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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 9, 1979



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EDITORIAL: FIRMLY GRASP THE PARTY'S POLICY ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79 pp 1-8

[Text] The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Communist Party set forth the general line on the socialist revolution in our country. "It is the process of firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and accelerating the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. It is the process of gradually establishing the system of socialist collective ownership, the system of large-scale, socialist production, the new socialist culture and the new socialist man. These three revolutions must be carried out simultaneously, must be closely linked to one another, must have a profound impact upon one another." (1)

In a relatively short period of history, with the assistance of the fraternal countries, we must complete the industrialization of the country, create a system of large-scale socialist production and, at the same time, build a civilized and happy society. President Ho said: "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists." This indicates the positive role played by the training of new persons in socialist construction.

The tasks of education in the new stage of the revolution are to teach the young generation, from the time they are born until they mature, to become new workers, become collective masters and become fully developed persons, to disseminate knowledge of culture, science and technology among the working people and to train a technically skilled labor force suited to the new division of labor.

In performing these tasks, education has tremendous advantages in its favor: the large-scale development of all schools, from child care centers and kindergartens to general schools, vocational schools and colleges; the valuable experiences of many advanced units, which permit us to develop education and improve the quality of education even though our economy is still underdeveloped; the network of school buildings, which has been developed everywhere, and the large corps of teachers; the management apparatus of the education sector that

has taken shape over the past several decades with a corps of experienced management cadres; and the assistance provided by the world, especially the fraternal socialist countries, in the form of materials as well as experience.

However, compared to the educational line and viewpoints of the party and the demands of the revolution, educational work is still marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses.

The present educational system has not appropriately trained the young generation in the qualities and abilities of the new man nor has it fully prepared students to participate in the revolutionary work of building socialism and protecting the fatherland, participate in large-scale, socialist production and the new socialist life. Many children have failed to complete their level I or level II general school educations. The cultural knowledge of students is deficient and backward compared to the development of society and science and the intelligence and creativity of students are not being developed upon. Students are not receiving guidance in productive labor involving technical skills. The methods of education are still very passive in nature. As regards ideology and ethics, there are still many phenomena that are not consistent with the new life or large-scale socialist production, such as a lack of true enthusiasm for learning science, a weak sense of organization and discipline, a poor spirit of responsibility and attitude toward work and so forth. More attention must be given to cultivating and forging the health of students in order to create a stratum of new persons who are robust and well balanced.

The present educational system does not insure the establishment of a force of new workers who possess an unyielding revolutionary will and the knowledge, style of work and lifestyle suited to the requirements of large-scale, socialist production. Within the work force, there is a serious shortage of skilled workers, technical cadres who are capable of guiding production, economic management cadres and highly qualified scientific and technical cadres.

The present educational system does not meet the routine and widespread needs of the mass of working people for education. The cultural and technical level of our workers and cadres is very low, meanwhile, the educational network is small and the methods and forms of education are still simplistic.

Some of the causes of these shortcomings in educational work lie in the objective difficulties caused by the war and the underdeveloped economy and some lie in mistaken viewpoints concerning education that still exist among the people. However, the most important cause is the present educational system itself, a system which, in terms of its content and methods of education and the structure of schools and classes, is weak and inefficient in many ways. As a result, to develop and improve education, develop upon strongpoints and successful experiences, correct shortcomings and move forward to meet the requirements of the new stage of the revolution, the 4th Congress of our

party set forth the task of "carrying out a widespread educational reform program throughout the country in order to make national education more closely linked to the socialist revolution."

The resolution of the Political Bureau set forth three major objectives for this educational reform:

First, successfully caring for and teaching the young generation from the time they are born until they reach maturity in order to lay the very important initial foundations of the new Vietnamese man, the worker who exercises collective ownership and is fully developed, the inheritor of the revolutionary undertaking of our people, who works hard to build socialism and is ready to fight in defense of the fatherland;

Secondly, providing a universal education to all the people, thereby helping to establish the right of collective ownership of the working people and create favorable conditions for carrying out the three revolutions;

Thirdly, training, on an increasingly large scale, a new work force that possesses revolutionary political qualities and ethics and the knowledge of science, technology and management consistent with the requirements of the division of labor within large-scale socialist production.

Achieving these objectives will create a totally new situation in our country regarding culture and education by the end of this century, create a stratum of new persons and a corps of new socialist laborers and bring a general school education to all the working people, thereby helping to build the new culture, build a civilized and happy society.

To achieve the objectives mentioned above, the new educational system must more thoroughly implement the principles of education coupled with practice, education coordinated with productive labor and the school closely linked to society. These educational principles are the fundamental laws that control the entirety of the new educational system. The principle of education coupled with practice fully develops the student ideologically, emotionally, intellectually and physically and improves his ability to engage in abstract thinking as well as his ability to intelligently apply what he learns in school to resolve problems arising in everyday life. Because productive labor is the primary practical activity of the new society, the coordination of education with productive labor is a fundamental aspect of the coordination of education with practice. This coordination also has the objective of improving the overall quality of education and the quality of the training of the new worker. Education must be coordinated with productive labor in a suitable manner depending upon the task of each school and the characteristics of each age group. Within general schools, productive labor must be of an integrated technical nature, that is, must closely link science and technology with production in order to teach students universal knowledge of the production sectors, common raw and finished

materials, universal tools and machines and methods of organizing labor and managing the economy. At the vocational schools and colleges, productive labor must be closely linked to the various sectors and trades, to scientific research and testing. The principle of closely linking the school to society is also a very important aspect of the coordination of education with practice, one which helps the teacher and student to participate in social activities to an appropriate degree and which educates them through these activities; on the other hand, it organizes the forces of society to participate in education, thereby creating a favorable environment for the education of the new man.

In the process of thoroughly implementing these principles of education in educational work, it is necessary to eliminate the method of teaching and learning used by the old school of cramming the student's head with empty theory divorced from practice; at the same time, it is necessary to prevent pragmatism from limiting the development of the intellect.

Our country's new educational system is a unified and complete system consisting of pre-school education, general school education, vocational education and college education; there is a network of formal schools and a network of schools and classes in production and work.

The reform of the structure of the educational system has the objectives of caring for and teaching the young generation better, training the work force and the corps of scientific, technical and management cadres for the state better and opening the way for the working people to routinely and conveniently participate in educational activities. Pre-school education, which consists of child care centers and kindergartens, has the task of cultivating the rudiments of the new man among children from 2 months to 6 years of age. Children and teenagers from 6 to 15-16 years of age are educated within the 9-year basic general school, where they are fully developed and prepared for occupational training. Then, they continue their education in one of several ways: by attending one of many different types of level III general schools to complete their general school education and prepare themselves for college, by attending trade schools or vocational middle schools or by participating in labor under a work-study program. The system of trade and vocational middle schools will be strongly developed in order to train a corps of manual workers and technicians who are highly skilled, possess the necessary knowledge of culture and technology and are politically enlightened. The system of colleges and academies will be subdivided on the basis of training objectives in order to meet the need to train various types of engineers for different sectors and trades in keeping with the requirements of economic construction and cultural development. We will strengthen the system of post-graduate training in order to train many highly qualified scientific and technical cadres. Besides the network of formal schools and classes, a network of on-the-job schools and classes and supplementary education schools and classes will be developed on a large scale. In addition, we will also develop other cultural installations that have a direct impact upon education, such as cultural clubs, libraries, stations disseminating technology, etc.

The contents of education will be reformed in order to improve the overall quality of education and create a stratum of new persons exercising collective ownership. It is necessary to intensify the teaching of politics, ideology and revolutionary ethics through the systematic study of politics and theory as well as all other educational activities. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the ideals of communism, the lines and policies of the party, the fine traditions of the nation and the new ethics must have the purpose of establishing and strengthening the scientific world view, the communist philosophy of life, revolutionary sentiments and the civilized style of life. Modernizing the cultural, scientific and technical programs of study is a very important guideline in this reform of education. The strong development of science and technology demands that we select fundamental, modern knowledge that is consistent with the realities of Vietnam for incorporation in the new program of study; at the same time, we must change the methods of teaching and learning so that the student's ability to think, the student's ability to learn by himself develop and the student is given both the ability and the need to constantly deepen his knowledge. Attention must also be given to reforming the teaching of aesthetics, because the impact it has in teaching revolutionary thinking and feelings is very large, especially upon the young generation. We must concern ourselves with molding in childhood the habits of maintaining good personal hygiene and keeping the body in good condition. As regards older students, military training is designed to prepare within them the consciousness and the ability to maintain their readiness to fight in defense of the socialist fatherland.

Reforming the methods of education in conjunction with reforming the contents of education is a necessary guideline because only with correct methods of education can we transform the new contents of education into the personality of man. The new methods of education must establish a good, organic coordination between the process of educating man and the process of transforming society and nature in order to develop the concept of collective ownership, self-awareness and dynamism, intelligence and creativity, pure feelings and wholesome habits within students. Within the general schools, it is necessary to smoothly coordinate all educational activities, such as studying, productive labor, scientific experiments, social activities, mass organization activities, games and recreation, etc. Within the vocational schools and colleges, we must employ good teaching methods and coordinate learning with productive labor in specific sectors and trades, with scientific experiments and research. Within the trade schools, importance must be attached to coordinating practical training in manual skills with the production of material wealth. There must be closer cooperation between the school and the family and society as well as the school and the production installations and scientific research agencies.

To insure that a marked change reflecting high quality occurs in the systems, structure, content and methods of education in our country, every effort must be made to implement the measures set forth in the resolution of the Political

Bureaus; building and developing the corps of socialist teachers and socialist educational management cadres; improving curricula and putting together new textbooks; strengthening the material-technical bases of schools; strengthening the organization and improving the management of the education sector; and intensifying educational scientific research.

The reform of education is a major campaign in the course of carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. The reform of education is not simply the changing of a program of education, but the molding of a system of new viewpoints concerning education among the people and among all cadres, thereby changing all the factors that influence the formation of the new man, from within the family to society.

As a result, the resolution of the Political Bureau, which establishes the complex nature of this campaign, considers the reform of education to be a widespread struggle within the field of ideology and culture, the field of organization and to be a campaign of building the new within education. Training the new man to exercise collective ownership is a complex matter, one closely linked to the entire revolution; at the same time, it requires an entire system of separate organizations and activities and respect for the laws governing the development of man.

Therefore, it is necessary to mobilize the entire party and all our people to participate in the reform of education under the close leadership of the party. On the basis of the fundamental viewpoint of the Party Central Committee concerning the reform of education, it is necessary to criticize misconceptions and deviations in educational work, such as underestimating education and not realizing its full significance in socialist construction; reducing the value of education by only emphasizing knowledge, learning and teaching solely for the purpose of requiring a diploma, not for the purpose of training new workers who exercise collective ownership; simplifying the methods and means of education, only employing traditional methods of teaching and learning, etc.

Within each family, within each hamlet and ward, we must develop the combined strength of the three revolutions in order to create a favorable social environment for the molding of the new man: the mass organizations must educate their members so that they fully understand and thoroughly implement the educational line and viewpoints of the party; depending upon their function, the production installations, scientific research agencies and all sectors must make positive contributions to the overall work of education; intellectuals must participate in the formulation of programs of study and the compilation of modern textbooks; all persons who have knowledge of science, technology and art must participate in the education of the young generation and the dissemination of cultural knowledge among the working people.

The basic party organizations must lead party members, cadres and the people in gradually carrying out the reform of education, beginning with accelerating the "teach well, learn well" emulation movement in the example of the advanced units in education.

The various levels of government must adopt yearly and long-term plans for the development of education, fully comply with the regulations and policies that will be promulgated by the Council of Ministers to encourage teachers, students and the people to follow the example of educational reform and adopt measures for suitable investments in finances, staff, and supplies to support the movement of the masses to build the system of education and implement their right of collective ownership in education. In guidance, timely measures must be taken to develop upon new factors in order to lay the foundation for shifting from the present system of education to the new system of education.

The reform of education is a very important measure in achieving the great objectives set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party: "building the system of socialist collective ownership, building the system of large-scale socialist production, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man." These are also the fervent aspirations which the revered President Ho held throughout his life of revolutionary activities. With our entire party and all our people determined to overcome our difficulties, develop upon our advantages and display creativity, we will surely complete the reform of education well, thereby making a major contribution to training generations of new, socialist Vietnamese and causing our country to become, in the not too distant future, a country that is economically developed and militarily strong, a country that has a beautiful culture, a civilized and happy life.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Communist Party, HOC TAP Journal, No 12-1976, p 27, column 2.

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CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE TO IMPLEMENT THE SACRED TESTAMENT OF PRESIDENT HO

Hanoi NAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79
pp 9-14

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The revered President Ho, the great leader of our party, of the working class and nation of Vietnam, passed away a full 10 years ago. The past 10 years have been 10 years in which our entire party, our entire army and all our people have made every effort to implement his sacred testament and continue to advance our country's revolution to extremely bright victories.

The most significant victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 10 years has been that our army and people, under the clear-sighted leadership of the party, overcame countless hardships and sacrifices and "determinedly fought the U.S. pirates until total victory was won," thereby fully implementing the final advice of President Ho. The U.S. imperialists fled from our country, our fatherland became independent and reunified and the compatriots of the South and North were reunited under the roof of the same house. In order that he may rest assured, we can happily report to Uncle Ho that our party and people have accomplished what he instructed us to do before he departed.

Soon after our country was totally liberated, the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles, acting under a scheme of great nation expansionism and big power hegemony and in collaboration with imperialism and the other reactionary powers, began to insanely resist our country's revolution. They used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackey clique to start a war of aggression on the southwestern border of our country and, on 17 February 1979, they brazenly mobilized 600,000 troops to wage a war of aggression against our country. The Chinese reactionaries hoped that after more than 30 years of arduous and heavy fighting against the French and Americans, our nation, which is still encountering many difficulties, would be unable to successfully contend with their aggression. However, deeply imbued with the teachings of President Ho that "there is

nothing more precious than independence and freedom," "we would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than become slaves" and "we must continue to fight as long as one aggressor remains in our country," our nation once again overcame every difficulty and challenge and was ready to enter the new fight against the enemy. In the first 3 months of this year alone, our army and people won victory over two wars of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries and their lackeys against our country.

The victories of our people in the wars of resistance against the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists have proven that our party and people are totally loyal to President Ho and are determined to follow the course charted by him.

We defeated an important part of the scheme of aggression of the reactionary gang within Chinese ruling circles. However, extremely reactionary by nature, this gang is continuing to threaten war in a vain attempt to annex our country, annex the countries of Indochina in order to realize their dream of ruling Southeast Asia. In keeping with the testament and the teachings of President Ho and following the example he set as the complete revolutionary fighter, our entire party, our entire army and all our people must constantly display sharp revolutionary vigilance, unite as one, display a high determination to fight and win and be ready to thwart each scheme of aggression and sabotage of the enemy and firmly protect the independence and unity of the beloved fatherland.

The greatest ambitions of President Ho were that the fatherland be liberated and the people be happy. He said: "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, that our country be totally independent, our people be totally free, all compatriots be well fed, well clothed and educated." (1) In his testament he wrote: "The party must have a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people."

Over the past 10 years, in keeping with the teachings of President Ho, our party and state have made many large efforts to care for the life of the people. Even during the years of the savage war of resistance against the United States, our people basically had a stable life, our people still had food and clothing and continued to be educated even though every available force and potential had to be tapped to support the requirements of resisting the United States for national salvation. When the resistance against the United States ended in victory and our country became independent and reunified, the 4th National Congress of the Party set forth the second 5-year (1976-1980) economic and cultural development plan in order to gradually build the material-technical bases of socialism throughout the country, overcome poverty and backwardness and improve the material and cultural lives of our people.

While our entire party and all our people were enthusiastically struggling to implement the resolution of the congress, the reactionary gang within Chinese

ruling circles and their lackeys launched two consecutive wars of aggression against our country.

The wars inflicted losses of life and property upon our people, disrupted many of our economic activities and faced our party and people with new, complex problems. Together with waging war and threatening war, the enemy has insanely attacked us in many ways. The scheme of the Peking reactionaries in compelling hundreds of thousands of Chinese residents of Vietnam to migrate to China and their scheme of collaborating with the imperialists and other reactionary powers in the "Vietnamese fleeing overseas" issue were insidious attempts by them to undermine our country both politically and economically in a vain attempt to sabotage our people's socialist construction. It is clear that we have encountered many new difficulties before we were able to correct our old difficulties. For a number of years, our people also had to endure heavy damages inflicted by harsh natural disasters. Moreover, faced with the threat of aggression by the Peking reactionaries, our state has had to allocate a portion of the budget to build up the army and strengthen the national defense system to insure that our people have the strength and are ready to defeat the enemy aggressor in any war situation. This situation has caused our underdeveloped economy to encounter even more difficulties. Therefore, despite full concern on the part of the party and state, our people have been unable to avoid difficulties and shortages in their everyday lives, especially in the cities and industrial zones.

On the other hand, our economic activities are still marked by weaknesses and deficiencies. Many party committee echelons and levels of government have not fully adhered to the lines and viewpoints of the party in socialist transformation or socialist construction, in agriculture or the fields of industry, communications-transportation and capital construction, in production or in circulation and distribution. Sluggishness, negative phenomena and shortcomings in the organization and management of the economy have not been corrected or rectified. Many economic policies and measures that are no longer suited to the new requirements have not been amended or replaced. These shortcomings and weaknesses have prevented our economy from undergoing strong changes, and this is one of the reasons why difficulties continue to exist in everyday life.

To implement the testament of President Ho, our party, our state and our people must make a greater effort. Let us display the spirit of collective ownership, accelerate the three revolutions and focus our intelligence, focus each of our efforts on achieving the objectives of the second 5-year (1976-1980) state plan. The most pressing requirement of our present economic task is to concentrate the efforts of the entire party and all the people on accelerating agricultural production, beginning with grain and food product production, and accelerating the production of consumer goods. Producing and accelerating production are the only way to maintain and gradually improve the standard of living of the people. Facts have proven that, even under present conditions, many localities

and installations, as a result of adhering to the lines, positions and policies of the party and state, possessing a tenacious revolutionary will and beginning to uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses, have achieved very encouraging results in production and in supporting the lives of the people. We must criticize and overcome such negative phenomena as pessimism, a passive attitude, standing idly by in the face of difficulties, a lack of determination to struggle and make progress and the lack of a full spirit of responsibility to the life of the masses.

Throughout his life of revolutionary activities, President Ho always concerned himself with building the party. As the person who founded, educated and forged our party, President Ho devoted his thoughts and efforts to making our party a strong and solid bloc. He frequently said: "Every strength of the party lies in solidarity..." In his testament, he spoke first about the party and said: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. Comrades from the Central Committee to the party chapters must preserve the unity of the party as the apple of their eye."

Within our party, ideological solidarity and unity are based on Marxism-Leninism and the political line of the party, on the awareness which all party members have of the ideals, objectives and tasks of the party. Ideological unity is insured by means of organizational unity based on the principle of democratic centralism.

In past years, our corps of cadres and party members, although experiencing major challenges, major turning points of the revolution, has constantly remained confident in the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee, led by Le Duan, has been united regarding the leadership line of the party and has made extremely large efforts to implement the line of the party. The great victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the reunification of the fatherland, the victories of the two wars of resistance against the Chinese aggressors and their lackeys, the victories in socialist transformation and socialist construction, the victories in the implementation of the domestic and foreign affairs lines, in the fulfillment of international obligations and so forth, these have been victories of the correct and wise leadership of our party, victories of the solidarity within the party.

In view of the party's very precious tradition of unity, we Vietnamese communists must continue to display the spirit of solidarity, must constantly "preserve the unity of the party as the apple of our eye," as taught by President Ho. Our people's work of building socialism and protecting the fatherland, although marked by extremely large victories, still faces difficulties and problems. The leadership of the party is the factor determining each victory of the revolution. Now, more than ever before, we must heighten our absolute confidence in the correct leadership line of the party and unite the entire party in one bloc, in one single will in order to lay the basis for uniting all the people and struggling to successfully carry out the tasks of the revolution in the new stage.

The active life of President Ho was a shining example of the spirit of revolutionary militancy, an extremely bright example of the revolutionary virtues of diligence, frugality, honesty and devotion. He constantly concerned himself with teaching revolutionary ethics to our cadres, party members and people. In his testament, he advised: "Ours is a party in political power. Each party member and cadre must truly be imbued with revolutionary ethics, must truly be diligent, frugal, honest and devoted. We must keep the party very pure, must be worthy of being the leaders and the truly loyal servants of the people."

In the years that have passed, in keeping with the teachings of President Ho, practically all of our cadres and party members have displayed the noble revolutionary qualities of the communist party member and made extremely large contributions along with all the people to continuing the strong advance by our country's revolution. In the new stage of the revolution, the majority of cadres and party members have continued to maintain their revolutionary qualities, constantly heightened their will to fight and have united as one for the sake of the revolutionary undertaking of the party, for the sake of a life of comfort and happiness for the people.

However, in the new stage of the revolution, as a result of not being cultivated and forged, not being educated by the party organization, some cadres and party members have revealed a decline in their revolutionary qualities.

Deserving of attention are such phenomena as not fully complying with the lines and policies of the party and state regarding the economy; bureaucratic behavior, authoritarianism and an irresponsible attitude; misappropriation, corruption, abuse of authority and mishandling of property belonging to the state and collective; violating the right of collective ownership of the masses and not showing concern for the life of the masses. A number of cadres and party members have even become immoral, decadent and deviant. These shortcomings have more than slightly influenced the performance of the revolutionary tasks of the party, influenced the prestige and leadership role of the party, influenced the effort to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses. Although our party has frequently and harshly criticized these unwholesome phenomena, a number of party committee echelons and levels of government have failed to fully concern themselves with struggling to rectify these shortcomings.

To implement the testament of President Ho, the various party committee echelons, the various organizations of the party and government and all cadres and party members must wage a determined struggle to overcome the negative phenomena mentioned above. We must always maintain the fine qualities of the communist party member, constantly forge and cultivate revolutionary qualities, rectify our shortcomings, heighten our will to fight, raise our level of education and work skills and keep our party pure and strong. It is even more necessary for cadres and party members in positions of leadership and responsibility to

maintain their revolutionary qualities in order to set an example for other party members to follow. The various organizations of the party and state agencies must periodically conduct phases of self-criticism and criticism within the party organization and the agency in order to struggle to promptly overcome negative phenomena; in particular, they must take steps to provide close management and supervision in order to effectively prevent cadres and party members from making mistakes. Cadres and party members who make serious mistakes or display serious shortcomings must be dealt with in an appropriate, timely fashion. We must harshly criticize and deal with cadres and party members who tolerate or conceal one another's mistakes and shortcomings.

President Ho was not only a great patriot, he was also an outstanding fighter of the international communist movement, the close friend of the other nations in the world struggling for independence and freedom. He taught that we must struggle to fulfill our international obligation. He instructed that our entire party and all our people must make a positive contribution to restoring the unity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and make every effort to contribute to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Over the past 10 years, our party and people have followed the teachings of President Ho. Together with excellently completing the task of liberating the nation and continuing to build socialism, our party and people have made tremendous contributions in the fulfillment of our international obligation. With nothing but pure international feelings, we have wholeheartedly helped the fraternal people of Laos and Kampuchea in their national liberation and defense of the fatherland. Today, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, like our country, have won very brilliant victories, have totally liberated their countries, have become truly independent and free countries and are following the course to socialism.

In the years that have passed, our party and people have always displayed a high degree of unity and friendship with the fraternal socialist countries and have made a positive contribution to protecting and strengthening the socialist system. We have also constantly sympathized with and supported the just struggle by the peoples of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In particular, ever since the Chinese reactionaries openly began collaborating with imperialism and the other reactionary powers to resist the revolution in all countries and wage a war of aggression against our country, our party has exposed their extremely reactionary and fraudulent revolutionary nature and exposed their malicious schemes against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism to undermine the three revolutionary currents of our times and undermine world peace. Our party considers the struggle of our people against the expansionism and big power hegemony of Peking to be a national obligation and an international

obligation in protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism, protecting the socialist system and making a practical contribution to stimulating the advance of the world revolution.

On the other hand, in the years that have gone by, our people have also received tremendous, valuable sympathy, support and assistance from the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, from the fraternal parties and our friends throughout the world for their noble revolutionary undertaking.

Loyal to the teachings of President Ho, our party and people, in the face of the new situation and tasks, promise to unite and cooperate more closely with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, continue to fulfill our international obligation to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, continue to unite with fraternal parties and continue to support the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries while broadening our relationships of cooperation and friendship with all countries of the world.

President Ho devoted his life to the revolutionary undertaking of the party, the nation, to the independence and reunification of the fatherland, to the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, thereby bringing glory to our fatherland, our country. Our party and people will forever remember the tremendous service performed by him.

Although President Ho is gone forever, his name and work, his thinking and ethics will forever be a source of pride to we Vietnamese, forever be a torch lighting the path of the Vietnamese revolution. The final teachings of Uncle Ho contained in his testament reflect the feelings that President Ho had for and the confidence he had in us and the generations of tomorrow.

Our entire party, our entire army and all our people promise to use the full measure of our spirit and energy, unite as one, struggle in a selfless manner and continue the struggle to implement the testament of President Ho, thereby making our country a prosperous and strong socialist country and making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the world.

We shall forever remember the great President Ho Chi Minh!

President Ho will live forever in our revolutionary undertaking!

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve quan diem quan chung" [The Mass Viewpoint] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 33.

**CARRY OUT THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN ORDER TO TRAIN A NEW GENERATION OF
SOCIALIST VIETNAMESE**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79 pp 15-24 and 54

[Article by To Huu]

[Text]

I

The Party Central Committee, implementing a major policy of the Fourth Party Congress, has issued a Resolution on the reform of education. On the basis of foreseeing the development of Vietnamese society from now until the end of this century and analyzing the accomplishments and experiences in the sphere of education, the Party Central Committee outlined a new model for the national education system and the measures for assuring the implementation of that model.

In the process of leading the Vietnamese people to resist foreign aggression while building a socialist nation, our Party has always paid much attention to educating new generations of Vietnamese and spreading education among the people. In 1945, President Ho pointed out the fact that the mission of fighting ignorance was no less important than the missions of fighting hunger and foreign aggression.

Under the close leadership of the Party, education in our country has undergone many profound transformations and made many great accomplishments, despite the many difficulties in the developmental process caused by a weak economy and continual warfare.

In the north, socialist education has taken form and continually developed. The working people, most of whom were illiterate in the past, are striving toward a Level I academic level. In the past, only 20 percent of the teenagers and children were in school, but today more than 90 percent are in general schools. Furthermore, nearly 2 million children attend child-care centers and nursery schools. The number of students attending vocational schools, specialized secondary schools, and colleges amounted to only a few thousand, but now the number has increased to hundreds of thousands. The spread of education has changed the cultural status of northern society.

After the south was liberated and the nation was reunified, the U.S.-puppet reactionary educational system was quickly abolished, and beginning with the 1975-1976 school year a new educational system, one with a socialist nature, was instituted. Within a period of only 2 years most of the working people had escaped from the curse of illiteracy. The general education schools were restored and strongly developed. The colleges and specialized schools were expanded and were redistributed to all provinces and municipalities. Nearly all of the instructors who were employed under the old regime were allowed to continue their noble profession in the revolutionary schools.

Our country now has an extensive network of schools. During the 1978-1979 school year 1 million children attended day-care centers; 1.2 million children attended nursery schools; 11 million teenagers and children attended general schools; more than 1 million workers are taking supplementary education courses; 145,000 students are attending college; 110,000 students are attending specialized secondary schools; and 400,000 students are studying in full-time vocational schools or are apprentices at enterprises. There are 430,000 instructors teaching in the schools, and 12,000 women caring for and teaching infants.

In the "teach well, study well" emulation movement there have appeared many progressive models which are exemplary of all types of schools and classes. There are even progressive localities with regard to educational construction and development. The task of recapitulating experiences has been emphasized and promoted. Therefore, the many valuable lessons that have been learned have allowed us to strongly develop education and comprehensively improve the quality of education under the circumstances of a country that is changing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

However, the brilliant accomplishments in education have not been sufficient to satisfy the great requirements of the enterprise of building socialism within the next 15 to 20 years.

The Fourth Party Congress set forth the mission of transforming Vietnam into a socialist nation with a modern industrial-agricultural economy, advanced culture, science, and technology, strong national defense, and a civilized, happy way of life.

The enterprise of building socialism in our country is taking place at a time when the world scientific-technical revolution is undergoing strong development. We must assimilate and apply the newest scientific-technical advances in order to achieve rapid economic and cultural development and keep abreast of the common progress of the era.

In our revolutionary enterprise, the training of new generations of socialist Vietnamese will determine victory. President Ho taught that "In order to build socialism, first of all there must be socialist people." The new

Vietnamese must crystallize the noble qualities of mankind and the fine traditions of the Vietnamese people. Those traditions have the outstanding characteristics that are common to all socialist people: A spirit of collective mastership, a spirit of creativity in labor, love of country and socialism, and a spirit of proletarian internationalism. It manifests humanitarianism from the standpoint of the working class and therefore includes profound love for workers. It assimilates the best of human culture, has a scientific worldview, and raises consciousness of, and ability to achieve mastery of society, nature, and oneself. The new Vietnamese must have a resolute revolutionary will and a creative spirit in order to rapidly bring our country out of a status of economic and cultural backwardness and always be prepared to defend the homeland. At the same time, the new Vietnamese must manifest the virtue of "All for one and one for all," and create a rich collective life, a harmonious family life, and a wholesome individual life. The new Vietnamese must have good health and strong bodies, and consciousness of sanitation and physical education.

The enterprise of building socialism in our country requires that education strive to attain the following goals:

1. Doing a good job of caring for and educating the young generation from infancy to maturity, in order to create the very important basis on which the new Vietnamese, the workers, can be the collective masters, develop comprehensively, continue our people's revolutionary undertaking, go all-out in working to build socialism, and defend the homeland.
2. Popularize education among the entire population, contribute to strengthening the collective mastership right of the working people, and create favorable conditions for carrying out the three revolutions and the great enterprise of defending the homeland. Strive to enable everyone to exercise fully their right to study, and gradually attain the secondary school educational level.
3. Train and supplement, on an increasingly larger scale, the new work force, made up of factory workers, technical and professional personnel, management cadres, and scientific-technical and professional cadres, who have good political quality, revolutionary virtues, and professional levels and a vocational structure that are appropriate to the requirement of labor distribution in large-scale socialist production.

Under the light of the socialist revolutionary line of the Fourth Party Congress and the new requirements of the revolution with regard to education, we see more clearly the weaknesses and deficiencies of the current educational work and system.

The present educational system has not adequately cultivated in the young generation the qualities and abilities of the new man, and has not yet fully prepared students to participate in the enterprise of building socialism,

defending the homeland, and entering into large-scale socialist production and the new socialist life. Due to the influence of the old society and because they have not been adequately educated, our youths and teenagers are still beset with such widespread deficiencies as a low level of consciousness of communist ideals, not being truly enamored with the study of science and technology, having consciousness of working to serve the homeland and the people that is not profound, having weak consciousness of organization and discipline or of protecting public property, and there being many aspects of the civilized way of life that have not yet become habitual. Some of the youths who are influenced by neocolonialism and the old social system have been infected with such bad habits as laziness, selfishness, parasitism, vagabondism, pursuing a good time, etc.

At present there are a large number of children who are not well taken care of, beginning at birth. There are many teenagers, especially in the south and in the mountain region, who have not attended school. The general schools have not prepared students to participate in technical labor or to undertake vocational training. The educational contents are backward in comparison to the development of society and science, and in many schools the educational methods still separate study from practice and education from productive labor to a serious extent. The "skull cramming" and "parrot" teaching methods are still widespread. The school, the family, and society are not closely combined.

The present educational system does not assure the formation of a new labor force with a resolute revolutionary will, a high level of knowledge, and a workstyle and way of life that are appropriate to large-scale socialist production.

The college and vocational education systems still lack schools to train skilled workers, production cadres, economic management cadres, and cadres with a high scientific level. The general education system is not closely affiliated with the vocational education system and does not make good preparations for vocational training.

The network of many specialized secondary schools and colleges is not yet appropriate to the economic structures of the nation and of each locality. There is a lack of close cooperation between the schools and the production installations and scientific research installations, and a lack of close cooperation in training workers and cadres. The study and practice facilities of many schools are still deficient and are not rationally utilized. The educational and vocational levels of the corps of teachers is still low.

Therefore, the quality of education, generally speaking, has not yet met the requirements of the training goals. Students graduating from the specialized schools are still weak with regard to scientific-technical knowledge and ability to use that knowledge. Students who graduate from the colleges have little capability with regard to scientific research

and guiding actual application. Their low foreign language level has also restricted their ability to engage in self-study. With regard to virtue, there are also many manifestations of small producers and the vestiges of the old society, such as avoiding difficult work, being concerned with individual benefit, lack of consciousness of tight organization and discipline, etc.

The present educational system has not met the requirement of continual and widespread study by the working people.

The need for cultural and specialized study among the cadres and working people is very great, but the scale of the cultural and vocational supplementary education movement is still very small. The study contents are usually based on those of the regular schools, so they are not practical and are not suitable for the students. The study obligation of the cadres and people has not been systematized and regularly implemented.

We cannot overcome the above deficiencies by scattered, miscellaneous, and makeshift measures, for some of the reasons for them lie within the educational system and in the knowledge and thought of many people in society. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out an all-round educational reform which encompasses all educational sectors, and a vast campaign in society at all levels and in all sectors to carry out that educational reform.

II

The present educational reform has the mission of building a new national educational system with an organizational structure of schools and classes, educational contents, and educational methods, which is capable of meeting the requirements of the new revolutionary phase with regard to education.

If that is to be accomplished, first of all it is necessary to enable the education sector to more thoroughly understand the educational principles of study accompanied by practice, education combined with production labor, and the school integrated with society. Those principles govern all organization and activity of the educational system.

According to the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, the new man is both a conscious subject of history and the product of social development. Therefore, in order to create the new man it is necessary to utilize the combined results of the system of collective mastership and of the three revolutions, and that task must be accomplished by the actual activities, labor and struggle of each individual.

The educational task is an activity with goals and organization and is intended to form the qualities of man systematically, stably, and rapidly. In the educational task, we cannot allow people to mature spontaneously; there must be organized guidance, but that guidance cannot be separated

from actual activities and life. It is necessary to enable the students to assimilate the cultural values of mankind and of our nation. It is also necessary to enable the students to, at a level appropriate to their age group, participate in real activities in society.

Study accompanied by practice is a common principle of socialist education and is intended to create the new man and meet the training goals of each school. It develops the socialist personality of the students; develops intelligence, sentiment, and physical strength; increases consciousness, knowledge, and practice; increases ability to intelligently utilize the things they study in resolving actual problems; and transforms knowledge into confidence in guiding action.

Education combined with production labor is a basic content of the combination of study with practice in socialist schools, for in the new society production labor is the principal concrete activity of mankind. That combination must be intended to train new-style workers who know how to combine theory with practice, have a communist labor attitude, like to work for the common benefit of socialism, have knowledge, and can work with organization, good techniques, and high productivity.

In the general schools, production labor must have a combined technical nature. That is, the schools must combine science and technology with production and the students must attain general knowledge of modern production and the ordinary tools, machines, raw materials, and materials, and know how to organize labor scientifically. At the same time, they must provide vocational counseling for the students. In the specialized schools, production labor must be combined with vocational training and with sharpening trade skills. In the colleges, production labor must be combined with scientific research.

Integrating the schools with society is a precondition for forming the students' socialist personality. By that means, the schools must supplement what they teach in the classrooms, manifest their role as the center of the new culture, and influence the political and cultural life of society. Society, which is made up of the families, the mass associations, the production bases, the scientific research organs, the economic and cultural sectors, etc., contributes to building education and helps the schools educate students, and along with the schools creates a social environment that is favorable for the formation of the new man.

The educational principles set forth by our Party determine the entire national educational system, and are intended to attain as well as possible the goals regarding the development and training quality of all types of schools.

The educational principles are manifested in the major reform guidelines regarding the school system, the educational contents, and the educational methods:

1. The organizational structure of the school system assures the continuous care and education of the young generation from birth to maturity. It is appropriate to the organization of social labor and the economic structures of the nation and of each region. It provides all workers the opportunity to study continually.

2. Comprehensively improving the quality of education. Specifically: strengthening education in ideology, politics, and revolutionary ethics; modernizing the cultural and scientific-technical curricula; strengthening aesthetic and art education; building consciousness of and a habit of maintaining sanitation and engaging in physical training; and creating consciousness and ability to fight to defend the homeland.

3. Reforming educational methods along the lines of combining the process of educating people with the process of transforming nature and society; developing consciousness of collective mastership and the voluntariness, initiative, and creativity of students in study and training; combining the individual with the collective and the school with the family and society; and utilizing modern communications and instruction facilities.

III

The new education system is a unified whole which is made up of infant education, general education, vocational education, college education, and in-service education, and is not apart from work and production.

Infant education is carried out continually in day-care centers and nursery schools for children from 2 months to 6 years old, and is intended to form the seeds of the new socialist Vietnamese. We must strive to bring all children into day-care centers and nursery schools, and rely on the people to exercise society's concern for the children in an equal manner. We must find new education contents and methods to rapidly develop the children's bodies, sentiment, and intellect, while also increasing that age group's development potential in all regards.

General education is carried out in a basic general school system of 9 years and a system of 3-year secondary schools, and is intended to provide students with basic knowledge of nature and society; create a scientific world view and revolutionary virtue; provide knowledge of technical labor skills; develop scientific and technical thinking; raise the students' knowledge of, and train them to have the habit of, maintaining sanitation and engaging in physical training; and provide military training.

In brief, a youth who graduates from a general education is a person who is well prepared to enter into vocational training and study at a higher level, and is ready to live a new socialist life, has all the qualifications of a worker, a citizen, and a soldier, and is capable of continuing to develop his strong points in order to contribute even more to the homeland.

Due to the psychological and physiological characteristics of that age group, the general education system is divided into two levels:

The basic 9-year general education level has the mission of providing all-round education for children and teenagers from 6 to 15 or 16 years of age and of preparing the pupils to participate in the various kinds of general labor, be conscious of selecting vocations, and rapidly adapting to vocational training. That level is compulsory for all teenagers. After graduating from that level, students may advance directly to the secondary general education level or enter the vocational training classes or a number of specialized secondary schools. If the students enter directly into the workforce, the production and commercial bases must be concerned with supplementing them vocationally.

The secondary general school level is reserved for youths from 15 to 18 years old. It has the mission of completing the children's training with regard to general culture and preparing them to do technical work or study at the advanced school, college, or specialized secondary school level. There will be many forms of general schools, including the work-study school. Because of the need to make direct preparations for achieving a division of labor, the secondary general school will be assigned appropriate departments in order to develop the students' strong points on the basis of all-round education. Furthermore, it is necessary to pay special attention to educating children who are handicapped or retarded. General education is also a process of discovering and cultivating talent for the nation. Therefore, it is necessary to have schools and classes to cultivate children with special talents. With regard to the general education age group, we will gradually create a social system for caring for and educating the children, and assure that all children and teenagers are developed equally.

In addition to the general schools, the young generation will be further educated in the different cultural and social organizations, such as teenagers' clubs, libraries, the extracurricular activities teams, etc.

In the specialized school system, the vocational schools and classes will develop rapidly in order to promptly train a corps of workers and professional personnel who are politically aware, have expert skills, have increasingly greater cultural and technical capital, and are worthy of being the main force of the enterprise of industrializing the nation and the social basis of the proletarian dictatorship. That system also has the mission of popularizing technical knowledge among the young generation and among the working people. The principal direction of the reform of vocational training is to strengthen skills on the basis of continually raising the level of knowledge of politics and science and technology.

The specialized secondary schools play an important role in creating a corps of technical cadres and in technicians and vocational secondary school cadres who can directly guide a labor collective in carrying out

the stipulated regulations and rules. According to the technical complexity of each trade, we must select people with general education or general secondary levels to enter vocational secondary schools. The principal direction of the reform of vocational secondary education is to increase the capabilities of technicians on the basis of all-round education, in order to train technicians who are skilled in guiding production as well as in employing their trades.

The system of colleges and higher schools will be reformed to meet the goal of training a high-quality corps of new socialist intellectuals who are loyal to the socialist Vietnamese homeland, have the will and capability to advance to the high peaks of science and technology, and are capable of resolving the scientific-technical problems posed by the actualities of national development. In this educational reform, it is necessary to develop the scientific research function of the colleges. The organization of colleges will be centralized in order to train scientific-technical and economic cadres whose professional levels are suitable to actual production and works. The advanced schools have the mission of training cadres with professional levels corresponding to the college level who capably adhere to the guidance of production, and promptly meet the need for those types of cadres by the localities and the production bases. We must further expand the system providing post-college supplementation and training above the college level.

The training quality of the colleges and the higher schools will be improved along the lines of strengthening education in Marxist-Leninist ideology and in revolutionary ethics; modernizing the teaching of science-technology and management; raising the level of scientific research and self-study; and promoting the combining of science and technology with labor according to sectors and trades and with scientific research. Improving the selection of students to enter the colleges in correct accordance with the Party's lines and policies toward cadres and the training of talent is an important measure in order to improve the quality of training.

In the present educational reform, in addition to the system of concentrated schools and classes we will expand the network of supplementary education schools and in-service training, in order to meet the people's need for continuous study in view of the rapid development of the scientific-technical revolution.

It is necessary to determine study contents which are appropriate to the psychological characteristics and study needs of the students. With regard to the young workers still capable of studying, we must organize systematic curricula to raise them to the basic cultural level or a vocational level corresponding to those of the full-time education system. With regard to adult workers, it is necessary to organize scientific and technical courses relevant to their vocations. Among the categories of those who need to study, we must pay much attention to the leadership and management cadres and the outstanding party members and youths, and

help them continue to play an advance guard role in managing the new economy and society. We will organize many lively forms of study and use all information facilities to meet the goal of systematically popularizing science and technology in society.

IV

In order to build a new educational system, it is necessary to apply a number of principal measures set forth in the Political Bureau's resolution on the reform of education:

1. Build up and develop the corps of socialist instructors and socialist educational management cadres.
2. Improve the curricula and prepare new textbooks.
3. Strengthen the school's material and technical bases.
4. Perfect the organization and strengthen the management of the education sector.
5. Promote scientific research regarding education.

Among the above measures, the problem of building up and developing a new corps of instructors and education management cadres will determine the success of the educational reform. Our Party, manifesting our people's tradition of "thirsting for knowledge and respecting teachers," places much emphasis on the socialist instructors. They are "revolutionary teachers on the ideological-cultural front" and "engineers of the soul of the young generation." It is necessary to overcome the viewpoint of regarding instructors only as people who pass along knowledge, as people who "rap children's heads." The function of the instructor is to "be responsible for propagandizing among the young generation the revolutionary ideals and virtues of the working class and the best cultural features of our nation and of mankind, and plant and cultivate in the students the noble qualities and creative abilities of the new worker." In order to fulfill that function, socialist instructors must have high standards with regard to ability and virtue; they must "have noble souls, the necessary knowledge, and socialist personality, ardently love their professions and youths, and endeavor for the future of the young generation."

Instructors are responsible for teaching students with regard to intellect, sentiment, and virtue. And in order to have a good educational effect, instructors must raise their scientific-technical level and master the subject for which they are responsible, while at the same time entering more and more deeply into the science of educating man and creatively applying that science, as if it were an art. Whether a nursery school teacher or a college teacher, the instructor must always be conscious of setting a personal example and making that practice a strong educational factor.

The normal schools will be reformed first, in order to train a new generation of instructors. At the same time, the task of supplementing instructors and education management cadres must be strengthened and made into a regular system, in order to enable all instructors and education cadres to be capable of continually advancing. At present, we must make very great efforts in that regard, for our corps of instructors is still weak in many respects. We will endeavor to raise the political, cultural, ethical and professional levels of more than 400,000 instructors at the various levels so that they may meet the standards, and promptly supplement them regarding the new additions to the schools' reformed curricula. The state will also promulgate regulations and policies to encourage the teaching profession. The party organizations and governmental administrations at the various levels must, along with the people, improve the social standing of the teachers and go all-out in helping them improve their living and working conditions.

The curricula and textbooks embody the educational contents and methods with regard to each school and class. Proper curricula and good textbooks are necessary weapons for the instructors and are tools with which the students can advantageously assimilate the educational contents. Therefore, the Political Bureau has made the mobilization of cadres who are skilled with regard to science, technology, art, revolutionary theory, etc., to prepare curricula and textbooks an important concern.

The material-technical bases of the schools are very important in improving the quality of education. We cannot help students gain knowledge and do technical work and scientific research, undertake physical training, or study the arts, if there is a lack of such essential facilities as experimental equipment, labor tools, sports and music equipment, etc. Furthermore, we must eventually have such modern communications facilities as radios and television.

With regard to building schools and manufacturing equipment, there must be cooperation between the people and the state. The people's government in the localities must place the construction of schools in a priority position, second only to the material-technical bases of production, in the capital construction plans. It is necessary to build schools by using raw materials and materials available in the locality and by mobilizing the people to, along with the teachers and pupils, make bricks and tiles. At the same time, the state will build key installations, in correct accordance with modern standards, which will belong to all academic sectors. With regard to colleges and specialized schools, it is necessary to rationally utilize the equipment of the production bases and of each school.

Another important condition--and a weakness of the educational task at present--is the organization and management of the education sector. The education task is a task of broad mass campaigning on a national scale, in the cities, the rural areas, the lowlands, and the mountain

region. It is a scientific task which promptly reflects the development of society's science and technology. The educational task is a meticulous organizational task which, in the final analysis, is intended to affect the development of each student.

Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the managerial apparatus of the education sector, especially at the district level, so that it can be capable of guiding the movement for all the people to study and be integrated with the economic structure of each region, especially at the district level. The entire organizational apparatus must serve the schools--the basic units of the educational sector--and enable them to operate according to regulations and fulfill their functions. In the schools and at the base level, it is necessary to have an organizational structure to assure the mastership right of the instructors and students by means of their mass organizations, such as the Vietnamese Education Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers Unit. We must standardize the management cadres and the management cadre groups in each school and at each level, to assure that they are capable of guiding the all-round improvement of educational quality.

We must improve the working methods of the education sector's organizational apparatus and pay attention to information, inspection, statistics and planning, guidance, the crystallization of progressive experience, and educational science research. It is also necessary to improve the activities of each school so that they can concentrate on the mission of teaching and study.

Finally, we must promote educational science research in order to resolve the immediate problems and the basic problems in the task of educating the new man is an essential condition for determining specific measures to effectively carry out the educational reform. Man has always been a complicated world, and the new man is taking form in a truly free socialist social system, in an era which is undergoing many upheavals with regard to politics as well as science and technology, so the situation is even more complicated. We must combine the newest accomplishments of world educational science with our country's progressive educational experiences, carry out studies and experiments, and find the best measures. With regard to organization, we must strengthen the Institute of Educational Science Research and create a corps of education cadres who are skilled in that regard and are capable of resolving the major problems in our country's educational undertaking.

V

As the resolution of the Political Bureau stated, the educational reform is "a major campaign in the process of carrying out an ideological and cultural revolution in our country." We are not merely replacing one curriculum with another, but are creating a whole system of new viewpoints regarding the education of our people, enabling the educational line and viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism to be victorious in society, and orienting all educational factors toward one goal--creating a new, socialist generation of Vietnamese.

It is a broad struggle in the sphere of ideology and culture. We must get rid of the distorted educational viewpoints which are holdovers from the old-style colonial feudal society and the neocolonial society, such as studying for position and individual benefit, 'light' regarding cultural study, studying to avoid labor and production, studying only from textbooks, studying empty theories, etc.

It is a broad struggle in the organizational sphere. Due to thorough understanding of the principles of study accompanied by practice and education integrated with society, the organization of the schools will also be different from the past. The network of schools must be integrated with the local economic structure, and school management must stress the mastership role of the masses and the participation of the production bases. The managerial practices must, of course, change, and there must be a combination between the guidance organs and the mass movement, between the state and the people, and between in-class study and education outside the classroom. They must be flexible and keep up with the development of science and technology, of society, and the young generation.

Furthermore, it is also a matter of new construction in education. From the lines and viewpoints to the specific educational measures which affect the development of the students, it is a process of careful and meticulous research and experimentation. In the sphere of training man, it is impermissible to proceed arbitrarily, without a scientific basis; a mistaken measure will create a retardation or disorientation in the development of the students' personality. At the same time, when setting forth a correct measure it is also necessary to take into consideration the conditions for implementing it, especially the instructors.

Because of its complicated nature, the educational reform must be carried out by the entire Party and the entire population, under the leadership of the Party. It cannot be regarded as being exclusively the responsibility of the education sector, although the education cadres are the hard-core force.

The party committee echelons and the basic party organizations must firmly grasp the Party's lines and stands of the regarding education, solicit the opinions of the people, and recapitulate the progressive experiences. On that basis, we must correctly evaluate the local education situation, determine policies and measures for promoting the education task during the coming period, and make good preparations for the changeover to the new education system.

The governmental echelons must draft education development plans, pay special attention to the instructors and the material bases, strictly observe our state's regulations and policies toward the education sector, encourage the people to participate in educational construction, and help the education sector perfect its organizational apparatus and schools.

The popular masses, and especially the instructors and students, must be the masters of this great enterprise, not only in order to support the new educational system but also so that each person, each family, and each collective can endeavor to observe the educational lines and viewpoints of the party, and to transform each organization and group into an organization to educate the new man. By means of such educational associations as the Vietnamese Education Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenager Unit, and by means of such mass associations as the Students' Parents Association, develop the contribution. The working people's right to study and such just demands as the right to participate in managing the schools, receiving assistance in order to rapidly eliminate the cultural disparity among the various regions and ethnic peoples, etc., must be assured by law and become the struggle goals of the entire society.

In order to carry out the reform of education, we are now facing many difficulties due to a long war, a poor economy, natural disasters, and destruction by the enemy. In the new phase of the revolution, however, the advantages are very great, the economy will gradually develop, culture and society are steadily advancing, and the relationships between our country and the fraternal socialist nations and the progressive people of the world are being strengthened. Furthermore, our country's educational enterprise has reached a notable level of development, which will enable us to reach a higher level in the future. We already have a widely developed education system which includes all necessary education sectors and a corps of instructors and education management cadres who are numerous, devoted to their profession, and experienced, and a people's education construction movement that has become a tradition. Especially, the progressive experiences that have been recapitulated and the progressive education models have opened up a unique path for developing and improving the quality of education, in order to utilize the modern accomplishments of the world's education science in a manner appropriate to the actualities of our country's revolution.

Along with the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, the education reform is certain to be successful.

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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S RIGHTS OF COLLECTIVE MASTERY

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[Article by Xuan Thuy, secretary of the VCP Central Committee, published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79 pp 25-33 and 42]

[Text] The resolution of the Fourth Party Congress points out that socialist collective mastery finds its concentrated expression in the collective mastery of the working people, of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core. The right is exercised chiefly through the socialist state under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class. Therefore, to build this system of collective mastery, the new Draft Constitution first of all defines a system of the correct relationship between the party, the state and the people.

The Draft Constitution says: In our country the collective masters are the working people, including the working class, collective peasantry, socialist intellectuals and other laboring people, of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core. They were emancipated from the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists, colonialists, feudalists and bourgeoisie, and from now on, they are forever masters of our society. Here, mastery means collective mastery; that is, the master is not an individual but a whole community and a whole organized collective working people. This community, led by the working class, is together striving to build socialism and following Marxist-Leninist ideologies. In this community, everyone is a master, irrespective of position and social tendency, of man or woman, and the majority or the minority. Among social strata and nationalities, there is an unanimity of politics, spirit and the goals of actions. The relations of cooperation and mutual help appear among members of the society to successfully build socialism in our country. [sentence as heard] This socialist community are collective masters in all aspects--political, economic, cultural and social in the national or local level. They master society, nature and themselves.

The state is responsible for insuring the perfection and consolidation of this system of collective mastery. The most centralized and effective

collective mastery of the people is exercised through the socialist state. The state is a tool of the people to carry out their domination over the exploiter minority and build a new society in which everyone leads a free and happy life. That is why the state must be the state of proletarian dictatorships. Its historical mission, clearly pointed out by the new constitution, is to exercise the right to collective mastery of the people, to encourage and organize the people to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in productive relations, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution in which the scientific and technological revolution is the kingpin--smash all counterattacks of the counterrevolutionaries and all aggressive acts by the enemies from outside, successfully build socialism and advance toward communism.

Under our regime, the socialist state does not separate from mass organizations. The working people exercise collective mastery not only through the state but also through mass organizations. The new Draft Constitution considers the Vietnam Fatherland Front, including political parties, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Vietnam Collective Peasants Association, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Women's Union and other members of the front, the firm reliance of the state. Mass organizations are social schools of the masses. Mastery through the state and mastery through mass organizations are combined closely to insure the full right to collective mastery of the working people. This is the first time the position, the role and responsibility of the front and mass organizations in our society are institutionalized in the constitution. The working people can only exercise socialist collective mastery under the leadership of the working class through its vanguard Communist Party. The party leads the society through the state and mass organizations. The Draft Constitution defines that the Communist Party of Vietnam is the only force that leads the state and the society and it is the main factor deciding all victories of the Vietnamese revolution.

The position and the role of the party leadership were formerly written in the introduction of the 1959 Constitution and now are defined in one article by the new constitution. So, the system of collective mastery of the working people comprises the leadership of the party, the mastery of the people, and the management of the state in a system of proletarian dictatorship in our country, as pointed out in the first chapter of the new Draft Constitution.

In our country, the people master the state. The state is only a tool for the use by the people to build a new society, new economy, new culture and a new type of man, thus insuring a happy and plentiful life for everyone. So, how must the state be organized so that it is really of the people, by the people and for the people?

The new constitution defines: In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people. The people exert state authority through the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels which are

elected by the people and are responsible to the people. The National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels are political bases of our state. These organs wield state authority on behalf of the people. All other organs of state, directly or indirectly elected or appointed by the National Assembly and the people's councils, must report to, be responsible to and be supervised by these organs of state authority.

The new Draft Constitution pays attention to raising the position of the National Assembly and the people's councils. As decided by the resolution of the Fourth Party Congress, the National Assembly is defined as the highest organ representing the people, the highest organ of state authority and the only legislative authority. The National Assembly decides basic foreign and home policies, the targets for economic and cultural development, and main principles on organization and activities of the state machinery. The National Assembly supervises all activities of the state.

The people's councils are organs of state authority at the local level. The people's councils decide and take measures to build their respective areas in all fields. The tasks and power of the people's councils are defined more completely and clearly to insure that the people's councils are really organs of state authority in their areas, discuss and decide important problems in localities and supervise the local organs of state and state organs operating in their respective areas.

The people do not only use state authority indirectly through the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels, but can directly use it. Not only are the National Assembly and the people's councils responsible to the people, but all organs of the state must wholeheartedly serve the people, maintain close contact with them, pay attention to their opinions and accept their suggestions. All cadres and state employees, servants of the people, must wholeheartedly serve the people and are supervised by the people.

The people can also supervise the activities of the state through the Fatherland Front and mass organizations such as the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Collective Peasants Association, the Vietnam Women's Union and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. These mass organizations have the right to submit draft laws concerning the common interests or the interests of each stratum of the masses to the National Assembly.

At public offices, enterprises, cooperatives and populated areas, the collective of the working people directly takes part in activities such as discussion, settlement and control of the activities of the state and social activities, takes part in working out the plans for economic and cultural development, the maintenance of political security and social order and the organization of public welfare in the localities.

All signs of separation from the people in violation of the people's collective mastery such as bureaucracy, arbitrariness and abuse of power are prohibited. So, the new Draft Constitution pays attention to insuring

that the people are the real masters of the state and in any circumstances, directly or indirectly, can exercise their state authority. All powers of the state machinery originating from the people is authorized by the people and controlled by the people so that this machinery wholeheartedly serves the people and socialism.

The people's collective mastery is expressed in the fact that the people take not only political power but also authority in economy. The people master labor production and distribution. The capitalist constitutions also say that state power belongs to the people, but this exists only in paper because in fact the masters are not the people, but the capitalists who take in their hands the major means of production.

The aim of the people's economic collective mastery is to build a large-scale socialist production to take our country from small production straight toward socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development and, on this basis, increasingly satisfying the people's material and cultural requirements. Political power and economic power are closely bound together, supplement each other and harmonize with each other to insure that the working people are real masters who materialize their will in organizing and managing a socialist society. In this spirit, the new Draft Constitution confirms the targets and lines for building economy in accordance with the resolution of the Fourth Party Congress and institutionalizes the right to economic collective mastery of the people so that the economic development is really a cause of the entire people. This institutionalization is seen in many fields: socialist transformation to abolish the system of human exploitation; set up and consolidate the socialist system of ownership over means of production in two forms—all-people ownership and collective ownership.

The new Draft Constitution clearly defines the people's economic collective mastery. With the institutionalization of economic collective mastery, the new Draft Constitution not only acknowledges and consolidates the people's achievements in this field, but also works out the orientation for economic construction and development in our country, thereby laying a firm foundation for the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Another important aspect of the right to collective mastery of the working class institutionalized in the new Draft Constitution is collective mastery over culture. The socialist state is responsible for bringing about a much better material and spiritual life for the people. The state carries out and steps up the ideological and cultural revolution and strives to build a new culture and new-type socialist man. Culture and education are parts of a socialist society, making an important contribution to building a new society and new type of man. President Ho Chi Minh said: To build socialism, it is necessary first of all to train socialist-type of men. The Draft Constitution reserves a chapter to institutionalize culture and education. Marxism-Leninism is a guideline for the development of the society in Vietnam. The building of a new culture and new type of

man is a cause of the entire people. They are entitled to enjoy fine cultural achievements of our nation and other nations.

The new constitution pays attention to the education of the new type of men who are collective masters, fond of labor, and take good care of state property, have good scientific and technical knowledge, good health and ardent socialist patriotism blended with pure proletarian internationalism. The new type of man appears during a process of the socialist revolution, is the master of the new society, takes care of a better collective life with the following motto: All for each and each for all.

Meanwhile, the people also have the rights and duties to exercise collective mastery in the field of national defense. National construction must go along with national defense, particularly in the present situation when imperialists in collusion with the Beijing expansionists are scheming to sabotage and annex Vietnam. We must heighten vigilance and strive to build the entire people's national defense and stand ready to smash any enemy who dare to invade our country. The line of building national defense is linked with stepped up economic construction. The entire people's all-round and modern national defense is built on the basis of a combination of our age-old tradition of fighting against foreign aggressors with the strength of the socialist system. Our national defense's strength is a combined and all-round strength. The state must build the all-people's national defense, armed forces, national defense industry and strive to modernize national defense forces and consolidate national defense potentials.

The armed forces, the core in the defense of the homeland, have the tasks of standing combat ready in defense of the revolutionary gains of the country in freedom, happiness and peaceful labor of the people. The building and consolidation of national defense is a task facing the entire people in a system of proletarian dictatorship and of leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam. All state organs, social organizations, and citizens must fully fulfill the task of national defense defined by the constitution and the laws. So, the consolidation of national defense, the maintenance and defense of the socialist homeland are important aspects in a system of socialist collective mastery of the working people institutionalized by the new constitution in a separate chapter which was not included in the 1959 Constitution.

The right to socialist collective mastery of the working people does not exclude individual rights and individual freedoms. On the contrary, the interests of the collective harmoniously combine with the individual's legitimate interests.

The collective and the individual are bound together because if there is no individual there will be no collective. That's why to build the correct relationship between the individual and the collective and between

the citizens and the state is important in the building of a system of socialist collective mastery. This relationship is expressed in the new Draft Constitution in the chapter defining the rights and duties of citizens.

Fundamental rights and duties define the juridical position of citizens toward the state and the society. This position originates from the right to collective mastery of the working class. Due to this position, the citizens master both their rights and their duties.

Under socialist conditions, the main means of production are socialized. The exploitation of man by man is abolished and political, economic and social oppression and inequality among nationalities and between men and women no longer exist. All citizens, men and women, minority and majority have the same rights to collective mastery of the state and society without discrimination. That's why the interests of the society and those of the people basically harmonize with each other.

Citizens' rights go along with their duties. Under our regime, some rights are also duties such as the right to labor and study and some duties are also rights such as the duty toward national defense. By fulfilling their duties, the citizens use their rights. If the citizens fulfill their duties toward their country and society, necessary conditions will be created to enjoy their rights. The state ensures that the citizens enjoy their rights and, at the same time, demands that they fulfill their duties.

Rights and duties are two sides of the problem indicating the position as the master of the working people in the new society. The common interests of the state and society are basic to satisfy and constantly raise individual interests. That's why the interests of the state and society are higher than that of individuals. The exercise of citizens' rights must conform to the common interests of the state and society. No one is allowed to misuse democratic liberties to violate these interests. The state is responsible for the guarantee of material and spiritual conditions of citizens who enjoy all their rights. This spirit is reflected in the chapter "Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens."

As compared with the 1959 Constitution, the Draft Constitution adds new rights and duties for citizens such as the rights to management of the state, housing, welfare and privileges of war invalids and families of martyrs and families which render services to the revolution and duties toward the defense of political security and social order and duties to take part in socialist labor days.

In short, the Draft Constitution pays attention to institutionalizing the main aspects of the system of socialist collective mastery of the working people in our country.

PEKING'S STRATEGY OF HEGEMONY AND EXPANSIONISM

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[Article by Phuc Cuong]

[Text] Thirty years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Thirty years are a very short period compared to the history of a nation as well as the history of international relations. In this short period of time, the world has witnessed very basic, very profound, very shocking changes in the global strategy of Peking. Once within the ranks of the forces of the revolution against imperialism, Peking has become an ally of imperialism and the other reactionaries against the people of the world. The purpose of this article is to try to learn the substance of these changes and the strategy of Peking in the future.

The Substance of Peking's Change of Allegiance

Over the past 30 years, China has changed from a country that declared itself to be socialist, a country that resolutely opposed imperialism and strongly supported the world revolutionary movement into an extremely reactionary force that is closely collaborating with the imperialists and reactionaries, insanely opposing the socialist countries, opposing the national independence movement, opposing the international communist movement and provoking and propagandizing world war in opposition to the peaceful aspirations of nations. During the 1950's, China considered the USSR to be its strategic ally, considered the United States to be its towering enemy and maintained that the imperialist nature of the United States would never change. In the late 1960's, Peking considered the USSR to be its most dangerous enemy and considered the U.S. imperialists to be its strategic ally. Peking has arranged all other forces on the basis of whether it considers the USSR and the United States to be its enemy and friend and vice versa; the forces of the revolution, once considered the allies of China, have become an enemy and reactionary forces, once considered the enemy, have become the friend of Peking.

To explain these strategic changes in allegiance, Peking presented various arguments and theories in a short space of time. Between 1963 and 1973, in the space of only 10 years, they changed their viewpoint concerning the basic antagonisms of the world and their viewpoint concerning the arrangement of forces in the world three times. In 1963, in the 25-point proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement, Peking analyzed four antagonisms of our times; although differing in some points, this proposal was virtually consistent with the resolutions adopted by the conferences of international communist and worker parties held in 1957 and 1960. Six years later, in 1969, in the resolution of the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, they denied the existence of the world socialist system, considered the USSR as well as imperialism to be their enemies and considered the USSR to be their most dangerous enemy. They considered the socialist countries of Europe as well as the capitalist countries to be part of a system that must be abolished. Only China and a few of its closest allies were socialist. In the early 1970's, they presented the "three worlds" theory. According to this theory, the entire struggle of the people of the world against the imperialists is only a struggle to achieve hegemony between the two superpowers, the USSR and the United States, and only the struggle against the hegemony of these two superpowers. Peking says nothing about the class struggle in the world during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. All they talk about is nationalism. They consider themselves to be part of the third world. They appeal to the third world, which consists of medium size, small and poor countries, to unite with the second world, which consists of the socialist countries as well as medium size, small and rich capitalist countries, to cooperate with one superpower, the United States, and form a world front against the USSR.

Correctly stated, the argument they set forth in 1969 marked their basic strategic turning point; the "three worlds" theory set forth in the early 1970's was an improvement upon the argument set forth in 1969. The most basic issue is that they abandoned the class stand and fell into the mudhole of bourgeois nationalism. They no longer distinguish between socialism and imperialism, considering the USSR to be their enemy and the United States to be their ally. They no longer distinguish between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are struggling against imperialism and colonialism and the lackey reactionary regimes of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have abandoned the objective of opposing imperialism and have espoused the argument of opposing hegemony. They consider the struggles occurring in the world to be struggles for hegemony between two superpowers. In the name of opposing Soviet hegemony, they have collaborated with the imperialists and support reactionary powers resisting the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 1973, they brazenly supported the dictator Pinochet against the people of Chile, supported the South African racists and reactionaries against the Angolan revolution, supported Mobutu in Zaire, supported the Somali regime against the Ethiopian revolution, supported the

Egyptian government against the Arabs and the Palestinian people, supported Shah Pahlavi against the people of Iran, supported reactionaries against the Afghanistan revolution and supported the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua. They boldly used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, a clique denounced by all mankind, to oppose the people of Kampuchea and the people of Vietnam, the pinnacle of which was their war of aggression against Vietnam. In committing aggression against Vietnam, the symbol of the struggle for independence and freedom, the conscience of mankind, the Peking reactionaries threw off their revolutionary mask and revealed their true nature as extremely dangerous reactionaries opposed to the peace, national independence, democracy and socialism of the people of the world. Their aggression against Vietnam shocked and surprised many persons. However, their aggression can be understood if placed within the framework of Peking's change of allegiance in the world.

Not only has Peking reversed its alliances in the world, the same has been done in struggles for power at home as well.

Between 1935 and 1977, purges and coup d'etats in the struggle for position within the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were continuous and sharp. And, we still see no basis for stating that Peking has ended its policy of changing alliances.

Although the alliances of the Peking ruling circles have constantly changed, their counter-revolutionary global strategic objectives have never changed. Over the past 30 years, the Peking authorities have made every effort to achieve these unchanging strategic objectives, hegemony and expansionism. During the first 8 years following the founding of the People's Republic of China, Peking's scheme of hegemony and expansion was not fully evident or clear. Then, their argument was: the course of the Chinese revolution is the course that the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will follow. Regarding Vietnam, their scheme of hegemony and expansion was clear. Following the victory of Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese were capable of totally liberating Vietnam, the peoples of the three countries of Indochina were capable of liberating their countries, France faced the peril of defeat because French colonialism had become crippled and the United States had decided not to intervene with military forces. In the final years of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, China was a very important source of weapons to Vietnam. In this situation, France held direct negotiations with China at the 1954 Geneva Convention concerning a solution that was advantageous to both France and China but disadvantageous to Vietnam and the three countries of Indochina. With regard to Vietnam, France and China agreed upon a Korean style settlement involving a ceasefire, the division of Vietnam into two zones and the maintenance of the original political situation in each zone, that is, the permanent partitioning of Vietnam. The two sides agreed to recognize the governments of the royal kingdom of Laos and the royal kingdom of Kampuchea, that is agreed to nullify the achievements of the wars of resistance waged by the people of Laos and the Khmer people. Only after re- ang

agreement with China on the basic issues did France hold negotiations with Vietnam concerning the specific clauses of the 1954 Geneva Accords. Peking did not want the revolutionary forces of Vietnam and Indochina to win total victory and become strong, did not want the weakened French colonialists to withdraw from Indochina, did not want the United States, the ringleader of imperialism, to take the place of the French in Indochina. Peking's scheme was to maintain weak and opposing forces in Indochina.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, Peking set forth the arguments of being "determined" to oppose the United States and thoroughly "opposing revisionism" in order to lower the prestige of the USSR; at the same time, it loudly preached that "China is the center of the world revolution." In conjunction with their political scheme, they adopted the highly ambitious "great leap forward" plan in order to surpass the United States in a short period of time.

In the mid-1960's, Peking loudly preached that the thinking of Mao Tse-tung was the pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxism in the age of the death of imperialism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. They encouraged the establishment in the world of pro-Peking organizations to impose Maoism upon the world revolutionary movement while opposing the communist parties in other countries.

In the early 1970's, the United States, bogged down in the war of aggression against Vietnam, was seriously weakened while the USSR strengthened its economic and national defense forces and the revolutionary movement in the world reached new stages of development, especially in the Middle East and Latin America. Nixon's pressing strategic requirement was to withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam but still maintain the U.S. lackey regime in South Vietnam while weakening the USSR and opposing the world revolutionary movement. Taking advantage of their important position in the relations between the USSR and the United States as well as in the war of resistance of the Vietnamese against the United States, Peking, acting in the interest of hegemony and expansionism, played the anti-Soviet card and pressured Vietnam into accepting a solution that met Nixon's requirement. Nixon played the China card to satisfy U.S. strategic requirements. As a result, Sino-American detente emerged and China emerged in the international arena as one of the three world powers, thereby abolishing the two-pole situation that developed following World War II and establishing three poles in the world. At the same time, Peking signed articles with the United States and Japan on opposing hegemony. Everyone knows that the United States and Japan are imperialist countries that have committed aggression against and ruled other countries and that their imperialist nature will never change. Together with signing these articles, Peking appealed to the United States not to withdraw from Asia. It is clear that in signing articles with imperialist countries on opposing hegemony Peking was actually collaborating with them to maintain their rule and oppose the revolutionary movement, beginning with opposing the people of the Asian countries.

In 1975, Peking adopted the target of making China an international power and surpassing the other international powers by the end of this century; in 1978, they adopted the "four modernizations" plan to achieve this goal.

Together with economic construction, Peking has made every effort to build strategic nuclear forces ever since 1953 and the nuclear weapons industry is the only industry whose strong development was not stopped by the cultural revolution. China developed the atomic bomb in 1964, developed the hydrogen bomb in 1967 and launched its first satellite in 1970. At present, if we exclude the USSR, China is the only Asian power that has strategic nuclear forces.

While making every effort to build their economic and military forces and trying to become a world political power, Peking has made a variety of territorial demands; they consider the South China Sea, with expanded boundaries reaching to the offshore waters of Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines, to belong to China; they have presented territorial demands to practically all neighboring countries; they have invaded and occupied the Paracel Islands of Vietnam; and countries in Southeast Asia that were once vassals of the Chinese emperors are now considered to be their zone of influence.

The present ambitions of hegemony and expansionism of Peking are the continuation of the several thousand years of hegemony and expansionism of the feudal dynasties and, more recently, the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The policy of the Peking ruling circles concerning their alliances in the world is merely a tool, a means for achieving their strategic objectives of hegemony and expansion. These ambitions of hegemony and expansion are unchangeable strategic objectives; the policy of Peking regarding its alliances must change to support the effort to achieve these strategic objectives as best possible. Whether they are aligned with revolutionary forces or with imperialists and reactionaries is unimportant to Peking. Of utmost importance to them is their big power nationalism.

The Causes Underlying the Changing of Allies by Peking

Generally speaking, the alliance policies of countries have remained virtually unchanged over the past 30 years, with the exception of countries whose system has been changed and, as a result, their foreign strategy objectives have been changed as well. The alliance policy of the USSR, which has remained unchanged for 30 years, is the policy of aligning with revolutionary forces against imperialism. The alliance policy of the United States over the past 30 years has been one of aligning with the imperialist countries and reactionary forces against the USSR and the revolutionary forces of the world. The alliance policy of Peking over the past 30 years has been one of many very profound changes. This has been due to the following reasons:

First, the interests of Peking, hegemony and expansionism, basically and permanently contradict with the interests of all types of countries. However,

during certain periods of time, these interests are temporarily consistent with the interests of some countries and contrary to the interests of a number of others. As a result, Peking has no permanent allies, only temporary ones. During the 1950's, when hegemony and expansionism did not dominate their foreign policy, the interests of Peking ruling circles were basically consistent with the interests of their allies, the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces of the world. Conversely, their interests were basically in conflict with the interests of imperialism, the enemy of China. In the late 1950's, when hegemony and expansionism became the principal trend in the foreign policy of Peking, their interests became contradictory to the interests of their allies, the revolutionary forces of the world. In the late 1960's, when the hegemony and expansionism of Peking developed strongly, their interests were in deep conflict with the interests of their allies; as their hegemony and expansionism have developed, their interests have paralleled those of imperialism. In the late 1970's, the hegemony and expansionism of Peking have strongly opposed the interests of the people of the world and been closely linked to the interests of the imperialists.

Secondly, Peking's ambitions with regard to hegemony and expansionism are too large compared to China's very limited economic, political and military capabilities. This very serious contradiction cannot be resolved in a short period of time. The very large ambitions of Peking originate in the special historic conditions of China. China was one of the cradles of mankind; for several thousand years, Chinese feudalists considered China to be the center of the world and pursued a policy of hegemony and expansionism toward Asia and the lands around the Pacific. China's population constitutes one-fourth of mankind. China is the only Asian power to have strategic nuclear forces. The victory of the Chinese revolution was a source of strong inspiration to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, the capabilities of China are limited in many ways; China's economic potential is very large but its economy is very backward. China ranks seventh in the world in gross social product and stands with the developing countries in terms of gross social product per capita. Politically, China is always being divided by power struggles; the military forces of China only possess a defensive capability and are limited in terms of large-scale offensive operations beyond the borders of China. Both economically and militarily, China is rather far behind the USSR and the United States. Although its ambitions are very large, China cannot rely upon its own forces to achieve these ambitions. Peking must take full advantage of favorable opportunities in the world to carry out its scheme of hegemony and expansionism.

Thirdly, Peking is pursuing its strategy of hegemony and expansionism in a world situation in which two world systems and two opposing powers have emerged, the USSR and the United States, whose economic and military forces far exceed those of China. In the absence of world war, China is totally incapable of realizing its ambition of overtaking the USSR and the United States by the end of this century. This ambition can only be realized when war breaks out between

the USSR and the United States and destroys practically all of the economic and military forces of these two huge countries; Peking would not become involved in this war so that China could rapidly become the number one power in the world. Peking is very hostile toward detente between the USSR and the United States and is making every effort to undermine the relations between these two countries. Peking argues that the entire development of the world has been the result of the struggle for hegemony between the USSR and the United States, that a major war between these two countries is unavoidable and that the danger of a third world war is increasing with each passing day.

In the 1950's, Peking aligned with the USSR against the United States. This was primarily because the United States was pursuing a hostile policy toward China, had surrounded China militarily and economically and had isolated China politically. Peking had to align itself with the USSR to maintain the peace and security of China and obtain help from the USSR building the economic and national defense forces of China. The USSR has always tried to have many allies in the long struggle against imperialism in the interests of socialism in the USSR and the world. Peking had hoped that by aligning with the USSR and masquerading as a revolutionary, it could assemble forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America under its leadership. By aligning with the USSR against the United States, Peking also hoped to undermine U.S.-Soviet relations and exacerbate the antagonisms between the USSR and the United States. While aligning with the USSR against the United States, Peking still looked for ways to achieve detente with the United States. Peking agreed with the United States to a ceasefire in Korea and the permanent partitioning of Korea. In the mid-1950's, Peking and the United States held negotiations at Vasovi. At the same time, Peking prevented Vietnam and Laos from waging an armed struggle in South Vietnam and Laos because it did not want a war against the United States being waged near the borders of China.

In the late 1960's, the U.S. imperialists were bogged down in the war of aggression in Vietnam and were weak at home and abroad. In the early 1970's, capitalism entered a serious, prolonged and inescapable economic crisis while the USSR strengthened its forces and the world revolutionary movement developed strongly everywhere. The United States had to play the China card in order to maintain the lackey regime in South Vietnam, oppose the world revolutionary movement and weaken the USSR; at the same time, the United States hoped that the vast market of China could help to resolve an important part of the economic crisis of capitalism. From the 1950's to the mid-1960's, Peking met defeat in its scheme of using the disguise of revolutionaries to secure the right to lead the world revolutionary movement, especially the movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The world revolutionary movement developed strongly in the late 1960's and directly threatened the hegemony and expansionism of Peking in the world. At the same time, Peking also wanted to use the economic crisis of capitalism to accelerate the development of China under the "four modernizations." Obviously, Peking and the U.S. imperialists have many interests.

in common, foremost among which is opposing the world revolutionary movement and the USSR. Peking's interests are also furthered by the fact that aligning with the United States against the USSR will help to undermine the relations between the USSR and the United States. While aligning with the United States against the USSR, Peking maintains its relations with the USSR and uses the card of improved relations with the USSR to bring pressure to bear upon the United States in its relations with Peking.

Fourthly, Peking has initiated its strategy of hegemony and expansionism in a situation in which the three revolutionary currents have been developing very strongly since World War II. The world socialist system was established, has developed more strongly with each passing day and is the determining factor in the development of mankind. The national liberation movement has developed throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, thereby bringing about the collapse of old-style colonialism and facing neo-colonialism with a serious crisis. The three revolutionary currents are the allies of the USSR and the strength of the USSR in the struggle against the United States. At the same time, the three revolutionary currents are a weakness to the United States. In the mid-1950's and the 1960's, Peking made every effort to become the leader of the world revolutionary movement, thereby creating a position of strength for itself in the world, weakening the USSR, undermining the relations between the USSR and the United States and using the world revolutionary movement as a card to be played even with the United States for the sake of Peking's interests. In 1971, they struck this traitorous deal with the United States on the backs of the Vietnamese. The betrayal of Vietnam by Peking put them into the position of a third world power and established three poles, instead of two, in the world. Peking's betrayal caused the United States to be obstinate in the negotiations with Vietnam, which lasted until 1973 and encouraged the United States to blockade the port of Haiphong and bomb the capital Hanoi by B-52's in 1972. However, Peking met with defeat in its attempt to become the leader of the world revolutionary movement because the hegemony and expansionism of Peking are in conflict with the interests of the people of the world to unite with all revolutionary forces in the world against imperialism; however Peking wants to brush aside the USSR and divide the world revolutionary movement in order to monopolize the leadership of it. Peking's betrayal of Vietnam, although causing the people of Vietnam to encounter many difficulties, did not prevent the Vietnamese from totally liberating their country in 1975, thereby abolishing one of the bases of agreement between the United States and Peking.

The development of the world situation since world War II has been characterized by the very rapid rate of development and very profound qualitative changes compared to the development of the world situation during the 30 years preceding World War II. After World War II, the United States became the strongest imperialist power, stronger than all other imperialist countries combined; it constitutes one-half of the industrial production of the world and had exclusive possession of nuclear weapons. However, in the last 20 years, the U.S. imperialists have weakened rapidly and were defeated in a partial war,

the war of aggression of the United States in Vietnam. The revolutionary movement has developed strongly, even in the backyard of imperialism. The balance of power has changed in a manner favorable to the forces of revolution and unfavorable to counter-revolutionaries. Not only does Peking lack the ability to use the world revolutionary movement as a card against the U.S. imperialists, but the world revolutionary movement has developed to the point where it threatens the hegemony and expansionism of Peking, especially in Asia during the 1970's. For this reason, Peking has been pursuing a totally hostile policy toward Vietnam ever since the Vietnamese totally liberated and reunified their country. Peking and the United States share common interests in opposing the world revolutionary movement. Peking has used the anti-revolution, anti-Soviet, anti-Cuba and anti-Vietnam cards to gain assistance from the imperialists in carrying out the "four modernizations." This explains why Peking has not appealed to the United States to withdraw its forces from Asia. The year 1979 marked a defeat for the collaboration between Peking and the United States. This collaboration did not rescue the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, did not prevent the collapse of the shah in Iran or Somoza in Nicaragua, has not helped Carter achieve success in his attempt to achieve a separate peace in the Middle East or a negotiated settlement in South Africa, etc.

Fifthly, the reversal in world alliances has been closely linked to the savage and bloody struggles within China. The struggles for power at home have been closely linked to the intensification of the policy of hegemony and expansionism of Peking overseas.

In the 1950's, the alliance policy of Peking in the world was consistent with the trend of the world revolution. At home, the political situation was, for the most part, stable and the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party took a number of steps to combat the worship of Mao Tse-tung. In contrast to the statutes adopted at the 7th Congress held in 1945, the statutes of the 8th Congress held in 1956 did not mention the thinking of Mao Tse-tung as the ideological base of the party. During this period of time, the interests of the Peking authorities were virtually consistent with the interests of the world revolution because, at that time, the U.S. imperialists were pursuing a totally hostile policy toward and isolating China; at the same time, there were two wars on China's borders, the Korean war and the Indochinese war. However, even then there were manifestations of big power chauvinism in the policy of Peking. Following the victory of Dien Bien Phu, Peking negotiated with the French behind the backs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to prevent the revolution in Indochina from winning total victory, maintain the position of France in order to block the United States from entering Indochina and create a situation in Indochina favorable to Peking, namely, maintaining in Indochina opposing weak forces. In Korea, Peking had 1 million Chinese volunteer troops participating in the war but, in the end, only achieved a ceasefire on the 38th parallel and recognized the original political situation without one article about the reunification of Korea, that is, continued the partitioning of Korea.

In the late 1950's, Peking began its "great leap forward" with the ambition of overtaking the United States in a short period of time. Together with this "great leap forward" at home, Peking, using "revolutionary" words, appealed for opposition to the United States and revisionism until the end in order to assemble the forces of the world and reduce the prestige of the USSR in a vain attempt to become the leader of the world revolution and make China the center of the world revolution.

Between 1965 and 1969, the "cultural revolution" occurred in China; in substance, this was a very savage and bloody struggle for personal power. In 1967 and 1968, prolonged armed conflicts occurred in many provinces in China, some of which involved the use of heavy weapons, aircraft, warships and tanks. According to western news sources, this military coup d'etat caused the death of 5 million persons, tens of thousands of high level leadership cadres of the party, government and army were imprisoned and the communist party and the mass organizations of the party were dissolved. By means of this military coup d'etat, the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles seized political power in China and eliminated revolutionaries and opponents. At the same time, overseas, Peking had stepped up the establishment of pro-Peking reactionary groups to insanely oppose the communist parties in other countries, especially in the western countries, and encouraged pro-Peking parties to wage armed struggles in Kampuchea, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma and the Philippines under the slogan "government from the barrel of a gun." Deserving of attention is the fact that they supported a military coup d'etat by the pro-Peking party in Indonesia in 1965. As a result of the "cultural revolution" of China, the Chinese Communist Party was abolished and the international communist movement was divided.

The "cultural revolution" marked a turning point in the political life of China and ushered in a period of profound, prolonged political crisis in China; at the same time, it marked a turning point in the foreign strategy of Peking: from the USSR as its strategic ally to its number one enemy and from the United States as its principal enemy to a very important ally of Peking. It is clear that the Peking ruling circles did not reverse their alliances in the world until after they had abolished the Chinese Communist Party, created ideological and political upheavals at home and undermined the communist movement in the world.

The death of Mao led to the elimination of the "gang of four" and the resurrection of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the high ranking cadres imprisoned in the "cultural revolution." In 1978, Peking adopted the target of the "four modernizations" and further intensified its policy of aligning with the United States, opposing the USSR and opposing the world revolutionary movement in order to obtain capital and technology from the United States and the West. The reactionary line of the new gang in power in Peking following the death of Mao shows us that the key members of the gang in power in Peking oppose one another in order to struggle for personal power and only differ in the degree of hegemony and expansionism.

To Be Continued

THE PATH FOR THE CULTIVATION OF REVOLUTIONARY AND SCIENTIFIC QUALITIES OF THE
YOUNG GENERATION OF COLLECTIVE MASTERS OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79
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[Article by Vu Thanh]

[Text] As we become more deeply involved in building and protecting the socialist fatherland, we become increasingly excited over the valiant pioneer spirit and the worthy contributions of the young generation, which very clearly reflect their revolutionary and scientific qualities, who, overflowing with vitality, are upholding the spirit of collective ownership, bravely overcoming hardships and difficulties and endeavoring to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks of the country in the new stage. Although the beloved Uncle Ho is long departed, his warm and loving words concerning the young generation will encourage and inspire us forever: "With an enthusiastic and determined young generation, we will surely achieve success in the work of protecting the North, liberating the South and reunifying the fatherland.

Therefore, I am very proud and happy and feel that I have been rejuvenated, the future of our nation is extremely sound and glorious."(1)

Revolutionary and scientific are the representative characteristics of the fine qualities of the young collective masters of Vietnam of today.

When we talk about science we are talking about man's knowledge of nature, society and himself, about man's understanding of the laws of objective developments. The noble objective of science is to help man become the master of society, nature and himself, to bring happiness to man.

When we talk about revolution, we are talking about fundamental, thorough change, about change in the essence of things, change along the most progressive lines, change consistent with the requirements of the laws of society. Therefore, science (the natural sciences and the social sciences) is closely linked

to the revolution and science plays an indispensable role in the success of the revolution.

The revolution and science are always closely linked to each other. However, in systems in which there are class oppression and exploitation, science is in the hands of the ruling classes and becomes a tool for them to earn maximum profits and intensify their exploitation and oppression of the working people.

Under the socialist system, however, the revolution and science are truly closely linked to each other and very strongly stimulate each other's development. The greatness of ever victorious Marxism-Leninism lies in its smooth and close coordination of the revolution and science as one, in terms of both theory as well as practice. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress confirmed: "Our party has been able to lead the people in carrying out these great undertakings primarily because it firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism and is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism. The party adheres not only to the letter of Marxism-Leninism, but to its revolutionary and scientific nature, the two fundamental characteristics that are combined as one within Marxism-Leninism itself. The party thoroughly implements these basic characteristics of Marxism-Leninism in its political, ideological and organizational activities, in its revolutionary line and revolutionary method, in the entire struggle by the party in all periods of hist. ..."(2)

Revolutionary and scientific are the characteristics symbolizing the fine qualities of the Vietnamese young generation, the children of the heroic Vietnamese, the product of the education provided by our party and President Ho. The revolution and science should not be understood or explained in a rigid, "hair-splitting" fashion nor should we mistakenly think that the revolution and science can be separated or are the opposite of each other. Actually, "science is a moving force behind the advance of history, a moving force of revolution."(3) Today, if the young generation did not possess knowledge, did not have an understanding of the social sciences and the natural sciences in order to perform the specific tasks involved in building and protecting the socialist fatherland, how could it be said that they possess revolutionary qualities in the full sense of the term? Without the ability to complete their specific tasks in order to implement their revolutionary ideals, these revolutionary ideals will become abstract, general ideals, if not actually "non-ideals." Le Duan has reminded us: "It is not enough to merely possess the spirit of ownership, we must also possess scientific knowledge before we can become the masters of society and nature, complete the work of socialist transformation and socialist construction... Building socialist society involves making integrated use of all scientific knowledge, knowledge of the social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences, to reach the pinnacle of civilization. Therefore, the socialist man must be a man who has a progressive cultural, scientific and technical education, who knows and applies the laws of society and nature, who inherits and creatively develops upon each

cultural and scientific achievement recorded by mankind through the efforts of thousands of generations."(4)

The effort to raise the revolutionary spirit and the scientific level of the young generation must be based on the requirements and tasks of the revolution during each period of time and under each specific set of historic circumstances. For example, today, on the agricultural front, we no longer produce grain and food products on fragmented pieces of privately owned land using "elephant tusk" plows and recording low crop yields; in fighting to protect the fatherland, we no longer use such crude weapons as pistols, sticks and sabres as we did during the first days of the resistance against the French colonialists. Organized, educated and led by the party and President Ho, the heroic people's armed forces have grown rapidly, defeated powerful enemies and recorded glorious feats of arms, as in the Dien Bien Phu campaign (1954), in the "Dien Bien Phu" in the skies over the capital (1972), in the Ho Chi Minh campaign (1975) and in the war to protect the fatherland against the Chinese aggressor army, thereby enhancing the "determined to fight and win" tradition. As it gradually advances, the revolution requires of the young generation that they constantly heighten their revolutionary spirit and raise their scientific level. The active, dynamic role of collective ownership of the young generation in the revolution lies in devoting their energies, under the leadership of the party, to forging and improving their revolutionary qualities and scientific qualifications, reorganizing their corps, fully developing their potentials and limiting and eventually eradicating negative factors, thereby creating tremendous strength in every area and promptly meeting the rising requirements of the revolution. Le Duan said: "The revolution is very large and very difficult, is constantly developing and changing and, without a large stratum of youths who eagerly accept the new and actively implement the new, it is impossible to accelerate the revolution."(5)

The revolutionary and scientific qualities of the Vietnamese young generation originate in the scientific and creative revolutionary line of our party and have been formed, developed and enhanced in the course of the revolutionary struggle. In the spirit "for 10 years' benefit, plant a tree; for 100 years' benefit, train a man," our party and President Ho have considered teaching and training the Vietnamese young generation to be a revolutionary task of strategic significance, to be an important, long-range political task of the entire party. The fundamental aspect of this noble undertaking is teaching and training the young generation to become new, fully developed youths worthy of being the collective masters, not only of the present, but the future as well. Being revolutionary and scientific is a characteristic of this new young generation. The urgent and thorough training of the new young generation is designed to create a social force fully capable of implementing the revolutionary line of the party and create the conditions for insuring the successful completion of the work of building and protecting the fatherland.

Throughout the past half-century, organized, led and educated by our party and President Ho, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the nucleus of the

unity of the entire young generation of our country, has built an extremely fine revolutionary tradition. The qualities of the Vietnamese young generation of being both revolutionary and scientific have developed from this tradition.

On the other hand, these qualities are also the result of inheriting the fine traditions of our nation in its 4,000 year history of building and defending the country. Our nation has not only upheld, but enhanced its traditions more with each passing day; these fine traditions have been handed down from one generation to another and have been crystallized by our generation today in the virtues of diligence, intelligence and creativity, in the tradition of patriotism and in the tradition of tenaciously, resourcefully and resolutely resisting foreign aggression without fear of hardships and sacrifices to protect the independence and sovereignty of the country as well as the tradition of knowing how to fight and win. It is this long and steadfast struggle that created the revolutionary and scientific abilities of the nation and young generation of Vietnam.

Our country's revolution has entered a new stage, one which requires that each person, primarily and most especially youths, be ready to give his life in defense of the fatherland and work as hard as possible to build our beloved country. In order for our young generation to be fully capable of completing its historic mission, it is necessary in addition to creating the conditions for them to fully display their revolutionary and scientific qualities, which constitute their basic attributes, to help them overcome the lack of dynamism and determination in creative labor; at the same time, we must correct the negative factors and weaknesses that appear at certain places and times as well as within certain components and strata of the young generation. These weaknesses must be viewed and examined with an objective attitude and must be analyzed in a scientific manner in order to determine the reasons why they developed and continue to exist. These weaknesses must be corrected by the young generation making every effort to move forward in the revolutionary-offensive spirit and by providing the young generation with effective assistance filled with love from the socialist state, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the other mass organizations and all of society in the spirit of communal responsibility and in a closely coordinated manner under the leadership of the party.

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress set forth the general guideline of the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy of our country in the new stage.

With full awareness of their responsibility to the present and the future of the country as stated in the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress: "The brilliant future of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland lies in the hands of youths, teenagers and children"(6), the Vietnamese young generation is determined to forge and constantly enhance its qualities of being revolutionary and scientific and endeavor to become a block of steel tempered

in the crucible of struggle of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

In the struggle to conquer nature, transform the old society and build the new society under the leadership of the party, the young generation is only worthy of being the loyal and outstanding revolutionary shock force when it possesses the revolutionary-offensive zeal and spirit and possesses knowledge of the natural sciences and social sciences together with the ability to organize implementation. And, this revolutionary quality and these scientific abilities can only be formed, developed and improved through steadfast forging in the realities of the revolutionary struggle, just as "polishing shines a pearl, heat makes gold purer." (?) For this reason, in the education and training of the young generation, our party considers having them participate in revolutionary activities in order to forge them to be the most important educational measure. Revolutionary activity movements shining with revolutionary heroism, such as the "three readies" and the "five assaults" movements, have gone down in the history of the Vietnamese youth movement as immortal epics, as great schools training and forging the young generation not only in the tenacious revolutionary spirit, but also in the ability to complete any task assigned by the fatherland. These movements assembled under the glorious banner of the party millions of youths of all strata who were ready to go anywhere and do anything required by the fatherland, who volunteered to go to difficult places, take the lead in opening roads to the front and transport weapons, who joined the armed forces, fought and maintained combat readiness, thereby making competent contributions to the glorious historic victory of the nation's resistance against the United States for national salvation. The "three assaults of collective ownership" movement launched by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union at the start of 1978 through the organizing of assault youth forces to build and protect the socialist fatherland, thereby meeting the requirements of the tasks of the revolution and satisfying the aspirations of youths, gained the participation of nearly 8 million youths in a short amount of time (by the end of 1978) and truly became a great revolutionary school training our country's young generation in the spirit of collective ownership and the ability to exercise collective ownership, thereby creating for the young generation the most favorable conditions possible for making contributions, forging themselves and maturing in the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland. This movement is continuing to develop into a revolutionary high tide, especially since 17 February 1979 when the reactionaries within Peking ruling circles launched a war of aggression against our country, barbarously massacring our compatriots and destroying and looting property of our people.

In the effort to forge and heighten the revolutionary-offensive zeal and spirit, the young generation must build and strengthen the spirit of collective ownership, fear neither hardships nor sacrifices and be ready to contribute all their energies and talents to wholeheartedly serving the fatherland, serving the people, serving the revolution; they must cultivate perseverance

and boldness, dare to think and act, dare to assume the responsibility for work, bravely overcome their difficulties, complete their tasks and not retreat or become discouraged in the face of towering difficulties; they must cultivate the spirit of socialist cooperation in research and use the strength of the collective to serve the interests of the revolution."

"Fire tests gold, adversity tests strength"; in the recent past, thousands of collective and individual examples of revolutionary heroism emerged in the maintenance of order and security, the maintenance of combat readiness, the fight to protect the fatherland and punish the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique for violating the southwestern border of our country and in the defeat of the Chinese aggressor army on the northern border. Their secret of victory was their high spirit of determination to fight and win, their well developed fighting skills and their ability to fight and win victory in combat. There were the unparalleled examples set by the slain hero Le Dinh Trinh; by 20 year old Dang Hong Quan who, in only 2 days and nights of fighting with one machine gun, killed 32 enemy troops; by the self-defense youths of Duyen Hai Ward in Lao Cai City who, in only several days and nights of combat, killed 300 enemy troops and set four enemy tanks afire; by Lieutenant Dam Trung Hong, the youth assistant of the Cao Bang armed people's public security force, who, in only one battle at the Pa Lung border post, destroyed four enemy tanks and killed nearly 2 dozen enemy troops; by the six militiamen of the Dao Tien Tribe in Hoa An District who have become famous for their achievement of going down their mountain to find the enemy, resourcefully and bravely ambushing the enemy using nothing more than rudimentary weapons, killing 40 enemy troops, and then taking the weapons and ammunition of the enemy and equipping the entire militia force of their village; by the soldiers of the Pac Nam Cua border station in Lai Chau Province who, although surrounded by the enemy, resourcefully, tenaciously and bravely fought the enemy, with one unit of only three soldiers killing 150 enemy troops in one complete day of fighting, etc. Diligent training on the training field leads to high efficiency in combat. "Troops that are trained well fight well"; this logic was once again evident in the test of strength with the Chinese aggressor army. For example, platoon leader Duong Truong Kien of the 3rd Company of the Lao Cai local army, as a result of training well and being able to skillfully use many different types of weapons and despite his broken leg which forced him to prop himself up on the wall of his fortification, fired a light machine gun into the enemy, caught a grenade thrown at him and threw it back, killing them; the young soldier Nguyen Van of the 1st Company of the Lang Son local army, who is highly skilled at firing through enemy troops, killed many enemy using only a few rounds of ammunition and, in one battle, killed dozens of enemy troops in this way; the female self-defense soldier Pham Thi Thanh Thuy, formerly a student at An Hai in Haiphong, who volunteered to go build the economy at the Mong Lai forestry site, served as a nurse in combat, transported ammunition, cooked meals for the self-defense unit at its position, used a rifle well to shoot each enemy soldier when the enemy sent in small forces to conduct reconnaissance operations, used an AK rifle to suppress each volley of fire

when they attacked in force and, when the artillery gunner was wounded, she and the assistant company commander directed intense 60 millimeter mortar fire at each group of enemy troops; Hoang Thi Hong Chiem, a woman worker at the Po Hen Department Store in Quang Ninh, after evacuating all the store's merchandise, fought alongside the cadres and soldiers of the border station throughout the 17th of February 1979 and, using a light machine gun, pistol and grenades, killed more than 20 enemy troops and bravely gave her own life helping her comrades in the armed people's public security force hold their position, etc.

On the industrial production front in 1978, young workers, despite encountering very large difficulties caused by shortages in supplies, displayed their revolutionary and scientific qualities, displayed a high spirit of self-reliance and overcame their difficulties by finding substitute raw materials, finished materials and spare parts, undertaking important, difficult jobs themselves, working creatively and completing the state plan. In Hanoi, Haiphong, Bac Thai, Vinh Phu, Quang Ninh and Ha Nam Ninh alone, 4,262 Youth Union chapters and subchapters and 118,171 Youth Union members and youths completed their plans for the year 10 days to 6 months ahead of time.

The young generation must enthusiastically and patiently study and conduct research in order to learn the laws of nature and society, improve their cultural, scientific, technical, specialized and professional qualifications, cultivate new qualities and skills, raise their level of organization and management and become the masters of new instruments of production, new industrial processes and modern technical methods. They must forge within themselves a scientific spirit, attitude, method and style; they must develop the large-scale industrial style and overcome the habits left behind by the many years of small-scale production, habits that are still influencing our young generation, such as lacking a sense of organization in work, being conservative and not wanting to make improvements, being satisfied with old ways of thinking and working, etc.

As a production force, the worker is always the central representative of science and the revolution in every age. As Lenin said: "The foremost production force of all mankind is the worker, the laborer." (8) The young generation of Vietnam, as the masters of today's society and the future masters of the country, has the responsibility and right to learn in order to improve the capabilities and skills of the collective master, improve their revolutionary and scientific qualities in order to win victory over poverty and backwardness, firmly protect the fatherland, successfully build socialism, move forward to build communism and realize their lofty revolutionary ideals. Learning must become the revolutionary instinct of our country's young generation. The young generation, more than anyone else, must make every effort to learn because they are in the age group that can learn much, in an age group that has much time to apply what it learns and contribute to the revolution. Le Duan has

advised the young generation: "The youths of Vietnam must make every effort to reach the pinnacle of modern science and technology in the next 20 to 30 years. Youths must successfully perform this task and must be confident that we can perform this task."(9)

The "creative youth, skill training and skilled worker testing" movement has had a direct impact upon the effort to raise the scientific and technical levels of young workers and is a mass movement of a revolutionary and scientific nature whose development must be continued. More than 22,000 suggestions of value on how to improve techniques and rationalize production have been made by youths in this movement and have been applied in production, thus saving the state tens of millions of dong. The recognition in 1978 of some 30,000 young workers as skilled workers of the enterprise level was a positive result deserving of praise and encouragement of the skill training and testing movement, a movement that has the participation of nearly 1 million youths. The emergence of many young skilled workers confirms the tremendous potential, the ability to move forward of the young generation in its attempt to become the masters of advanced technology and opens new, bright prospects for not only helping to complete the state plan and improving the ability of the young generation to exercise collective ownership, but also is a positive contribution to strengthening the working class. On the agricultural production front, the activities of the young generation in 1978, such as the construction of 4,200 high yield fields and model fields covering some 100,000 hectares, were acts of intensive cultivation of a revolutionary and scientific nature, acts very worthy of encouragement. The spearheads of attack on the water conservancy front and the land clearing front, some 6,000 "shock youth water conservancy construction projects" and 1,242 "shock youth land clearing projects," indicate the revolutionary-offensive spirit, the spirit of collective ownership and the new method of working of the young generation that must be inspired and helped to develop.

Our socialist system is capable of fully developing the revolutionary and scientific qualities of the young generation. Under the leadership of the various levels of the party organization, the organizations of the government, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the other members of the dictatorship of the proletariat system must fulfill their functions, role and responsibility and must work together to create the most favorable conditions possible for the young generation to enhance its revolutionary and scientific qualities, thereby fulfilling the wish of the party as stated by President Ho before he departed from us: "Training the revolutionary generation of tomorrow is a very important and very necessary job."(10)

The young generation of Vietnam, which has been armed by our party and President Ho with ever victorious revolutionary ideals and whose revolutionary and scientific qualities have constantly been forged and enhanced, has shown itself worthy of this trust. As Le Duan said: "At present, on all roads of

the country, on every line of the revolution, millions of youths are going to the places of greatest difficulty and adversity, contributing the full zeal of the young to the fatherland and socialism."(11) Today, in the new stage of the revolution, the young generation of Vietnam, with boundless confidence in its great and revered Vietnam Communist Party, is even more determined to forge itself, to turn the revolutionary and scientific qualities of the young into the strength "to move mountains," thereby making a positive contribution to insuring that our entire country, each locality, each unit, everywhere "is overflowing with the revolutionary-offensive spirit, with revolutionary heroism" (12) in the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Huan thi cua Ho Chu tich tai buoi le ky niem lan thu 35 ngay thanh lap Doan" [Address by President Ho at the Ceremony Commemorating the 35th Anniversary of the Youth Union], "Youths and Revolutionary Heroism," Youth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 22.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 182.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume II, p 199.
4. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, tien len gianh nhung thang loi moi" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party to Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 90.
5. Le Duan: "Thanh nien voi cach mang xa hoi chu nghia" [Youths and the Socialist Revolution], Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, p 24.
6. The Political Report..., p 156.
7. Ho Chu tich ban ve giao duc [President Ho on Education], Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 210.
8. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 29, p 414.
9. Le Duan: "Thanh nien voi...", pp 136-137.
10. The Testament of President Ho.
11. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang...", p 190.
12. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 94.

THE EMULATION MOVEMENT TO CATCH UP TO AND SURPASS THE VU THANG COOPERATIVE IN THAI BINH PROVINCE

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[Article by Phan Ngoc Dap]

[Text] Thai Binh is one of the key rice and hog growing provinces of the entire country, was the first province to record yields of 5, 6 and then 7 tons of paddy per hectare and so forth.

Vu Thang is a product of the cooperativization movement of Thai Binh and the movement to accelerate agricultural production in accordance with the party's line on agricultural development. This product is the result of efforts made by the party organization and people of Vu Thang, the leadership of the provincial and district party committees, the contributions made by the various sectors and levels and the impact of industry. Therefore, Thai Binh must first learn how to use the valuable experiences of Vu Thang to rapidly bring the other cooperatives within the province to and above the level of Vu Thang. At the same time, it must continue to build the Vu Thang Cooperative and create a model of a unit that is steadily advancing to large-scale socialist production within agriculture in order to gain experience for the other agricultural cooperatives within the province.

On the basis of the stages of agricultural development of the model unit Vu Thang over the past 14 years and looking back over the development of agriculture in Thai Binh Province in recent years, we see:

Between 1974 and 1978, the rice yield of the entire province was unstable:

1974:	70.20 quintals per hectare
1975:	53.08 quintals per hectare
1976:	65.21 quintals per hectare
1977:	48.62 quintals per hectare
1978:	58.00 quintals per hectare.

The average rice yield during these 5 years was an unstable 6 tons per hectare.

Meanwhile, the Vu Thang Cooperative surpassed the 6 ton level in 1966 and passed the 7 ton milestone in 1967. In 1973, it averaged 9 tons per hectare and, in 1974, 10 tons; it is now endeavoring to reach yields of 11-12 tons per hectare. In 1978, 85 cooperatives in Thai Binh Province averaged 64 quintals or more of rice per hectare, 130 cooperatives averaged 50-64 quintals per hectare and 62 cooperatives averaged less than 50 quintals per hectare. During the 5 years mentioned above, the highest average number of hogs per hectare cultivated per year in the province was 2.5 while the lowest was only 1.9, with a market weight of roughly 40 kilograms; the hog herd of Vu Thang averaged 2.8 hogs per hectare with a market weight of roughly 60 kilograms during these 5 years and 6.2 hogs per hectare cultivated in 1977.

Although Vu Thang has not been able to increase the amount of area under cultivation much, as a result of sending persons to build new economic zones, practicing planned parenthood and utilizing labor for livestock production and the development of the trade sector, the cooperative averaged 0.65 hectare per laborer in 1978 while the overall average of the province was only 0.44 hectare per laborer.

The per capita grain output of Thai Binh Province in a year of bumper crops is 400 kilograms, in a normal year it is approximately 350 kilograms and in a year of unfavorable weather it is only 300 kilograms. The Vu Thang Cooperative, however, surpassed the 300 kilogram level in 1965 and the 400 kilogram level between 1966 and 1969; since 1970, it has surpassed the 500 kilogram and 600 kilogram levels.

As regards the quantity of products supplied to the state, the average per hectare of farmland in Thai Binh has never exceeded 1 ton of paddy per hectare and roughly 1 quintal of meat per hectare in any one year. Vu Thang, however, has averaged 2 tons of paddy (2.4 tons in the highest year) and 3 quintals of pork (3.5 quintals in the highest year) per hectare.

To record the achievements it enjoys today, the Vu Thang Cooperative has struggled to make steady progress. After resolving the problems of water-logging and drought, the Vu Thang Cooperative recorded an average of 5 tons of paddy per hectare in 1965. In the second stage (1966-1969), Vu Thang began to improve its fields, put the practice of intensive cultivation on a regular basis and steadily increased its rice yield from 5 to 7 tons per hectare. On the basis of achieving a stable solution to the grain problem, Vu Thang entered the third stage (1970-1976), the stage of efficiently redistributing labor among crop production, livestock production and the trade sector, delving deeply into specialization and cooperation, expanding the application of science and technology to production and, on this basis, raising the standard of living

of cooperative members, creating more and more products and commodities and raising the level of contributions to the state. Meanwhile, the level of development of the agricultural economy of Thai Binh has remained at the level achieved by Vu Thang in 1966 and 1967. Therefore, mobilizing and organizing the various cooperatives within the province to study, catch up to and surpass the Vu Thang Cooperative are necessary steps in helping Thai Binh make rapid progress on the agricultural production front and lay the foundation for bringing about a strong change in the overall economic situation of the province.

To Thai Binh, Vu Thang is not only a source of pride, but also a guideline for actions, the near future toward which the entire province is moving. Therefore, the Thai Binh Provincial Party Committee has determined that the emulation movement to study, follow the example of, catch up to and surpass the Vu Thang Cooperative must fully reflect the following spirit and purpose:

1. This is a widespread and profound revolutionary movement touching upon many areas of life, the economy, society, politics and ideology, one designed to turn the economic situation of the province around and change the agricultural situation and the countryside of Thai Binh in the years to come.

The campaign to study, emulate and follow the example set by Vu Thang is, in substance, a profound, thorough revolutionary campaign to move agriculture and the countryside forward in every respect and create a new economic structure, a new socialist countryside.

The lessons learned at Vu Thang have proven that in order to gradually advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production, importance must be attached to developing all areas by simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in the countryside. We must establish the new production relations, build material-technical bases, introduce science and technology in production and mold the new, socialist man.

The emulation of Vu Thang, the effort to catch up to and surpass the Vu Thang Cooperative involve trying to catch up to Vu Thang economically and socially as well as politically and ideologically. All agricultural cooperatives within the province must emulate in this direction in order to help to turn the economic situation of Thai Binh around and change the agricultural situation and the countryside of Thai Binh in the years to come. Therefore, this emulation movement is not distinct from, rather, it is part of the political task of the party organization and people of Thai Binh; each sector, level, cadre and party member in Thai Binh has a position and a responsibility in this campaign, even in their daily work and routine activities. The realities of the emulation movement to study and follow the example of Vu Thang in Thai Binh Province over the past year have clearly shown that the Quynh Frang, Thuy Chinh, Thai Son and other cooperatives have brought about strong changes primarily because the party committee echelon, cadres, party members and people

at these cooperatives clearly understand the objectives and significance of the campaign to study and follow the example set by the model unit Vu Thang; they have not only studied the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang in production, but also discussed and studied the lessons in organizing life, building the new countryside, building the party, government and mass organizations and the lessons in the revolutionary-offensive spirit, the sense of self-reliance and the spirit of initiative and creativity of the party organization and people of Vu Thang.

However, in the movement to emulate Vu Thang, there are still many party committees, from the district to the installation levels that do not have a full understanding of the significance and objectives of the campaign, consequently, the campaign has involved nothing more than general propaganda and appeals and has not given every sector and person a truly thorough understanding of the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang. Some party committees are not thoroughly familiar with the comprehensive lessons of Vu Thang, consequently, when they try to apply these lessons, they lack comprehensive guidelines, fail to mobilize the sectors under their authority to participate in the campaign and lack specific norms and measures for each type basic organization in order to show them how to catch up to the Vu Thang Cooperative.

2. Leading and guiding the effort to emulate, study and follow the example set by Vu Thang is an important mode of leadership and guidance of the various levels and sectors, one that causes the corps of cadres and party members to mature rapidly through the campaign and improves their ability to work and their ability to organize the successful implementation of the line and policies of the party.

Whether the movement is closely, correctly and successfully guided and whether the knowledge and ability of cadres to guide implementation are improved through the movement depend, to a decisive degree, upon whether or not the leader is fully familiar with the model unit, has gained experience from it and is able to increase the number of model units. We frequently ask ourselves: why, when we adopt correct lines and policies, do we achieve low results when implementing them? There are many reasons for this; however, one important reason is the failure in our leadership and guidance to assess and gain experience from advanced model units in order to increase their number. Therefore, the specific knowledge we put to use in the organization of implementation is deficient and lacking in imagination, our guidance is general in nature and lacking in detail, good experiences and good work are not spread and the positions and lines of the party cannot be transformed into reality.

Therefore, one of the objectives of the campaign to emulate Vu Thang in Thai Binh Province must be to transform the style of leadership and guidance of the various levels and sectors so that efforts are focused on the installation, so that everything possible is done to help the installation. Our mode of leadership and guidance in this campaign is to become thoroughly familiar with

the model unit, summarize its experiences and develop new model units in order to create a new capability for organizing the implementation of the positions and lines of the party. The various party committee echelons, especially the district party committees, must learn the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang and personally guide this campaign.

In the process of guiding the emulation movement within agriculture, we will rely upon the five economic norms (10 tons of paddy per hectare of farmland, 6 hogs per hectare cultivated, 1 laborer working 1 cultivated hectare, 600 kilograms of grain per person per year and 1,000 dong per laborer) to rate the cooperatives as good, average or deficient. On this basis, emulation guidelines will be adopted for each type in order to guide each type in how to follow the example set by Vu Thang. In guiding the application of the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang, it is necessary to help each type cooperative not only to apply the general lessons and experiences, but also to apply the specific lessons and experiences gained in each stage of development of Vu Thang. Stage one of Vu Thang will be applied to those deficient cooperatives that are still encountering numerous difficulties. Stage two of Vu Thang will be applied to average cooperatives. Stage three of Vu Thang will be applied to good cooperatives that are endeavoring to catch up to and surpass the Vu Thang Cooperative by 1980.

These lessons and experiences have begun to be implemented in Thai Thuy District. The Thuy Chinh Cooperative is a good cooperative, the Thai Son Cooperative is an average cooperative and the My Loc Cooperative is a deficient cooperative. The effort made by these cooperatives to study and follow the example set by Vu Thang has begun to yield good results. These results prove that each type cooperative must apply the lessons and experiences of the Vu Thang Cooperative in a different manner consistent with its actual conditions. Only in this way is it possible to have a practical effect in the effort to study and apply the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang.

After pointing out the guidelines and specifics for each type cooperative emulating Vu Thang, the district party committee must establish one cooperative in each of the three different types as a pilot project cooperative in order to gain practical experience and multiply the number of models of each type cooperative, of each job. Only in this way can the effort to increase the number of model units achieve marked results at each place and within each cooperative.

3. The effort to study and follow the example set by the model unit Vu Thang must be closely linked to building the district and strengthening the district level.

The campaign to emulate Vu Thang is, in substance, a campaign to reorganize production and improve agricultural management from the installation to the district levels in order to closely link the installation to the district

within an agro-industrial economic structure. The development of cooperatives along the lines of the model unit Vu Thang raises the pressing requirement of intensifying the building of the district level and strengthening the district level in accordance with the directive of the Political Bureau and the resolution of the Council of Ministers.

To begin with, the districts must organize the cadres being sent to study the seven lessons in reorganizing production and improving agricultural management and the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang. Depending upon the objective, these cadres must be sent to study at the provincial party school (if they are district party committee members, secretaries or members of the standing committee of village party committees or the heads of sectors and circles within the district), the provincial school of agriculture (if they are the heads or deputy heads of cooperatives or cadres of the various specialized sections within cooperatives). The district party school (if they are party chapter secretaries, party chapter committee members or production unit chiefs) or village party schools (if they are party members who spend the majority of their time in the villages) so that, by the end of 1979, the entire district has a large corps of cadres who possess knowledge and experience in reorganizing production and improving management and have learned the lessons and experiences of Vu Thang.

At the same time, the district must use its production planning as the basis for establishing the production guidelines and the division of labor of each cooperative and gradually build those material-technical bases consistent with overall planning within the district which the individual cooperative cannot construct or can only construct with low economic returns.

At present, Thai Binh Province has completed the preliminary planning of the various districts and is beginning the assignment of management responsibilities for the material-technical bases within the scope of the district for all eight districts and cities within the province. In 1979, the districts must truly assume the management of these bases, initiate the specific planning of the small areas within the district, arrange and establish economic-technical clusters and use these systems to have an impact upon and help the cooperatives within the district study and follow the example of Vu Thang. The various sectors of the province must build their apparatus and intensify their specialized and professional activities in order to create the conditions for promptly meeting the requirements raised by installations and the district level of the province.

In view of its profound and widespread significance, the movement to emulate Vu Thang demands that the combined strength of the entire province be utilized. The organizations of the party and government, the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the Women's Union must focus their efforts on supporting agriculture and helping the agricultural cooperatives develop the conditions needed to make rapid progress. Each sector within the province must emulate to improve its

work and work methods and must make innovations that support agriculture as best possible. Thai Binh Province must endeavor to reduce the number of deficient cooperatives to zero and have many cooperatives that catch up to and exceed the Vu Thang Cooperative by 1960.

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THE FORESTRY TRADE WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE DISTRICT

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[Article by Lam Jong Dinh]

[Text] Within the scope of the district, the economic structure is expressed in the form of an agro-industrial structure, an agro-forestry-industrial structure, a forestry-agricultural-industrial structure, an agricultural-fishing-forestry-industrial structure and so forth. This requires that every district, regardless of the area in which it is located, examine the natural characteristics that create its material potentials, characteristics which include forestry or the potential for forestry as expressed in specific products and their value. On this basis, it is necessary to correctly establish the position and role of the forestry trade as well as the organic relationship between forestry and the various areas of agriculture, fishing and industry within the overall economic structure of the district. Only in this way can we point out the specifics involved in the activities and conditions needed to develop the full value of the forestry trade within our overall economic potential and in a manner consistent with the characteristics of each specific district.

The forestry component of the economic structure of a district cannot be established without taking into consideration the natural, economic, technical, population, cultural, social, national defense and other sectors of the district. It is necessary to examine and take into consideration all of these factors for each district so that the forestry trade is consistent with the special characteristics of each district and is closely linked to the general requirements of economic construction of the entire country. The importance of forestry within each specific district depends upon two factors. First, it depends upon the requirements of the district itself of the forestry trade. Secondly, it depends upon the value of district's forest in meeting the general requirements of the economic zone or the entire country.

In a district in the high mountains, such as Muong Te District in Lai Chau Province, for example, 85 percent of the land is in hills and mountains and the district occupies a position that directly controls the headwaters of the Da River. This natural condition alone indicates the absolute importance of forestry in this district. Here, the forests have not only determined the traditional life of the people within the district (using the forestry trade to build a prosperous economy), but also afford some protection to production and life (primarily for agriculture by protecting against floods, combating erosion and combating drought) in the Red River Delta. The development of the economy in Muong Te, consequently, must be based on the forest economy in order to make full use of the natural potential of the nearly one-half million hectares of steeply graded mountain land. At present, Muong Te only has about 40,000 hectares of forest around 1,000 of which are truly of economic value. Thus, the natural resource that makes the forestry trade one of the strongpoints here has been virtually depleted. There is no other way to truly change this district into a forestry-agricultural-industrial economic unit than by focusing efforts on the development of the forestry trade. Especially in view of the fact that the forests are as depleted as they are now, it is clear that the process of building the district economy here must also be the process of rebuilding the forests on a large scale, on 60 to 70 percent of the land of the district, by means of such basic measures as protecting and maintaining the very small amount of forests that remain and effectively planting new forests at a rapid rate.

In a midland district, such as Tan Lac District in Ha Son Binh Province, hills and mountains cover 63 percent of the district's land. Of this land, only about 24 percent is being used exclusively in agriculture while 72 percent is allocated for the development of forests. In terms of economic intercourse, this district has trade relations (especially for firewood, bamboo, lumber and other forestry products) with the other localities in the lowlands. In terms of the natural environment, the network of streams within the district empties into the Da River and the forest system of the district helps to regulate the climate and retain moisture in the agricultural land of adjacent areas. These characteristics show us that the overall economic potential of this district is determined, to an important degree, by the forests. The forests here not only help to lay the base for the economic development of the district, but also have a positive impact upon the requirements of developing the economy, accelerating production and preventing and combating floods, erosion and drought in the lowlands. However, the size of Tan Lac's forests has decreased significantly and their quality is poor. To build Tan Lac into an agro-forestry-industrial district, it is necessary to make comprehensive investments of capital and labor and equip with technology consistent with the forestry situation mentioned above in order to accelerate the preservation, repair, improvement and planting of the forests for the purposes of rapidly increasing forest resources and making full use of each forestry value of the district by developing the sources of local raw materials provided by the forests in order to produce many products and commodities. Only in this way

can we develop the entire potential of the land, water and forests here in order to build and develop local industry while helping to prevent and combat natural disasters, improve the environment and create favorable conditions for the production and everyday lives of the people within the district as well as the people of many lowland provinces.

A district in the lowlands, such as Ly Nhan District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, for example, has 11,544 hectares of farmland, 3,136 hectares of residential land and cemeteries, 1,151 hectares of ponds and pools, 1,701 hectares of land in water conservancy and communications systems and 206 hectares of land in capital construction projects. In the 16 years (1960 to 1976) of the tree planting movement in keeping with the teaching of Uncle Ho, the district planted nearly 18 million trees (including 1,212 shelter belts with nearly 8 million trees to protect 85 percent of the district's cropland, nearly 900,000 clumps of bamboo to protect 62 kilometers of dikes, more than 6.6 million timber trees and more than 1 million fruit trees). An average of 123 trees per person has been planted; in 1976, more than 1.6 million trees were planted, an average of 11.5 trees per person. With this newly created capital, Ly Nhan has harvested 1,174,000 pieces of timber and millions of pieces of bamboo. With this wood and bamboo, the district has constructed or repaired 13,856 buildings with 62,785 rooms (including 2,558 schools, 1,212 child care centers and kindergartens, 606 medical aid clinics and offices, 756 livestock pens, 8,620 manure processing sheds and 740 warehouses) and constructed 8,620 student desks and chairs, 59,000 plow frames and 200 jute looms; in addition, it has supplied 19,153 tons of firewood to the local people. Ly Nhan District has earned 10 million dong as a result of planting trees and the income of the cooperatives per manday spent planting trees is 3.95 dong. Although it has no forestry land, with the trees it has planted, Ly Nhan has truly developed its forestry potential, thereby helping to bring prosperity to the district. As a result of knowing what to do, the district has not only increased its agricultural yields and protected its crops, but also produced much wood, bamboo, rattan, firewood and fruit on the same piece of land; this proves that the agricultural-forestry potential of even the lowland districts is very large. As regards forestry, this potential has been developed through tree planting movements in exact accordance with Uncle Ho's teaching about the "tree planting tet." The systems of trees that have been planted in the lowlands do not infringe upon agricultural land and, in addition, also serve the two basic functions of forests of "supplying products" and "providing protection." This is because Ly Nhan District has made full use of the natural potential of forests, primarily as this potential lies in the vertical plane: above, the tops of the trees stretch into the sunlight and the various strata of air while, below, the roots penetrate and make full use of the various strata of subsoil not used by agriculture. The value of forestry within a lowland district is primarily the value of the tree systems that are created. Making full use of this value will enrich the agro-industrial economic potential of the district.

In a coastal district, such as Ca Mau District in Minh Hai Province, for example, an important part of the district's territory consists of mangrove

forests growing in muddy soil submerged in sea water or affected by the daily tides. These forests are important sources of wood, firewood, coal and so forth for the Mekong River Delta, especially Ho Chi Minh City; at the same time, they are a natural base for the development of many biological resources: honey bees above the water and marine products in the water. Thus, it is clear that economic value here is accumulated from both the forests and the sea. Although this is a coastal area, forestry is an indispensable part of the area's economy and cannot be given light attention. The mangrove forests are a valuable natural potential and make a significant contribution to the forestry-fishing-agricultural economy by being closely coordinated with the marine and forestry product processing industries of the area. Appropriate investments in the development of forestry here will make use of the favorable natural conditions of the area in order to make full use of and develop the rich, unique tropical potential of the water, land and biological life at this place that constantly lies on the edge of the sea.

The facts presented above show that under our country's circumstances, there are many places at which agriculture, forestry, fishing and industry converge and support one another's development. When determining the specifics involved in building the agro-industrial economic structure of each specific district, be it in the mountains, the lowlands or the seacoast, it is necessary to correctly determine how forestry fits within this overall structure in order to make full use of the potentials of nature.

The districts might vary very widely in terms of their natural characteristics and economic requirements but the process of developing the forestry trade of each district does not go beyond the scope of the two basic functions of the forests, namely, "supplying products" and "providing protection." Utilizing these functions means utilizing, as fully as possible, the ecological role and the tremendous material potentials of the forests to effectively support the effort to prevent and combat natural disasters and enemy attacks, protect and improve the environment and provide a continuous supply of many forestry products (primarily wood, in addition to the products of the animal life living within the forests, the various types of starches, oils, fruit and so forth) that the forests can produce under the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry. Within the scope of the district, these two objectives are concretized in both areas, that is, in meeting the essential needs of the locality itself and in serving common interests on the broad scale of an economic zone or the entire country. For example, protecting the forests and planting forests in a mountain district primarily serve the vital purpose of retaining water and soil for the production and life of the district; at the same time, they provide additional, strong natural bases needed to prevent and combat flooding and drought in the lowlands. A forest zone of the central level that is harvesting wood for exportation within a district can and should meet some of the needs of the district for firewood and small pieces of wood by making full use of branches, tips of trees and so forth as stipulated in state regulations. The development of systems of trees in the lowland districts

is primarily designed to support the effort to prevent and combat natural disasters, protect production in fields and supply firewood, bamboo, rattan and so forth to meet daily needs; at the same time, it is the most practical way the lowlands can make a positive contribution to protecting the forests in the mountains because it reduces the need to cut trees to be sent to the lowlands for use in the manufacture of furniture or as a fuel.

Carrying out the development of the forest economy within the scope of the district in exact accordance with the objectives set forth above will avoid contradiction between the partial interests of the locality and the interests of the entire country. However, under the specific conditions of each district, the need to "supply products" and the need to "provide protection" differ from place to place. As a result, the mode for making full use of natural potentials in order to achieve these objectives must be suited to the specific place in question. For example, districts that still have good forests must, on the basis of insuring the maintenance and development of these good forests by means of management, preservation, repair, improvement, regrowth and the planting of forests, build suitable marine product harvesting and processing industries to produce many goods of high value. Conversely, districts whose forests have been exhausted or districts that do not have green trees must first accelerate the planting of forests and trees in order to acquire, on the basis of this newly created capital, the potential for gradually developing the trades related to the products of the forests and trees that are planted.

To achieve the above mentioned objectives of the forestry trade, every district must establish and maintain a stable forest within the territory of which it is in charge. The forests, in general, and trees, in particular, are the basic capital for developing the forestry trade. The potential of the forest economy of a district is primarily determined by how much capital it has in its forests and trees. A mountain district, even if it is large, has many mountains and is entirely a forestry district by nature, in which the forests are exhausted surely cannot compare its forestry potential to that of a lowland district which, although it has no forest land, has made integrated use of natural potentials to create a rich system of trees that has the effect of regulating the environment and serving as a storehouse of wood, firewood, bamboo, rattan and so forth to meet the everyday needs of production and life. On the other hand, the forests and trees of a district are a component of the system of forests and trees of the entire country. Establishing and maintaining a stable forest within each district lay the basis for establishing and maintaining the system of forests of the entire country. As a result, the activity of most basic importance in terms of forestry to each district is to establish and maintain forests and trees on an adequate amount of land which are of high quality, have the proper ratio of species and possess immediate and long-range capabilities to meet the objectives of the forestry trade of "providing protection" and "supplying products." In those districts that have planned separate land for forestry, it is necessary

to rapidly stabilize forest resources by maintaining existing forests and preventing and combating the destruction of the forest, primarily preventing and combating the periodic burning of forests, prohibiting the indiscriminate cutting of forests and gradually reducing and eventually eliminating slash and burn cultivation; at the same time, it is necessary to create new forests of sufficient size and good quality by repairing, improving and planting forests. Once this land and these forests have been stabilized on a permanent basis, it is necessary to gradually find ways to nurture and improve the quality of the forests so that each hectare of forest land yields an increasingly large supply of products of higher quality and value, the highest quality and value permitted at each specific place by the overall potential of the climate, land and species of trees. In lowland districts that do not have land set aside for forestry, it might be possible to use the land not allocated for farming and construction to plant trees and turn each road shoulder, dike bank, ditch bank and fence embankment, each unused piece of land into a planting of trees to supply lumber, firewood, fruit, oils or flowers for raising bees, to provide shade, block the wind, prevent pollution, etc.

Every district must rapidly develop the trades that are related to forestry and build local industry on the basis of fully utilizing and developing the raw materials produced by local forests and trees and turn them into commodities of value. Forestry products arrive at the market in one of two forms: as raw materials, such as timber, bamboo, flowers, fruit, kernels, tubers, fresh leaves and so forth or as processed industrial products, such as flooring boards, tables and chairs, woven bamboo and rattanware, essential oils, starch, etc. If, in our attempt to make full use of the raw materials of the forest, we stop at harvesting the forests for timber, firewood, bamboo and so forth and deliver them in the form of raw materials directly to the market as we have been doing for a long time, the returns from the use of these raw materials are low, production costs are high, product quality is low, manpower is wasted, labor productivity is low and income is low. As a result, each district must establish forestry product processing installations suited to the capabilities and characteristics of the forest resources within the district. For example, districts that have much Pre and Truc bamboo must develop the weaving of various types of export goods and can, if conditions permit, organize paper pulp or paper production. Districts that have precious woods should develop the exported wood artware sector or the manufactured furniture sector. Those districts that have many types of oil bearing trees must organize an essential oil processing sector. Districts whose forests bear tasty and nutritious fruits and nuts (such as Trung Khanh chestnuts in Cao Bang) must give thought to producing powders of high value. Over the long range, whether or not the forestry potential within a district yields high economic returns depends, to a rather large degree, upon whether or not attention is given to building and developing the processing of forestry products into industrial goods in a manner suited to the forestry products in which the district is strong. One of the measures for industrializing the forestry trade within the scope of the district can be to gradually move forward from handicraft and artisan

production in a manner consistent with the level of technology and needs of life at the present, thereby creating the conditions for equipping with more and more modern material-technical bases for the industrialization of the forestry trade.

As an administrative unit within the state apparatus, the district has the responsibility to properly manage, maintain and develop the forest resources within the district. In this work, the district must always take the viewpoint of the common interests of the state, must fulfill its responsibility and authority to manage the forests within the area of which it is in charge on behalf of the state. The district may not put its partial interests into opposition with the common interests of the state. For example, the district may not arbitrarily decide to allow the forest at one place to stand and to cut the forest at another place. This is a decision that is made by the state. The management of forests by the districts must comply with the regulations and laws set forth by the state, must be conducted under the direct guidance and supervision of the province (represented by the Forestry Service) and must comply with the orders of the government (represented by the Ministry of Forestry). The forest resources of a district belong to the entire country. The district is the level that represents the state in managing the forest resources of the state within each specific district. The state's right to manage the forests is an exclusive right; management responsibilities are assigned to the districts so that the state can closely supervise and maintain the forests within each specific area, not so that the district can use the forests to satisfy its own partial interests.

As a planning unit, the district has the responsibility and authority to organize and manage each production activity in accordance with the assignment of responsibilities to the district. However, as regards the utilization of forest resources, the district must comply with a basic principle of progressive forestry management, that is, it may only utilize the quantity of wood and forestry products that can be produced by the forests each year and absolutely may not eat into forest capital; moreover, it must accumulate more of this capital. For example, it requires 60 years for a good type of wood to achieve use value. To have such good trees (60 year old trees) to harvest year after year, it is absolutely necessary to have a succession of trees from 1, 2, 3 and so forth to 58 and 59 years of age. The trees from 1 to 59 years of age that continue to grow are the forest capital. Forest capital consists of capital in the land and capital in the forest trees producing lumber, forestry products and pharmaceuticals, even the birds and wild beasts living in the forests. The objective of progressive forestry management is to maintain these valuable types of capital, that is, to not allow actions that are contrary to the natural laws of the forest to cause forest soil to become depleted, cause valuable species of trees and wildlife to disappear or cause the ecological balance of the forest to be disrupted. On the basis of the value of the capital in forest land, forest trees and wildlife, we must find ways to make integrated use of natural potentials by

developing production through the mode of coordinating agriculture and forestry, thereby creating many products to satisfy the needs for food, shelter, clothing, education and export goods and bringing prosperity to the district, and in accordance with the principle of maintaining the forests well in order to improve the soil well and improving the soil well in order to develop coordinated agro-forestry production marked by high yields. This is the path of development of the forestry trade reorganized on a scientific basis with technological advances consistent with the characteristics of the forest.

To develop agricultural and forestry production coordinated within the district, it is necessary to conduct good agro-forestry planning to insure the proper allocation of agricultural land and forestry land and achieve the highest possible economic returns within each district. Due to natural characteristics, geography and relationships within the environment, some types of land are better suited for forestry, some types are better suited for agriculture and some types are in between. The best practice is to use the land that is better suited for agriculture primarily for intensive agricultural cultivation coordinated with forestry when necessary; land that is better suited for forestry should be used primarily for forestry and coordinated with agriculture when possible. On land that is in between, agriculture and forestry should always be closely coordinated. Thus, on land allocated for forestry, building forest capital and developing the forestry trade are of primary importance; however, it is still necessary to make use of agricultural capabilities as conditions permit. And, on land allocated for agriculture, importance must also be attached to making full use of local forestry value.

In addition, matters related to equipping the forestry trade with material-technical bases, to regulations, policies and rules governing the comprehensive management of the forests and the forestry trade and to the organizations specializing in forestry work within the district must be resolved in an effective manner and under the direct leadership of the district party committee and government.

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THE TRADITION OF OPPOSING AGGRESSION IN VIETNAMESE POPULAR LEGENDS

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[Article by Nguyen Dinh Buu]

[Text] Vietnamese popular legends are an important part of the Vietnamese popular literature treasury, and are concentrated and profound reflections of our people's traditions of building and defending their country. The topics of defeating the enemy to defend the nation and fighting for national independence are the greatest topics in Vietnamese popular legends. It may be said that we have a system of popular legends of opposition to aggression or a system of popular patriotic legends, the most notable of which are the legends of opposition to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

Popular legends tell us that even during the period in which the Van Lang state had just been formed our people had to continually oppose the Chinese aggressor powers. The story of Thanh Giong is an epic with which all Vietnamese are familiar. But before Thanh Giong, and contemporaneous with Thanh Giong, there were many other heroic examples. One was General Trach Linh (of Tien Lat Village, Viet Yen District, Ha Bac Province), General Trach Cuong (of Dong Ky Village, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province), the brothers Ran and Dat (of Vinh Ninh Village, Thanh Tri District, Hanoi), the brothers Duc and Minh (of Ha Lo Village, Dong Anh District, Hanoi), and General Cot Tung (of Ha Loi Village, Me Linh District, Hanoi), who routed the Mui No invaders. There were heroes such as the brothers Duc and Minh, General Cot Tung, Ly Tien (of the Tien Ngu camp in Hanoi), and the five brothers of the village of Nua (Bac Ninh City, Ha Bac Province), who fought many battles with the An invaders, then joined forces with Thanh Giong to win final victory. There were the ordinary people who devotedly followed Thanh Giong to score feats of arms, such as the fishermen, hangers, and buffalo boys of Hoi Xa Village (Gia Lam District, Hanoi); the peasants who built embankments in the Genh fields (Gia Lam District, Hanoi); the boy Trau of Phu Duc Village, Mr Tran Quoc of Phuy Dong Village, General Bach Sam of Hiep Phu Hamlet, all from the home area of Thanh Giong; the two brothers from Nguon Village (Nghiem Xa, Que Vo, Ha Bac), Mrs Hong Thi and her two children (Dai Than, Gia Luong, Ha Bac), etc.

The figure of Thanh Giong, the most colossal figure, concentrated the strength and aspirations of the Van Lang people, who wanted to completely eliminate the enemy from their country. However, the figure of Thanh Giong was not the only heroic figure, and he was not a hero who fought alone. The legends of that period are imbued with a mythological flavor, but love for country and race, and a spirit of solidarity in fighting the enemy, were confirmed and emphasized at an early date. It is not surprising that the legends reveal that the enemy, from the Mui Do, O Lu, Ma Loi, and Ho Quang invaders to the An invaders, came from the north. In our people's consciousness, the feats of arms of the Van Lang state began the tradition of fighting the enemy of the descendants of the Hung kings which has lasted thousands of years. The feats of arms of the Van Lang state have always had a great inspirational force with regard to succeeding generations every time the nation has been faced with foreign aggression.

If the feats of arms of the hero of Giong Village were integrally related to each field, bamboo grove, pond, river landing, sand bar, well, hillside, and mountain peak in the Bac Bo delta and piedmont regions, the stories of the other heroes are also deeply etched in the memory of the people, have always been a part of the cultural and spiritual lives of the villages and hamlets, and have left behind many indelible vestiges in our country's rural areas. The village festivals are highly reflective of our people's cultural traditions, customs, and habits. But the theme of patriotism is the principle theme of village festivals and is tied in with the stories of the martial accomplishments of the village's heroes and its heroic tradition. The people want to have and must have such understanding. We may also mention General Thach Cuong--also called the saint of Coi Village--who routed the Mui Do invaders in a fierce battle. His feats of arms resourced like thunder of heaven, so the village festival commemorating that hero is the greatest firecracker competition in the Bac Bo lowland and piedmont regions, and perhaps in many other areas as well. The festival which is held on January 4 every year in Dong Ky Village is a festival day of exploding firecrackers and firecracker competitions, of organizing wrestling matches not only among the young men in the village but also among the old men. The wrestling matches are unique in the cultural life of the people and have a strong martial spirit. The five brothers of Nua Village fought the An invaders but were unsuccessful, so they immediately joined forces with Thanh Giong. After returning from the victorious battle, the five brothers parted way and lived in the villages of Y Na and Bo Son. Ever since those two villages have joined together to organize group singing which is profound and warm with human qualities. The story of the martial accomplishments of the boy Trau is the shared joy of the villages of Phu Duc, Le Chi, and Phu Ninh. The boy Trau used an iron boat to fight the enemy on the river. After the enemy was routed his men came together to eat coconut meat and drink coconut milk to slake their thirst. From then on, every year the village festival has organized the young men to compete in knocking a coconut from a high stake in order to commemorate their forefathers' victory in ancient times. On the same river, Mrs Hong Thi and her children called on the village's young girls to dam up the

river and bail out the water so that the columns of troops from all areas could wade across, keep up with the iron horse of Thanh Giong, kill the enemy and achieve merit, and pursue the An invaders, who were fleeing in disorder. The village festival day is also a festival day of the young girls and mothers--women who were rich in patriotism and contributed worthily to the most heroic exploits in the national salvation enterprise of the era of the Hung kings.

The popular legends of the Van Lang period reveal a truly brave, enthusiastic spirit of fighting fierce invaders from the north; that spirit of fighting the enemy when they arrive and winning certain victory when we fight. If one unit of troops fails to win victory, another continues the fight, and many units from different areas come together to wage a joint fight. It is very wondrous and beautiful that our popular legends sketch the features of warfare by our entire population during the period of establishing and defending the nation: young and old, men and women fighting the enemy together, and the entire nation uniting to fight the enemy. Everyone from buffalo boys to mothers and young men and women, in one way or another, contributed to the common victory. They went to fight the enemy very naturally, without any hesitation: Buffalo boys, fishermen, hunters, and ditch diggers joined up immediately when they saw a column of troops passing by. When the young men who were fishing along the river saw the convoy of boats of the boy Trau moving down the river they threw down their nets and jumped aboard the boats to join him. When young women working in the fields saw a column of troops pursuing the enemy come their way they bailed out the water and connected the banks so that the warriors could cross the river. The legends portray our people as going to fight the enemy as enthusiastically as if they were going to participate in festivals. They fought the enemy with any weapons at hand. Craftsmen built stone horses and stone staffs so that General Thach Linh could fight the Mui Do invaders. They also made iron horses, hats, and rods so that Thanh Giong could quell the An invaders, and built iron boats and iron pikes for the boy Trau who aided Giong, etc. Peasants who were building embankments took along their earth rammers, hunters took along their crossbows, and fishermen took along their fishing poles and went to the front. When his iron rod was broken, Thanh Giong uprooted a bamboo and used it to strike the enemy; when the boy Trau lost his iron pike he picked up an enemy corpse and beat the enemy over the head with it. Furthermore, nearly all popular legends mention that the Hung kings had to send emissaries to seek heroes in the villages and hamlets. General Thach Linh, General Thach Cuong, Thanh Giong, and the boy Trau were of common stock. Those heroes were truly close to the life of the Vietnamese peasant. Before going to fight the enemy, Thanh Giong ate rice with eggplant and suddenly grew up, and after defeating the enemy the boy Trau and his friends cooked a pot of rice mixed with potatoes to satisfy their hunger. The popular legends of the Van Lang period bring out the spirit of overcoming all difficulties and hardships to fight the enemy and save the nation which deeply permeated all households. Were not the brothers Duc and Minh, the brothers Ran and Dat, the five brothers of Nua Village, the two brothers of Ngoum Village, and Mrs Hong Thi and her two children representative of

the families which contributed much manpower to the historic resistance wars and which the dominant thought of the popular legends seeks to confirm? It is certain that in order to defend their territory during the period just after they established their country, the Hung kings had to organize many fights against foreign aggression, and that became an extremely urgent matter with regard to the destiny of the young country of Van Lang. Therefore, in addition to Thanh Giong there were other figures in the popular legends of that period who were usually people who suddenly grew from innocent children into giants, and when they fulfilled the sacred duty of the people of Lac Viet they immediately flew up into the sky or disappeared in the mountains and rivers of their home areas. Those people were practically born to fulfill the mission of defending the frontiers when their country was invaded. That is a special characteristic of that period's legends about the heroes who defended their country, and that spirit has become one of our people's traditions.

The country of Au Lac fell into the hands of Trieu Da. Mistakes of An Duong Vuong in his personal relations led to the loss of the nation and the collapse of the dynasty, even though the Au Lac state had such skilled generals as Noi Hau and Cao Lo, and had a sacred crossbow. Legends praise our people of that period for having repulsed many invasions by the troops of Trieu Da. Having fought continually without result, Trieu Da called for peace talks and An Duong Vuong agreed. But An Duong Vuong dropped his guard and failed to clearly realize the nature of the aggressor forces, to the degree that he was deceived by Trieu Da, who brought in a spy (Trong Thuy) to steal state secrets, so "the undertaking fell into the deep sea."

The thousand years during which they were ruled by the Chinese feudalists were a thousand years during which our people struggled against aggression and against Chinese feudal hegemonism. Popular legends praise the national heroes who sacrificed for the nation's independence. They were people who are seldom encountered in history books but who will live forever in the people's memory. National consciousness of those heroes is becoming more and more profound. Their spirit of combat and sacrifice blends in with the strong, persistent life force of the Vietnamese countryside and the Vietnamese people. An outstanding event in the history of national liberation war in the 1st Century A.D. was the uprising of the two Trung sisters. History books usually only record the story of the two Trung sisters, but the popular memory recalls the sisters' generals who fought Su Ding and Ma Yuan. Preliminary statistics show that the stories of 27 of them have been researched in Hanoi, and 41 in Ha Bac, of whom 27 were female generals. Our people have a saying which dates back to that time, "when the enemy reach the houses the women also fight."

From the legends, we see that in addition to the two sisters there were the two brothers and sister of the Dao family (the brothers Hien Huu and Quy Minh and the sister Phuong Dung), the three brothers and daughter of Quach Lang, Dinh Bach Nuong, Dinh Tinh Nyong, the brothers Do, Hien, and

Luong, the brothers Dong and Huu, the couple Dao Ky and Phuong Dung, the couple Thuy Hai and Dang Giang, the three Dong Quan brothers, the two nephews of Thanh Thien, Mrs Dieu Tien and her child, Phap Hai, the sisters A Tac, A Di, and A La, Rong Nhi, etc. Popular legends also include the story of the Trieu sisters' two brothers' fight against the Ngo, the fight of the brothers Truong Hong and Truong Hat against the Luong, the brothers Phung Hung, Phung Hai, and Phung Dinh and their three nephews who fought the Tang, the sisters Hong and Que who fought the Song, the sisters Bao and Ngoc who fought the Yuan, the brothers Duong Truc and To Quang who fought the Ming, the two sisters of Quan Nhan Village who fought the Qing, etc. It is not surprising that the popular legends tell of a large number of such families. And that is something very ordinary and something that our people can readily understand, for every time their country is invaded the whole family goes to fight the enemy and the entire nation fights the enemy. That tradition was even more evident during the recent resistance wars against France, the U.S., and the Beijing expansionists.

The heroes in the legends are from all social classes: Noi Hau was a craftsman who made earthenware pots, Nguyen Tam Trinh was a teacher, Vinh Huy was a hired hand, Nang Tia was a farmer, Hong Nuong and Que Nyong raised silkworms and wove cloth, the young woman of Dao Dang Village was a singer, the old woman of Chue Cau Village sold refreshments, etc. In the village of Kha Lam (Kien An District, Haiphong) there is the legend of Lore Vua Vo, who after returning from fighting the Yuan went back to being a fisherman and lived with the people of the village the rest of his life. Such kind, simple people as Thanh Giong, the boy Trau (Gia Lam District, Hanoi), Lord Cay Noi, Lord Vua Vo, Lord Chang Ut (Kien An District, Haiphong), etc., were truly close to the people and to their home villages and hamlets. Our people never forget those who achieve merit in opposing foreign aggression.

The legend of Truong Hong and Truong Hat, two generals who aided Trieu Quang Phuc, still lives in more than 300 villages scattered all over the Cau River-Song River system, and the place where they died--the historic Cau River front--was the scene of a poem by Ly Thong Kiet more than 500 years later.

The legend of the sisters Hong Nyong and Que Nyong, who helped Tran Luc Tich, a general who led troops against the Song during the reign of Le Dai Hahn, is retold every year during the festival of Nghe Village (Tu Liem District, Hanoi). A column of troops crossed over at the point of confluence of the To Lich and Thien Phu rivers via a bridge built from bamboo and wood provided by the local people. That bridge held back the fierce waves and allowed the column to chase the enemy in the direction of the Red River. Enthusiasm for fighting the enemy and defending the nation created a marvelous strength. Later, in order to commemorate that event, each time they held a ceremony to take a wedding party across to the Con Thi bank, the village people, young and old and large and small, would revel while throwing branches and tree tops into the river to make a temporary bridge, called Con Bridge.

There are also many legends about the Cau River front about the second resistance war against the Song during the Ly Dynasty. During the Tran Dynasty the people in the vicinity of Tac Tri intersection (Vinh Phu) and Ba Vi (Hanoi), who three times fought the Yuan troops, had the famous legend of Lan Ho's fight against the enemy--"The strong spirit of the South scared the Chinese so much they turned cold." The people in the vicinity of Ha (Luc Ngan District, Ha Bac), get together to reenact an ambush of the Yuan troops by General Vu Thanh, a surprise attack which resulted in a great victory for the soldiers and people of the Tran Dynasty. The people in the area of Da Mai (Bac Giang District, Ha Bac) still remember the merit of the sisters Bao Nuong and Ngoc Nuong, who preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than submit to shame, killed an enemy general by sinking his boat, and created an opportunity for our troops to annihilate an enemy army on the Thuong River. Those legends further embellish the history of our nation during the 13th Century.

During the 20 years of Ming domination of our country (1407-1427), our people took note of their crimes and warned those who surrendered and served as their lackeys that "If you want to survive, hide out in the forests and jungles; if you want to die, serve as court officials for the Ngo." In the village of Dao Dang, Hung Yen Province (now Hai Hung), and in the village of Chue Cau in Nam Dinh Province (now Ha Nam Ninh), there is a story about a songstress and a woman who sold refreshments who bravely and resourcefully used stratagems to kill the Ming troops. The people of Lo Khe Village (Dong Anh District, Hanoi) commemorate the brothers Duong Truc and To Quaong Duyen for having organized many ambushes of Ming troops, annihilated one of the enemy's elite cavalry armies, contributed notably to the Chi Lang victory, and killed the enemy general Liu Sheng at the front. In Sat Village (Tien Son District, Ha Bac) there is the tradition of Mrs Tan Thi Tham, who replaced her husband in leading troops against the enemy and achieved much merit. The local people still praise her in the proverb "For courage, Sat Village; for faces, Bang Village; for shapes, Phu Luu Village." Beauty in this case is the beauty of heroically fighting the enemy to defend the nation, and that beauty is greater than the beauty of the faces and shapes of the girls of the villages of Bang and Phu Luu (Tien Son District, Ha Bac).

All localities in our country have legends of resistance to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism during all historical periods. It may be said that there were practically no acts of aggression by the Chinese feudalists against our country which were not encircled by miraculous people's war. Wherever the aggressors went they ran up against fierce resistance. All roads, rivers, and mountain clefts could be used to fight and annihilate the enemy. The glorious victories in resisting foreign aggression in our nation's history cannot be separated from the extraordinary contributions of the people. Popular traditions serve as an immortal treasury which preserves, passes on, and recalls those stories for countless future generations. Vietnamese popular legends have persisted in a lively manner, like the life of the Vietnamese people.

Continuing our nation's tradition of extremely brilliant and glorious opposition to foreign aggression, which is manifested in part in popular legends, our people of today, under the leadership of our Party, are uniting millions as one, manifesting a spirit of vigilance, preparing to fight, and bravely fighting the great-nation expansionism and hegemonism of the reactionary clique within the Chinese ruling circles, in order to defend our socialist homeland.

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DEBATE: THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79
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[Text] Endeavoring To Achieve the Most Beautiful Lifestyle, the Lifestyle of the Collective Master

[Presentation by Vu Khieu]

1. The ideological and cultural revolution in our country together with the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution are accelerating the development of every aspect of our society. In this process, a new lifestyle is being formed, a lifestyle that is the moving force behind the three revolutions as well as the result of these three revolutions.

A lifestyle is formed on the basis of specific socio-economic conditions, but it is not formed in a spontaneous manner. In the history of man, the ruling classes have always established a lifestyle suited to their interests. Therefore, every social revolution has led to a revolution in lifestyle. For this reason, the class struggle in the field of ideology has always revolved around the issue of lifestyle. So, it is not surprising that lifestyle is an issue that is discussed daily in the world today.

In the socialist countries, on the basis of the increasingly large economic and cultural achievements that are being recorded, theoreticians looking into the communist future predict the best of all lifestyles for the people of tomorrow.

In the capitalist countries, in the face of the inevitable collapse of their unjust and corrupt society, bourgeois theoreticians are also discussing lifestyles at great length for the purpose of defending the present style of life in their country and distorting the new style of life in the socialist countries.

In our country, the resolution of the 4th Party Congress is being widely implemented. Beauty is becoming part of everyday life. The characteristics of the new culture and the new man are becoming more evident with each passing day. Lifestyle, therefore, is an issue attracting the attention of all persons.

Thus, what, according to our viewpoint, is lifestyle? And, how can we establish the most beautiful lifestyle possible in our country?

2. Under the light of Marxism-Leninism and through the realities of our revolution, we have examined the differing viewpoints concerning lifestyle in the world today and have clarified the basic viewpoints of our party concerning lifestyle.

Bourgeois theoreticians have long confused the two concepts "standard of living" and "lifestyle." They evaluate the standard of living of a country on the basis of the output value of consumer goods per capita. This method blurs the boundaries among the classes in a society and conceals the very wide gap between the income of a bourgeoisie and the income of a worker.

In recent years, the concept "quality of life" has been very widely used and has become synonymous with lifestyle. Bourgeois theoreticians generally measure the quality of life by the material means used in everyday life, such as housing space, the amount of food consumed daily, the number of automobiles, radios, refrigerators and so forth.

The theoreticians of the socialist countries have criticized these concepts of the quality of life and asserted that the quality of the life of man is not restricted merely to material needs. The quality of life must also be evaluated from the point of view of how well the cultural and spiritual needs of man are met, especially with regard to education, the development of talents and human dignity and the molding of beautiful relations among persons. However, the concept "quality of life" is limited in certain ways and cannot replace the concept "lifestyle." Lifestyle is a broader, more complete sociological category used to denote the entirety of man's tendencies, attitudes and actions in everyday life. For this reason, we must delve deeply into the category "lifestyle" and closely link lifestyle to the entirety of our revolutionary undertaking in order to build a lifestyle upon a scientific basis.

3. Our lifestyle is the lifestyle of the collective owner. Collective ownership is a very profound and rich philosophical concept, a concept that was particularly stressed by our party at its 4th congress. Collective ownership is the most basic characteristic of the new man, the man who fights for the ideal "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the man who is ready to sacrifice his life for the fatherland and socialism, the man who threw off the chains of slavery to become the master of his entire life. The new man is also a person who has divorced himself from the petty thinking and feelings of individualism in order to live life with a broader soul over-

flowing with love, live a life in harmony with the common destiny of the class, the nation, all the working people. Collective ownership is the inevitable trend of development of mankind, is the pinnacle of communist humanitarianism. The new lifestyle, therefore, must be the lifestyle of a person who lives life with legitimate pride, with glorious responsibility, with the full consciousness and capabilities of the collective owner. This lifestyle, which is being consciously molded by all our people, will yield inexhaustible strength for stimulating the rapid development of our entire society. However, our new lifestyle cannot be completely molded overnight. The process of accelerating the three revolutions is also the process of gradually molding the new style of life within our society, the style of life of persons who are the masters of nature, the masters of society and the masters of themselves.

4. The production relations revolution has the purpose of thoroughly abolishing private ownership of the instruments of production and laying a new foundation for close relations between one person and another in our society. Individualism, the product of private ownership, will fade into the past more with each passing day. "One for all, all for one," this is the lifestyle that will deeply permeate the consciousness of our people and create the highest honor and joy of man of being close to the collective, contributing his intelligence and talents to the fatherland and mankind and struggling for the happiness of each and every person. This lifestyle will create a style of man that is completely different from the style of man most commonly found in capitalist society, the man who lives only for himself, the man who is becoming increasingly bogged down in a quagmire of loneliness and desperation.

The scientific and technological revolution is the key to changing the entirety of our society and the key to changing the relationship between man and nature. Labor has become the highest obligation, honor and joy. In advancing from working for hire to working as an owner, from small-scale production to large-scale production, from manual labor to mechanized labor, the man in our society is rapidly learning the latest achievements of mankind and gradually becoming the master of technology, the master of nature. The industrial, modern style is not only evident in labor, but also in our entire daily life. All outmoded work habits, all attitudes of procrastination and conservatism and all bureaucratic behavior will be completely swept away, making room for an urgent, active, scientific and creative style of life,

The ideological and cultural revolution is vigorously eradicating prejudices, superstitions and outmoded ways of thinking, thereby creating the conditions for all the people to constantly improve their knowledge, develop each of their personal talents and change all their thoughts and feelings to become worthy members of the new society and conscious masters of the entirety of their personal lives. On the basis of comprehensive personal development, man is finding a reason to live and joy.

5. The lifestyle we are molding is the lifestyle of persons who embody the most genuine characteristics of man, love, labor and creativity. The freedom,

happiness and honor of man are closely linked to this lifestyle. Our people are working in a selfless manner to rapidly rebuild the country and achieve for themselves an increasingly beautiful material life and spiritual life.

Although we have experienced difficult times and encountered countless challenges, we are still filled with confidence and optimism because our souls shine with the legitimate *raison d'être* of man, because we are moving toward the extremely rich lifestyle of love, labor and creativity, a lifestyle that is becoming increasingly evident in the great revolutionary undertaking being carried out by our people under the leadership of the party.

Putting Beauty into Life

[Presentation by Le Anh Tra]

Researchers of aesthetics throughout the world frequently cite the immortal words of Marx concerning the characteristics of the actions of man. "The animals mix materials to fit the size and needs of the species to which they belong while man can produce to fit the size of any species, can make a suitable size for any objective anywhere; as a result, man mixes materials in accordance with the laws of beauty."(1)

From this idea of Marx, we learn that every species, every thing has an objective, inherent "size" or "measurement" formed by the action of the thing in accordance with an internal objective, which only man can control in the process of world assimilation. This is the law governing all harmony and development and only by learning it can man enter the kingdom of truth, of creativity and beauty.

In the evolution of history, man has gradually discovered truth and beauty and while transforming nature and society, including himself, man has also gradually raised the level of truth and beauty. However, man has encountered very many obstacles in this regard. Under the old systems of oppression and exploitation, man, although he gradually came into contact with the laws of beauty, found it difficult to create the conditions needed to apply these laws as he desired. Or, if a number of persons found or created something beautiful, it was only to be enjoyed by a privileged stratum. Then, beauty--which is always created by man--was something very luxurious, something impractical and something beyond the reach of the working person. Then, due to injustice and exploitation by the ruling class, the ugly ruled society.

Under the socialist system, with the constant development of economic and social conditions and the constant improvement of both the material and spiritual lives of the people, the ugly has gradually disappeared, beauty is blossoming more with each day that passes and man is learning more about beauty, creating more beauty and enjoying more beauty. Beauty, a quality of the new

life, has become a need of the lives of the people just as utility has, in fact, beauty and utility have become close friends. Not only a need of cultural life, beauty is also a need of labor, production and combat. Therefore, one of the tasks we have is to continuously introduce beauty in life so that life constantly becomes more beautiful.

The beauty we enjoy today consists of spiritual and cultural values formed through the crystallization of the outstanding aesthetic traditions of the country, which have been enhanced in the process of incorporating the essence of the esthetic values of mankind, of the age.

How, specifically, is beauty put into life? We cannot think of standardizing beauty in the form of rigid rules to which everyone must adhere despite the changing demands of practice. Nor can we simply establish customs, habits and patterns of behavior on the basis of subjective desires. The development of life will lead to new forms and we must observe this development, fully grasp the changes in the psychology of society and generalize the new forms created by life. Of course, the revolutionary ideology of the working class must provide leadership and correct every deviation, be it one of conservatism or one of excess. Putting beauty into life is a vast and complex matter. However, a number of characteristic fields and measures can be presented:

--A plan must be adopted for widely teaching aesthetics in order to achieve the objectives of teaching the new concept of beauty of the nation and teaching the aesthetic ideals of Marxism-Leninism as well as correct aesthetic tastes to each stratum of the people, especially the young generation. The field of beauty is the field of free feelings, of deep, private emotions and only when man possesses properly oriented aesthetic tastes can he take correct action. This teaching of aesthetics requires the establishment of a system of organizations and agencies and close coordination among the family, child care center, school, society and the mass organizations under the leadership of the party and the guidance of the state. While molding new, positive aesthetic tastes, it is necessary to strongly and steadfastly oppose the remnants of feudal, bourgeois, petty bourgeois and neo-colonialist culture and aesthetics.

--Through the acceleration of the molding of the new, civilized style of life, we must mold new and beautiful habits in the ways persons treat one another, how they speak, how they greet one another, how they dress and carry themselves, how they work and play. It is necessary to guide the masses in following the examples of beauty that are set in the fields mentioned above, but not turn these examples into rigid, fixed patterns nor allow the masses to pursue constantly changing "fashion" as is done in the capitalist countries. It is necessary to conduct appropriate research into the psychology and tastes of youths, necessary to coordinate beauty and utility, beauty and socialist ethics and necessary to create the conditions for the people to come into contact with the beauty of the world, of the fraternal socialist countries

while avoiding all that is conservative, subjective, half-native-have-foreign, absurd and extravagant.

The scientific style of work, of working on the basis of a plan and method, working with creativity and high productivity, is the noble beauty of the qualities of man. It also has the effect of forging the will of the person exercising collective ownership.

--It is necessary to develop industrial art and increase the amount of attention given by the specialized agencies to aesthetics in productive labor (including within agriculture). Those who work in the field of aesthetics must try to coordinate the most modern of forms with traditional forms of structure and color--those that represent Vietnamese beauty--in order to establish a world of harmonious and beautiful Vietnamese products.

--As regards maintaining the beauty of the human body, in addition to the role played by reasonable labor, it is also necessary to place emphasis upon physical education and sports, which are activities that, once highly developed, become a form of art (athletic art) with talented movements and which, at the same time, cause the human body to develop in a well balanced, beautiful manner and build the stamina of man.

--Attention must be given to tourist activities and tours to satisfy the needs of the people to enjoy the beauty of the country, nature and projects symbolic of the creative skills of man in our fatherland and, if possible, throughout the world. This contact will help to develop the aesthetic consciousness of the people, broaden their vision and teach them the noble qualities of humanitarianism, love of country, love of nature and the spirit of international solidarity.

--Developing literature and art of a socialist content, a national nature and high quality on a large scale is a very important measure in putting beauty into the spiritual, ideological and emotional lives of the masses.

In summary, it is the nature of the activities of man to strive for beauty and there is not one field of life in which there is not beauty; there is not one place, not one area, not one group of the population that does not have the need and the right to enjoy beauty so that beauty enhances their life and has a positive impact upon each activity involved in building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

This work is very complex and difficult and the measures for performing it are very diverse and rich. And, this work will always be in progress in order to achieve the perfection of man and because beauty is boundless. Constantly searching for ways to satisfy the need for beauty is the highest stage of molding the new, fully developed man, the socialist man and molding the new lifestyle, molding the most beautiful of all societies of which we dream.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Marx and F. Engels: "Early Works," (Russian version), Moscow Publishing House, 1956, p 560.

A World Socialist Culture

[Presentation by Phong Chau]

Prior to the August Revolution, the light of Soviet culture was secretly brought to our country by a number of communist fighters. The first Vietnamese to bring the light of that culture from the country of the great Lenin to our people was the revered President Ho.

Today, Vietnam is a member of the socialist community. The new Vietnamese culture is a part of the world socialist culture. The reciprocal impact and mutual enrichment of the cultures of the socialist countries(1) have become a law of the socialist revolution. Therefore, in order to build a new Vietnamese culture of socialist content and national nature, it is imperative that we gain an understanding of and research the cultures of the fraternal socialist countries. Engaging in cultural exchanges in both directions, that is, both learning and contributing, is an essential task.

When discussing the nationalities question, Lenin presented his famous argument on the two cultures. He stated: "Within every national culture there are factors of the democratic and socialist culture, even if these factors have only developed slightly, because within every nation, there are working and exploited masses whose living conditions inevitably give rise to a democratic and socialist ideology."(2) As the revolutionary movement developed, the factors of the democratic and socialist culture also developed. However, it was not until the victory of the socialist revolution that these factors assumed dominance within society and developed into a new, socialist culture.

The development of the world socialist culture can be divided into two periods: during the period from 1917-1945, the Soviet culture formed and developed strongly and laid the foundation for the coming world socialist culture. In the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of man, the working people became the collective masters of the culture and built for themselves a life of comfort and happiness, a new culture of a profoundly proletarian party and popular nature.

--During the period from 1945 to the present day, scores of socialist countries have been born in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. There are many new beautiful and fragrant flowers in the garden of socialist culture. The cultures in these countries are growing amidst the reciprocal impact, positive cooperation and mutual assistance of one another. The concept "the world

socialist culture" is beginning to be used to denote the cultures within the socialist community.

For many years and by many different paths, the cultures of the fraternal socialist countries have been spreading throughout Vietnam and have been given the attention of everyone. Vietnamese readers like the symbolic literary works of the USSR and the other socialist countries very much. We have become familiar with the opera and ballet of the Soviet Union, the cinematography of the GDR and Poland, the puppetry of Czechoslovakia, the circus horses of Mongolia, the architecture of Cuba, the sculpture of Bulgaria and Hungary, etc.

Conversely, in the fraternal socialist countries, many persons like to hear the sound of string orchestras very much, have a high evaluation of the silk paintings and lacquer paintings of Vietnam and so forth. The poems in President Ho's "Prison Diary" and the poems of To Huu have been praised by many persons.

Born in the crucible of revolution, the socialist culture always shines brightly with the light of the revolution. It is the light of Marxism-Leninism, of the truth of our times, of proletarian humanitarian thinking, of friendship among nations. The central characters of literary works are no longer kings, emperors, princesses and the wealthy, rather, they are the working people. Many creative works of art have described labor as a legitimate need, as the *raison d'être* of man, have praised the joy of labor, the ability of labor to transform and have, at the same time, denounced the lifestyle of parasitism, exploitation and individualism, criticized corruption, the theft of public property, jealousy of others, etc. The socialist culture is not simply a passive reflection of real processes, but is a positive strength influencing social life, influencing the inner feelings of man. It possesses the ability, strength and stature to publicly declare a new attitude toward the social order, toward the world and toward man. The history of the world socialist culture over the past 60 years and more, ever since the victory of the Russian October Revolution, has eloquently proven that the cultures led by genuine communist parties have made important contributions to molding many generations of new persons whose guideline is "one for all, all for one" and transforming the old society into a new society in which persons are comrades, friends. The socialist culture not only explains the world, but also makes an important contribution to transforming the world.

Every culture is built upon a specific socio-economic base and specific historic conditions. The socio-economic development and historic conditions of the various socialist countries are not the same. As a result, the culture of each country possesses different national characteristics and different political functions and tasks consistent with the actual situation of each country. The effort to learn from and help one another in the field of culture must be carried out under a plan based on the specific situation and requirements of each country and on the principles of equality, mutual trust,

independence, autonomy and voluntariness. Every manifestation of big power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism as well as every tendency to blandly imitate another country are foreign to us.

The favorable base, a base in the nature of a principle, upon which the various cultures within the socialist community can learn from one another is the unity of world view of persons building socialism; Marxist-Leninist ideology is the foundation, building socialism and communism is the objective, molding new, socialist persons is the goal and socialist realism is the method of expression. The unity of the cultures of the socialist countries does not limit the unique characteristics of the culture of each nation, does not cause the culture of each nation to become poor or lose its uniqueness. Each culture has its own fine and unique traditions in both its ideological content and form of expression; these are values that have formed and developed in the history of each nation. Some of these unique spiritual values go beyond the borders of a particular country and become part of the world culture.

To study and contribute to the world socialist culture, we must come into contact with this culture, must familiarize ourselves with the famous authors, cultural performers, writers and artists of the fraternal countries and must familiarize ourselves with the works of art and artistic creations in many fields, such as literature, cinematography, the theater, painting and sculpting. The aesthetic level of the reader, the listener and the viewer must constantly be heightened. More than anyone else, our cultural performers, writers and artists must accelerate their research and their creative efforts. We must adopt a permanent plan for cooperation and mutual assistance among the countries of the socialist community in many areas, from cultural information and cultural exchanges to the training of cultural cadres and help acquiring cultural means and technology. In recent years, many forms of cooperation have been developed; coordinating in the translation, publication and distribution of cultural and literary works of value; exchanging choral groups, dance troupes, orchestras and athletic teams; organizing film festivals and exhibits of pictures and films to introduce the cultures of the fraternal countries; holding annual conferences of cultural agencies and research institutes to exchange experiences, etc. Introducing the culture of the USSR and the cultures of the other fraternal socialist countries to our people is clearly necessary. Conversely, more attention must also be given to introducing the culture of Vietnam to the fraternal countries.

The close cooperation among the socialist countries in the field of culture is of special significance in the present world situation. It upholds the proletarian international spirit and teaches everyone the viewpoints of internationalism. It has created an international, socialist cultural and literary-artistic front which is unified in terms of Marxist-Leninist ideology but diverse in national characteristics, a front which is struggling for the happiness of the genuine people of this earth and combating all that is counter-

revolutionary and anti-culture in order to eliminate the poisons of bourgeois and reactionary cultures in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. In Moscow in late December 1978, a cultural conference of the socialist countries was held to discuss this subject.
2. V. Lenin: "On Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 171.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: SELECTING WORTHY PERSONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79
pp 74-75, 82

[Article by Trung Thanh]

[Text] The election of party committees is a familiar part of party life. The party organization congresses now being held from the installation to the district and provincial levels are of special importance. The Party Central Committee has issued a directive instructing how the congresses on the various levels are to be held. In keeping with this directive of the Party Central Committee and with the experience gained in previous elections, we must fully concern ourselves with the selection of candidates for party committees in order to avoid shortcomings and weaknesses in one area or another.

Facts have shown that in each term of office some members of each party committee gain additional leadership experience and show that they are capable of continuing to play a good role in the next term of the party committee. However, there are also comrades who, for one reason or another, fail to fulfill their role, do not inspire much confidence, have even shown themselves to be incompetent or shown that their qualities have declined and who must be replaced. Life and the revolutionary movement are constantly developing and each new period of the revolution demands that the persons selected for party committees possess new political qualities. Some persons who served one term on a party committee might not be needed in the next term in view of the requirements of the new political task. Replacing a number of members of the old party committee is consistent with the law of development of the party, is very necessary if we are to constantly improve the quality of leadership of the party committee and insure that it always has the intelligence and strength needed to lead the revolutionary movement so that it continuously develops within the locality. This is obvious to everyone. However, problems frequently arise when putting this thinking into practice.

Some persons, although they know that a number of members of the old party committee did not perform their task well, think that these comrades did perform

a service and removing them from the party committee would not only cause them themselves to feel certain "regrets," but might also cause these comrades to become worried, thereby influencing internal unity. Such thinking is incorrect. Whether a person does or does not participate on a party committee is a normal part of party life. The purpose of participating on a party committee is to directly contribute to the collective leadership of the party organization, not to "take a step up the ladder or be promoted." When a person knows that a comrade cannot fulfill his task but, because of fear of offending him, wants to retain him on the party committee, he has forsaken the common good for narrow, petty feelings. This causes difficulties to the overall leadership work of the party committee and poses a difficulty to the comrade in question because he must continue to perform a task for which he is not qualified as a result of which it will be difficult for him to avoid problems and shortcomings in his work. The best way to resolve this situation is for the collective to assign him a suitable job so that this comrade can continue and make a better contribution. Members of the old party committee whose health does not meet the requirements of their task or who are hampered by other limitations should voluntarily remove themselves from the party committee and make a place for new forces. This manifests the spirit of responsibility and obligation and the abilities of the party cadre. The longer one's period of service and the higher one's level of understanding are, the more he must concern himself with the interests of the party and wholeheartedly train the persons that might take his place in order to fulfill his obligation to the party throughout his life.

Some comrades, although they realize that it is necessary to replace a number of veteran party committee members, easily lose their sense of direction when selecting persons for election to the party committee echelon because they do not have a full understanding of the requirements of the political task in leadership work within the locality and do not realize how the party committee should be structured to insure comprehensive leadership. These comrades often want to select for the party committee persons who have work experience and have made certain contributions but are hesitant to select young cadres, women cadres and scientific-technical cadres, maintaining that they have not been firmly challenged or do not have leadership experience. There are even persons who think that it is "inconvenient" to have young and women leadership cadres. Such thinking is incorrect. Our party has frequently criticized the feudal, conservative thinking of some comrades in evaluating women cadres, young cadres and scientific-technical cadres. With the deepest sincerity we assert that those comrades who have worked for many years and made contributions are valuable assets of the party, are very worthy of our respect and trust. However, not all of these comrades possess the necessary knowledge, especially knowledge of science and technology, the organization and management of the economy and the management of society, in order to fulfill their responsibility well. More than a few of them are in poor health. Without comrades who possess the knowledge and ability to lead and guide the important jobs to be performed in the fields of organizing and managing the economy, science and technology, organizing everyday life and so forth, how can the party committee lead the entire revolutionary movement in the locality?

There are also persons who think that "every locality has its hero," that leadership within each locality must be provided by local cadres in order to be good leadership. So, they only select for the party committee comrades from the locality and give no attention to comrades from other localities who possess all the necessary qualities, qualifications and abilities, even comrades who have worked and fought with them for many years. Of course, in its leadership work, every party committee must have a deep understanding of every aspect of the actual situation of the locality. However, there must be close coordination between the leadership work of each locality and the overall leadership work of the entire country, close coordination manifesting the relationship between the general and the specific. It is necessary for the various levels and localities to exchange and supplement and strengthen one another with cadres in order to enrich the intelligence of collective leadership. When cadres who have party committee experience at one place take their good experience to other places to contribute along with local cadres to building leadership in the new locality, they surely benefit the movement in many practical ways and prevent the movement from going around in circles. Moreover, in a locality that does not have an open mind, it is impossible to fully assess the situation; sometimes, a person is unaware of what is going on around him because he is preoccupied with his own little corner! Conversely, a cadre coming from another locality can, if he is perceptive and thinks correctly, rapidly assess the local situation. Distinguishing between local residents and "outsiders" in the selection of persons for the party committee not only ignores talents and fails to improve the leadership ability of the party committee, but might also create factionalism, narrowmindedness and localism and is unwholesome. Another aspect of localism in the selection of persons for the party committee is expressed in the desire to have a number of local comrades elected to the committee so that they can, in their leadership work "give priority" in one area or another to their "colleagues." We all know that this is a very incorrect way to think.

Another very basic element in the selection of persons for party committees is how to correctly evaluate them. We must avoid the practice of considering the people we love to be good, the people we hate to be bad and the practice of only seeing the strengths and strongpoints of persons we like and the weaknesses and shortcomings of persons we do not like. At the same time, we must oppose the selection of persons purely on the basis of subjective feelings, not on the basis of standards or scientific foundations. With such haphazard methods of selection it is difficult to avoid overlooking persons who are well qualified and truly worthy and putting on party committees persons who are weak and unqualified.

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THE DECLINE OF IMPERIALISM IN THE "POST-VIETNAM" PERIOD

Hanoi LAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 79
pp 83-88

[Article by Nguyen Van Tho]

[Text] The world capitalist system is in the midst of an irreversible decline. This process has been rapid and comprehensive ever since the United States, the ringleader of the imperialists, suffered heavy defeat in the war of aggression in Vietnam. On the basis of this actual situation, the concept of the "post-Vietnam" period has developed, a concept recognized by the people of the world as signifying the increasingly strong development of the three revolutionary currents in the world and the approach of darkness in the waning hours of imperialism. What catastrophes does imperialism face in the "post-Vietnam" period?

The "post-Vietnam" period is a period in which the economic base of imperialism is being seriously shaken and disrupted. If we go back in history, we see that between 1950 and 1966, that is, before the United States launched the war of aggression against Vietnam, as a result of several temporary stimulants, such as the modern scientific-technological revolution, the intervention by state monopolistic capitalism in economic life, large sums of money in U.S. aid, large amounts of capital exported from the United States and so forth, the economy of the capitalist world temporarily developed in a relatively rapid and stable manner.

However, in the "post-Vietnam" period, the situation has been completely different. The entire capitalist world has been deeply engulfed in serious crisis. The capitalist countries have never experienced a period of recovery as long and difficult as the one they are now experiencing following the economic crisis of 1973-1975. In mid-1975, the industrial production of the primary capitalist countries began to increase again; the capitalist countries have needed from 14 to 36 months to reach the level of prosperity again. As of the start of this year, that is, after more than 5 years, the industrial

production in the United States increased only 11.5 percent compared to the highest level reached before the crisis; industrial production increased 7.1 percent in Italy, 6.1 percent in West Germany, 4.1 percent in Japan and 1.2 percent in Great Britain while industrial production in France virtually stood still.

Compared to previous economic cycles, the economic activities during this present stage of prosperity are truly weak. Production fluctuates and stagnates and this situation has become universal and routine. Investments in fixed capital and rapid increases in marketing costs, two important factors stimulating the development of production in previous stages of prosperity, have not appeared. The rate of development of international trade has clearly slowed, thus reflecting a corresponding decrease in the size of the consumer market of the capitalist world.

Inflation and unemployment are the two most serious problems in the present stage of prosperity. The average inflation rate of the capitalist countries belonging to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development still exceeds 8 percent, with especially serious inflation in the United States, France, Italy, Canada, Great Britain and so forth. The army of totally unemployed of the capitalist countries now numbers more than 17 million persons, more than two times the number of unemployed during the 1972-1973 stage of prosperity; even in many western European countries and Japan, unemployment exceeds the level reached during the 1973-1975 crisis. Inflation and unemployment have rendered the various steps taken by the monopolistic capitalist state to intervene in and regulate the economy useless.

Structural crises, especially the energy crisis, are flaring up widely, causing strong impacts that are shaking the capitalist world. This is also a dangerous economic malady never before seen in the history of capitalism. At present, the oil shortage in the capitalist countries is becoming increasingly serious. In 1978, the consumption of petroleum by the capitalist world increased 3 percent but the oil production of these countries slowed; the oil production of the Arab countries declined 4.9 percent. According to calculations made by the European Common Market, during the first 6 months of this year the need for petroleum exceeded demand by 9 percent and the situation will be even worse during the final 6 months of the year.

Since the end of last year, in order to compensate for the losses being caused by inflation in the capitalist countries to the Organization of petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (1977: 17 billion dollars; 1978: 20 billion dollars), OPEC has frequently raised the price of its exported oil: there was a 5 percent increase on 1 January 1979, a 9.05 increase on 1 April 1979 and another increase on 1 July 1979. In actuality, these countries have raised the price of their exported oil far above the official price. Such increases in the price of oil have worsened the oil shortage in North America, western Europe, Japan,

Australia and New Zealand. Both the press and research agencies in the West agree that the present energy crisis will be much longer and much more serious than the energy crisis of 1974. In the face of this situation, the capitalist countries have been forced to quickly and harshly limit the consumption of petroleum in two ways: first, by increasing the domestic price of oil, especially in the United States, where President Carter suggested to the Congress that it deregulate the price of domestic oil so that the price of domestic oil would gradually rise from 5.8 dollars per barrel to the OPEC price; secondly, by taking compulsory measures to limit the supply of gasoline to consumers as well as limit the use of energy. In the United States, many gas stations have had to close their doors and reduce their hours of operation; airline corporations have had to cut back on international flights. Japan and western Europe have reduced the use of automobiles and elevators, set automobile speed limits, economized on lighting and reduced the hours of television transmission. Australia has initiated gasoline rationing, etc.

This situation has created many difficulties for the production sectors, caused inflation to increase, increased the deficit in the balance of trade and balance of payments, increased the instability on the financial market and will, in the end, cause an economic crisis to develop at an early date. The Japanese Planning Agency observed on 17 July 1979: "Due to the present energy crisis, the western capitalist countries will be bogged down in economic stagnation closely linked to persistent inflation"(AFP, 10 July 1979).

The entire western world faces the threat of a new economic crisis. During the first 4 months of this year, the industrial production of the six major capitalist countries only increased by 0.7 percent compared to 2.7 percent for the same period of time in 1978. The situation is most bleak in the United States. According to White House estimates, the growth rate of the U.S. economy will decline by 0.5 percent in 1979 compared to last year, inflation will increase 10.6 percent and unemployment will exceed 6.6 percent. As a result, it is not surprising that, since the start of the year, U.S. authorities have frequently confessed: "The United States is in the jaws of crises." The so called "economic wonder" is gone forever. Bourgeois economic theories, such as "new capitalism," "people's capitalism" and "capitalism without crisis," have been completely bankrupted by reality.

The "post-Vietnam" period is a period in which the U.S. imperialists have weakened rapidly and pulled the entire world capitalist system into dangerous economic maladies and sharp antagonisms. Although the U.S. imperialists have the strongest economic might and military power of the capitalist countries, the United States has shown itself to be unable to bear the huge costs and the aftereffects of the war of aggression in Vietnam. The economy and society of the United States are deeply troubled. Many plans within the counter revolutionary global strategy of the United States have suffered serious setbacks.

In the past, during World War II, as a result of playing the role of international arms dealer, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of the war to become wealthy and, in subsequent years, continued to earn large profits through the sale of much grain, equipment and other goods to the capitalist countries of western Europe and Japan. The United States became the economic, financial and trade center, the reactionary center of the capitalist world. Harboring the illusion of becoming ruler of the world, the U.S. imperialists developed their economy in two clear directions: participating in the arms race and militarizing the economy while insanely expanding their economic power overseas. During the 1950's, the United States supplied very important aid, investment capital and technical equipment to the capitalist countries. This was one of the principal factors in temporarily preventing major upheavals in the world capitalist economy.

Conversely, the serious difficulties now being encountered in the United States are major catastrophes for the capitalist world. In the "post-Vietnam" period, the United States has weakened rapidly and become a place that is giving birth to many dangerous economic maladies that cannot be cured and is shaking the economic foundation of imperialism.

The war of aggression of the United States in Vietnam fanned the smoldering inflation in the United States and rapidly spread it throughout the capitalist world. Like a fly spreading dangerous diseases, this chronic inflation of an international nature has caused numerous serious consequences and bankrupted every economic measure and policy of the monopolistic capitalist states. It is not surprising that the ruling circles of the capitalist countries publicly confessed that "inflation is a cancer destroying the economic body of the capitalist world." During the first 3 months of this year, inflation exceeded 13 percent in the United States, thus causing a new concern within the capitalist countries.

The deep crisis of the dollar led the capitalist world financial market into a state of horrible chaos and ultimately led to the collapse of the gold exchange standard, the backbone of which was the U.S. dollar. The U.S. dollar no longer occupies a position of supremacy, but the capitalist countries still must bear the consequences of this position of supremacy. Since 1975, the U.S. dollar has weakened more rapidly than the other major currencies, thereby causing currency exchange rates to be very unstable, posing many difficulties to the other capitalist countries and very adversely affecting the development of trade and financial relations and the credit system within the capitalist world.

For 83 years, U.S. trade had a tradition of a very large trade surplus, one that reflected the economic and technical superiority of the United States on the world market; however, in the "post-Vietnam" period, the United States has become the country with the largest trade deficit in the capitalist world. The trade deficit of the United States was 6 billion dollars in 1976, 26 billion

dollars in 1977 and 28.5 billion dollars in 1978. The time when U.S. goods were the best and the cheapest is gone. The capitalist world market that was once monopolized by the United States has now been divided into three trade centers (the United States, western Europe and Japan) that compete fiercely with one another. Faced with the threat of savage trade wars that would inflict heavy losses upon all parties, the capitalist countries have had to agree to "use negotiations in place of competition." But, how can they avoid competition, an objective economic law of capitalism?

In this life or death competition, the United States has taken the lead in implementing protective measures and has caused the resurrection of trade protectionism in the capitalist world; this is a danger to international trade and the capitalist economy. Trade protectionism is one of the reasons for the markedly slow development of international trade. In 1976, the volume of goods in circulation on the world market increased 10.2 percent compared to 1975; in 1977, it increased by only 4 percent and, in 1978, by only 3.5 percent.

The "post-Vietnam" period is a period in which the balance of power in the world has rapidly changed in a manner favorable to the socialist countries and unfavorable to the capitalist countries. While state monopolistic capitalism has increasingly shown itself to be ineffective in intervening in economic life, the socialist states have correctly applied the objective economic laws, consequently, the economies of the socialist countries have developed in a stable manner and at a high rate, thus clearly reflecting the superior nature of the socialist system. In the 20 years from 1951 to 1970, the rate of increase of the industrial production of the capitalist countries equalled only one-half the rate of increase of the socialist countries; however, in 7 recent years, from 1971 to 1977, it has declined to only one-third (37.3 percent). The socialist countries that belong to the Council for Mutual Aid are producing more than one-third the total industrial output value of the world.

The United States is behind the USSR in the production of many important products, such as coal, petroleum, iron ore, steel, iron, tractors, combines, locomotives, lumber processing, cement, cotton cloth, woven wool, "o-liu" oil [Vietnamese phonetics], etc.

In the "post-Vietnam" period, the world capitalist system has been fragmented even more by internal dissention and deep conflicts over rights, especially in the field of monetary affairs and trade. Conversely, the socialist countries have become increasingly united and of one mind within the Council for Mutual Aid. On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, this organization has grown rapidly in both size and quality. The number of member countries has increased from 6 to 10; in addition, a number of countries have been granted observer status. During its first years, the primary activity of the council was cooperation in the field of production; in 1971, on the basis of this cooperation, it implemented an integrated program

to further expand and improve the standardization of the socialist economy in order to raise the level of the socialist international division of labor, strengthen the economy's efficient and stable internal relationships and create a modern economic structure that yields high returns. This is a very important factor in rapidly increasing the economic and technical potentials of the world socialist system.

Politically and socially, while there have been unprecedented and difficult to resolve troubles within the capitalist countries, in the socialist countries, the material and spiritual lives of the people have constantly been improved, internal unity has constantly been strengthened and the ethical values and noble qualities of man have constantly been respected and strongly upheld.

The unfavorable change in the balance of power for the capitalist countries is also increasingly evident within the field of military power. According to the early November 1977 issue of the weekly magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, the United States is behind the USSR in many types of strategic weapons as well as conventional weapons.

In 1972, the United States had to accept the normalization of East-West relations, thereby signifying the total bankruptcy of the economic embargo strategy of the imperialist countries toward the socialist countries since World War II. The United States had to sign the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty on 26 May 1972 and the second on 18 June 1979.

The "post-Vietnam" period is the period of the increasingly serious bankruptcy of neo-colonialism, the period of the growing revolutionary storm in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In the "post-Vietnam" period, imperialism has continued to be repulsed at many places in the world, even in its own "backyard." Scores of colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen to win their independence; of these countries, the revolution in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan and so forth has been developing toward socialism. The revolution in Iran dealt a heavy blow to imperialism in the Middle East. The victory of the revolution in Nicaragua has caused profound changes in the situation in Latin America. In this revolutionary movement, small countries in the islands of the Pacific have also won national independence.

On the momentum of the victory won by OPEC in 1973, the developing countries are uniting ever more closely within regional and international organizations, have taken united actions and are determined to struggle to eradicate every form of exploitation and plundering of colonialism, both old and new, and establish a new world economic order based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit in international economic relations.

For the sake of their selfish interests, the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, have looked for ways to undermine and impede the struggle of the developing countries. However, the "post-Vietnam" situation does not permit them to go against or block the offensive thrust of the national liberation movement.

The scope of exploitation and plundering by imperialism overseas is rapidly shrinking, thereby causing imperialism to become weaker in every respect and become deeply involved in crisis. This is the objective trend of development of the age. It is the inevitable result of the development of the inherent antagonisms within capitalism and the result of the offensive position of the revolution throughout the world, the symbol of which is the great victory won by the people of Vietnam in defeating the extremely barbarous and cruel colonial war waged by America, the ringleader of imperialism.

While imperialism has been growing weaker, the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles has closely collaborated with the capitalist countries to oppose the socialist countries and the revolutionary movement in a vain attempt to carry out their scheme of expansionism and hegemony in Southeast Asia and the world. They have falsely taken the name socialism to oppose socialism, have hidden themselves behind the billboard of Marxism-Leninism to oppose Marxism-Leninism. They are the greatest traitors of our times.

However, regardless of how loyal an ally of imperialism the Peking reactionaries prove to be, they cannot reverse the rapid and comprehensive weakening of imperialism. And, regardless of how much the imperialists prop up the Peking reactionaries, their dream of expansionism and hegemony will never be realized. This is the objective law of our times.

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