this section, we have printed a number of speeches by those who participated in this debate.

Several Thoughts Concerning Building the New Culture and Molding the New Vietnamese, Socialist Man

[Presentation by Ha Huy Giap]

When we talk about the culture of a nation, we cannot simply talk about its cultural life, but must also give consideration to the social, economic and political circumstances within which this culture exists. In each age, it is impossible to separate spiritual life and art from material bases, the political base and the role of the social classes of the age. The infrastructure and the superstructure have a dialectical influence upon each other and share a cause and effect relationship.

Culture is the sum of the material and spiritual values of a society, values created by man. In the process of engaging in productive labor to exist, man creates material wealth to satisfy his material needs and, at the same time, creates science, technology, literature, art, customs, habits and so forth to meet his spiritual and cultural needs and stimulate the development of material production.

Every society has its own culture.

Feudal society has the feudal culture, capitalist society has the capitalist culture. Both of these societies are societies with classes, societies based on class oppression and exploitation, consequently, there is opposition within society between the ruling classes and the classes being ruled. Therefore, within each society, in addition to the culture of the ruling class that is imposed upon all of society, there are cultural factors of the people being

ruled, factors reflecting their human qualities. However, these societies share a similarity: their private ownership has given birth to selfish persons, individualism has become a fundamental characteristic. These societies are primarily the spontaneous products of the development of technology.

On the other hand, socialist and communist society is a society without classes, without the oppression and exploitation of man; it cannot purely be the product of modern technology, but is also the conscious product of persons who possess socialist awareness, possess the ethic "one for all, all for one" of a system that manifests the collective ownership role played by the working people. Lenin set forth the formula: "Communism is soviet power + the electrification of the entire country." As a result, it is necessary to carry out a cultural and ideological revolution, necessary to mold new, socialist persons.

In Vietnam, we are building socialism in a country that is characterized primarily by agricultural production, handicraft production and disorganized private production, the remnants of which are still extensive. This individualism (private production) has become individualism in the guise of the "collective" of each sector, each locality and each unit, which has given rise to departmentalism, partialism and localism under bureaucratic centralism characterized by rather serious paternalism and authoritarianism.

However, we also possess the revolutionary tradition of an heroic, unyielding people who have united generation after generation in the fight against continuous natural disasters and foreign aggression, thereby creating a culture of charity and justice, a culture of the noble spirit of "loving others as yourself," a spirit constantly cultivated and enhanced by President Ho and our party on the basis of the stand of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism.

As a result of this tradition, President Ho became thoroughly imbued with the spirit of uniting the proletariat of all countries with the oppressed nations of the world and discovered the truth of our times: today, patriotism must be the love of socialism, of communism because "only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people of the world from the yoke of slavery."

Throughout our country today, even in the newly liberated cities, examples are appearing of "good persons and good work" and "flowers of all four seasons" of new socialists. In order for these beautiful flowers to "blossom," all we need to do is uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, develop the assault role played by youths, give them the maximum responsibility and attach importance to them while heightening the sense of organization and discipline of party members so that they set good examples for the masses. A party member who has political power but is undisciplined easily becomes deviant and harms the people, the country and himself very much.

To build the new culture, it is necessary to mold the new man. This new man is manifested in the sense of collective ownership, in a conscientious and positive spirit and attitude toward work, in socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit.

The measurement of the level of awareness and revolutionary ethics of man is his spirit and attitude toward work, the returns from his work. Le Duan has said: "Working! Working with high productivity! This is the measurement of the revolutionary qualities, the level of awareness and the sense of responsibility of each cadre, party member and worker." (1)

we must work within a collective, work for the collective, work in a disciplined, technical and highly productive manner. A system of large-scale socialist production is needed to meet these ethical standards and in order for socialism to take form and be stable.

Lenin said: "Anyone who attentively observes life in the countryside and compares it with life in the city sees that we have not yet pulled out the roots of capitalism nor have we destroyed the foundation, the base of the enemy at home. This enemy is entrenched because it is based upon the small-scale economy and, to kill this enemy, we need take but one measure: shifting the economy of the country, including agriculture, to a new technological base, the technological base of large-scale, modern production." (2)

Only when a system of large-scale socialist production has been established can we abolish the backward customs and habits in life, work and production.

Viewing man as a social entity whose nature is the "integration of all social relationships," the molding of the new man requires the establishment of good relationships among persons within the family, agency and school as well as in society. The ethical basis for establishing these relationships well is the guideline "one for all, all for one," that is, "everyone must fulfill his obligations to society; society is responsible for caring for and organizing the life of each person." (3)

Establishing good relationships among persons will create an increasingly beautiful society. Within society, there will no longer be thievery, robbery or fighting, rather, everyone will live together in a spirit of neighborliness and loyalty. Establishing good relationships among persons will be a factor in raising productivity in labor, work and studies and in enhancing the ethics of man.

Large-scale socialist production demands that each person, in addition to possessing political awareness, possess the cultural level needed to learn the achievements of modern science and technology in order to apply them in productive labor and work. The meaning of raising the cultural level of a

person is two-fold: first, deepening his basic knowledge of the natural sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography and so forth) and the social sciences (literature, history, philosophy, political economics and so forth); secondly, improving the skills and abilities involved in state management. The latter is very important. It serves as a lever for improving the state apparatus and every other agency in order to eradicate bureaucracy.

In his work of educating cadres and party members, President Ho paid particular attention to teaching revolutionary ethics. The person who possesses revolutionary ethics is a person who is determined to struggle throughout his life for the party, for the revolution and who, regardless of how difficult circumstances might be, is determined to comply with the policies and resolutions of the party and set good examples for the masses. Every party member must heighten his spirit of responsibility to the people, to the party, must prevent and determinedly combat individualism, must cultivate collective thinking, the spirit of unity and the sense of organization and discipline and must respect and uphold the right of collective ownership of the people. An effort must be made to study and learn in order to complete each task.

Importance must be attached to teaching ethics to our youngest citizens. The study of Marxist-Leninist ethics must be incorporated in the curricula of all general schools, beginning at level I. Parents and teachers must restudy Marxist-Leninist ethics in order to teach them to their children better.

The teaching of aesthetics plays an extremely important role in building the new culture and molding the new man. We must teach people what is beautiful in their life, their work and their relationships with others. In the face of the phenomena and things in nature and society, everyone must be able to differentiate between the correct and the incorrect, the good and the bad, the just and the unjust in order to develop upon the good and limit the bad in society and even within ourselves.

Marx advocated coordinating productive labor with education and physical culture, considering this not only the way to increase social production, but also the only way to mold fully developed persons. We must teach technology, practice and theory together. President Ho always reminded us: learning must go hand in hand with practice. And, he encouraged the establishment of schools that combine the study of culture with productive labor, such as the "Hoa Binh Socialist Labor Youth School."

At present, many places have constructed cultural halls, libraries, archives, museums, public parks, theaters, movie houses, athletic fields and so forth, especially at the general schools throughout the country, from the lowlands to the mountains, and more and more are being constructed at the colleges, academies and middle level and elementary vocational schools. We must give

our attention to bringing culture to the enterprises, water conservancy sites, communications construction sites and collective housing areas that have been and are being constructed in order to turn them into cultural centers.

The building of the new culture and the molding of the new man must be carried out in a patient, constant and daily manner in order to make the concept of protecting and building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland part of the life-style of each person. Accelerating the "good persons, good work" movement and inspiring and spreading Vietnamese revolutionary heroism in production, work, combat readiness and combat are practical ways to mold the new man and build the new, socialist culture.

The new culture and the new man we are continuing to build and mold are the products of the practical experience of implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, among which the ideological and cultural revolution is the vehicle and the scientific-technological revolution is the key. The new, socialist, Vietnamese man must be the crystallization of all of the most beautiful attributes of our people and the best of the world. As the revered Uncle Ho frequently taught: we must mold our children so that the generations of tomorrow become beautiful flowers, so that each person becomes a flower of a different shade in order to create a vast forest of beautiful flowers emitting the strong fragrance of the modern nation of Vietnam and socialist internationalism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Le Duan at the ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party, TAP CHI HOC TAP, No 2-1970, p 22.
2. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 42, p 194.
3. "The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 55.

Bringing the Light of the New Culture to the Life of the Ethnic Minorities

[Presentation by Hong Quoc Chan]

In the unified and socialist Vietnamese fatherland, the ethnic minorities as well as the ethnic majority have their own traditional culture. The customs, habits, spoken and written languages, literature, art, religious beliefs and so forth of each nationality express this culture. Because not much has been

done by way of collecting information or conducting research, we have not been able to accurately evaluate the extent, characteristics or nature of the culture of each nationality. Those factors that are truly of ideological and artistic value must be maintained and enhanced. Those that are backward, reactionary and no longer suited to the requirements of socialist society must be analyzed, criticized and changed. Those that are lacking must be selectively supplemented. The people of the various nationalities are desirous of receiving much more attention from the organizations managing cultural work and the institutes of educational research in order to adopt specific plans and measures for urgently performing these jobs.

However, where supplementation is needed urgently, needed in many areas, is in the effort to bring the light of the new culture to the life of the ethnic minorities because the ethnic minorities, together with the ethnic majority, are advancing to socialism, because each nationality is on the momentum of development into a socialist nationality.

The implementation of the nationalities policy of our party and state is bringing about gradual changes in the life of the ethnic minorities and is rectifying a problem left behind by history, namely, "the difference between the level of economic and cultural development of the ethnic minorities and that of the ethnic majority." (1)

To eliminate this difference, the 4th Congress of the Party stressed: "The key is to accelerate the three revolutions, make every effort to develop the economy and culture in the ethnic minority areas, develop agriculture and forestry, build new economic zones and industrial areas, expand communications, transportation and socialist commerce, develop cultural activities, education, art, science, public health services, physical education, sports, the protection of mothers and newborns and so forth in order to rapidly improve the material and cultural lives of the ethnic minorities, with special importance attached to the highland and border areas." (2)

Here, the process of carrying out the three revolutions is the process of bringing the light of the new culture to the life of the ethnic minorities.

The new culture--the progressive culture--is a need of the working people and an effective ideological weapon of the working people in the struggle on the ideological and cultural front. To the ethnic minorities, receiving the light of the new culture means implementing their right of socialist collective ownership, implementing equal rights within the field of culture. Every favorable condition must be created for each nationality to enjoy the values of progressive culture, literature and art on an equal basis. Every nationality must also be helped to develop the creativity of the masses in the creation, performance and building of new cultural and artistic works. Therefore, every nationality must have a corps of persons to create, research and teach culture, literature and art.

Bringing the light of the new culture to the life of the ethnic minorities will be one of the important factors in accelerating the three revolutions.

Only when they possess a high cultural level will the ethnic minorities be fully able to establish and perfect the socialist production relations.

Through the years of the agricultural cooperativization campaign in the mountains, many practical lessons and experiences show that the management of labor, the management of production, the application of new technology and the distribution of products within the system of collective production demand that each person, especially cadres, possess a certain knowledge of culture, science and technology. After advancing from working as private individuals with a few crude tools on upland fields and terraced fields to working in a collective manner with thousands of laborers, thousands of buffalo and cattle and modern technical measures, it is clearly impossible to count each kernel of grain harvested or to rely upon a rough estimate, rather, recording symbols, calculating machines and scientific management methods are required. The lessons learned from the realities of the agricultural cooperativization movement in the ethnic minority areas have helped many leaders in the provinces and districts of the mountains realize one fact: in the ethnic minority areas, especially in the highlands, it is first of all necessary for the party and the state to rapidly bring the new culture to everyone in order to deepen everyone's knowledge; this is the basis for creating strength in productive labor. In this situation, culture and producing material wealth are closely linked. Cultural activities are not "non-production" activities, but have an impact upon production. With culture, persons deeply understand policies and learn science and technology rapidly, which results in higher productivity.

The effort to learn the knowledge and latest achievements of science and technology and use them as a key in transforming society, transforming nature and building the new economy must be closely linked to building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man. Various superstitions are impeding the advance of the ethnic minorities very much. A number of "phantoms" and "gods" are still challenging the party and the revolutionary government for the masses. In everyday life, in labor, in the way people eat, in the way they live, in their marriages and funerals, many prejudices and old habits continue to dominate or, at the very least, exist together with the new culture. As long as old, backward thoughts remain within the mind of each person of an ethnic minority, many difficulties will be encountered in applying science and technology in the organization of productive labor, combat and construction. Those places that have successfully carried out such revolutionary movements as the "clean villages, good fields" movement and the "three sanitary projects" movement, have developed the cultivation of duckweed and so forth have achieved success as a result of resolutely propagandizing and teaching the masses knowledge of the new culture and knowledge of science and technology.

Once they have achieved a rather high cultural level, the compatriots of the ethnic minorities will have profound knowledge of how to build the new and abolish the old in their ideological life, their customs and habits, their ethics and lifestyle. Today, the people of the entire country are gradually building a new style of life, gradually molding the new, socialist man. The minorities in the various areas have, depending upon their specific conditions and circumstances, carried out the ideological and cultural revolution in the following specific ways:

Molding the new style of work;

Establishing new customs and habits;

Building families of the new culture;

Building the new style of life at public places;

Molding new aesthetic tastes in everyday life.

To the ethnic minorities, the campaign to establish new customs and habits is of basic and most pressing importance. The traditional habits that formed within small-scale, decentralized, backward production have long had an impact upon many aspects of the life of man. Everything from thought processes and the way things are viewed to the methods of working, the way of life and the relationships among persons, all of these things have constantly been controlled by the characteristics of traditional customs and habits. Of course, these traditional customs and habits of the ethnic minorities do have certain good aspects, such as the spirit of mutual help in the face of difficulty, forthrightness, sincerity, love of children, respect for the elderly, etc. It is very necessary that these customs be preserved in order to cultivate new persons today. However, some old habits are not suited to the requirements of socialist life, such as religious superstition, slovenliness, procrastination, unsanitary eating habits and so forth, which must be eliminated.

Wherever the light of the new culture has been brought, the new life, new persons have emerged.

What is the light of the new culture?

This broad question was raised by the 4th Congress of the Party and has been analyzed by many theoreticians.

In the Political Report delivered at the 4th National Congress of the Party, Le Duan gave the following analysis:

"The new culture is a culture of socialist and national content. It is a culture whose nature is that of the party and the people. This culture is built

upon Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of socialist collective ownership. It selectively accepts the accomplishments of mankind and the achievements of modern culture and science while crystallizing and enhancing all that is most beautiful within the 4,000 year tradition of the Vietnamese soul, the Vietnamese culture. It is the tradition of patriotism, determination, tenacity and resourcefulness in the struggle for independence and freedom, is love among workers, is the virtues of diligence, creativity, optimism and love of life. It is also the proletarian internationalism that has taken root in the spiritual life of our people since the day the party was founded. This culture is the harmonious coordination of the essence of the unique cultures of the fraternal nationalities within the great Vietnamese family."

Marxism-Leninism is the pinnacle of the culture of mankind. The theoretical principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, of political economics and scientific socialism, together with the viewpoints, lines and policies of our party, have been and are being widely disseminated within the ranks of the cadres, party members and Youth Union members of the various nationalities within our country. In work and combat, many strata of new persons have been and are emerging, persons symbolizing the new thinking, the new ethics. They understand that every citizen of Vietnam, every Vietnamese regardless of his nationality, has equal obligations and rights in the work of protecting the Vietnamese fatherland and building socialism. They believe that, under the light of the nationalities policy of the party and state, the principles of equality, unity and mutual help will create the conditions for each nationality within the country to develop each of its revolutionary capabilities, develop each economic strength and develop its cultural uniqueness.

The elements of modern science and technology are spreading, like the light of civilization, to every cave and alley. Living within a country that has long been a backward agricultural country, the people of the ethnic minorities have had to endure many deprivations. In recent years, due to the limited cultural level of the compatriots of the ethnic minorities, the transformation of the old society, the transformation of nature and the development of the economy in the mountains have, generally speaking, been lacking in uniformity and been carried out slowly in some respects. To bring the light of the new culture to the life of the ethnic minorities, our party and state have not only taught the thinking of socialist collective ownership, but also used many scientific forms of propaganda to awaken the people of the ethnic minorities and trained many types of scientific-technical cadres and skilled workers among the compatriots of the various nationalities.

The light of the new culture also involves outstanding literary and artistic works of our country and the other countries of the world. To the people of the various nationalities, being the masters of their folk literature and art is indispensable. However, it is not sufficient to be satisfied with knowledge of folk literature and art within one's locality or knowledge of the

literature and art of our country, rather, we must widely but selectively incorporate the essence of the culture, literature and art of the nationalities of the world.

The light of the new culture can take many forms, can employ many forces to shine upon the life of the ethnic minorities.

The school system of general schools, vocational schools, colleges, party schools, the schools of the mass organizations and so forth is the center at which each age group of the various nationalities receives the light of the new culture. Following the eradication of illiteracy, the supplementary education movement has developed among older persons; these objectives of the new culture are also the workers who play the primary role in the new society. At present, the ethnic minority areas lack the material conditions needed to develop a network of kindergartens, consequently, there are not enough places to absorb all children of this age group for preparation for entrance to general schools. At some places, due to the lack of schools or the long distance that must be travelled to schools, some children of school age are not attending school. This is an obstacle to the acceptance of the new culture by the people of the ethnic minorities.

Wired radio, radio and press systems have been established in the provinces and in many districts. Persons in the cities and towns, persons near main roads and markets, persons with battery-operated radios and all persons who are literate regularly come into contact with the light of the new culture.

A system of cultural organizations, literary-art organizations and mobile information units has been established from the central to the village levels and has the task of bringing the light of the new culture to the life of the various nationalities of the country. The various organizations in the field of cinematography, the film studios, film distribution centers and film projection units, are one of the forces with widespread activities among the masses. From the electric generators, film projectors and amplifiers broadcasting words and music over loudspeakers to the images on the silver screen, it is clear that the "light" has been spread both literally and figuratively. The activities of the mobile film units have been limited by the heavy weight of their equipment and treacherous mountain roads; all villages desire to have these activities brought to them. Many "friends of cinematography" teams have been established in the villages to coordinate in propagandizing the ideological subject matter in films and guide the masses in learning how to appreciate the aesthetic values of cinema art. The performing art activities (song and dance, plays, theater and so forth) of professional forces as well as the masses are considered routine and widespread forms of new cultural activities. Club activities, exhibits of pictures and products related to economic achievements, cultural achievements and so forth are forms of activities that can be "seen and heard" and which are highly capable of educating the masses.

If used well, the system of libraries from the provincial to the district levels (libraries have only been established in a number of districts) will be a means for spreading the new culture to the compatriots of the ethnic minorities in a thorough manner. The mobile culture and information units have been and are operating in many highland and border districts and, playing the role of an assault force, have answered many questions of the people of the various nationalities and helped to discredit each reactionary argument of the Chinese expansionists among the compatriots of the nationalities in border areas.

Bringing the light of the new culture to the life of the ethnic minorities is both an objective and a means of the revolution. Performing this work well will help the compatriots of the ethnic minorities to strongly exercise their right of collective ownership and, together with the peoples of the fraternal nationalities throughout the country, successfully build and protect the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 164.

2. Ibid., p 165.

1978 and the New Cultural Life

[Introduction by Dang Nghien Van]

Ever since the appearance of the book "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture," many important viewpoints concerning the matter of building the new culture have been clarified, the essence of which was affirmed in the resolution of the 4th Party Congress. "The new culture is a culture of socialist content and a national nature."

However, the concern of many persons engaged in cultural work has been how to fully manifest the content of the new culture in our daily lives. Many simple and seemingly difficult questions have been raised in every field from understanding of the sense of collective ownership, responsibility and discipline to the way one person behaves toward another to a civilized style of life at public places, how to be polite and courteous, how to arrange one's work or dwelling, how to appreciate a work of literature or art, the attitude to be taken toward a worker, an author, an artist, etc.

The same principles that apply with regard to a rather large number of subjects have been established but we have not put them into the form of regulations, rules and specific measures. Why is this? It is due to the

lack of concern on the part of several applied sciences within the different fields of science and the failure on their part to fulfill their function of providing explanations that win the sympathy and support of the masses. Everyone realizes the need to be courteous and polite but has anyone researched how each circle, each age group should greet and introduce itself to others in ways that are truly Vietnamese? Has anyone researched how each person should behave in different, rather complex cases in order to achieve a uniform code of behavior within a civilized style of life and teach this code at schools? Everyone has also seen a number of youths who do not dress in an attractive manner, who dress in a half Vietnamese, half foreign fashion, but has any agency introduced styles of clothing that are suited to the young and of a national nature? We speak with praise about the unique style of the cities in the USSR, the cities in each republic; we have great admiration for the familiar and traditional architecture of our fatherland but has one organization discussed the construction of cities in our country that are modern and of a national nature? We complain that the items we use everyday, from cloth products, pottery and glassware to wooden products and woven goods, are truly "made in an irresponsible manner" and regret that many of the items used by our forefathers, items that were both easy to use and readily liked, are gradually disappearing; however, what kind of an impact has our industrial art sector (even though it is still young and incomplete) had upon the production of products?

In actuality, many persons at many places have set beautiful examples and performed fine acts that clearly reflect the civilized style of life of the new man, the new society of Vietnam; however, no agency has reviewed or systematized these examples and acts or established specific standards, established models that must be followed in order to spread them throughout society. For example, what is a cultured person, what is a cultured village or town, what is a cultured installation? What must be done to achieve the state of being cultured and how must we struggle to build and establish a highly cultured society and so forth?

Presenting the shortcomings mentioned above does not mean that we deny the achievements of the cultural sectors, achievements that have been correctly cited in the press, nor that everything will be settled in the near future. Many objective causes have prevented us from achieving what we would like to achieve. However, it is clear that our shortcomings will be greatly reduced if the various scientific sectors give more attention to introducing the new culture in everyday life. An agency researching clothing fashions which introduces suitable "styles" and provides the necessary guidance will "compete" with strange styles copied from the West more successfully than criticism will. Why is it that our country does not have its own national costume to wear to ceremonies, as a result of which some persons complain that they do not know how to dress? The various nationalities in our country have countless beautiful styles of clothing which, if suitably improved to suit

the times, would surely attract the various circles and age groups. An agency to research urban and rural architecture and develop different models of housing would make both the cities and the countryside better reflect the diverse nature of Vietnam. Positive and properly oriented activities on the part of the School of Industrial Arts will also help our production installations produce products better suited to consumer tastes. Practical research projects in the processing of food products will bring the diet more into line with our tastes and circumstances. An agency researching labor regulations that researched the various styles of labor within the different sectors would cause agency managers to sympathize with their personnel and workers would feel secure about their jobs and have the conditions needed to develop their talents, thereby yielding higher labor productivity. The socialist style of life, the civilized style of life within society and the family must also be discussed by many sectors outside the Ministry of Culture.

Regardless of the age, every nation must, in its daily life, from public life on the streets to the family, must have harmony, have stability, have unity in diversity manifested in a specific culture, a specific level of civilization. Our party has adopted a correct cultural line. It has come time for the various social sciences as well as the natural sciences to actively and urgently mold for the life of our nation a harmony, a stability that reflect the contents of a socialist and national culture. We must mold a socialist Vietnamese style. When talking about style, we are talking about something that belongs only to us, something that is Vietnamese in everything from content to form. It is hoped that, in the not too distant future, foreign visitors to Vietnam will see within every field of the daily lives of our citizens a Vietnamese style, not a monolithic style, but one that reflects the characteristics of each locality, of each fraternal nationality. It is also hoped that scientists and the different sectors and trades will immediately begin to overcome their temporary difficulties and insure that everything they create for the life of Vietnam, from the most trivial and ordinary to the largest and most important of products, from the temporary and immediate to the long range, reflects the nature of Vietnam--socialist Vietnam. Finally, it is hoped that the agencies responsible for cultural work will organize the various scientific sectors and appeal to them to "begin taking action."

THIRTY YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL AID

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 65-71

[Article by Nguyen Xuan Trang]

[Text] In 1949, against the background of the cold war with its embargo policy started by the imperialists with a view toward impeding the economic construction of the socialist countries, representatives of Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, the USSR, Rumania and Czechoslovakia met and founded the Council for Mutual Aid. The initial tasks of the council were: to exchange experiences in economic construction, to help one another with technology, to supply to one another raw materials, grain, machinery and equipment, etc.

Once an economic organization of a regional nature in Europe, the Council for Mutual Aid has today become a world economic organization consisting of 10 official member countries, including a number of countries of Asia and Latin America. The Council for Mutual Aid has the objective of "unifying and coordinating the activities of member countries in continuing to deepen and perfect socialist economic cooperation and alignment, develop the national economy in accordance with a plan and stimulate economic and technical progress within these countries, raise the level of industrialization of the industrially underdeveloped countries, constantly raise labor productivity, bring the levels of economic development of the member countries closer together and constantly improve the welfare of the peoples of the member countries."(1)

The economic, scientific and technical cooperation among the member countries is based on the following principles: respect for the sovereignty, independence and interests of each nation, no interference in one another's internal affairs, total equality, mutual benefit and mutual help in the spirit of comradeship. This voluntary alignment of free and totally equal countries has transformed into reality a dream held by Lenin concerning the organizing of cooperation on an international scale. The socialist democratic system has been manifested in the principles of organization and day-to-day operation of all elements of the council.

The supreme agency of the Council for Mutual Aid is the Council Conference, which consists of delegates from the member countries, led by the premiers of the various countries. Each year, the council holds its conference in the capital of a different member country under the chairmanship of the premier of the host country. The conference has the tasks of examining and determining matters relating to economic and scientific-technical cooperation, adopting guidelines for the primary activities of the various organizations, determining the budget, appointing the secretary of the council, establishing work agencies, making decisions concerning the revision of council statutes, etc.

The Executive Committee of the council consists of representatives of the member countries on the vice premier level. These persons are also the permanent representatives of each country at the Council for Mutual Aid. The Executive Committee leads the performance of the tasks set forth by the Council Conference and observes the member countries in the fulfillment of the obligations accepted by them; at the same time, it leads the work of the various committees, the Standing Committee and the Secretariat as well as the other agencies of the council and establishes the guidelines for the principal activities of these agencies. The representatives of the member countries take turns serving a 1 year term as chairman of the Executive Committee.

The principles of democracy have been thoroughly implemented in the activities of the various committees and Standing Committee of the council. All countries, regardless of their size, have equal representation and have an equal voice in deciding the common work of the council. Under the banner of proletarian internationalism, the countries engage in economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the spirit of comradeship and have, in actuality, created a new style of international economic relations which smoothly combine the interests of the nation with international interests.

The basic and primary course being followed to raise the level of economic development of the member countries is to mobilize and utilize, as highly and effectively as possible, the labor and natural resources of each country and rely principally upon the efforts of each country while using the advantages afforded by the socialist international division of labor and developing upon the superior nature of socialist economic alignment. However, for those countries that do not have a high level of economic development, there still are various types of cooperation that benefit them, such as granting them long-term loans at low interest rates and granting them certain preferential status while exchanging advanced production experiences, helping these countries to develop their science and technology, training cadres and technical workers, etc.

The Council for Mutual Aid is not an economic organization with its own financial sources and sources of materials to be allocated for any economic activity or for aid to any country. However, with its unified policies and

positions and the regulation and coordination of activities among the various countries for the purpose of providing stimulus for the implementation of the decisions and agreements reached by the various countries, the Council for Mutual Aid has been and is truly playing the role of an effective catalyst.

Comrade Brezhnev has observed: in the past 30 years, not a very long period of time, the socialist countries have travelled a rather long road. On this road, the socialist countries have not only encountered triumphs and victories, but also potholes, muddy ruts and even mistakes. However, life has proven beyond argument that the course we have selected to achieve our objectives is a correct one and that this course will be smoother and shorter if there is closer cooperation among the socialist countries, if the mutual help among these countries is further intensified in order to carry out national as well as international tasks.

In its 30 years of activities, the Council for Mutual Aid has recorded achievements that have enthused the peoples of the socialist countries and warmed the hearts of their friends throughout the world. Today, this socialist economic organization is showing itself to be the most powerful, most dynamic and most stable economic force amidst the circumstances of the energy and raw material crises and the economic crisis that are now causing major upheavals in the capitalist countries. Compared to 30 years ago, the national income of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Aid has increased nine-fold. As a percentage of world national income, the national income of the countries of the Council for Mutual Aid has increased from 15 percent 30 years ago to 20 percent today. The percentage of world industrial output has increased from 18 percent 30 years ago to one-third today. Compared to 30 years ago, industrial output per capita of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Aid has increased more than eight times while industrial output per capita in the world has only increased 3.2 times.

The rapid rate of economic development has led to profound changes within the economic structure of each member country. The key sectors that determine technological advances, such as power, mechanical engineering, chemicals, petrochemicals, electronics, atomic engineering and so forth, have developed at a high rate. The material-technical bases of socialism and communism have constantly been strengthened. The agriculture of the member countries has been improved and re-equipped with technology.

The real income of the people has constantly increased; the people are guaranteed a job. The social welfare funds allocated for public health services, education, retirement, recreation, cultural activities and so forth in all countries have increased as national income has risen. The right of ownership of the people, a right guaranteed by the constitutions of these countries, is evident in everyday life in sharp contrast to the lives of the millions of families within the capitalist world, where the shockwaves of periodic economic crises turn everything upside down.

The tremendous economic, cultural and social changes in the socialist countries of eastern Europe have left us with profound impressions. In the not too distant past, many countries with backward economies and low standards of living were the agricultural "tails" and the sources of raw materials of the capitalist countries. Today, as they begin the construction of developed socialism, many countries have modern industries, modern agriculture, advanced science and rather highly developed material and cultural lives. For example, in Bulgaria, industry constituted 37 percent of national income in 1950 but constitutes more than 50 percent today; in Poland, industry has increased from 24 percent to 53 percent and in Rumania from 43 percent to more than 60 percent. Over the past 30 years, the output of the mechanical engineering sector, the key sector in the process of equipping the national economy with technology, of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Aid has increased 30 times; in Bulgaria, it has increased 99 times, in Poland, 67 times and in Rumania, 101 times.

Mongolia is a special case. Once a feudal, nomadic system in which 99 percent of the population was illiterate, today, on the basis of the assistance and cooperation of the socialist countries, primarily the USSR, Mongolia is taking very long and steady strides forward and successfully advancing to socialism without passing through the capitalist stage of development. Many industrial sectors with modern equipment have been established, such as the coal, power, mining, metal processing, textile, leather, shoe making and other sectors.

The process of mutual assistance and cooperation among countries has provided a stimulus for the emergence of many new industrial sectors in these countries: Bulgaria has an electronic engineering sector, ferrous and non-ferrous refining sectors, a chemical sector and so forth; Hungary has a petrochemical sector, a tool making sector, a bus production sector, an electronics sector, a computing technology sector and so forth; the German Democratic Republic has a petrochemical industry, a shipbuilding industry and so forth; Poland has a shipbuilding sector, an automobile sector, a chemical engineering sector and an agricultural machine sector; Rumania has a petroleum engineering sector, a tool making machine engineering sector, a compressed gas sector, an automobile sector, a television sector, an electronics sector, a tractor sector, a ball bearing sector, a petrochemical sector and so forth; Czechoslovakia has an aluminum industry, an electronics industry, a petroleum processing industry, a ball bearing sector and sectors producing automated machinery and various equipment for atomic power plants. In the USSR, all industrial sectors have been enlarged and modernized.

Guided with the spirit of socialist internationalism, the USSR has made extremely large contributions in working to bring the levels of economic development of the member countries closer together and raising them in a uniform manner. With its tremendous economic might, the USSR has satisfied a very large part of the energy, raw material and technical equipment needs of the different member countries. With the technical assistance of the

USSR, the countries of the council have completed or are constructing 2,300 projects of various types. A market with very large purchasing power, the USSR has consumed a very large quantity of industrial products produced under contracts and machine products of the various countries, thereby creating favorable conditions for the development of many of the industrial sectors of these countries, especially the mechanical engineering sector.

In this age in which science and technology have become a direct production force, the USSR, in the socialist international spirit, has shared its scientific and technical achievements with the fraternal countries, thereby bringing the levels of economic and scientific-technical development of the various countries closer together.

From various forms of agreements to supply goods to one another, the activities of the Council for Mutual Aid shifted to forms of integrated cooperation encompassing many fields of production, science and technology. At its 23rd conference (1969), the council established strategic guidelines for long-term cooperation, guidelines embodied in the Integrated Program.

The successful implementation of this program led to cooperation on a higher level. On the basis of technological advances, the various countries have specialized and cooperated in production and joined efforts to develop natural resources to serve the common needs of many countries. As a result, the centralization of production on a large scale, mass production and the application of the most modern technology have been achieved, thereby improving product quality and reducing production costs. This cooperation is expressed primarily in the coordination of plans. In the past, the coordination of plans only involved two parties, now many parties are involved. Through the coordination of the plans of many parties, the various countries have been able to carry out a comprehensive division of labor in the most advantageous manner possible, utilize the labor and resources of each country as effectively as possible, achieve specialization and cooperation in production and establish economic relations among the fraternal countries on an international scale.

Cooperation in the field of science and technology plays an important role. More than 3,000 scientific research, design and manufacturing organizations and agencies, institutes and colleges of the various countries are participating in multi-lateral scientific-technical cooperation. The path to modern industry and advanced technology is being widened, thereby providing stimulus for increasing the rate of technological advances in all member countries. The "International space" program, which began in 1978 with international space crews from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and Bulgaria, has opened a new page in the history of cooperation in space research. Only socialism can develop socialist cooperation and alignment within every field, which the strength of small countries would never allow them to dream of achieving!

As cooperation has become deeper and broader, the volume of goods traded among the various countries has increased. Compared to 30 years ago, the volume of goods traded has increased nearly 20-fold, faster than the rate of increase of national income and industrial output.

The rapid increase in production and consumption has required the establishment of a long-term program of cooperation with specific objectives in order to meet the needs for energy, fuel and the various basic minerals, raise the level of development of machine manufacture, satisfy the grain, food and consumer needs of the people better with each passing day and provide stimulus for the development of transportation.

At the 32nd conference (1978) and the recently held 33rd conference, the Council for Mutual Aid adopted long-term cooperation programs (extending until 1990) in the following fields: energy, fuels, raw materials, agriculture, the food industry, machine manufacture, consumer goods, communications, transportation and so forth. This, a new stage of development, has concretized the Integrated Program on a higher level with a view toward performing a number of the most important tasks faced in the next 10 years. In the coming period, the member countries will coordinate in the formulation of the multi-lateral economic alignment plan and the formulation of a long-term program for bi-lateral and multi-lateral specialization and cooperation in production for the period 1981 to 1990.

In view of its democratic activities and outstanding achievements, the prestige of the council has drawn the attention of many countries in the world.

In addition to Yugoslavia, which participates in the agencies of the council under a special agreement, Laos, Angola and Ethiopia are broadening their economic relations with the council; Iraq, Mexico and Finland also cooperate with the council in accordance with specific agreements. The council has established economic relations with 78 developing countries and is the trustworthy base of support of these countries in the struggle for a just and progressive world economic order. With the assistance of the member countries of the council, nearly 4,000 projects have been or are being constructed in the countries of the third world. On the basis of the nature of the socialist system, the Council for Mutual Aid is struggling for the broadening of equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation among all countries without regard for social system in order to combat discrimination and inequality in international relations.

The Council for Mutual Aid has been and is having an increasingly profound and widespread impact upon the course of development of the world and is a strong source of inspiration to all nations in the struggle against each and every act of aggression and hegemony of the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries for the sake of protecting their own inviolable interests.

More than 1 year ago, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam became the 10th member of the Council for Mutual Aid. Prior to then, Vietnam, through a long process, established close economic relations with the USSR and the other member countries of the council. The warm feelings which the fraternal countries have for Vietnam are a high evaluation of the contributions made by the Vietnamese in the fight for national independence and socialism.

The tremendous, valuable and effective support and assistance of the socialist countries, especially the USSR, helped us to win victory in our long and arduous fight and have helped us to build the initial material-technical bases of socialism. Our country's becoming an official member of the Council for Mutual Aid was an inevitable stage of development of the Vietnamese revolution and marked the continuation of the development of economic cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal countries on a new level and scale.

When the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles unilaterally suspended aid to Vietnam, withdrew their specialists to China and began scheming to impede and pose difficulties to the economic construction of Vietnam in a vain attempt to force us to yield to them, the Council for Mutual Aid rapidly met the immediate requirements of Vietnam. Under a number of resolutions adopted at the sessions of the Executive Committee since late 1978, the member countries of the council are helping us to complete a number of projects which China left unfinished. At the 89th conference of the Executive Committee (March 1979), the Council for Mutual Aid, in the name of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, issued a stern denouncement of the aggression by the Peking authorities against Vietnam and confirmed that it would effectively support and assist us in every way so that we can continue to build the economy and protect the fatherland.

The Executive Committee assigned the Secretariat and the various agencies of the council the task of working with Vietnam to formulate special measures for stimulating the development of the national economy and raising the level of economic development of Vietnam to the level of the fraternal countries. Giving its attention to the experience of the cooperation with Mongolia and Cuba, the council agreed to broaden the application of the principles of the Integrated Program to Vietnam as they were applied to Mongolia and Cuba in order to help stimulate the development of our country's economy.

At the recent 53rd conference of the council, Vice Premier Le Thanh Nghi, the permanent representative of our country at the Council for Mutual Aid, presented to the Executive Committee a list of "proposals of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam concerning ways to stimulate and increase the efficiency of the Vietnamese economy and gradually narrowing the gap between the levels of economic and scientific-technical development of Vietnam and the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Aid." This is an important basis, is the foundation for researching and formulating specific plans and putting

together positive measures regarding multi-lateral cooperation between our country and the other member countries of the council in the fields of economics and science-technology.

With respect for the sentiments and concern of the fraternal countries, we have urgently begun the work of formulating a specific plan and putting together practical measures for implementing the proposals mentioned above.

Although it faces very many difficulties, our country has important potentials that can be developed in order to develop our economy, meet the requirements of our country's revolution and, at the same time, coordinate with the countries of the Council for Mutual Aid. Our country has the conditions needed to develop the production of tropical agricultural products in large quantities to meet the needs of our country and the fraternal countries. Our tropical forests with their precious woods are an object of cooperation to which many fraternal countries have given very much attention. Our country's abundant labor, which possesses manual skills and certain technical skills, is a very important prerequisite to broadening the scale of cooperation within the consumer goods industry, primarily under the form of contract production. Beneath our country lies a wide diversity of minerals; cooperation in geological explorations will open many new prospects for cooperation in the development of energy, fuels and raw materials.

By achieving the assistance of the fraternal countries in the development of our marine industry, we will be able to gradually participate in the division of labor within machine and electronic production. Acquiring the assistance of the member countries in building the most important scientific research facilities and actively participating in scientific research projects with which many countries are concerned are the guideline for raising the level of scientific and technical development of our country and providing stimulus for effectively carrying out the tasks of building the economy and strengthening the national defense system.

Thus, as we participate more rapidly and extensively in the socialist international division of labor and develop our economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Aid, our country's economy will grow more rapidly and more quickly display the superiority of the socialist international division of labor. To overcome our immediate difficulties and create momentum for effectively bringing the machinery of the economy within the orb of cooperation, additional help from the fraternal socialist countries is both very necessary and valuable.

In the new stage of the revolution, in conjunction with strengthening our bilateral relationships with each socialist country, especially developing a close relationship of cooperation in every area with the USSR, we have attached very much importance to developing multi-lateral as well as bi-lateral relationships of economic and scientific-technical cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Aid.

This, a policy in the nature of a principle, an extremely important policy of our party and state, will create the conditions for Vietnam to quickly abolish poverty and backwardness, advance to large-scale socialist production and gradually carry out socialist industrialization, thereby making a worthy contribution to the effort to strengthen the economic forces of the community of fraternal socialist countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from the Statutes of the Council for Mutual Aid.

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THE BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND

BAOAI TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
pp 72-74, 82

[Article by Hong Toan]

[Summary] The article deals with the relationship between economic development and the building of socialism in Poland over the past 35 years.

THE GREAT NATION EXPANSION AND BIG POWER HEGEMONY OF THE PEKING REACTIONARIES AND THEIR INEVITABLE BANKRUPTCY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Aug 79
P. 75-82

[Article by Lieutenant General Le Xuan Luu]

[Text] Over the past few decades, mankind has attentively watched a country that constitutes one-fourth the world's population win victory in a democratic revolution, go on to the socialist revolution and achieve prestige in the international arena but ultimately be the scene of the so called "thorough revolution," the "great proletarian revolution," the "Marxism higher than Marxism," etc.

Within this country have emerged domestic and foreign policies that are shrewd but consistent in nature. Traitors of the revolution of every shade meet a fellow-traveller here. Frustrated strata, especially youths, who are dissatisfied with the capitalist system, who are constantly disruptive and who want to smash everything that binds them, find here a teacher, a model teaching them hopeless acts of recklessness and terror.

The imperialists and all reactionaries meet here a power they can use, a competent assistant that must be drawn into being their ally in order to attack the revolution.

Genuine revolutionaries view this country with the fullest measure of indignation and concern and think about the decadent betrayal by the Peking reactionary authorities, about the tragedy inflicted by them on the Chinese and the people of the world.

Today, although some persons have a mistaken understanding of the Peking reactionaries, their nature and countenance have been very obviously and boldly displayed to progressive mankind.

Over the past several decades, the people of China could have taken very long strides down the road of economic, cultural, scientific and technical develop-

ment, thereby insuring themselves of a life of comfort and happiness and making their own worthy contributions to the common development of the world revolution. However, the Peking reactionaries have caused the people of China to suffer countless tragedies. They seized control of the large state apparatus in the most heavily populated country in the world, a country rich in natural resources, not for the purpose of bringing happiness to the people, but for the purpose of using all of the material forces and means created by the several hundred million Chinese to implement a reactionary program that is counter to the legitimate interests of the Chinese people, counter to socialism, counter to the revolutionary and progressive forces of the times. The repeated "great revolutions" launched by them have put China into an extremely tragic state.

Looking at the social order now in China, we see that it is not a socialist system, but a militaristic, dictatorial system, a "people's commune" style of order, in substance, a concentration camp style of socialism in which the masses are terribly suppressed and poisoned, must live in forced labor, in a system of demagoguery and harsh suppression in every area of life.

Mankind has witnessed this model of a social order not only in China, a country suffering under repeated "great revolutions," but also in Kampuchea, a country flooded in genocidal massacres carried out by the gang of great nation expansionists and big power hegemonists in Peking together with their lackeys, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Over the past several decades, besides destroying the revolutionary accomplishments of the people of China, the Peking reactionary gang has continuously put forth plans and engaged in insane actions to destroy the revolutionary currents of the times and undermine the solidarity of the international communist and worker movement. In actuality, they are implementing a counter-revolutionary global strategy designed to align themselves with the imperialist powers, led by U.S. imperialism, and the other reactionary powers against the trend of evolution of mankind.

The inferiority of the expansionism and big power hegemony of the feudal Chinese dynasties of bygone years, having proclaimed China the "center of the world" and, on this basis, proclaimed the Chinese revolution the "center of the world revolution," the Peking reactionaries have nurtured the scheme of ruling the world and the dream of impressing upon mankind a Chinese style order. For the Chinese reactionaries are the rulers, rulers to be obeyed by the population of this planet.

Great nation expansionism and big power hegemony are the political backbone of the life of the Peking reactionaries. Despite their tricks of concealing their true nature, pretending to be revolutionaries and practicing demagoguery, however deceiving the gullible and attracting the evil as allies, their actions over the past several decades have fully exposed this reactionary political nature.

Every aspect of the situation in China and in Kampuchea during the time of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, the collaboration of the Peking reactionary gang with imperialism and the other reactionary powers, the actions taken by them to counter the revolution everywhere in the world and the war of aggression unleashed by them against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all of these things show their traitorous, reactionary nature, show that they oppose Marxism-Leninism, oppose socialism, oppose the independence and freedom of other nations, oppose world peace and even oppose the Chinese people themselves. They have joined the ranks of the enemies of the revolutionary people.

It is clear that the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries is a tragedy upon the people of China and the people of the world.

With their so called "three worlds" theory, the Peking reactionaries have "lined up their friends and enemies," "deployed their forces" and "set the course of the struggle" in order to implement their counter-revolutionary global strategy.

Communists consider the antagonism between socialism and capitalism to be the most fundamental antagonism of our times. On the basis of the initial observations made by Lenin when the Russian October Revolution won victory, which included the observation that "a turning point has occurred in the history of the world, from the system of bourgeois democracy to the system of proletarian democracy, from bourgeois dictatorship to the dictatorship of the proletariat"(1), the international communist and worker parties, on the basis of the diverse realities of the world revolution, later unanimously stated: "Ours is an age characterized primarily by the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the great October socialist revolution, the age of the struggle between two opposing social systems, the age of the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution, the age of the collapse of imperialism and the destruction of the colonial system, the age in which more and more nations advance to socialism, the age of the victory of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."(2) Life has proven that socialism is invincible and that the world socialist system has played an increasing role as the factor determining the development of the society of man.

Having totally abandoned the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism in evaluating the antagonisms and nature of the age, having denied that the world is divided into two opposing socio-economic systems and having denied the existence of socialism in reality, the traitors in Peking have drawn a "political map" based on their great nation expansionism and big power hegemony.

They have divided the world into "three worlds" on the basis of geography and wealth or the lack of it. In keeping with this viewpoint, they have categorized the USSR and the socialist system--the strong fortress of the

world proletarian revolution and the firm base of the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress in our times--as the primary enemy in their counter-revolutionary global strategy.

They have made every effort to generate national hatred of the USSR and achieve a political and military alliance with the United States, Japan and the countries of western Europe in order to oppose the USSR and falsely accuse, distort and divide the USSR from the other socialist countries; they have schemed to separate the national liberation movement from the USSR and the other socialist countries in order to isolate, weaken and block the influence of the USSR and the other socialist countries in every region of the world; and they are scheming to cause a soviet-U.S. conflict. It is clear that no one in history has been as insanely opposed to the USSR and the revolution as they.

However, due to both subjective and objective factors, the immediate target of their aggression is Southeast Asia, with Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina being the most important target.

This is due to many reasons: can they expand to the north? Their ambition is great but their strength is limited. Surely they have not forgotten the lesson learned in the sino-soviet border war when they came up against the military might of the USSR. Can they expand to the east? Many obstacles also lie in that direction. However, Southeast Asia, according to their calculations, occupies a very important position, is a region of small countries and has fertile soil and rich natural resources. Moreover, within Southeast Asia, they control a number of lackeys that bear the name "Communist party" and more than 20 million overseas Chinese, some of whom hold many important positions within the economies of the countries of Southeast Asia and are able to influence the governments of these countries.

If, according to the ruler of this region, the Peking reactionaries will be able to increase their strength, become the rulers of Asia and eventually rule the world.

The U.S. imperialists, who were totally defeated and forced to withdraw from Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina, are encountering mounting difficulties in every area and have been forced to revise their counter-revolutionary global strategy. Taking advantage of this situation of the United States, the Peking reactionaries have filled the vacancy and begun working as the assault force attacking the revolution, as a gendarme of the international gendarme. An independent, unified and socialist Vietnam that adheres to a genuine, independent Marxist-Leninist line, has the love and respect of the people of the world and is becoming increasingly strong poses the main obstacle to the scheme of the Chinese reactionaries to carry out great nation expansionism and big power hegemony in Indochina and Southeast

Asia. For this reason, they have implemented a systematic policy of hostility toward the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, from using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to launch a war of aggression on Vietnam from the southwest, conducting acts of provocation on the northern border, fabricating the "refugee" incident, provoking Chinese residents into fomenting rebellions, suspending aid and withdrawing their specialists back to China to insanely waging a war of aggression against Vietnam from the north employing some 600,000 troops and many years of war.

It is obvious that the hostile, aggressive policy of the Peking reactionaries toward Vietnam in a vain attempt to weaken and annex Vietnam is an important part of their counter-revolutionary global strategy, is the first step in the long march to become the rulers of Southeast Asia and the rulers of the world.

In their scheme of aggression against the three countries of Indochina, the Peking reactionaries have an accomplice, international imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists.

Together with launching a large-scale military attack, the Peking reactionaries joined the imperialists in shamelessly launching a campaign to falsely accuse Vietnam of "practicing regional hegemony," "invading Kampuchea" and "preparing for aggression against the countries of Southeast Asia," in a vain attempt to reduce the prestige of Vietnam and isolate Vietnam from the countries of Southeast Asia.

The ambitions of the Chinese reactionaries are very large but their strength is limited. In order for China to become a superpower by the end of this century, they are, on the one hand, relying upon their population of nearly 1 billion and making every effort to exploit surplus labor while using this huge source of manpower to wage wars to steal land from others; on the other hand, by means of heinous tricks, they have trampled upon the interests of other nations and even the interests of the Chinese people for the purposes of engaging in trade with the imperialists, winning the confidence and favors of the U.S. imperialists and the other imperialists and securing capital, science and technology to carry out their "four modernizations" program by means of new "leaps forward."

Therefore, they have been very willing to serve as the assault force, as the gendarme of the international gendarme, the United States, as the fireman for imperialism in the comprehensive, serious crisis that exists now.

As regards the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, having encountered mounting difficulties in the "post-Vietnam" period, they have been forced to revise their counter-revolutionary global strategy in a vain attempt to win back the positions they have lost and continue to suppress the revolutionary movement of the peoples of other countries and block the development of socialism.

The imperialists have long seen in the expansionism of the Peking reactionaries a force that could competently support them in opposing the revolution; therefore, they played the China "card" in the hope of turning the deployment of forces around and changing the balance of power in the world in a manner advantageous to them with a view toward implementing their counter-revolutionary global objectives, opposing the USSR and the other socialist countries and opposing the national liberation movement as well as the worker movement in the capitalist countries.

In actuality, the war of aggression of the Peking reactionaries against Vietnam and their entire hostile policy toward Vietnam and the other countries in Indochina are part of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists.

The global strategy of the Peking reactionaries consists basically of joining hands with the imperialist countries, led by the U.S. imperialists, and the other reactionary forces to insanely oppose the USSR, the other socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the international communist and worker movement and the struggle for world peace, playing the role of the most dangerous counter-revolutionary assault force and scheming to become the ruler of the world, beginning in Southeast Asia, with the immediate target being annexing Vietnam and the other countries on the Indochina peninsula.

Today, with the emergence of the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries and their alliance with international imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, and the other reactionary powers, two opposing forces have developed in the world, two forces engaged in a life and death struggle: on the one side, there are the revolutionary and progressive forces within the three revolutionary currents of our times, the nucleus of which is the socialist countries; on the other side, there are the forces of the reactionary imperialists, among whom the United States is the ringleader and the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles is the largest international reactionary, an ally of the United States opposing Marxism-Leninism, socialism, national independence, democracy and peace.

In Southeast Asia, the principal antagonism is between national independence and socialism, on the one side, and, on the other, the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles and the various powers competing for interests and influence in this region. The reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles is playing the role of the most dangerous counter-revolutionary assault force, directly opposing the three revolutionary currents in Southeast Asia.

Having established the fact that the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries are a true tragedy upon mankind and realizing that this expansionism and hegemony are inseparable from the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the imperialists, led by the U.S.

imperialists, the revolutionary forces of the world absolutely must be vigilant, must make every effort to strengthen their forces and must coordinate in a struggle to block and eliminate Chinese expansionism and hegemony. However, Chinese expansionism and hegemony must not be overestimated and it can be stated in advance: the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries will surely be defeated.

In the history of man, various schemes have emerged to become the ruler of the world, all of which met with tragic defeat. No reactionary power has been able to realize its dream of becoming ruler of the planet.

Hitler's fascism, backed by rather strong industry and with the philosophy of German "supremacy," schemed to become the ruler of the world but was buried.

Following World War II, the U.S. imperialists emerged as a huge imperialist superpower. With tremendous economic and military might, with developed science and technology and with the U.S. style of life, standard of living and bourgeois system of freedom that once appeared extremely attractive, once appeared capable of absorbing everyone, the U.S. imperialists schemed to become the rulers of the world under a counter-revolutionary global strategy; however, they have encountered one defeat after another, are becoming weaker in every respect and are faced with an entangling crisis from which they cannot save themselves.

Today, the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries is in a much weaker position. Although China is densely populated, it has no material strength. The political and ethical thinking of Confucius and the feudal culture of China are interesting to no one. The odd model of socialism erected by the Peking reactionaries in China and in Kampuchea under Pol Pot have caused progressive mankind to tremble with disgust and hatred.

The great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries were born under conditions in which world capitalism is disintegrating more with each passing day, socialism is becoming increasingly strong and has become the factor determining the development of mankind and the three revolutionary currents of our times have combined to form a surging strength that is constantly on the offensive and advancing to victory after victory. Therefore, each of their schemes is nothing more than a bizarre illusion.

The antagonism between the subjective schemes of the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionary authorities and the objective laws of history will surely lead to the bankruptcy of this great nation expansionism and big power hegemony. The factors leading to this bankruptcy exist within the very plans adopted by the Peking reactionaries to implement their schemes.

The reactionaries within Peking ruling circles adopted a "four modernizations" plan with the ambition of making China a superpower by the end of this century. They are relying upon the natural resources of the country and the tremendous market of nearly 1 billion cheap workers to attract the capitalist world into investments and trade. They have aligned themselves with imperialism and volunteered to serve as the assault force attacking the revolution so that the imperialists provide them with financial and technical aid. These policies will lead China down a bumpy road, have immeasurable consequences for the people of China and, as a result, thwart the schemes of the Peking reactionaries.

The imperialists are determined not to quickly help China achieve "modernization." In playing the China "card," the international imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, are only using China as an assault force against the USSR, Vietnam and Cuba, against the other socialist countries and against the revolutionary forces of our times and in order to undermine the revolutionary undertaking of the people of China; the imperialists are determined not to "meet" every requirement of Peking so that China quickly becomes a superpower strong enough to realize its dream of ruling the world.

A country whose population constitutes one-fourth of mankind but which has, in 30 years of peaceful construction, only been able to produce 3 percent of the gross product of the world, has very backward material-technical bases and has an underdeveloped economy, a country whose people face very many difficulties in their everyday lives, a country that has mounting foreign debts which are difficult for it to repay, a country whose political situation is never stable and is marked by internal strife, such a country cannot easily advance rapidly to modernization.

Heading headlong into collaborating with the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, and the international reactionary powers, the Peking reactionary authorities have shown their true nature as the most malicious, most dangerous international reactionary power, are losing all the support they once had of the people of the world, are gradually losing the support of persons who have been temporarily deceived by them and are becoming increasingly isolated in the world.

Although they have been poisoned and terribly suppressed over the past several decades, the people of China, who have an inherent revolutionary tradition and have already accepted Marxism-Leninism, certainly cannot sit still in the face of the betrayal by the Peking reactionary authorities and allow them to destroy the revolutionary accomplishments they have recorded, allow them to use their natural resources, money and manpower for sinister purposes. The pains facing Chinese society, namely, poverty and starvation, mass unemployment, suppression, the resurrection of the bourgeoisie and landowners, the infiltration of the capitalist way of life, aggression against Vietnam and so forth, are awakening the Chinese more with each passing day.

To the Peking reactionaries, whose guideline is "a black cat is as good as a white cat provided that it catches rats," socialism or capitalism is not the issue provided that they achieve the "four modernizations" so that China becomes the number one superpower and ruler of the world. To them, modernization is not designed to build socialism, but to lay the material base for their scheme of preparing for wars of aggression. They spent a rather large quantity of gold to purchase means of war and annually spend 40 percent of their budget on national defense. They are devoting many efforts to the production of nuclear weapons.

Although they talk about "four modernizations," they are primarily concerned with modernizing the national defense system. They will encounter a contradiction between modernizing the national defense system and the other modernizations because important amounts of capital and materials must be allocated to the national defense system. This is not to mention the need to spend money and provide means on a daily basis to support reactionary cliques and prop up lackeys who use the name of "communism" to undermine revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin American because this work is one of the modes for realizing their dream to become the ruler of the world.

The "four modernizations" include the modernization of science and technology. In the name of "culture," the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles spent many years carrying out the "great proletarian cultural revolution" during which they closed all schools, thus causing many age groups to grow up without an education, cancelled research projects, denounced intellectuals, etc. Now, in order to carry out the "four modernizations," they have reopened colleges, held entrance examinations, reopened scientific research agencies, "cleared of charges" and "restored" persons within intellectual circles and begun sending students to study overseas; however, where can they find the time needed to make up for the losses and overcome the serious consequences caused by this "revolution" in order to carry out their sinister scheme?

A backward economy that is seriously imbalanced cannot immediately take "great leaps forward." The objective economic laws are immutable and do not bend to the subjective, reactionary desires of the Peking traitors.

Therefore, we were not surprised when their "four modernizations" plan had to be revised as soon as it was announced and contracts signed by them had to be cancelled before the ink dried. Their ambition to become a superpower before the end of this century is nothing more than an illusion. In the recent past, many persons within China itself have publicly stated this in the press.

The reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles has made Vietnam and the other countries in Indochina the objective of their aggression primarily because the survival of their great nation expansionism and big power hegemony is closely linked to their scheme of annexing the three countries of

Indochina in order to open the way for conquering Southeast Asia and achieving their dream of ruling the planet.

The peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, who have a tradition of uniting in the fight against the common enemy and who defeated the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, will surely smash the scheme of aggression and annexation of the Peking reactionary authorities.

The fight waged by the Vietnamese and the peoples of the other countries in Indochina will make a worthy contribution to defeating the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the Peking reactionaries, thus bankrupting them from the very outset.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1960, Book 2, Part 2, pp 190-191.
2. The declaration of the Conference of Delegates of Communist and Worker Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 17.

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THE PEKING REACTIONARIES USE OVERSEAS CHINESE AS A TOOL FOR CARRYING OUT GREAT NATION EXPANSIONISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 79
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[Article by Hoang Kim]

[Text] For generations, the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, in general, and Vietnam, in particular, have considered the place where they have been living for many years to be their second homeland, to be the place that rescued them from poverty and the terror of the Chinese feudal dynasties.

In the process of living close to the local people for many years, the overseas Chinese have become part of the population of the countries of Southeast Asia. However, under their scheme of expansion and big power hegemony, the Peking reactionaries consider the overseas Chinese issue to be one of the matters of strategic significance in the policy of the People's Republic of China toward the countries of Southeast Asia. They have looked for every way to poison the minds of the overseas Chinese with the philosophy of great nation chauvinism.

For this reason, the governments of many countries in Southeast Asia (where more than 20 million overseas Chinese reside) have been giving increasing attention to Peking's use of overseas Chinese to violate the sovereignty of their countries.

One fact that has caused concern on the part of many persons is that 80 percent of the overseas Chinese in the world live in Southeast Asia. As of 1969, this population was broken down as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Indonesia: 3,500,000 | The Philippines: 500,000 |
| Malaysia: 3,400,000 | Kampuchea: 440,000 |
| Thailand: 3,000,000 | Burma: 400,000 |
| Singapore: 2,000,000 | Laos: 50,000 |
| Vietnam: 1,100,000 | |

These large numbers of Chinese immigrated to the countries of Southeast Asia during different periods of time, beginning in the 2nd Century B.C. (the Han were the first to sweep into Southeast Asia) and lasting until the 19th Century. For the most part, they have been poor persons who left the Quang Dong and Fuch Kien regions and came to reside in Southeast Asia to find a new life because they were no longer able to bear the oppression and exploitation of the Chinese feudal dynasties.

In particular, since the 16th Century, when trade among China, Southeast Asia and eastern Europe began to constantly expand, the overseas Chinese in this region have played an increasingly important role. The commercial activities of overseas Chinese destroyed the traditional economies of a number of Southeast Asian countries and accelerated the growth of financial economies. However, these very same overseas Chinese, when playing the role of commerce agents, plantation owners, contractors and coolies of the western capitalists, maintained backward modes of operation. The overseas Chinese bourgeoisie formed during this period when western capitalism became imperialism and turned the countries of Southeast Asia into its colonies. The western colonialists gave the overseas Chinese the right to collect export and import taxes, collect production taxes, develop petroleum resources and open banks. Overseas Chinese compradore bourgeoisie made every effort to serve the French colonialists for the sake of profit. They relied upon this force and joined with them to exploit the peoples of the countries of Southeast Asia. Following World War II, the overseas Chinese compradore bourgeoisie were able to develop more strongly. As the forces of imperialism grew weak and were gradually forced to withdraw from this region, the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie were not treated as foreign bourgeoisie. As a result, their economic position has constantly been heightened. All imperialist forces have had to rely upon the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie in their effort to turn Southeast Asia into a colony or area of influence of theirs.

In the mid-1950's, the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie invested in the economies of Southeast Asia 3 billion dollars; by the mid-1960's, this figure had been increased to 6 billion dollars and now stands at 16.3 billion dollars (within the ASEAN bloc of countries).

The overseas Chinese bourgeoisie control practically all of the markets within Southeast Asia. The largest commercial company of the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, Kiang Ci-san, founded by Uay Tieng Han in 1863, has 20 branches on all five continents. This company has a monopoly on sugar and rubber. In Thailand, overseas Chinese bourgeoisie control the entire market in the Chao Phraya River Delta and control 80 percent of the industrial and commercial sectors. At the start of the 1970's, overseas Chinese controlled 16 of the 20 banks in Thailand. The Bank of Bangkok, the largest bank in Southeast Asia, is also in the hands of an overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, Ho-pho-Pho-nhi-tray. Overseas Chinese also control commerce in the hinterland, especially wholesale cereal grain sales in southern Thailand. In the Philippines, overseas Chinese

bourgeoisie control four of the five largest banks. Although overseas Chinese only constitute 1.5 percent of the population, they control 23 percent of the total output value of the Philippines. Between 1974 and 1977, overseas Chinese bourgeoisie invested in the Philippine economy 167 million pesos, second behind the United States. In Indonesia, overseas Chinese constitute 3 percent of the population but control 70 percent of the economy, 60 percent of commerce and 90 percent of the financial network. In Malaysia, overseas Chinese control 70 percent of the processing industry and 22 percent of the building sector. They control 22.5 percent of the shares of business companies. In Singapore, overseas Chinese constitute 76 percent of the population, monopolize the government and control the commerce of this country. There are 10 banks owned by overseas Chinese bourgeoisie operating in Singapore, which are aligned with the largest banks of the imperialist countries and with the world financial capitalists. In Kampuchea, overseas Chinese have given their attention to investing in the economy. During the 1960's, overseas Chinese bourgeoisie invested much more capital in Kampuchea than in the other countries in Indochina. By the 1970's, this investment had increased from 200 million to 400 million dollars. Some 98 percent of the industrial installations in Kampuchea are in the hands of overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. In South Vietnam, in the space of 15 years (from 1960 to 1975), overseas Chinese bourgeoisie grew rapidly and assumed important positions within the economy of South Vietnam. Approximately 80 overseas Chinese were billionaires, thereby creating groups of financial magnates who closely collaborated with the Americans and the Saigon puppets, and did everything they could to monopolize the domestic market.

After 1950, after the victory of the Chinese revolution, the political position of the overseas Chinese, in general, and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, in particular, was heightened in the countries of Southeast Asia. When they requested that the Chinese government protect them, Chinese consulates were established in the countries of Southeast Asia. Taking advantage of this opportunity, overseas Chinese lackeys of the Peking reactionaries used every trick at their disposal to gain control of government agencies in a number of countries and control important political positions in order to make local authorities dependent upon them.

The Peking reactionaries pursued a dual policy: they used both bourgeoisie and working people among the overseas Chinese in the countries of Southeast Asia to support their scheme of expansion.

In 1949, the Chinese government established the "Central Committee for Overseas Chinese" to organize, control and use Chinese living in foreign countries. The Chinese consulates in the countries of Southeast Asia were assigned three tasks:

1. To report on the situation of the parties and government in each country;

2. To bribe, entice or pressure specialists and scientists who are overseas Chinese to support China or steal secret documents from the countries of Southeast Asia and send them to China;

3. To collect finances and dollars and send them to China.

To achieve these objectives, the Chinese government intentionally failed to clearly resolve the issue concerning the nationality of overseas Chinese. The reactionary gang in power in Peking declared that overseas Chinese were closely linked to their foreign policy.

Following the rebellion by overseas Chinese in Malaysia (1952), relations between Peking and the governments in Asia became strained. In 1955, in order to correct this situation, Peking signed with Indonesia an agreement concerning the nationality of Chinese residents. The primary contents of the agreement were: overseas Chinese were to be encouraged to adopt an Indonesian nationality and the government of China would no longer provide them with protection. Also in 1955, Peking renewed a similar agreement with the Vietnamese government; this agreement, however, went further, for example, it encouraged overseas Vietnamese and overseas Chinese to adopt the nationality of the country in which they were residing. Although they entered into these agreements, the Peking authorities continued to call persons of Chinese origin living in foreign countries overseas Chinese, that is, citizens of the People's Republic of China living in a foreign country. In actuality, the Peking authorities have maintained a situation wherein persons of Chinese origin living in foreign countries have two nationalities, the Chinese nationality and the nationality of the country in which they reside. The maintenance of two nationalities for overseas Chinese is a malicious strategy of the Peking reactionaries, the strategy of using the nationality of the country in which overseas Chinese reside to use Chinese to bring pressure to bear upon the governments of Southeast Asia while using their Chinese nationality to compel Chinese to comply with their orders.

In the 1960's, together with the upheaval that was the "cultural revolution" in China, there were rebellions by overseas Chinese in Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, etc. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs appealed to overseas Chinese to wage "revolution." All governments in the world were concerned about this "revolutionary" fervor and numerous countries severed their diplomatic relations with China. Faced with being isolated, the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party set forth a new strategy designed to improve diplomatic relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, a strategy in which the overseas Chinese issue again became the issue of strategic significance. To conceal the scheme of continuing to use overseas Chinese as a tool for carrying out great nation expansionism, a leader from Peking declared during an official visit to Rangoon: the Chinese living overseas have a blood relationship with the nation in which they reside, they have become an integral

part of these nations and are no longer Chinese. Peking sent delegations to visit countries in Asia, Africa and Europe to spread their "living together in peace" line of thinking. However, also during this stage, the Peking reactionaries took steps to conspire with the imperialist forces, especially the U.S. imperialists, with the first result of this conspiracy being Nixon's visit to Peking in February 1972.

To win the sympathy of the governments of Southeast Asia, Peking used an "invisible China" in its foreign policy to bring pressure to bear upon these governments. Many persons maintain that Peking has the largest network of spies in the world. Although they have adopted the nationalities of the countries of Southeast Asia, persons of Chinese origin overseas continue to live in separate colonies and societies. Peking has used these organizations to rule the persons of Chinese origin in foreign countries. The Lo-ri-at Society is one of the important secret societies of the persons of Chinese origin living in Southeast Asia. These organizations, which are similar to autonomous governments, have placed a yoke of terror upon the overseas Chinese working masses and the people of Asia. Persons suspected by a secret society of having betrayed the society is tried in a court of the secret society, tortured and executed.

Following the 9th Congress, the Chinese government decided to dissolve the Central Committee for Overseas Chinese, assign additional cadres to the various embassies and continue to engage in clandestine operations.

Following the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1977, the Chinese government made new announcements concerning its overseas Chinese policy in order to establish an anti-soviet system consisting of three forces: China, Taiwan and the overseas Chinese of the world. The Chinese government did everything possible to encourage Chinese citizens to go overseas. The number of persons entering Hong Kong rose from 13,500 in 1971 to 74,000 in 1974.

Due to the failure to establish regulations regarding nationality, a significant percentage of repatriated overseas Chinese have been able to return to the countries of Southeast Asia. In substance, this is a "peaceful invasion" and more than a few overseas Chinese have been trained in order to conduct activities against the governments of Southeast Asia.

By pursuing a vague policy regarding the nationality of Chinese living in foreign countries, the Peking reactionaries also have the objective of creating the conditions for maintaining and developing the economic position of the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie in the countries of Southeast Asia and intensifying the development of this class in order to restore the collapsed economy of China, especially after 1949. The King of Thailand, Rama the 6th, observed: "The greatest crime committed by the Chinese overseas is that they have plundered Southeast Asia to the very marrow and sent all of their profits

back to China."(1) In 1958, the foreign currency sent by overseas Chinese to China equalled 50 percent of the foreign currency reserves of China for that year. The Chinese government has mobilized overseas Chinese bourgeoisie to not only contribute money to the so called "corporation of overseas Chinese helping to build the country," but also to send money through their relatives at home to increase income. At present, the bank drafts sent by overseas Chinese bourgeoisie to China amount to 200 million dollars per year, the U.S. magazine TIME has reported that "the Chinese in foreign countries annually send to their relatives at home gifts worth 1 billion dollars."(2)

This policy that the Peking authorities are pursuing is designed to increase profits at home. "Thus, Peking has indirectly participated in the exploitation of the people of Southeast Asia."(3) In 1955, in order to gain the support of the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Chinese government, considering them to be a part of the bourgeoisie within China, announced a change in the status of the majority of overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and landowners.

Under the present modernization program, overseas Chinese bourgeoisie have been invited by the Chinese government to participate in all fields of the national economy. The Chinese government has given them political positions at home. It was not surprising when the Peking reactionaries recently ratified measures designed to legitimize the activities of domestic capitalist organizations.

In addition to using overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Peking reactionaries have also taken advantage of the closeness of the overseas Chinese working masses to the national community in the countries in which they reside and have had overseas Chinese infiltrate revolutionary organizations in the countries of Southeast Asia. The Malaysian Communist Party consists of 3,000 members, 87 percent of whom are Chinese. The Thai Communist Party has 5,000 members, the majority of whom are overseas Chinese.

Practically all of the patriotic organizations in the countries of Southeast Asia have large numbers of overseas Chinese who serve as lackeys of the Peking reactionaries and this had led to internal divisions. This is a fact and is taking place in a number of countries of Southeast Asia.

The Peking reactionaries have used the overseas Chinese that have joined revolutionary organizations of the countries of Southeast Asia to stimulate bourgeois nationalism, impede the national liberation movement in these countries and turn these organizations into tools of Peking.

By pursuing a vague policy regarding nationality, using overseas Chinese working masses to control progressive organizations and using overseas Chinese bourgeoisie for intelligence purposes and to bring pressure to bear upon the governments of Southeast Asia, the reactionary gang in power in Peking has revealed their two-sided reactionary policy. The governments of Southeast

Asia have not forgotten the rebellion by overseas Chinese in Malaysia in 1969. In Indonesia and Thailand, similar rebellions have been "given the green light" by Peking.

On 19 September 1977, during a meeting with "outstanding" activists within the overseas Chinese community, a leader of Peking said that, from now on, matters related to overseas Chinese will be part of the daily deliberations of the Chinese government.

On 29 January 1978, the Peking reactionary authorities met with four of their ghost writers from Hong Kong and Macao and requested that they accept their directive to propagandize the overseas Chinese campaign.

The savage ambition of the Chinese authorities to use overseas Chinese as a tool for carrying out their scheme of expansionism and hegemony was bared in the so called "overseas Chinese in Vietnam" issue.

H. So-no-xi, an American journalist, observed: "It would be difficult for the Peking reactionaries to think of something more suitable for undermining the resolute support of Vietnam that has existed for many years among the Chinese people. To destroy the beautiful image of Vietnam, they must gain the Chinese people's very strong support of their anti-Vietnam policies." (4)

As regards the issue of Chinese living in Vietnam, "in 1955, the Vietnamese Party Central Committee and Chinese Party Central Committee agreed that the overseas Chinese in Vietnam are under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and will gradually become citizens of Vietnam." (5) Our government has always respected and fully adhered to this agreement. The Chinese living in Vietnam have enjoyed the same rights and had the same obligations as the citizens of Vietnam. All of a sudden, the Peking leadership announced its so called right to "protect overseas Chinese" and fabricated the so called "victimized Chinese" issue in Vietnam. While Peking ignored the stark reality of some 500,000 overseas Chinese in Kampuchea being barbarously and cruelly terrorized by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, they made an uproar about protecting the rights of Chinese bourgeoisie in South Vietnam while we were carrying out the campaign to transform private, capitalist industry and commerce in South Vietnam.

To assemble the forces of overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and the various reactionary powers among overseas Chinese, the Peking reactionaries have appealed to the Chinese in foreign countries to join in a "united patriotic front." In substance, this is a front filled with national discrimination, a front to oppose Vietnam.

Defeated in their campaign to use overseas Chinese to provoke national hatred, create disturbances and threaten Vietnam, the Peking reactionaries launched a large-scale war of aggression against Vietnam.

The entire world clearly knows that the war of aggression against Vietnam was launched following the visit to the United States by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The most vivid manifestation of the use of overseas Chinese to carry out the scheme of hegemony of the Peking reactionaries was the establishment of division of overseas Chinese to participate in the recent war of aggression against Vietnam. The slogan adopted by the Peking reactionaries for their army was: "Attack the entire line, employ the sea of humanity tactic and have overseas Chinese take the lead."

By fabricating the so called "victimized overseas Chinese" issue in Vietnam and unleashing a war of aggression against Vietnam, the Peking reactionaries revealed their true nature and bared their savage ambition to carry out great nation expansionism. Every scheme and trick, every sinister plan of the Chinese to turn the countries of Southeast Asia into "vassals" is being tragically defeated. The peoples of the countries of Southeast Asia and the progressive people of the entire world have become increasingly aware of the despicable nature and the scheme of great nation expansionism of the Chinese reactionaries. As the wheels of history move forward, the scheme of the Peking reactionaries to become rulers of the world will surely be smashed.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Alexander: "The Invisible China," Overseas Chinese and Politics in Southeast Asia, English version, New York Publishing House, 1973, p 45.
2. T.M. Kotova: "The Policy of Peking with Regard To Using Chinese Bourgeoisie in Foreign Countries," Far Eastern Affairs, Moscow, 1979, p 112.
3. A. Lam-ban: "China and the Pacific," Bao ve to quoc, No 11-1975.
4. H. So-no-xi: "The Guardian(United States)," 29 March 1979.
5. "Declaration by a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam concerning China's distortion of the Vietnamese government's policy toward Chinese residents of Vietnam," NHAN DAN Newspaper, 29 May 1978.

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