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**Tạp Chi Công San**

**No. 10, October 1979**



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

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TO PRODUCE CONSUMER GOODS AND DEVELOP LOCAL INDUSTRY: AN URGENT AND  
IMPORTANT ECONOMIC TASK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79  
pp 1-10 BK

[Editorial--passages in slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] The importance and the urgency of the production of consumer goods and local industry lie in the fact that only through the development of consumer goods can we improve the people's livelihood, reuse the labor force and thereby contribute to carrying out expanded reproduction, boosting exports and quickly increasing the capital accumulation for socialist industrialization. Only through the development of local industry can we hasten the development of the local economy, tackle the problem of on-the-spot logistics and thereby contribute to building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

As a result of the implementation of the various resolutions of the party, so far the consumer goods industry and local industry in the entire country have had nearly 200 centrally-run enterprises, 1,700 local enterprises, 3,000 cooperatives, 7,000 production teams and numerous private handicraft and artisan industrial workers, totaling 2 million men.

As of 1979, the consumer goods production value constituted more than 60 percent of the industrial production value, with the production value of local industry even greater than that of the centrally-run industry. The consumer goods industry and local industry have been able to produce many kinds of commonly-used essential goods to cater to the people's livelihood, production, combat and export.

It should be noted that these things which we have done are great feats because we are a backward agricultural country which has been badly devastated by the war. This feat testifies to the correctness of the party's line and policies regarding the development of the consumer goods and local industry. It also reflects the efforts of all cadres and workers and of millions of laborers working in various consumer goods production sectors as well as in local industry.

However, a comparison between requirements and potential shows that the development of the consumer goods and local industries continue to show numerous weaknesses and shortcomings. The pace of production is still slow. Export goods are still small in number and poor in quality. Only about 50-60 percent of the capacity of equipment and machinery has been utilized.

The greatest difficulty now facing the consumer goods industry and local industry is the shortage of raw materials. The exploitation of domestic raw materials is slow, while the importing of raw materials is being limited more and more. The retrieval and use of discarded materials and industrial rejects are, as a whole, unsatisfactory.

We admit that in a situation in which agriculture is still characterized by single cropping and small-scale production, and in which industry is still small and unable to provide large quantities of raw materials, energy and equipment, it is impossible for the consumer goods industry and local industry to develop at a rapid pace. However, on the other hand, we must realize that we have let the shortage of many kinds of commonly-used essential goods--the production of which we can afford and can accelerate--continue to exist. Therefore, we cannot ascribe this shortage to any objective reason. Instead, we must ascertain our shortcomings.

In leadership and guidance, we have not firmly grasped and not yet satisfactorily implemented the party's line on building the economy and echelons continue to slight the consumer goods industry, especially the handicrafts and artisan industry, thus not yet realizing the role of local industry in the production of consumer goods.

The production of consumer goods and local industry involves many sectors and echelons. However, various sectors and echelons from the central down to local and grassroots levels have not yet based themselves on the common interests to achieve division of work and socialist cooperation in order to solve the question in a uniform and positive manner.

Raw materials are a matter of life and death to local industry. However, this matter has not yet been correctly grasped nor appropriately resolved.

Planning has not yet been based on the reality, and has not yet exploited our two advantages--manpower and natural resources. It has more or less relied on outside support. Planning is still shot through with bureaucracy, and there is failure to combine planning with the use of market relations and to adequately estimate the actual potential.

Policies and systems as a whole are still tight and rigid, producing no effect in the stimulation of production. As regards policies on pricing, collective and purchase, there are many unreasonable and outdated points not yet readjusted and supplemented.

The mode of management still leans heavily on administration through subsidy, leading to a state in which work is done without calculations and without paying any attention to its economic results. The division and classification of [managerial] work are not quite clear and rational, and the purposes of the combination of by-sector management with by-locality and by-territorial division management have not yet been concretely determined. The organization of the industrial management system is inappropriate and the managerial machinery is cumbersome and less effective.

The party's economic line has confirmed 'the position and functions of the consumer goods industry/ which consists of: guaranteeing the everyday needs of the people and the army, contributing to increasing the various kinds of goods for export and increasing capital accumulation; through processing, enhancing the use-value and the value of agricultural, forestry and marine products; and, together with the agricultural sector, serving as a basis for "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry."

The party's economic line has also clearly affirmed /the important role of local industry/ which consists of: Making full use of all natural resources and manpower in localities to produce much more goods to meet the needs of each locality and thereby contribute to serving the needs of the entire country and export requirements; achieving a combination right from the start and from the grassroots level between industry and agriculture and between the economy and national defense, thereby contributing to making the national economy develop evenly, enabling the mountainous region to quickly catch up with the lowland areas and narrowing the gap between the rural and the urban areas; and satisfactorily carrying out the worker-peasant alliance policy and the nationalities policy of the party and its guidelines on all-people national defense people's warfare.

Based on the party's guidelines, all sectors involved in the consumer goods industry and local industry must /uphold their spirit of self reliance, develop the laboring people's determination to achieve collective mastery, positively exploit all natural resources in the country, and strive to fulfill the tasks of serving the people's livelihood, and meeting requirements for export and capital accumulation, thus serving socialist industrialization, production, combat, combat readiness and national defense./

The consumer goods industry in general must be /comprehensively developed/ into a perfect structure comprising the sectors engaged in the processing of grain and foodstuffs, in the harvesting and processing of marine products and in the production of tea and other kinds of beverages, pharmaceutical products, knitwear, leatherware, garments, paper, furniture, earthenware, porcelain, glassware, metalware, rubber and plastic goods, cultural products, and so forth. In the immediate future, however, we must concentrate our efforts on developing the production of those products which are in urgent demand or for which raw materials can be found relatively easily. At the same time, we must increase the output of some key export products such as shrimp, squid, tea, pineapple, coffee, rubber, silk, knitwear, garments, handicraft and fine art products, and so forth.



We must make the most of all three /state, collective and individual/ economic elements; combine large with medium and small-scale production, manual work with semi-mechanized and mechanized operations, and the central with the local and grassroots levels. We must make the fullest use of all social /labor/ forces, all /resources/ of the country and all /production capacities/ of the economic, cultural and defense sectors to produce consumer goods.

Local industry must be developed within the local economic structure and closely linked with economic sectors, especially agriculture, to form provincial or municipal industrial-agricultural structures and district agro-industrial structures. On the other hand, local industry must be developed as an integral part of central industry so as to form unified economic-technical sectors for the entire country.

In each locality, local industry must do its utmost to make the best use of all potential in order to meet a variety of demands--especially those of the people's daily life. But this does not mean that it must develop all sectors and all kinds of commodities along the line dictated by isolationism and the wish for self-sufficiency. On the contrary, there must be a rational division of labor and cooperation among localities, provinces and municipalities in order to bring into play the strengths of each locality in terms of resources and skilled labor, thereby insuring the highest possible economic returns.

Local industry should be developed nationwide. But in the immediate future we must attach importance to developing it in the southern provinces, Tay Nguyen, and the northern mountain and border provinces. Special attention must be given to the development of local industry in the capital of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

In developing the consumer goods industry and local industry, it is necessary to pay attention to combining the use of old installations with the building of new ones. Generally speaking, new installations should be built only when the production capacities of the old ones have been fully exploited. We must combine quantity with quality and absolutely refrain from working in a careless manner, because this will affect social consumption, cause waste of raw materials and breed bad habits in the long run.

The targets to be attained by the consumer goods industry and local industry within the next 5 or 7 years in /food supply/ are: To insure sufficient grain supply, including well-processed subsidiary food crop products; to increase the protein content of the people's diet; and to provide sufficient beverages for laborers engaged in arduous work.

As for /clothing/, the consumer goods industry and local industry must insure the standard supply of 4 to 5 meters of fabric per person and adequately meet the demands for straw mats, blankets, mosquito nets, slippers, hats and conical hats made from local raw materials. As regards /housing/ and /household utensils/, they must step up the production of



building materials in each locality in order to provide housing for the people, and must insure the supply of essential commodities produced from local raw materials such as earthenware, porcelain, glassware and common furniture. They must make efforts to partially meet the demands for electric fans, table clocks, radios and so forth.

With regards to /transportation/, they must increase the means of public transportation in cities and industrial zones and push forward the production of bicycles, especially bicycle spare parts.

In the /cultural and educational field/, they must insure the supply of writing paper and other common articles for general school students, strive to provide teaching aids and laboratory equipment for level III and vocational schools, supply a major amount of sporting and physical education equipment, and make efforts to produce sufficient ordinary toys for children.

With regard to /health/, they must step up the planting of medicinal herbs and the production of pharmaceutical products and medicines so as to insure a sufficient supply of medicines for the treatment of common ailments and some kinds of tonics for the people.

As for /means of production/, the consumer goods industry and local industry must meet the localities' demands for work tools, some ordinary machinery and equipment and common building materials, and must insure the maintenance of the machinery and equipment of the local economy.

With regard to /export/, they must promote the production of export goods in order to fund the import of sufficient raw materials and equipment essential to the export goods industry and local industry and, at the same time, to help the economy pay for part of its imported goods.

In order to carry out the aforementioned major tasks, it is necessary to solve a number of basic problems as follows:

/First/, actively solve the problem concerning /raw and other materials/ by accelerating the production of these materials domestically as the main source of supply while urgently importing the types of necessary raw materials, rationally and economically utilizing the main sources of these materials, and collecting and using poor quality and discarded materials to the fullest.

It is necessary to urgently and simultaneously draft plans and invest money for the establishment of a number of industrial crop growing centers where intensive cultivation and crop specialization are carried out in order to achieve high yield to support the production of goods on a large-scale basis. It is also necessary to vigorously develop and quickly balance animal husbandry with cultivation in order to supply the processing industry with ever larger quantities of meat, milk, eggs and animal hide.

With regard to forestry, plans for afforestation activities must be formulated to insure enough raw materials for paper mills logs and timber from tree tops and branches for the production of wooden articles, and rattan, bamboo and tree leaves for the processing of consumer and export goods.

It is necessary to gradually exploit, produce and supply such kinds of raw materials as minerals, metals and basic chemicals, particularly chemical fiber for the textile industry, and other chemicals for the replacement of imported raw materials.

All localities and production establishments must, by all means, exploit and utilize various kinds of locally available raw materials. They must also collect and use to the fullest all kinds of discarded and stockpiled materials, such as empty bags or boxes already used in the process of production, circulation and consumption, as well as absolutely avoid stockpiling or destroying these materials.

/Second/, revise all economic policies in order to encourage increased production. Efforts must be concentrated on solving the four important policies--the policy regarding raw materials, policy on export, the policy regarding local industry artisan industry and handicrafts, and the policy on the circulation and distribution of goods. These policies must be thoroughly imbued with the common spirit of satisfactorily making the fullest use of all available economic components, of scrupulously combining the interests of the entire society with the collective and individual interests of the laborers, and of giving more authority to various sectors, localities and production establishments in order to create a boom in production in accordance with the party's line and the direction of the state plan, thereby creating more products for society while making it possible for the state to control the market and purchase more goods.

It is necessary to supply industrial crop growing centers with enough grain while studying measures to redistribute capital accumulation for the production of raw materials and the processing of products in a rational manner. For example, it is necessary to appropriately increase the prices of raw materials, to resell an appropriate proportion of products to those who grow crops to produce raw materials, to stabilize the rate at which raw materials are sold, and to allow the rest to be freely traded by cooperatives and the peasants so that they sell more raw materials to the industrial sector.

In order to encourage the production of goods for export, the pricing policy must assure export-oriented goods producing establishments that selling goods abroad will not only not result in losses, but will be more lucrative than selling them domestically. In addition, it is necessary to allow production establishments, sectors and localities to use part of the foreign currency earned from exports to import necessary materials.

The most important policy regarding local industry advocates that on the basis of the party's policy line and the state plan, localities are allowed to choose and decide on economic and technical plans, to devise concrete policies and to take necessary measures--including those involving the fixing of prices and economic cooperation between localities--aimed at tapping all their potential, improving the local people's livelihood and contributing to amassing more wealth for the country.

With regard to artisan industry and handicrafts, along with promoting the spirit of self-reliance among cooperatives, the state must be more concerned with and must adopt appropriate policies regarding capital investments, credit loans, technical equipment, supply of materials, the improvement of tax and pricing policies and the improvement of the system of placing orders for goods. This is to create favorable conditions for cooperatives to develop their production to meet consumption requirements.

/Third, improve the organization of production and management./

The organization of production of consumer goods and local industry must definitely be broad, covering every area from the centrally-run to local industry, from provinces to cities and grassroots-level organizations, from major industries with modern technology to artisan industry and handicrafts with rudimentary technology, and from state enterprises to cooperatives, production teams, private handicraft workers and family sideline professions, on the principle of taking state-run economic elements as a guide. It is necessary to attach importance to developing the collective economy and to pay attention to handling the private economy. Any business which the state cannot do or can do but not good enough must be left for cooperatives to continue to do, instead of hastily turning these cooperatives into state-run ones. Any business that the collective (such as cooperatives or production teams) cannot do or can do but not so good must be left for private individuals to continue. There is no need to hastily organize these private individuals into collectives. For localities, we must also do likewise. Any business that localities can do the central government must allow them to continue, not trying to take it from them.

In the organization of production, it is a principle matter to satisfactorily organize such grassroots-level establishments as production teams, cooperatives, enterprises and joint enterprises, and to secure the right to self-governing of grassroots-level establishments in their production and trade.

As for managerial organization, the most fundamental matter is to replace the mode of financial management through subsidy with the mode of socialist trade management in order to compel every person and every business organization to calculate economic results and to take substantive responsibility. It is mandatory to improve planning in accordance with the revolutionary and scientific spirit. Planning must be improved to the highest degree possible to meet various requirements, but planning cannot therefore be divorced from the real capabilities. Instead, planning must be based on

the real situation, achieving balance between capabilities and requirements in a positive and firm spirit. Planning must satisfactorily use all factors regarding manpower, natural resources and technical means to produce much more goods for society.

The central government should only balance a number of basic norms for those prime goods which have a decisive effect on the whole economic system and on the people's lives. The rest, in general, must be assigned to various establishments and localities--including those under state, collective and private management--to balance, solving various demands for commonly-used and secondary goods in order to meet the variety of requirements of the people's livelihood.

Improving the division and classification of management over consumer goods and local industry is aimed at developing the initiative of various production sectors, localities and establishments. It is necessary to correctly exercise the principles of combining management by sector with management by locality and territorial division; to rationally reorganize the management system from the central down to the grassroots levels; and to insure bottom-to-top and top-to-bottom contacts in a timely, accurate and effective manner.

/Fourth,/ it is necessary to devise uniform programs and plans for training and balancing every kind of /cadre and worker/ for various sectors involved with the consumer goods and local industries. As for cadres, it is necessary to uniformly train economic management cadres, scientific and technical cadres and other professional cadres. As an immediate task, it is necessary to quickly replace unqualified cadres and to quickly select and train a number of competent cadres capable of taking charge of those corporations and joint enterprises which are producing important goods. It is necessary to pay the greatest attention to the training of technical workers in order to quickly obtain a contingent of skilled workers for use in other industrial sectors.

Enhancing the leadership of the party and the managerial role of the state and developing the people's right to collective mastery are decisive factors for the success of the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry. It is necessary to enhance ideological leadership, making every cadre, echelon and sector fully aware of the Party Central Committee's policy line and resolution on the need to develop the consumer goods industry and local industry, with emphasis on eliminating such erroneous and thinking as belittling the consumer goods industry, local industry, handicrafts and artisan industry; refusing to seek ways to tap raw materials within the country and the localities concerned to produce consumer goods; counting only on imported raw materials and equipment; departmentalism, selfishness and parochialism; not basing oneself on the common economic interests; and showing less interest in the common needs of the country.

It is especially necessary to attach importance to providing guidance for policies and the improvement of management; to reexamine and quickly replace those ineffective policies and systems of management; and to oppose bureaucracy and conservatism.



All local party committee echelons, especially provincial and city party committee echelons, must enhance their leadership over local industry and closely combine local industry with agriculture, binding these two sectors tightly together right from the start and insuring that they stimulate each other's growth. It is necessary to make everyone fully aware of the role and position of the handicrafts and artisan industry so that he can have a correct attitude and can strive to rapidly develop the handicrafts and artisan industry.

All the party committees of enterprises and cooperatives must increase their efforts to cultivate workers and cooperative members politically and ideologically, attentively develop the party and, at the same time, satisfactorily lead and closely control all the activities of units to insure their satisfactory fulfillment of the state plans.

We must complete the organization of the central industrial committee and organize the same in those cities and provinces having many industrial installations in order to help the central level and various party committee echelons study policies and control the situation and management of cadres in consumer goods and local industries.

State management agencies must refer to the Party Central Committee resolution in formulating specific policies and systems and adequate economic-technical projects. Especially with respect to the matter of policies, we must urgently and scrupulously formulate them with a full sense of responsibility.

The ministries and general departments charged with producing consumer goods must firmly control raw materials, production and consumption; strengthen all-around management and fulfill their responsibilities to localities and primary production units, thereby satisfactorily supporting the people's livelihood, export and the capital accumulation of the consumer goods industry.

Depending on their functions, all sectors must actively contribute to the development of the consumer goods and local industries. Agriculture and forestry must be developed to provide increasingly more raw materials and agricultural and forest products for industry. Heavy industry must devise plans and measures to insure the fulfillment of its requirements of raw materials, energy and technical equipment. The circulation and distribution sectors must closely coordinate with various consumer goods production sectors to link circulation with production and actually promote the development of production.

We must truly develop the right to collective mastery of the masses by having primary production units formulate plans and revising management and policies in order to insure the initiative of the masses while paying due attention to the interests of producers. At the same time, we must lead and educate the masses to correctly comply with the party and state lines and policies, and we must struggle against, criticize and severely deal with such illegitimate and illegal actions as corruption and waste...



The production of consumer goods and the development of local industry constitute an urgent and important duty. Despite many difficulties ahead, the potential for development is very great. If we properly emphasize the role of the consumer goods and local industries and satisfactorily resolve the problems of policies and management, we will certainly effect vigorous changes in accelerating the development of production, thus meeting the requirements for exports and the people's livelihood, strengthening our combat capability and combat preparedness, and positively contributing to socialist construction and national defense.

CSO: 4209

## SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING LOCAL ECONOMY

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese various times 27 and 28 Oct 79 BK

[Article by VCP Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79 pp 11-33 and 79-- translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT Vol IV, No 212, 31 Oct 79 pp K10-K15; No 213, 1 Nov 79, pp K14-K18; No 215, 5 Nov 79, pp K8-K12; and No 218, 8 Nov 79, pp K16-K20]

[1100 GMT 27 Oct 79]

[Text] In its October 1979 issue TAP CHI CONG SAN carries an article by Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the VCP Central Committee, entitled: "Some Problems Regarding Local Economy."

To assist all sectors and localities in studying and firmly grasping the spirit of the resolution issued by the Sixth Plenum of the party Central Committee, the Voice of Vietnam solemnly presents the full text of this important article by Comrade Le Duan. Today, you are invited to listen to the preface of the article and to the part dealing with the role of local economy.

To proceed from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, we have simultaneously to fulfill three strategic tasks and meet three basic requirements: improve the people's living conditions, strengthen national defense and protect the fatherland, and build the material and technical base of socialism.

While there is as yet no major engineering industry, how shall we begin to implement the basic economic law of socialism, namely to meet, for the time being, the minimal needs of the working people for food, clothing, housing, education, transportation, and so forth; to firmly maintain national independence, freedom and territorial integrity; and at the same time, to start building a major engineering industry and a large-scale socialist production as a whole in conformity with the present scientific and technical revolution?

That is the most comprehensive, most fundamental and most difficult economic problem we are facing.

None of these three strategic tasks should be omitted or delayed as they are not subjectively laid down according to our wishes but are determined by life itself, by the nature of our regime, by the conditions and characteristics of the country, and by the working people's interests and profound aspirations.

When a question is raised by life and the economy, then its answer can be found right in the law of life and the law of economic evolution from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The problem is to discover and firmly grasp these laws, to determine a rational economic line and economic working methods, to coordinate the carrying out of various tasks and to bring into play the aggregate strength of all forces.

The main features of such a line were defined by the fourth party congress. This is a line with a thoroughgoing revolutionary character and a profoundly scientific nature. Its essence consists in firmly grasping the dictatorship of the proletariat, developing the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, building a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure, giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, building the central economy while developing the local economy, integrating the central economy and the local economy into a unified national economic structure, combining the development of the productive forces with the perfection of production relationships, combining economic work with national defense, and combining the domestic division of labor with the international division of labor and cooperation.

Speaking in terms of general structure, the entire economy will develop on the basis of two key sectors: a unified structure of economic-technical sectors throughout the country, and the local economy.

These two key factors are inseparable and will develop through close combination and mutual interaction. As basic organizations of modern large-scale production, the economic-technical sectors play an extremely important role in transforming manual labor into mechanized labor; creating new machinery, tools and materials; promoting specialization, cooperation and association in production; raising scientific and technical standards; increasing labor productivity; and turning out products of ever better quality and with every higher efficiency. Actively and promptly building economic-technical sectors is both an immediate and long-term strategic policy.

Economic-technical sectors are created in a process consisting of two factors: The first is the development of agriculture--both crop planting and livestock raising--along the line of large-scale production and redistribution of the agricultural labor force in order to make full use of land, forests, the sea and other resources in developing various sectors and professions, producing consumer goods for daily use and export and shaping agricultural products processing industries; the second is the building of key heavy industries most typical of a large-scale socialist production and capable of providing new technical equipment for the entire national economy.

The two factors of this process are closely related because the development of heavy industry on a priority basis must rely on the development of agriculture and light industry and also because the heavy industrial installations must be closely combined with agriculture and light industry to form a single structure for the primary purpose of promoting the advance of agriculture and light industry.

The central as well as local economy include heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. But the central economy involves the most important installations of the industrial and agricultural sectors, especially the key systems of heavy industry, while the local economy covers mainly agriculture and the consumer goods industry and is closely linked with local labor, resources, branches and professions. When the central economy is strongly built and the economic-technical sectors are rapidly developed, they will create conditions for the local economy to develop strongly. To strongly develop the local economy is to insure the people's welfare while contributing to building the central economy.

These economic processes are essential and objective factors consistent with economic laws. At the same time, they are realizable potentials thanks to the existence of the socialist collective mastery system which permits an early large-scale concentration of force to build key economic establishments while broadening the localities' democratic rights and bringing into play their initiative and creativity in developing production and building new economic structures.

### I. Role of Local Economy

In the entire evolution of the economic structure toward large-scale socialist production, the strategic role of the local economy is shown in the following main points:

1. Only by strongly developing the local economy can we make full use of labor, land, forests, and the sea, and expand various sectors and professions. This is because the labor and resources which exist in each locality are firmly linked, first of all, to the development of production and the expansion of sectors and professions in that locality on the basis of the common line and plan for the entire country.

If we proceed from agriculture and light industry and give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, we must admit that the localities are important places in which to organize production, to carry out division of labor, to exploit the country's resources and to rapidly increase social labor productivity.

By firmly controlling, protecting and rationally using land, forests and the sea and other natural resources, the local economy contributes to preserving, transforming and embellishing the environment of the people in each locality and of the entire nation.

Large-scale capitalist production can be established only when a sufficiently large amount of money is accumulated to become capital, purchase means of production and labor and produce surplus value for capitalists. This amount of money comes from trading, depriving peasants of their rights, plundering colonies and freely competing in annexation. As Marx said: Capitalism came into being full of blood and mud.

In those countries which have gone through the stage of capitalist development, the heavy industries already established are the material bases and fundamental support for advancing toward socialism. In our country, where small-scale production still prevails and the material and technical bases are poor, if we want to advance toward large-scale socialist production through the course of developing production while insuring the people's livelihood, we have no other fundamental support in the country than collective labor. This is our most valuable and abundant capital resource and, at the same time, the largest productive force at present. Therefore, we must absolutely understand the workforce and quickly organize and redivide the labor in order to create a new and highly efficient productive force to exploit resources, establish more sectors and jobs, and produce much wealth.

We must fully combine the potentials of labor, forests, land and seas and fully use them as soon as possible so as to quickly develop all sectors and jobs. This is the key to opening a new position in the economy, enabling social production to surmount initial difficulties and creating new and positive balances between production and consumption and between consumption and accumulation.

At a time when large-scale industry has not developed, localities are rationally the places where labor can be combined with resources, especially with land, forests and seas. As a result, the development of local economies becomes a key task in using labor and resources to gradually turn small production into large-scale socialist production. Socialist collective mastery represents not only new production relations but also a very important productive force, especially when manual labor prevails.

Facts in Dinh Cong and other advanced models permit us to conclude that in relying mainly on manual labor, if we know how to exercise our right to collective mastery, organize and redivide the workforce and, at the same time, make necessary investments, we can intensively cultivate crops, develop animal husbandry and expand various sectors and jobs through accelerating the development of local economies in close connection with various primary production units in order to improve the people's livelihood, build new material and technical bases and initially establish a genuinely new system, the system of socialist collective master.

2. Local economies are mainly the link which closely connects industry with agriculture at the initial stage to become district agroindustrial structures or industrial-agricultural structures at the provincial level. If we can firmly grasp and satisfactorily develop local economies, we will be able to prevent the separation of industry from agriculture and the countryside from cities, if agriculture cannot be primarily developed to turn out a host of grain and food and other agricultural products and materials, it will be impossible to develop industry. However, without industry's effect on agriculture, agricultural production cannot become large-scale modern production.

The experiences of developed countries show that there must be hundreds of industrial sectors to serve agriculture and that the workforce of industrial sectors supporting agriculture is definitely superior to the workforce directly engaged in agriculture.

In our country, we advocate the policy of developing an industrial-agricultural structure in the very early stage of economic development. In setting forth this policy, we have proceeded from reviewing the experiences of our own country and fraternal countries and the new achievements in the world in developing the economy and technology, from the system of collective mastery over both industry and agriculture, and from the true potentials of our economy.

By linking agriculture with industry, we can intensively cultivate crops and expand the cultivated area, apply modern technological innovations, increase agricultural labor productivity, develop cultivation and animal husbandry in a balanced manner and establish more sectors and jobs. In the same connection, industry can be fundamentally provided with manpower and grain and food for the laboring people, with a source of capital to import equipment and materials, with raw materials and a market and with the most advantageous position of supporting the development of agriculture to create conditions for further expanding industry. Development of an industrial-agricultural structure must take place in the entire national economy, especially in the local economy-provinces and districts.

3. Local economy is a link in which accumulation and concentration in production are effected. It stimulates the development of an economic structure of large-scale socialist production. The more the local economy develops, the more conditions are created to expand accumulation in production and, thereby, to concentrate and supply the central authority with ever-large sources of goods.



The more strongly the local economy develops and the faster production is expanded, in each area, the greater the people's needs will be insured and the easier for the central authority to devote an important part of the national resources to building major projects and key material and technical bases. This is a rational course of action appropriate to the process of developing small-scale production into large-scale socialist production, a process which is objectively taking place both on a local and national scale.

With the development of the production force, the size of the local economy will be constantly increased as will that of the national economy. This differs totally from the process of developing small-scale production into large-scale capitalist production because the latter process takes place initially in each locality and then develops the national market covering the entire country and because in the latter a long period of free competition must precede monopolistic concentration of means of production.

Holding the pivotal position in the national economy, the local economy, through its accumulation of capital and concentration of means of production, helps grassroots-level units to vigorously develop which stimulating the development of various techno-economic sectors. Thus developing local economy in a correct manner amounts to creating favorable conditions for developing large-scale socialist production in the entire national economy.

4. Based on existing manpower, natural resources, branches and professions, the local economy must be an important source of exports, especially in the current stage when our prime export resources are products obtained from cultivation and animal husbandry, processed farm produce, and consumer goods. The state must have appropriate guidelines, encouraging and forcing localities to redistribute the country's workforce in accordance with the international division of labor, cooperation and trade aimed directly at building and developing the local economy and, at the same time, contributing to national industrialization.

This amounts to creating new potentials for the economic activities of localities, thus compelling each locality to estimate its export and import potentials and to develop to the fullest its production capacity and to improve product quality; and creating opportunities for localities to progress rapidly through their contacts with the international market and with the economies and technology of various countries.

The era in which small-scale production can advance directly to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development is the era characterized by the fact that socialism has become a world system--an international community which has at its disposal much modern industry and advanced science and technology with its production force extending beyond the scope of a country as it has established numerous economic, scientific and technical relations with many countries, and has formed a global market--the two systems of socialist and capitalist markets and other regional markets. These are precisely the favorable objective conditions. Without them, small-scale production cannot advance directly to socialism.

Therefore, expanding foreign economy, primarily with the Soviet Union and CEMA, must be part of the economic line and strategy and the most important prop with which to advance our economy quickly to large-scale modern production. It is necessary to have part of our country's manpower and natural resources participate in the division of economic cooperation among the community of socialist countries, and to reinforce and expand trade with the world market. Export and import, a strategic problem for all economic sectors, becomes more important for the economic development in our country.

In order to achieve at all costs a correct decision to have millions of laborers, hundreds of thousands of hectares of land, and the many other natural resources serve export purposes, it is necessary to have a series of strong policies ranging from planning to policy-making and organization in which the most important direction is to step up export from the local economy.

5. Caring for the people's material and cultural life, ranging from their present living and housing conditions to their future well-being is the common responsibility of the central and local authorities and of all sectors and echelons.

With regard to production, along with developing production in each locality, we must attach utmost importance to the development of the economic-technical sectors and further promote specialization while broadening cooperativization in order to expeditiously attain modern scientific and technological standards and achieve output, quality and efficiency. With regard to the distribution of material wealth, the central authority must carry out this task through the localities, considering them as the level directly responsible for it. Only in this way can the varying needs of the people of all strata be truly satisfied and the requirements of society as a whole and each family and each person in particular be fully met.

The local economy is part and parcel of the social production system and the unified national industrial-agricultural economic structure. At the same time, it is the basic economic unit in which the central authority can carry out the distribution of material wealth to meet the demands of the people's daily life and closely coordinate production with distribution, thereby clearly showing the aims of all economic activities in our society.

It is in each locality and each basic unit that we will be provided with favorable conditions for carrying out a distribution which clearly reflects our system of collective mastery. This distribution, implemented by the people for the people, closely associates the private with the common and the individual with the collective. It is carried out not only on the basis of value but also on the basis of use-value, and it attaches importance not to wages and individual income but also to collective and social welfare. Such a distribution will help strongly promote production and will become both a moral and material incentive.

[2300 GMT 27 Oct 79]

[Text] 6. In conformity with the general law of history, socialism came into being after having a highly developed productive force to settle contradictions between the sociality of production and the privacy of the system of ownership and distribution of property. Our country is advancing toward socialism and establishing socialist production relations at a time when productive forces are still poor and weak. As a result, from the very beginning we must combine the establishment of new production relations with the development of productive forces.

We transform production relations not only for the sake of the relations themselves but mainly to develop productive forces. In order to do so, we must take the appropriate forms and steps, flexibly applying those forms of transformation which can maintain and promote production, and resolutely eliminating those forms having a negative effect on production.

In transforming production relations and reorganizing production, we must apply appropriate forms depending on each objective. In agriculture, we should rationally determine the levels and scales of cooperatives in close connection with the district level to reorganize agricultural production in districts.

Along with collective production--the main form of production--it is necessary to create conditions for the family economy to develop in the right direction so as to fully use the free and auxiliary labor in producing additional wealth for society.

In industry, beside the state-run and joint private-state-owned factories, it is necessary to develop the abilities of cooperatives and production collectives and to fully use the individual economy of craftsmen and individuals by associating together various large, medium and small units and different economic elements to form a rational system and organization of production. This method will enable us to turn all abilities to account and to engage fully in labor specialization in order to qualitatively and quantitatively develop production.

If we want to consolidate and improve the new production relations, not only must we consolidate the system of ownership and improve the system of management and distribution, but we must also strenuously build the material and technical bases, accelerate production and increase the laborers' assets and income. Conversely, if we want to develop the productive forces, we have not only to expand capital construction and apply advanced technology, but also continuously improve the system of management and distribution in order to encourage laborers to enthusiastically produce and properly manage labor, machinery and capital so as to turn out many assets at minimum cost.

The close combination of productive forces with production relations must be carried out in the national economy as a whole and throughout the country as well as in each sector, each locality and each primary production unit. The local economy is characterized by the fundamental factors of productive forces and production relations involving production, distribution, circulation and consumption, and is a link tightly and directly binding productive forces and production relations together in accordance with the two-way relationship of causality. It also links together the state-run elements, cooperatives and individuals in accordance with the rational division of labor to insure the principal guiding role of the socialist economy and, at the same time, develop all the economic, technical and managerial abilities of other elements.

Consequently, the local economy specifically reflects the correlation between the productive forces and production relations. Local economy, if developed, will enable the productive forces to expand vigorously and the new production relations to be rationally organized and firmly consolidated.

7. Local economy is one of the areas in which the laboring people's right to collective mastery over the economy is exercised in three ways: The efforts of lower echelons to surge forward, of the upper echelons to focus on the lower echelons and of localities to expand vigorously.

Local economy insures the unity of the interests of the entire society with the interests of collectives and individual laborers, correctly determines the relationship between use-value and value, and effectively combines planning with market utilization. The development of small-scale production into large-scale capitalist production is a spontaneous consequence of the process of seeking profits. However, our development of small-scale production into large-scale socialist production is aimed at meeting the people's material and cultural requirements, which can be satisfied only by use-value.

If we fail to firmly grasp this objective, clearly perceive the basic role of use-value in our regime and carefully seek to understand the people's requirements so as to strive to meet them by creating many appropriate use-values, and if we merely calculate losses and profits in a narrow-minded manner of private businessmen, we will limit production and disrupt the economic structures and the purposes of goods, thus contravening the basic economic law of socialism.

However, during the transition to socialism and even pending the socialist stage, value and the law of value exist objectively and play an important role in economic development and management. This is a yardstick for calculation, an instrument of control and an effective lever of stimulation. If properly applied among the socialist system of economic laws, the law of value plays the positive role of supplementing basic economic laws and the law of developing the national economy in a planned manner and in close connection with the law of distribution according to labor. In this spirit, finances, banks, currencies, prices and wages are strong and effective levers to organize labor and exploit resources and to promote the development of production.

If we belittle the calculation of values, pay no heed to economic results, underestimate the importance of laborers' material benefits and fail to correctly deal with the problems of prices, wages, procurement, incentives and material punishment, and fail to insure the unity of public and personal interests, we will cause adverse impact on the laborers' enthusiasm leading to feelings of dependence and to condoning laziness and irresponsibility.

In our economy, use-value are not separated from value and do not conflict with each other but are united and solely aimed at satisfying the people's material and cultural requirements.

As an area in which production is directly combined with distribution, local economy possesses conditions which fully reflect the above-mentioned correct relationship between use-value and value.

The advance of small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production is a spontaneous and anarchic process governed neither subject to the market nor the law of value. But the advance of small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a rational, organized and planned process. Therefore, planning is a main tool of economic organization and management.

In each stage, it is necessary to base oneself on the degree of development of production relationships and production forces to determine appropriate contents, scope and methods for planning.

In the current stage of the system of socialist collective mastery, it is mandatory to carry out planning for the three basic levels--the central, local and grassroots levels. The central level must control a number of basic balances and main norms so as to direct the development of the national economy in accordance with plans. This is the centralized economic power of the central authority which the state's managerial institutions must insure and every sector and echelon must respect.



On the basis of firmly grasping this centralized power, it is necessary to unhesitatingly expand the power and responsibility of various localities and grassroots-level units, insuring that localities can master the economy and the people's lives and can achieve a balance between production and consumption in the framework of the common direction and objectives of the state plan, and that grassroots-level units can develop their production capacity to the fullest and display initiative in production and trade.

In planning, construction, implementation, surveying and evaluation, it is mandatory to make broad use of all relations between goods and currency to carry out "in-kind" planning and value planning, with the "in-kind" planning at the core. It is necessary to skillfully combine the tool of planning--a principal factor--with the tool of marketing into a component part of the managerial structure, so as to firmly maintain the solid uniformity of the economy and, at the same time, guarantee the flexibility, sensitivity and diversity of production and social life.

To keep for oneself many tasks which must be done at once advocating bureaucratic centralism to oversimplify economic planning and management as if they were ordinary administrative activities, to want all production and trade activities of society planned, and do it to daringly use to a certain extent the self-adjustment which society performs through the activities of the market--these are to divorce oneself from the present situation of our national economy, to limit production capacity and to contain the creativity of a broad section of the masses thus making it more difficult for us to meet the people's daily needs.

It should be noted that the system of socialist collective mastery does not deny the relationship among goods, currency and the market. Instead, it will help set new objectives for these relations, aimed at satisfying the people's needs, and will create for them a new organized and planned method of motivation.

We will not allow the market to control production at will, as is the case with capitalism. Instead, we must control the market and know the demands of society well, so as to direct production and master production and distribution.

Organizing and building newstyle market relations is part of the effort to build a new economy and means creating a strong lever to prompt the birth and growth of large-scale socialist production on a national scale as well as in each locality.

With regard to the marketing structure, it is necessary to strive to build a national marketing system linking all production sectors and local economies together into a unified national economy, while at the same time expanding local markets--part of the local economy, linking production with the people's lives and stimulating the division of labor and cooperation within a locality or between localities on the basis of the orientation and the economic plan of the central authority.

In addition to the organized and planned market, there is the unplanned market which will continue to exist for a relatively long period of time. In production, there are secondary products voluntarily made by state enterprises after their fulfillment of state plans; the family sideline economy of cooperativized peasants working on the 5-percent land area and other secondary professions in the rural areas; the individual handicraft production in urban areas, etc. Similarly, in circulation, there is the unplanned market. This unplanned market supplements the planned market with the latter controlling the former in terms of nature and extent of development.



Building and managing the market is a most important and urgent task at present which requires us to concentrate on materializing at all costs the two-way contracts between the state and peasants, combining purchase and selling into a single service, organizing a direct exchange between the goods and materials of the state with the products of the peasants while resolutely struggling against speculation and the smuggling of goods, and severely punishing those undermining the market and upsetting the market prices, especially in the south.

Developing the local economy is to build the right to mastery of localities over production and market, create conditions to guarantee the people's needs in a firm and creative manner and eradicate the manifestations of precarious and unorganized activities in everyday life, thereby creating enthusiasm and strengthening the confidence of the masses.

8. Combining the economy with national defense and vice versa is a long-term strategic plan which becomes even more important in the present situation of the country. This combination takes place on a national scale and in each locality and each establishment.

As a production area and a social life organizing unit, the local economy must be vigorously developed to become a direct, stationary logistic installation of national defense. It is necessary to turn each locality into a prosperous and powerful economic unit and a strongly-built bastion, combining the labor obligation with the military obligation, and production with combat support; and combine economic and national construction with economic and national defense.

9. The local economy is both the result of the three revolutions and the stronghold which stimulates the simultaneous development of the three revolutions. The three revolutions are the daily activities of every sector and echelon, but the most practical and boisterous activities are in the establishments and localities. All production and trade establishments of localities as well as of the central authority are located in localities, and the place at which the state has direct contact with the people is in the localities. Therefore, localities are areas where all kinds of revolutionary activities take place aimed at building a new life and gaining control over society, nature and oneself.

The new regime, the new economy, the new culture and new men must be reflected concretely first of all in each establishment and each locality. Stepping up building of the local economy is precisely stepping up the three revolutions in a flexible and practical manner in each locality so as to create conditions to develop the laboring people's collective mastery over all political, economic, cultural and social fields.

[0200 GMT 28 Oct 79]

[Text] II. Tasks and Guidelines on Development of Local Economy

Large-scale socialist production imperatively requires a suitable material and technical base, namely a major engineering industry. It is the common responsibility of both the central and local level to build such a major engineering industry.

To strongly develop the local economy is to meet the local people's daily needs while contributing to the building of key projects directly managed by the central level.

Both the central and local economies are incorporated in the unified national economic structure. There is no establishment directly subordinate to the central level which is not located in a specific locality and which has no specific relations with the economy in the locality concerned. By the same token, all economic establishments directly subordinate to the local level are incorporated in one sector or another and closely linked with the economic establishment directly subordinate to the central level to form unified national economic-technical sectors. Every step forward made by the local economy is also a step forward for these sectors and vice versa. The stronger the local economy becomes, the more conditions it will create for the central economy to develop, and the stabler the central economy becomes, the more firmly it will lay the foundation for the local economy to develop expeditiously.

As an integral part of the national economy, the local economy belongs to both the localities and the entire country. It is built and managed by the central authority--the Council of Ministers and various ministries--in accordance with a rational division of work and decentralization.

We should not think that the local economy belongs exclusively to the localities and falls under the authority and responsibility of the localities alone. We should realize that the local administration, which directly builds and manages the local economy, is an organization belonging not only to the local people but also to the central state authority in the localities. The local administration builds and manages the local economy not only in the exclusive interests of the local people but also in the common interests of the people throughout the country, thus realizing the people's right to collective mastery both in the entire country and in each locality.

Following are the tasks of the local economy:

1. As land and the key means of agricultural production are found in the localities, which are the main producers of agricultural products of the entire country, these localities are the best representatives of the central authority in agriculture and are directly responsible for agricultural production. In order to develop agricultural production, it is necessary to combine construction with transformation, advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production, reorganize and redistribute the agricultural work force, make good use of land, achieve a balanced development of crop planting and livestock raising, combine agriculture with forestry and industry, and step up intensive cultivation and multicropping along with expanding the cultivated area.

2. Develop locally-run industry, especially the consumer goods industries catering for agricultural production and meeting the people's needs and for export;
3. Organize construction forces well, vigorously develop the production of construction materials to insure the building of economic installations, housing facilities, cultural, educational and public health projects, and public utilities in localities, and contribute to the building of some centrally-run projects established in localities;
4. Build and maintain the system of communications in localities, organize and manage the transportation forces well to insure the movement of goods and passengers in support of production and life in localities, and partly assume some transportation tasks as required by the central level;
5. Establish the socialist trade system and organize and manage the local market well to support production and life in localities and, at the same time, fulfill the procurement task--mainly through two-way contracts--to insure that the central level can control the flow of essential agricultural, maritime and forest products;
6. Mobilize banks, financing and pricing, especially credit, to organize labor, develop production and accelerate exports and imports by localities;
7. Organize the local people's material and cultural lives well to satisfy their material and cultural requirements and to make satisfactory contributions to the country. The activities and specific achievements of the local economy must clearly manifest the close relationship between the central level and primary production units and between the state and people so as to make all people fully aware of their true position as collective masters.

To implement these tasks, each locality should establish an appropriate economic structure encompassing the agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry--especially consumer goods industry-- construction, transportation and communications, and circulation and distribution sectors, of which the key and popular components are agriculture and local industries.

Since agricultural production exists in all localities, besides complying with the general plan, each locality must take into account land, labor, climate and weather conditions to properly organize its agricultural production. All localities must see that industry has an appropriate structure of sectors and jobs conducive to agricultural production and to the production of consumer goods so as to serve the people's needs and export.

In each locality, there are some centrally-run major economic installations, in addition to the local economic units. Based on these installations, we must establish the requirements for manpower and raw materials to reflect the economic, technological and managerial capacities and establish the relations among labor division, cooperation in production and circulation and distribution, so as to create new potential for local economic development and, at times, to completely change the pace of the local economy.

To develop the local economy, we must strive to consolidate the primary production units in localities so as to turn every unit--cooperatives, factories, state farms, forests, project sites and shops--into a true socialist economic organization and a unit of economic accountability. We must expand economic relations among various localities in the fields of labor division, cooperation in production, supply of raw materials and consumption of products.

We must combine the activities of localities with the operations of various sectors by closely linking the local economy to the central economy.

In order to encourage localities to produce actively and develop all their creative abilities, we will not advocate the policy of leveling the standards of living among localities. Those localities which produce well may enjoy a higher standard of living. However, each locality should fulfill its obligations to the entire society by contributing its utmost to satisfying the everyday life needs of the people throughout the country, firmly defending the fatherland and carrying out national industrialization.

We must positively oppose bureaucratic centralism, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, bigotry and narrowmindedness and, at the same time, resolutely wipe out all ideas of parochialism and departmentalism, and all sectarian attitudes which prevent us from thinking of the common national cause.

Local economy in each province and each district has a specific structure suitable to the local labor, resource, sector and job situation. This means that in addition to agricultural and industrial installations which all localities need, each locality must concentrate on developing its economic strengths. It is not advisable to spread oneself thin in order to establish all the required sectors and jobs and to erroneously attain self-sufficiency by annexing efforts, thus blindly containing the economy within small-scale production, and finally harming oneself and the whole country.

We must pay special attention to developing the economy of the border provinces and districts and the Viet Bac, Tay Bac and Tay Nguyen mountainous areas where the ethnic minority people live. These are strategic areas, economically speaking, and sensitive areas from the national defense viewpoint. In these areas, we must accelerate the production of grain suitable to the conditions of the land and develop the rich potentials in the specialized cultivation of industrial crops and the raising of cattle in close connection with the development of agriculture and the exploitation of forestry products so as to meet local demands, quickly improve the economy and livelihood of the mountain people, and create a large source of exports thus making major contributions to the national economy.

To develop local economy, the provinces and districts in the border and mountainous areas must strive to vigorously surge forward. At the same time, they should secure support from the central level and various sectors and other localities, especially supplemental manpower from the lowlands, in accordance with the national plan for redistributing the work force.

The capital Hanoi is the political, economic and cultural center of the entire country, where many production installations with high technology are concentrated to turn out products for the entire country and for export. The party organization and administration of Hanoi is directly charged with the duties of building and developing the economic structure of the capital, supplying grain, food and raw materials, and securing jobs for the people in the capital to insure their livelihood. These duties also fall on all the central sectors and all the localities throughout the country, especially the northern provinces.

Ho Chi Minh City is a major city and an economic center which has extensive generating power and a strong attractive force. It has established trade relations with the markets of many countries. It is an important communications center within our country as well as between our country and abroad.



Building and developing the economy of Ho Chi Minh City and insuring the city people's lives are the direct duties of the city and, at the same time, the duties of the centrally-run sectors and the provinces of Western and Eastern Nam Bo.

The capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City must have very diversified two-way relations of production and circulation with the provinces. They must bring into play their industrial potentials and, together with the central-level sectors, actively help provinces to develop the economy according to a rational division of work which is profitable for each province's economy and for the development of the two cities and of the entire national economy.

According to our country's geographical economic pattern, many provinces and districts are dotted both with lowland ricepaddies and forests and sea areas. This is a particularly favorable condition for developing the local economy in a diversified and multifarious manner.

For 10 years or more now, we have fumblingly tried to determine the appropriate scales and scopes of local economy for different localities, namely the industrial-agricultural provinces and cities of some million people and the agroindustrial districts of about 200,000 people.

Provinces and cities must struggle to establish an industrial-agricultural economic structure. Along with emphasizing the agricultural front, they must firmly grasp the task of developing industry by mobilizing all the industrial potentials to effectively support the development of agriculture into large-scale socialist production. Together with various central sectors, they must concentrate on quickly building up the district level.

The most important and fundamental mission of districts is to accelerate agricultural production, establish a system of large-scale socialist production, intensively and specially cultivate crops and animal husbandry in a balanced manner, and build a new countryside, to support and promote agricultural production. Districts must, on the one hand, rely on the industrial strengths of the central level, provinces and cities, and on the other, immediately build some small- and medium-sized industrial installations in close connection with agriculture so as to gradually form the agro-industrial economic structure.

If we firmly grasp the economic line of primarily and rationally developing heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry and combining industry with agriculture into a structure from the very beginning, we will essentially realize the important position of districts and the historical role of district agroindustrial economic units.

Districts are the areas in which we can directly combine agriculture with industry and the ownership of all the people with that of collectives, and build a new culture and new men. Consequently, districts are the pattern for large-scale production in the countryside and for building a new life on the basis of collective mastery. Each district is a basic economic unit containing many production organizations with independent accounting operations which associate with one another into a structure to serve as a base for the provincial and central economies.

Districts are the place where the people's right to collective mastery over the political, economic, cultural and social fields can be directly manifested. In each primary production unit and the entire district, through their activities in production and distribution, their construction and use of various cultural, educational and health projects and public utilities, and their own life, the laborers can realize the connection between public and personal interests, between individuals and collectives and between duties and benefits so that they can work for their own sake and to help others.

For the above reasons, it is a strategic duty that we must strive to build districts into agroindustrial economic units in order to contribute to bringing about new profound changes in the national economy, gradually and realistically advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production and establish a new regime and a new life in the countryside.

On the present economic front, one of our key tasks is to immediately start developing the economy of each district in close connection with the establishment of the industrial-agricultural structure of provinces and the development of various economic and technical sectors, and to immediately improve and consolidate the leadership and managerial apparatus of each district.

What is the scope of district economic development? How is the building of the district level connected with the establishment of cooperatives? These questions have been presented in a relatively thorough manner in directive No 33 of the Political Bureau. In order to turn resolutions into realities, all sectors and localities must depend on their functions and tasks to devise specific programs, plans and measures and must actively engage in work and carefully avoid appealing to the people in too general a manner.

When starting such a new major task as the development of districts, we normally run into some blunders and difficulties and fail to thoroughly understand some specific matters. The only way to deal with such a situation is to rely on the major guidelines which have been accurately established. Let's start working; we will learn more from things. Let's devote ourselves wholeheartedly to work; we will understand more clearly and resolve actual problems.

[0400 GMT 28 Oct 79]

[Text] As part of a whole, the local economy as well as the economy of each sector and each primary production unit is influenced by the economic management situation in general. Consequently, the improvement of local economic management primarily and fundamentally means the improvement of the national economy. At the same time, within this general framework, it is necessary to establish and carry out some particular projects to improve management, directly having an effect on the local economy.

As we all know, only by firmly grasping the scope for building the economic structure of large-scale socialist production and by thoroughly understanding the economic guidelines and tasks for each stage, can we lay firm grounds and clearly define a correct sphere for economic management operations and for the accurate settlement of problems involving economic planning, policies, apparatus and cadres.

Generally speaking, our shortcomings in economic leadership and management can be centered on the following three points:

1. We have not firmly grasped the general and party lines on economy. Such matters, concerning lines, as the establishment of a collective mastery system, the building of an industrial-agricultural economic structure and the simultaneous development of the central and local economies, and so forth, have not been clearly understood by many cadres and party members.

2. We have not been fully aware of the economic situation in our country as regards labor, resources, sectors and jobs, equipment, machinery, difficulties and vantage points, and doldrums as well as positive factors.

3. We have not proceeded from a thorough knowledge of lines to adequately and specifically formulate the correct policies of economic development for each sector, each locality and each primary production unit. We lack effective measures to insure implementation, the most important being the organizational and economic policy-making measures. There are still many deficiencies in the organizational and managerial systems, namely red tape and officialism. We have not learned how to combine planning with the utilization of markets and how to organize the government apparatus on the basis of the requirements of the economic structure.

The contingents of economic management, scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers have not received uniformed basic and advanced training and have not been properly assigned tasks so that they can fully develop their abilities. The implementation system is loosely organized, poorly disciplined and irresponsible.

Therefore, the improvement of economic management must be comprehensive and uniform.

On the basis of correctly applying all the economic, social and natural laws, economic management is fundamentally charged with firmly grasping all potentials in terms of labor, resources, sectors and jobs; defining the laboring people's system of collective mastery at the three basic levels and establishing a rational economic structure throughout the country as well as in each sector and each locality consistently with the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

We must apply appropriate organizational forms, managerial procedures, policies and systems in order to attain by all means the goal of fully utilizing labor, land, forests, seas, equipment, machinery and all other means of production; develop all sectors and jobs; connect industry with agriculture; combine sectors, localities and primary production units together; fully use the capacities of all economic elements; insure unity between the interests of society and collectives and the interests of individuals; accelerate the scientific and technical tasks; combine planning with the utilization of markets and the division of domestic labor with the division of international labor and cooperation; satisfactorily resolve all the problems of prices and wages to obtain high labor productivity and economic results; successfully implement all the basic economic tasks; improve the people's livelihood; consolidate national defense; and build the material and technical bases of socialism.

Managerial procedures must insure a harmonious uniformity between the party lines and the state economic plans and policies. We must urgently get rid of outdated aspects of planning and economic policies. Most important of all is that we must correctly implement the planning system at the three basic levels; start formulating plans with the primary production units by proceeding from the factors of labor, land, forests, seas and all available equipment, machinery and production capacities; and skillfully combine planning with the utilization of markets on the scale of national economy and in each sector, each locality and each primary production unit.

All economic policies should play the role of promoting production, arousing each laborer's enthusiasm and zeal and uniting the public and personal interests and individuals and collectives, and should boldly extend the sphere of authority and responsibility and promote the interests of laborers, primary production units, localities and sectors.

As for managerial organization, we should be able to define an organizational method and a correct work system for the party to lead, the people to control and the state to manage, keeping the system of managerial organizations in close touch with the masses and with reality and giving it a great combined strength and high efficiency.

The state economic apparatus must be fundamentally adjusted and improved on the basis of the requirements of various economic laws derived from the economic structure of organizing and supporting production. We must eliminate unnecessary components and streamline too heavy ones, and must clearly discriminate and closely combine the administrative management of the economy with the management of production and business operations. We must rationally assign work to various specialized and general sectors, boldly classify the central and local levels of management and extend the authority of primary production units so that they can become financially independent and economically accountable.

As for the task regarding cadres, we must renovate the selection, placement and basic and advanced training of leading, economic management, scientific, technical and professional cadres. We must not be overly concerned about the age of cadres or their past pay grades and positions but must take into account mainly their present qualities and abilities in order to create a new source of cadres. We must quickly improve the contingents of key management cadres of various sectors, localities and primary production units in accordance with a uniform structure composed of those who can meet the specific criteria of each position. We must create a normal pattern for cadre promotion and demotion: If cadres can perform their duties, they will remain in their positions, otherwise, they must be replaced.

As regards the performance system, we must uphold individual responsibility, tighten discipline, intensify control and justly and promptly administer punishments and regards. Along with the general policies and measures to manage the national economy, we must scrutinize and study the improvement of the organizations and tasks of such key general sectors as planning, finance, banking and pricing. We must devise organizational and managerial methods appropriate to each of the industrial, agricultural, construction, communications and trade sectors, and to each locality-- province, city and district.

We must very attentively improve the organization and management of all types of primary production units--agricultural and handicraft cooperatives, production collectives, state-run factories, corporations and joint enterprises. By satisfactorily managing primary production units, we will lay a good base on which to manage localities, sectors and the national economy as a whole.

With regard to the local economy in particular, the central level must fundamentally and urgently improve management by clearly defining the authority and responsibility of the provincial and municipal levels in planning, in promoting cooperation in production and exchanges of products among localities, in import and export, in the management of labor, supplies and capital, in directing production, in organizing the market, in deciding on local prices, and in insuring employment and the livelihood of all local people.

All leading party and government organs, each central-level sector, each province and each municipality must regard the building of districts and the strengthening of the district level as their immediate central task. They must clearly demonstrate the purposes and operational methods of their own sectors and levels in the districts. Through their efforts to serve, assist, guide and supervise the districts and installations, they must build a rational structure and develop the most effective managerial methods possible for their own sectors and levels. They must realize that to build agro-industrial economic units in the districts is to lay the foundation of the economic structures of the provinces and municipalities and of the entire country, and that to build a new regime in each district is to establish the base for a new regime throughout the country.

In order to improve the management of local economy, all the central-level organs, the Council of Ministers and the ministries must assist the localities in the following key tasks:



1. Formulate plans for the development of each economic-technical sector throughout the country and join each locality in formulating plans for the development of the local economy. In order to insure the highest possible economic returns, it is necessary in these plans to specify what installations must be built by each sector and where, what installations of which sectors must be built by each locality, and to which level--central, provincial or district--each installation must be directly subordinate.

Tardy planning will prolong the state of confusion and even disorder in the relations between sectors and localities as well as among the localities themselves.

2. Organize local production and consumption structures, consolidate and strengthen installations and establish correct economic relationships among localities and between localities and various economic-technical sectors.

3. Formulate and implement local economic plans which must include both the direct tasks of localities and their obligations to the centrally managed installations set up in these localities.

Attention must be paid to formulating plans from grassroots level, stabilizing the two-way relationship between the central and local level, defining the amount of investment to be provided by the central authority for the localities and the amount of products to be turned over to the central authority by the localities for each specific period of time, and insuring at all costs the balance between norms and the measures to attain them and between duties and the means to fulfill them.

4. Define a product nomenclature and specify what must be directly decided by the central authority and what by the local administrations in the management of labor and supplies, in financial operations and credit work and in price fixing.

Promulgate and implement appropriate economic policies and forms of organization so as to compel and encourage each ministry to care not only for its directly subordinate units but also for the entire technical production sector assigned to it, and to compel and encourage the local administrative echelon to care not only for the units directly subordinate to the localities but also for the entire economy in their respective areas, including the economic units directly subordinate to the central level.

5. Assign more cadres to the localities and help them train cadres and set up apparatuses capable of resolving the problems of economic management and science and technology in their areas, thereby enabling the local economy to develop strongly and steadily.

In order to develop the local economy strongly and in the right direction, each locality itself must make efforts to achieve extraordinary progress in all fields so as to accept broader powers and heavier duties worthy of the strategically important role of the local economy in the process of advancing small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

It is imperative to raise the quality of the local party, administrative and mass organizations; motivate the popular masses to stand up as masters in production, distribution and life; stir up a seething and lasting productive labor movement; eliminate all manifestations of negativism; develop all positive factors; and create a new spirit in all localities.

All party and state organizations must be urgently consolidated to become stable and strong centers capable of leading and managing local economic, political, cultural and social work. Any element who bullies the masses, steals public property, practices bribery or engages in collusion must be resolutely eliminated from the party and state apparatuses. Young forces who are endowed with economic or scientific and technical knowledge and who have been tested in practical work must be boldly introduced into these apparatuses.

Organizations of economic and technical experts must be set up soon to serve as staffs for the party and administration at all levels. In order to avoid mistakes in economic-technical work, all levels must adopt suitable work systems and methods enabling them to listen to and collect all opinions of these staff organizations.

It is imperative to control and screen cadres and party members through the carrying out of each concrete task in economic building and in the organization of the people's life. All party committee echelons must be on the alert for new elements so as to promptly foster and promote them. At the same time they must boldly replace any incompetent person incapable of carrying out his duties.

The remuneration system must be improved to really provide incentives for good producers and good workers. The organization and propaganda and training departments and the party and state schools must draw up appropriate curricula and training plans on the basis of the need to consolidate the local guidance and managerial organizations so as to form groups of uniformly trained, capable and qualified cadres suitable for each locality within a fixed period of time.

Economic development, the organization of the people's life and the building of the party and state apparatuses must not be an exclusive task of the leadership but must also be transformed into a revolutionary movement of the broad mass of people. The mass organizations--the trade unions, farmers associations, youth and women's unions and the Vietnam Fatherland Front--must maintain close contact with people of every circle and age group and find appropriate operational methods to enable everyone to assess the situation correctly and to clearly realize their obligation to make contributions and their rights.

All party committee echelons and administrative levels must systematize the masses' practical participation in production and trade, in the organization of the people's life, in party and state building and in controlling cadres and party members. It will be a great success if we can make each citizen really feel that he is a master in all political, economic, cultural and social fields.

In the immediate future, in order to stir up the masses' enthusiasm and promote their spirited participation in productive labor, we must carry out propaganda, educational and motivational work in a truly satisfactory manner; promptly revise certain irrationalities in the various policies and systems; fully respect the masses' right to collective mastery; meticulously care for the working people's livelihood; prevent unjustified privations; resolutely struggle against all manifestations of negativism; uphold the exemplary role of cadres and party members in production and official work and in the implementation of policies; live a modest and simple life; and establish good relationships with the masses.

Our entire party and people must make every effort so as, within a short period of time, to stabilize the people's life and bring about a drastic change in the economy, thus creating a foundation and a momentum for a source advance in the subsequent years.

## PEKING'S STRATEGY OF HEGEMONY AND EXPANSIONISM\*

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[Article by Phuc Cuong]

[Text] Asia, Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia in Peking's Strategy of Hegemony and Expansionism

One of the most important factors in the foreign strategy of Peking is the policy toward the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these regions of the world, a fierce struggle is being waged by the forces of national independence against colonialism, both old and new, against imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. Peking is making every effort to take advantage of this situation. Peking has many more conditions in its favor in these regions than in Europe, North America and the Pacific. Along with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, China shares the plight of having been ruled by imperialism and colonialism and now having a backward and poor economy. China shares many characteristics of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, consequently, the victory of the Chinese revolution inspired these countries very much.

Peking attaches very much importance to its policy toward these regions of the world. Viewing Asia, Africa and Latin America as the "focal points of the revolution," they maintain that world revolutionary strategy must use the countryside to surround the cities, that is to say, they consider Asia, Africa and Latin America to be the primary forces in attacking the developed capitalist countries. In the early 1970's, they set forth the "three worlds" theory, a theory which considers the third world to be the principal force in the struggle against the two super powers, the United States and the USSR, primarily the USSR. At the same time, Peking declared that China belongs to the third world with a view toward assembling the third world under the leadership of Peking, also for the purpose of opposing the USSR and the socialist countries.

\* Continued from previous issue.

Over the past 30 years, their strategy toward the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has undergone many changes, from trying to win over the forces struggling for independence against imperialism to publicly collaborating with the imperialists and betraying and opposing the revolutionary movement in these regions. In the 1950's, they tried to maintain relations with the countries of Asia on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and played an important role in the first Afro-Asian conference held in Bang Dung in 1955 to oppose the hostile policy of the United States toward China. Between the late 1950's and the mid-1960's, they made every effort to assemble the forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America under their leadership so that China could become a super power on the order of the USSR and the United States. They encouraged the holding of the second Afro-Asian conference and the establishment of new uprising forces with the objective of opposing the United States while not permitting Soviet participation. They opposed the establishment of the non-aligned movement on the initiative of Yugoslavia and India. This movement, in which China does not participate, has developed with increasing strength and has an important voice in the world. This movement has become the principal obstacle impeding Peking from assembling forces in the way they desire. In 1965, Peking's plan to rally forces around itself met with total defeat because Peking's interests were not consistent with the interests of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the mid and late 1960's, Peking carried out the "cultural revolution" under a radical foreign policy and encouraged the pro-Peking parties in Southeast Asia and other pro-Peking groups to use armed struggle against the governments of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the early 1970's, taking advantage of the desire by the United States to use the China card to maintain neo-colonialism in South Vietnam and weaken the USSR while combating the world revolution, Peking embarked on the course of publicly betraying the people of Vietnam, opposing the independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, opposing the USSR and opposing the people of the world. In 1978, the tremendous needs of Peking for capital and technology from the western countries for their "four modernizations" plan led them more deeply down the path of collaborating with the imperialists against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Under the billboard of opposing hegemony, opposing the two super powers, they collaborated with the imperialists and the various reactionaries to oppose the revolutionary undertaking of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. More recently, having opposed it in the 1960's, Peking has suddenly had nothing but words of praise for the non-aligned movement, has tried to win the support of Yugoslavia, India and Sri Lanka and has made every effort to bring this movement within the orb of Peking in order to oppose the two super powers, primarily the USSR, and abandon the objectives of the movement of opposing colonialism, both old and new, and opposing imperialism.

Peking has always considered the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be very important tools in their strategy of hegemony and expansionism.



In the initial stage, they wanted to become the leader of the revolutionary struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that they could achieve a super power position equal to that of the USSR and the United States and could use this struggle as a card to play with imperialism behind the backs of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the sake of their interests and the interests of imperialism, as they did in Vietnam. In the present stage, a stage in which imperialism has become weaker and the revolution is growing like a storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America threatening the interests of the imperialists and Peking, Peking has openly collaborated with the imperialists to oppose the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the sake of their interests of hegemony and expansionism.

Of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Asia is the place where Peking has better conditions for achieving hegemony and expansionism because the forces of China at this time are only sufficient to give China the stature of an Asian super power. All countries in Asia, with the exception of the Middle East, share a common border with China or lie within Peking's reach.

However, in Asia, Southeast Asia is the region of utmost importance in Peking's scheme of hegemony and expansionism. In the other areas of Asia, the super powers have the ability to impede the hegemony and expansionism of Peking: to the north and west of China lies the USSR, Japan lies in northeast Asia and India lies in southern Asia. In Southeast Asia, there are only medium size and small countries. Southeast Asia is also the weakest link of the imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since World War II, Southeast Asia has been the only region in which an armed struggle against colonialism and imperialism has occurred in all countries, a struggle that has lasted for 40 continuous years. The French colonialists and U.S. imperialists suffered the heaviest defeats and these defeats led to the collapse of French colonialism and brought on the comprehensive crisis of U.S. imperialism. Southeast Asia is of strategic importance in the world. It controls internal maritime lands from northeast Asia and the Pacific to the Middle East, Europe and Africa; it has important petroleum reserves and supplies to the world a number of very important raw materials. As a result, a sharp struggle has taken place here since World War II among the imperialists. In Southeast Asia, China has more advantages in its favor than the other super powers. China is a close neighbor of and has had long-standing historic and cultural relations with these countries. All countries of Southeast Asia were vassals of the Chinese feudal dynasties and, for several thousand years, this region was the primary direction of expansion of the Chinese feudalists. Southeast Asia has been the principal region to which Chinese have emigrated. In this region live 20 million of the 25 million overseas Chinese in the world. Overseas Chinese constitute a high percentage of the populations of many Southeast Asian countries: 75 percent in Singapore and 40 percent in Malaysia; Overseas Chinese control the economies of many southeast Asian countries. In these countries, pro-Peking political organizations are rather strong.

Peking has always used Southeast Asia as the nucleus of China's strategy of hegemony and expansionism. In 1963, China advocated the convening of a conference of 11 parties to establish a separate international organization led by China. Of these 11 parties, 8 were in Southeast Asia. During the first half of the 1960's, Peking made every effort to establish a Peking-Hanoi-Jakarta-Phnom Penh axis to serve as the base for convening the second Afro-Asian conference and for the establishment of insurgent forces to oppose the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and international democratic organizations. Over the past 20 years, China has made every effort to elevate Maoism and apply Maoism within the international worker movement. In the mid-1960's, pro-Chinese groups were established in a number of countries. Peking has divided and undermined many communist parties; however, in Southeast Asia, Peking imposed Maoism upon six pro-Peking parties. These parties are the principal components of the pro-Peking forces in the world.

Over the past 30 years, Peking has taken advantage of the serious crisis of colonialism and imperialism in Southeast Asia; in particular, it used the war of resistance against French colonialism and the resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to achieve detente with imperialism and achieve the position of a super power in the world. The war of resistance against French colonialism and, in particular, the resistance against the U.S. imperialists by the Vietnamese and the three countries of Indochina were of very important significance in the revolutionary struggle of the world's people; at the same time, the defeat of French colonialism and U.S. imperialism in these countries had a tremendous influence upon the position of imperialism, in general. Due to China's important position in the wars of resistance against France and United States waged by the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, France as well as the United States negotiated with China in order to reach a solution behind the backs of the peoples of these countries, a solution favorable to China, to France as well as the United States. For this reason, China won the position as one of the five super powers in solving the Indochinese problem in 1954 and solving the Lao problem in 1961-1962; meanwhile, the United States was pursuing a policy of surrounding and isolating China and the so called Republic of China of Chiang Kai-shek was one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. During the 1960's, China wanted to monopolize the banner of resistance against the United States for national salvation of the Vietnamese in order to reduce the prestige of the USSR. In 1971, due to the Nixon administration's scheme of using the China card to maintain the lackey regime of the United States in South Vietnam and, at the same time, weaken the USSR, China betrayed the interests of the Vietnamese and embarked on an insane anti-Soviet policy. As a result, Peking became a super power in one of the three centers of power in the world.

Over the past 30 years, China has made every effort to find a way to successfully control Southeast Asia. In declarations by the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles, in many documents of the Chinese Communist Party, in textbooks

and in maps published by China, Peking has clearly stated that the countries of Southeast Asia were vassals of the Chinese feudal dynasties and that Peking today considers Southeast Asia to be their area of influence. To realize their dream to achieve hegemony and carry out expansion in Southeast Asia they first looked for ways to control the South China Sea because controlling the South China Sea is of decisive importance in controlling the entirety of Southeast Asia, tried to occupy the Paracel Islands and presented demands on the Spratly Islands and the South Sea reaching to the offshore waters of Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines.

In the 1950's, Peking looked for every possible way to achieve exclusive control of the countries of Indochina and hoped to use Indochina as a springboard for expansion into Southeast Asia. The obstacle to this policy of hegemony and expansion was the independent and sovereign line of Vietnam. In an effort to make Vietnam dependent upon them, they did everything possible to weaken Vietnam, impede the reunification of Vietnam and permanently partition Vietnam. At the same time, they used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as lackeys to undermine the unity of the three countries of Indochina and oppose Vietnam.

In the early 1970's, after failing to conquer Vietnam, they tried to win over the countries in the Southeast Asian Bloc (ASEAN) and looked for ways to divide these countries from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This "divide and conquer" policy of Peking was designed to control all of Southeast Asia.

As regards the countries of Southeast Asia, in general, they have used pro-Peking parties and overseas Chinese as tools to weaken these countries and force them to be subservient to them. During the 1950's, they used these parties and overseas Chinese to oppose the governments of Southeast Asia. During the 1960's and in the mid-1970's, they encouraged pro-Peking parties and overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia to end their policy of opposition and begin cooperating with the governments of Southeast Asia. This change was designed to serve their interests at specific points in time. They even used a military coup d'etat by a pro-Peking party to control Indonesia, used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to unleash a war against Vietnam and even used a war of aggression against Vietnam.

Clearly, unable by means of their own forces to counter the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia and impose their hegemony upon this region, Peking has been temporarily forced to cooperate with the imperialist countries and reactionary forces in order to control this region.

#### The Strategems of Peking

Peking as well as the imperialists and the other reactionaries employ similar basic measures and strategies because Peking and the imperialists and other

reactionaries have similar strategic objectives, namely, ruling other countries, achieving hegemony, carrying out expansionism and opposing the interests of the peoples of other countries and the interests of their own people. Peking's tricks are to take advantage of the antagonisms among opponents and among other countries, practice deception, engage in subversive activities, establish lackey governments and dependent, vassal states and use the carrot and the stick approach.

One thing which is clear is that the ambition of Peking is very large but the economic and military forces of Peking are very limited. Peking is pursuing its ambition of hegemony and expansionism at a time when the three revolutionary currents are developing strongly throughout the world. Due to this characteristic, China is not able to pursue a policy of using lackeys and vassals or a policy of using a carrot and a stick as the principal measures, as the other imperialists do. Therefore, Peking primarily follows a policy of taking advantage of antagonisms, sowing division, practicing deception and engaging in subversive activities. This situation might change if China strengthens its forces and if the world revolutionary movement encounters major difficulties.

Taking advantage of antagonisms is the foremost strategic trick of Peking. It primarily involves taking advantage of the antagonisms between the USSR and the United States. This matter was clearly discussed above; all that is necessary here is to state that it is unrealistic for Peking to pin their hopes on a major war between the USSR and the United States. The Soviet Union is a socialist country; war is foreign to the nature of a soviet social system. The United States is an imperialist country, and war is closely linked to the nature of imperialism. At present, the U.S. imperialists are being torn apart by profound crises of capitalism from which there is no escape; if they recklessly unleash a world war, the war itself will abolish imperialism in the world. Moreover, the three revolutionary currents are growing like a storm, consequently, the imperialists can no longer stir up trouble in the world, as they have been doing over the past 30 years.

The policy of deception is considered the national domestic and foreign policy of Peking.

In the late 1950's and during the 1960's, Peking spoke out very strongly against imperialism and "revisionism"; in particular, during the final half of the 1960's, their words were more radical than ever before; however, immediately thereafter, they began speaking in the most reactionary of terms and closely collaborated with the imperialists and violently attacked the world revolutionary movement. In the 1970's, they revealed their reactionary nature. In 1958, they appealed to the people of the world to wage a vigorous struggle against the United States and against "revisionism"; however, they did just the opposite in their actions. In 1958, they withdrew Chinese volunteers from



Korea in order to avoid a conflict between the United States and China. On their southern border, they did not want an armed conflict between the revolutionary forces of Indochina and the United States. They encouraged Vietnam to not wage an armed struggle in South Vietnam even though the United States and Diem had massacred more than 500,000 persons; they encouraged the Pathet Lao to not wage an armed struggle and to return to a coalition government even though the Pathet Lao leaders had been arrested by the Vientiane government and one-half of the armed forces of the Pathet Lao had been disarmed and disbanded. Meanwhile, they were loudly criticizing the argument on peaceful transition. While denouncing the USSR for negotiating with the United States, they brought about negotiations between China and the United States at "Vac-xo-vi" [Vietnamese phonetics]. From the mid to the late 1960's, China encouraged Vietnam to wage a protracted war of resistance against the United States and fight the United States until the end; China opposed any attempt by Vietnam to win victory early or conclude the war through negotiations. Meanwhile, both China and the United States did everything possible to avoid a military conflict between the two sides. U.S. General Taylor observed: China is determined to fight the United States until the last Vietnamese. In the 1970's, China made every effort to counter the USSR and western European public opinion exposed China's policy of being determined to fight the USSR until the last western European.

Peking's policy of deception at home can help us to more clearly understand Peking's policy of deception abroad. To begin with, they brandished the banner of the "great cultural revolution" in order to carry out the most savage and bloody struggle for power in history, a struggle in which some 5 million persons were massacred. They overthrew one another by accusing one another of the crime of "following the capitalist course." They overthrew one another and then restored themselves to power by the very same method. If they can accuse one another of reactionary crimes in order to overthrow one another and restore themselves to power, they have not ignored the use of cruel tricks and brazen fabrications in opposing other countries.

In the 1970's, China set forth the argument of opposing the two super powers, opposing Soviet and U.S. hegemony. China signed articles opposing hegemony with the United States and Japan. By doing this, China whitewashed itself, concealed its imperialist nature, deceived the people of the world. With the intention of collaborating with the United States and Japan in order to counter the USSR, China signed with the United States and Japan anti-hegemony articles; however, China appealed to the United State to not withdraw its forces from Asia in order to maintain a U.S. military occupation against the peoples of Asia and criticized the United States as being weak by allowing revolutionary Cuba to exist at the doorstep of the United States. Immediately after signing these articles with the United States and Japan, China conducted the war of aggression against Vietnam and seriously threatened the independence and sovereignty of Laos. The Peking authorities repeated the arguments of the

international gendarme, the United States, of threatening to punish Vietnam, teaching Vietnam a lesson and making loud proclamations about raising the umbrella of military protection over the countries of Southeast Asia. Clearly, China has raised its voice against hegemony for the purpose of concealing China's pursuit of a policy of hegemony and expansion. China has loudly declared that it will protect the countries of Southeast Asia; however, everyone knows that China failed to fulfill its obligation under an agreement signed with Vietnam in 1965 to use the Chinese air force to protect the capital Hanoi; in 1971, China looked the other way when Pakistan, a close ally of China, was defeated in the war between India and Pakistan and was forced to accept the birth of Bangladesh; in 1979, China failed to prevent the total collapse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the competent lackey of China.

China is pursuing its policy of hegemony and expansion like wolves in sheep's clothing. By China's own admission, it belongs to the third world, yet, by China's definition, this world consists of small, medium size and poor countries. The truth is that China is collaborating with the United States against the countries of the third world.

To easily deceive public opinion, Peking has presented theories on politics and philosophy which, from the outside, seem very interesting. They use the metaphysical method and formal logic to deceive public opinion. They provoke the intermediate strata and take advantage of the anti-imperialist national independence trend by means of radical arguments and bourgeois nationalism. Their "three worlds" theory which raises the issue of opposing hegemony by the two super powers holds that the entire development of the world situation is the result of the struggle between the two super powers. This theory is clearly designed to oppose the undertaking of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are struggling against imperialism for peace and national independence and designed to turn the struggle against imperialism into a struggle against the USSR. The theories and arguments of Peking are totally contrary to the truth as it exists in the world. The arguments presented by Peking in the 1960's are completely contradictory to the theory set forth by Peking in the 1970's. The things about revisionism which Peking denounced in the 1960's are the very same things Peking is praising in the 1970's. In the early 1970's, Peking presented their "unsettled world conditions" viewpoint in order to defend the sudden and rapid changes in their viewpoints and policies.

Because Peking's economic and military forces are still limited but they do possess the tools of hegemony and expansionism into the territories of other countries, the policy of subversive activities is one of the strategems of foremost importance of Peking.

To begin with, in Southeast Asia, Peking has a very large force of overseas Chinese, who control the economies of many countries and have pro-Peking

political parties that have rather strong forces; Peking has also used the blood ties with ethnic minorities in areas near the Chinese border. They have frequently used overseas Chinese to oppose the governments of many Southeast Asian countries, especially during the time of the "cultural revolution"; in particular, they fabricated the overseas Chinese in Vietnam issue in coordination with launching a war of aggression against Vietnam. They have stood behind pro-Peking parties that have taken up arms and overthrown governments in Southeast Asia, as in Indonesia in 1965. They also supported the coup d'etat by Lon Nol that overthrew Sihanouk in Kampuchea in 1970. In Laos, they have also supported various groups and established a pro-Peking party to overthrow the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.

They have used the tribal chiefs of ethnic minorities in border areas near China to establish armed forces to resist the governments of many countries, such as India, Burma, Laos, Vietnam and so forth.

The above mentioned lackey forces of Peking have bases within the territory of China. They have been trained on Chinese soil and have radio stations located within China. During times of difficulty, they are brought back to China in order to preserve their forces and rest.

The subversive activities conducted by Peking in the countries of Southeast Asia have been coordinated with military, political and economic pressure by Peking on the governments of these countries.

In keeping with their neo-colonialist policy, the establishment of lackey and vassal regimes is a commonplace strategem of Peking. Following the collapse of old-style colonialism, the hegemony and expansionism of Peking can only be achieved by establishing lackey and vassal regimes, that is, can only be achieved under the form of neo-colonialism. U.S. imperialism used the national liberation struggle against old-style imperialism to remove the other imperialists from the colonies and, in the name of supporting the independence of nations against colonialism, replaced the other imperialists with the neo-colonialism of the United States. During the 1950's and 1960's, the leaders in Peking, following the course of the U.S. imperialists, supported the struggle by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against old-style colonialism in order to turn these countries into tools of Peking's hegemony and expansionism. In conjunction with their political scheme, Peking provided economic and military aid to a number of countries, sent advisors to the key sectors of the economic, political and military apparatus and sent army troops to build roads in order to allow them to move all the way to installations. Peking has looked for ways to constantly keep these countries dependent upon them. Over the past 30 years, China has never endorsed a reunified Vietnam. They have constantly negotiated with the imperialists for the purpose of permanently partitioning Vietnam. At the same time, they have sought ways to compel these countries to only be dependent



upon their aid, not accept aid from other countries. In 1964, they brought pressure to bear upon Vietnam to only accept aid from China and refuse aid from the USSR. After Kampuchea freed itself from dependence upon the U.S. imperialists, China monopolized aid to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and allowed them to receive aid from no other country. They have taken advantage of national antagonisms and sowed divisions among countries in pursuit of the traditional imperialist policy of divide and conquer. The Peking authorities are hostile toward the solidarity of the three countries of Indochina. They have always been looking for ways to divide these three countries. In 1965, they used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to undermine the solidarity of Indochina in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression. In 1975, they used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to unleash a war against the peoples of Vietnam and Laos. In southern Asia, whereas they once used the countries of Indochina as a springboard against the other countries of Southeast Asia, in the 1970's, they tried to win over and divide these countries from the countries of Indochina. In Southeast Asia, they have tried to get the neighbors of India to oppose India. On the African continent, they supported Somali against Ethiopia. Within every country, the Peking authorities play many cards at once in order to easily control the country. In many countries of Southeast Asia, while trying to win over the authorities, they have continued to use pro-Peking political parties and overseas Chinese to bring pressure to bear upon these authorities. In Kampuchea in the early 1970's, the Peking authorities played five cards at once: Sihanouk, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, Lon Nol, San Son and overseas Chinese.

Over the past several decades, the Peking reactionaries have made many efforts to establish lackey and vassal regimes. They have met with defeat at many places. Their greatest achievement was the creation of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea, which only lasted for a short period of time.

The carrot and a stick policy Peking is pursuing is a policy of threats and bribes. In this policy area, Peking is very limited. However, Peking has used its large armed forces, used its large population to threaten neighboring countries. As soon as the People's Republic of China was founded, Peking began building strategic nuclear forces to use as a large stick supporting their policy of hegemony and expansion. The nuclear weapons of China do not have the purpose of threatening the other nuclear powers, because China ranks fifth among the five nuclear powers in the world; rather, they primarily have the purpose of controlling the other Asian countries. However, the recent war of aggression by China against Vietnam revealed the weaknesses of the stick held high by China to threaten the Asian countries.

Chinese aid to countries is far below the aid of other countries in both quantity and quality and fails to meet the requirements of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Therefore, Chinese aid is concentrated on a few key countries. To limit aid by other countries and compensate for the



shortcomings of China in its aid program, China grants aid terms that are more lenient than those of many other countries and encourages countries to practice self-reliance and not accept much aid from foreign countries; economically, China encourages them to use agriculture as the base of the national economies and build small and medium-scale industry; militarily, they should use the people's war.

Chinese aid might have deceived many countries; however, when China used the suspension of aid to oppose Vietnam and Albania, many countries had to give thought to the political purpose of Peking in the granting of aid to them.

### Peking's Strategy in the Future

As regards Peking's strategy in the future, the following possibilities can be taken into consideration:

--Peking hopes that there will be a major war between the United States and the USSR; China will take advantage of the weakness of the United States and the USSR in this war to become the strongest super power in the world;

--At present, China ranks seventh in the world in industrial production; according to estimates by many persons well versed in world affairs, China could, if favorable conditions prevail, move into fifth place and, taking the most optimistic outlook, might possibly jump into third position;

--Peking has suffered heavy defeats in overseas adventures and been weakened by internal chaos, consequently, Peking will suffer a heavy defeat in the implementation of the "four modernizations," as the situation over the past 20 years has shown;

--These heavy defeats will lead to a change in line or a change in leadership within China.

To evaluate the possibilities mentioned above, we must evaluate the recent successes and failures of Peking in the implementation of their strategy of hegemony and expansion:

The People's Republic of China is now 30 years of age. During the first 8 years following the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949-1957), hegemony and expansionism became the basic policy of Peking. As a result, the people of China won large victories in both foreign and domestic affairs. The prestige of the People's Republic of China became very large in the world, even though there were many manifestations of hegemony and expansionism during this period of time. During the following 22 years (1957-1979), hegemony and expansionism increasingly became the principal objective of Peking; however, this policy encountered many large defeats. Between the late 1950's and the

late 1960's, the call to wage a strong struggle against the U.S. imperialists and "revisionism" and subsequent radical arguments temporarily deceived a contingent of the middle strata and a contingent of Asian, African and Latin American countries. This was the largest victory ever won by Peking. However, they suffered a defeat in view of the fact that they failed to achieve their strategic objective of drawing the revolutionary forces of the world into the orb of their hegemony and expansion so that China could secure an international position equal to that of the USSR and the United States. During the 10 years from 1970 to 1979, Peking's hegemony and expansionism have openly taken the reactionary course of collaborating with imperialism to counter the world revolutionary movement. In particular, the recent war of aggression against Vietnam bared the reactionary face of Peking and made it impossible for Peking to pretend to be revolutionaries any longer. As a result, Maoism has been thrown into a serious crisis in the world. The solidarity of the international communist movement and the world revolutionary movement has been strengthened. Another major defeat has been that the hegemony and expansionism of Peking have been pushed from the countries of Indochina, the place they wanted to turn into the principal base for expansion into Southeast Asia. However, the largest defeat over the past 22 years has been that the policy of hegemony and expansion of Peking in the world and the struggle for personal power among the reactionary gangs within the country have left the People's Republic of China seriously weakened economically and politically, ideologically confused and deeply divided politically. The recent war of aggression against Vietnam was a catalyst that pushed Peking into a serious leadership crisis. The defeats China has suffered in the building of its economic, political and military forces have caused the contradiction between China's great ambitions with regard to hegemony and expansion and China's very limited forces to become increasingly deep.

The reasons for the serious defeats of Peking's policy of hegemony and expansion over the past 22 years are:

Peking has initiated its strategy of hegemony and expansion at a time when the three revolutionary currents are developing strongly, old-style colonialism has collapsed, neo-colonialism faces a serious crisis and imperialism is becoming weaker with each passing day. It is clear that this policy of hegemony and expansion became outmoded and Peking now shares the same fate as the imperialists.

Peking's strategy of hegemony and expansion is contrary to the interests of the people of China. It has inflicted countless tragedies upon the Chinese. Although the Chinese live miserable lives, the reactionary gang within Peking ruling circles has used an important percentage of national income for such things as building strategic nuclear forces, providing aid to the Pinochet reactionary clique, supporting the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and other reactionaries against the peoples of many countries and waging wars of

aggression against neighboring countries. The Peking reactionaries tried to conceal the war of aggression against Vietnam from the Chinese because the war was contrary to the interests of the people of China. The people of China will surely rise up against the reactionary authorities.

The ambitions of hegemony and expansion of Peking are very large, but the political, economic and military forces of China are limited. Over the past 22 years, this antagonism, instead of being overcome, has been exacerbated by Peking's adventures overseas and the confusion caused by them at home.

Peking has collaborated with the imperialists against the world revolutionary movement and the USSR and hopes to rely upon imperialism to carry out the "four modernizations." The imperialists hope to play the China card to counter the world revolutionary movement and weaken the USSR. Facts over the past several years have proven that Peking's collaboration with the imperialists has not changed the balance of power in the world nor reversed the inevitable trend of development of the three revolutionary currents in the world. Even in Asia, where Sino-American collaboration could have the most direct effect, the development of the situation in Indochina, Afghanistan, Iran and the Middle East proves that the China card does not have the effect desired by the imperialists. The imperialists are continuing to play the China card, but their dream of using this card to counter the world revolutionary movement and weaken the USSR has been shattered. On the other hand, they might want to have a strong China but China cannot become a threat to their interests in Asia and the world. The pursuit by the Peking authorities of a policy of hegemony and expansion and a China of 1 billion persons that has completed the "four modernizations" will pose an unimaginable danger to the imperialist countries. Therefore, in 1978 and early 1979, the world witnessed a race by the imperialist countries to Peking; however, since Peking's war of aggression against Vietnam, the imperialists also have had to reconsider their investment in the China card.

The above mentioned reasons for the large defeats of Peking's hegemony and expansionism will be the factors determining the development of Peking's strategy of hegemony and expansion in the future.

Today, the conditions assisting Peking in realizing its ambitions in the area of hegemony and expansion are constantly declining. The economic, political and military forces of China were at their strongest during the period from 1950 to 1957; however, the economic, political and military situations of China at present are unfavorable, especially the confusion resulting from the long-term consequences of the upheavals of the "cultural revolution" and the crisis of confidence, the crisis of leadership that have existed, especially following Peking's war of aggression against Vietnam. The possibility of achieving the goal of the "four modernizations" by the end of this century has been set back. The 10-year plan covering the years

from 1976 to 1985, a plan of decisive significance in achieving the "four modernizations," has been cut by 30 percent. In the past 30 years, the prestige of China in the world and China's ability to practice deception and rally forces in the world were at their height between the 1950's and the mid-1960's. However, in the 1970's, Peking has bared its fraudulent revolutionary face and the prestige and ability to practice deception of Peking sank to the lowest level ever following Peking's war of aggression against Vietnam. Soviet-U.S. relations are more strained now than they were during the cold war of the 1950's and 1960's. At present, the Soviet Union is much stronger than it once was and, conversely, the United States is becoming increasingly mired in a serious, prolonged crisis from which there is no escape. Present Soviet-U.S. relations are relations of struggle and detente. The imperialists still harbor the illusion of playing the China card; however, the development of the situation at many places in the world proves that the China card is unable to reverse the inevitable trend of development of the world revolution. The three revolutionary currents are growing more with each passing day. Peking has suffered a major defeat in its policy of collaborating with the imperialists. Peking's defeat in Indochina, which they consider to be their backyard, is the largest defeat of Peking's policy of hegemony and expansion.

It took two world wars to weaken the British and French imperialists and Great Britain and France, once world super powers, have become European powers. The U.S. imperialists were made the strongest imperialist power by the two world wars. However, the period during which the United States was at its strongest only lasted for 20 years. In the 1960's, the United States began to weaken, primarily as a result of the general crisis of capitalism, the growth of the three revolutionary currents and, in particular, the war of aggression of the United States in Vietnam.

As is the case with imperialism, the policy of hegemony and expansion of Peking is encountering more difficulties than before. It can be stated that China is incapable of achieving the "four modernizations," and incapable of becoming the number one super power by the end of this century. Under favorable conditions, China might be able to leap into fifth or third position among the super powers of the world. However, there is also the possibility that Peking will suffer major domestic and foreign defeats as has occurred over the past 20 years. Peking might continue to hold grand ambitions and engage in dangerous adventures despite worsening domestic and foreign conditions for Peking. The more obstinate Peking is, the larger will be the defeats suffered by Peking.

At present, we do not foresee the possibility of very large defeats at home or abroad that will lead to changes in the line or leadership of Peking. However, we are confident that, in the end, the people of China will surely rise up and overthrow the reactionaries in power in Peking because the people of China have written the great history of China and have a tradition of



revolutionary struggle and because the present age is the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, the age of the collapse of imperialism and the destruction of the colonial system, the age of the victory of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

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## DEVELOPING AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL IN HAI HUNG

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[Article by Ngo Duy Dong, secretary of the Hai Hung Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] I. Charting the Course for Developing the Agricultural Potentials Within the Province on the Basis of the Province's Characteristic of Little Land but a Large Population

Lying on the left bank of the Red River in the center of the Red River Delta, Hai Hung is a province characterized by little land and a large population, a province that has a population density of 812 persons per square kilometer. The population has also been growing rather rapidly, from 1.64 million in 1968 to 2.05 million in 1977, an average of more than 50,000 persons per year. However, Hai Hung has important natural advantages in its favor. Some 85 percent of Hai Hung's arable land is alluvial soil deposited in the province over a period of generations by the major rivers. To date, we have established 23 main soil types lying in six different soil areas, more than 40 percent of which is good soil. About 65 percent of the province's land is sandy soil or light and average sandy clay loam. Hai Hung lies in a tropical trade wind region that has two distinct seasons. The winter is dry with cold winds. The summer is hot and rainfall is heavy. This tropical climate has created many favorable conditions for Hai Hung to develop its agriculture in a comprehensive manner, achieve a rapid turnover of land and produce much wealth per unit of area during the year.

However, in past years, as a result of these characteristics and due to the failure to organize production, improve fields and combat natural disasters well, waterlogging, flooding and drought posed constant threats to both the 5th month and 10th month crops. Meanwhile, due to the monoculture of rice, yields were not only low, they were unstable as well. The amount of area waterlogged in 1960 was 31,600 hectares; in 1965, 42,900 hectares; in 1968, 75,972 hectares (waterlogging and flooding); in 1972, 44,507 hectares

(roughly 13,816 hectares of crops were completely lost); and in 1973, 42,302 hectares (approximately 9, 577 hectares of crops were completely lost). The province was slow to improve the allocation of rice varieties and introduce spring rice. In 1970, the amount of area under the cultivation of spring rice only equalled 16.5 percent of the amount of area under the cultivation of 5th month-spring rice; in 1972, it only equalled 63 percent. Prior to 1971, the province never reached the target of 5 tons per hectare per year; some districts only averaged a little more than 30 quintals per hectare. Winter crop production was virtually non-existent. Production was disorganized and decentralized and, instead of establishing specialized farming areas, land was put under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops and then transplanted with rice and vice versa. The total value of agricultural products and commodities was insignificant. At many places, the people were encountering very many difficulties in their daily lives. Each year, an appeal had to be made to the state for relief or loans during the between season period.

These were the consequences of small-scale, decentralized production of a highly subsistent nature; the consequences of unclear production guidelines and the failure to combat natural disasters; this situation made it impossible to develop the potentials of agriculture within the locality.

In recent years, in order to correct this situation, Hai Hung has taken determined steps to zone agricultural production areas, institute specialized farming and intensive cultivation and gradually advance to large-scale socialist production.

On the basis of its arable land and the soil chemistry and soil types of the locality, Hai Hung was divided into the following five specialized farming areas: the rice growing area, which constitutes the majority of the land under cultivation within the province; the jute and corn growing area, which measures roughly 20,000 hectares and lies in the districts along the Red River; the peanut and soybean growing area, which measures roughly 1,500 hectares and lies within Chi Linh District; the rush growing area, which measures roughly 1,000 hectares and lies within Nam Thanh District; and the specialized vegetable growing area, which measures approximately 2,000 hectares and lies within Hai Duong City, the Nhi Chieu industrial area in Kim Mon District and Pha Lai in Chi Linh District. These specialized farming areas have been established for several years; at present and in the years to come, we are and will be trying to complete these areas and invest in the construction of material-technical bases in order to develop upon the strengths of each area as much as possible.

Having zoned production areas, Hai Hung established the production guidelines of practicing intensive cultivation and multicropping and expanding the amount of area under cultivation by developing the production of winter crops at a rapid rate and upgrading the winter season to a main production season, thereby

turning the land over many times during the year in order to create much wealth for society.

This is the specific application of the policy of the party and state on agricultural development with a view toward stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people, insuring that the working people have a job, have adequate food and are well clothed and making full use of the two strengths of the province, its labor and arable land, together with the other instruments of production in a concerted effort to accelerate agricultural production in every respect, especially the production of grain and food products.

As a result, in order to rapidly increase the sources of grain, maintain the standard of living of the people, develop livestock production and insure the fulfillment of obligations to the state while rapidly increasing the output of commodity agricultural products and exported agricultural products under the conditions that exist in Hai Hung Province, we feel that it is necessary to practice the intensive cultivation of both rice crops and the various types of industrial crops very well while strongly developing winter production, primarily the production of subsidiary food crops, grain and other food product crops.

## II. The Results of Intensive Cultivation and Multicropping in the Fields of Hai Hung

In order to practice the intensive cultivation of both rice crops well, Hai Hung still considers water conservancy to be the measure of foremost importance, primarily to overcome drought, combat waterlogging and expand the area irrigated and drained by scientific methods. Serious waterlogging and drought regularly lead to crop losses in Hai Hung. As a result, in recent years, Hai Hung has focused its efforts on building material-technical bases, especially water conservancy projects, in order to complete the farmland water conservancy system and build large-scale projects to control floods and drain waterlogged areas.

With the water conservancy projects it has constructed, Hai Hung can annually irrigate 137,000 hectares and drain 116,200 hectares. Thus, it has virtually completed the work needed to combat drought and waterlogging (except in years of unexpected heavy rains or interruptions in the supply of electricity). The use of irrigation and drainage by scientific methods has constantly been expanded. The amount of area irrigated and drained by scientific methods increased from 25,300 hectares in 1976 to 70,000 hectares in 1978.

In conjunction with water conservancy work, Hai Hung has given an appropriate amount of attention to the other technical measures involved in intensive cultivation, such as improving the allocation of varieties so that spring rice constitutes more than 90 percent of the allocation; establishing a suitable



allocation of varieties for each season and area; expanding agricultural mechanization as permitted by conditions, coordinating large scale, medium scale and small scale; increasing the application of fertilizer and improving the soil; attaching importance to the scheduling of seasons and gradually expanding the practice of direct planting in place of transplanting rice.

Since 1972, as a result of these efforts, Hai Hung has always maintained an average yield of 5 tons of paddy per hectare and has approached 6 tons per hectare in some years (1974 and 1976). In some years, dozens of districts and cities have averaged from 60 to 77 quintals per hectare and many cooperatives have averaged from 80 to 100 quintals per hectare. In 1978, a year of serious natural disasters, Hai Hung still averaged 54.52 quintals per hectare as a result of having good material-technical bases and successfully combating waterlogging. The 10th month crop yield was 27.8 quintals per hectare, the highest ever. The year 1978 was one of the three best years in terms of rice output (1974, 1976 and 1978). In the province, 10 districts and cities (computed on the basis of former administrative units) averaged more than 5 tons per hectare; 5 districts and cities averaged more than 6 tons per hectare and 7 cooperatives averaged from 8 to approximately 9 tons per hectare. In some trial fields, rice yields were rather high; for example, the 20 hectare field of the An Binh Cooperative in Nam Thanh District produced an average of 14 tons per hectare and the 19 hectare field of the Thang Long Cooperative in Kim Mon District yielded 12.6 tons per hectare.

These results indicate the stability of the intensive cultivation of rice in Hai Hung Province and, at the same time, verify that the potential for the intensive cultivation of rice is still very large.

The intensive cultivation of rice in Hai Hung has also raised the matter of expanding the amount of area directly sown with rice in order to eventually mechanize planting and replace the transplanting of rice. This represents a change in farming methods; at the same time, it is a measure in intensive cultivation because direct sowing allows for more control of the seasonal schedule, especially the spring season, without fear of seedlings becoming old or hollow. It also reduces production costs and limits the spread of insects and diseases on early 10th month rice crops. The trend toward the direct sowing of rice in Hai Hung is developing well.

Hai Hung has been working to develop the winter production season for 7 years and has made steady strides forward that have yielded increasingly large results. In 1972, Hai Hung only cultivated winter crops on 9,392 hectares, 7.8 percent of its farmland; this figure was increased to 9.8 percent in 1974, 14.5 percent in 1976 and approximately 30 percent in 1978. This represents rather rapid progress, represents a major effort by the class of collective farmers within the province, one that achieved success despite the fact that the 1978 winter season involved very many difficulties created by natural disasters.

The practical benefits of many years of developing winter crop production in Hai Hung are as follows:

1. The output of subsidiary food crops (in paddy equivalent) during the winter season in Hai Hung in 1972 was 12,587 tons; output rose to 15,914 tons in 1974, 38,780 tons in 1976 and 95,000 tons in 1978. As a result of the development of winter crop production, Hai Hung has, over the past several years, eliminated the between season shortage of grain that occurred in March (in the past, the state always had to provide us with assistance during this period). The standard of living of the people has been stabilized. A number of places are earning a high income from winter crops. The total output value of Hai Hung's winter crops was 20.3 million dong in 1972, 30.1 million dong in 1974, 63.6 million dong in 1976 and 141.1 million dong in 1978 (2.2 times as high as 1976 and 7 times higher than 1972), equalling 32.7 percent of the province's total agricultural output.
2. While rice yields have remained at the level of 5 tons per hectare, the hog herd of Hai Hung has annually continued to grow (from 460,000 hogs in 1977 to 490,000 in 1978, an increase of 5.6 percent. The collective hog herd has grown from 46,800 to 58,800 hogs, an increase of 25 percent). This is clearly the result of the strong impact of the winter production season.
3. As a result of growing winter crops for many years and developing the production of many different crops in many different areas, the people have gained some experience in propagating western potatoes and raising winter watermelons and garlic for exportation.
4. Due to the development of winter crop production, the land in many areas has been improved, thereby increasing the humus content and the fertility of the soil.
5. The development of winter crop production has developed the potential the province has in its labor and land and brought about the redistribution of local labor in order to produce much material wealth for society.

In the past, there was much fallow land during the winter in Hai Hung and labor was idle; meanwhile, the people were encountering difficulties in their everyday lives and had no way to overcome these difficulties. Today, the winter season represents nearly 30 percent of the land under cultivation throughout the province (as much as 50 to 70 percent at many cooperatives). As a result, farmers have much work to do during the winter, work which must, moreover, be performed in an urgent manner. At present, the winter season is a season that holds many hopes for cooperatives that dare to take action, that know how to take action, because, if carried out well, winter crop production yields a greater output value than both rice crops. A number of progressive cooperatives plan to gradually bring prosperity to cooperative members by developing winter crop production. For example, at the Thang Long

Cooperative in Kim Mon District, a unit that is skilled in winter crop production, winter crops constituted 51 percent of the amount of area under cultivation in 1976 and 72 percent in 1978. As a result of developing winter crop production, Thang Long has increased its coefficient of cropland use to 2.78 times. The total output value of winter crops in 1978 was 1.486 million dong, 58 percent of the total output value of the cooperative. The value of commodity agricultural products was 1.260 million dong, an average of 3,767 dong per hectare of farmland, 784 dong per laborer (converted) and 253 dong per person. Of this amount, the value of export goods equalled 854,000 dong, an average of 514 dong per laborer. On a per hectare average, three crops (two rice crops plus one winter crop) here produced 8,600 dong under the formula two rice crops plus one western potato crop and produced 16,600 dong under the formula two rice crops plus one garlic crop. At the An Binh Cooperative in Nam Thanh District, the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops equalled 68 percent of the farmland under cultivation in 1978. The output value of winter crops was 1.350 million dong, while the two rice crops only produced 812,000 dong. The average winter crop income per person is 250 dong. As a result of raising winter crops, the cooperative has increased its coefficient of cropland use to 2.7 times. In particular, An Binh initiated a four crop system of rotation cultivation on 24.4 hectares which has produced an annual average of 395 quintals of products worth 14,660 dong (two rice crops averaging 111 quintals per hectare worth 4,440 dong, a winter watermelon crop averaging 85 quintals per hectare worth 4,250 dong and a late kohlrabi crop averaging 199 quintals per hectare worth 5,970 dong).

The success of winter crop production on the fields of Hai Hung has been verified. Many localities within the province consider the winter season to truly be a main production season, in keeping with the policy of the Central Committee.

Through its experience, Hai Hung has reached conclusions necessary for expanding winter crop production:

First, to practice multicropping, it is necessary to have a suitable allocation of crops to insure that the development of winter crop production does not reduce the yield or output of rice but, conversely, creates the conditions for raising rice yields and output. At present, Hai Hung has an early 10th month variety of rice which has a growing period of only 85 days and another variety that has a growing period of roughly 100 days; if good intensive cultivation is practiced with these varieties, both can bear yields equal to main crop rice. Such short-term, 10th month varieties of rice permit the winter season to be prolonged to 4 or 5 months and enable the development of several crops that yield larger economic returns but have longer growing periods or require more total sunlight, that is, must be planted earlier, from mid-September on, thereby adding diversity to the group of winter crops. On this basis, Hai Hung reached the conclusion that to grow winter crops on a

large scale it is necessary to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of early 10th month rice using suitable short-term rice varieties that have been domesticated within the locality.

Secondly, each cooperative must zone a production area for each type winter crop; on this basis, they must determine which varieties of rice to plant during the 10th month season to insure that time is available for the cultivation of winter crops. This facilitates the effort by the cooperative to provide unified guidance in everything from irrigation, drainage and the utilization of tractors to technical guidance, the cultivation of crops and the prevention and control of insects and diseases. This is the implementation of specialized farming, of intensive cultivation and represents a gradual advance to large-scale socialist production and the determination to abolish decentralized production.

Thirdly, it is necessary to mechanize tillage for winter crops. The labor that must be performed at this time is very intense and labor costs per unit of area under the cultivation of winter crops are higher than rice production labor costs. As a result, if machines are not used in the preparation of the soil, labor will be strenuous, large-scale production will be impossible as will the expansion of the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops and the planting of crops on schedule.

Fourthly, it is necessary to be self-sufficient in winter crop seed in accordance with the established plan. Each cooperative must prepare its seed one season ahead of time as this is the only way to have ample good seed for production. The district is responsible for regulating the supply of seed between places with a surplus and places with a shortage within the scope of the district.

Fifthly, adequate fertilizer must be prepared. Multicropping, of course, requires the increased application of organic fertilizers at a time when chemical fertilizers are still in very short supply and difficult to obtain. To balance fertilizer needs, a plan must be adopted for making full use of every source of fertilizer of the locality and intensifying the processing of manures in order to provide the quantity and quality of fertilizer needed. It is necessary to prepare both composted manure and dry soil to preclude the need to plant western potatoes in wet soil.

Sixthly, it is necessary to have a complete farmland water conservancy system with effective sources of water that can provide irrigation when necessary but enable easy drainage when required. Although winter crops require less water than rice, if they are allowed to lack water during the growing period, crop yield will be adversely affected. If the crop lacks water during the dry season, the development of the crop will be very seriously affected.



Seventhly, it is necessary to plant crops on schedule. The failure to plant crops on schedule breaks the relationship between the physiological development of the plant and the external environment, it goes against the laws of nature. The planting schedule of the province has been established through a process of research and review extending over many years, consequently, it is necessary to consider complying with the seasonal schedule a matter of discipline in production.

### III. Improving and Bringing Up To Date the Methods for Guiding and Organizing Implementation

Having established correct production guidelines, Hai Hung focused its efforts on the guidance provided by the party committees, the government and the related levels and sectors in order to create every possible favorable condition, overcome every difficulty and help installations produce well. It is necessary to build material-technical bases, invest in an equip with machines where conditions permit and train and deploy technical cadres in an efficient manner suited to each production area in order to develop upon the strongpoints and develop the potentials of each area.

In its guidance, Hai Hung has given particular attention to establishing and increasing the number of advanced model units in order to guide the various cooperatives in learning from and emulating these units, both units that are models in many areas and units that are models in but one area of production. Some cooperatives are skilled in winter crop production, the intensive cultivation of rice and livestock production, such as the Thang Long, An Binh and Duc Hop Cooperatives; other cooperatives are skilled in the intensive cultivation of rice by the direct sowing method, such as the Cam Dinh and Kim Giang Cooperatives. Many cooperatives have instituted tight cost accounting under the guideline of reducing production costs and increasing the income of the collective and cooperative members. Representative of these guidelines are the Nghia Hung Cooperative in Tu Loc District, which has a per workday income of 1.83 dong and a cost ratio of only 32 percent, and the Dang Le Cooperative in Kim Thi District, which has a per workday income of 1.80 dong and a cost ratio of only 35.2 percent. At the Dang Le Cooperative, the cost of producing 1 quintal of paddy is 10 workpoints plus 10 dong. A model unit in the intensive cultivation of jute is the Phung Hung Cooperative in Chau Giang District. A model unit in pisciculture is the Thuan Hung Cooperative in Chau Giang District. A model unit in the organizing of orchards and the care of the elderly, parents of war dead or persons who have no means of support is the Tan Dan Cooperative in Chi Linh District. A model unit in the contribution of grain to the state is the Dang Le Cooperative, which annually contributes more than 1,000 tons of paddy, an average of 2,040 kilograms per hectare of farmland.

There are 130 advanced cooperatives, which constitute 32 percent of the total number of cooperatives within the province and represent every area and district.

These advanced cooperatives have not been more bountifully blessed by nature than other cooperatives have. Nor has the state invested more in them than in other cooperatives. The only differences are that they have strong party organizations and strong core cadres who are highly determined, who know how to take action, who dare to take action. With an average of 500 to 600 square meters of land per capita, the advanced cooperatives not only produce enough food for themselves, but also contribute to the state an average of 2 tons of paddy and 2 quintals of meat per hectare of farmland. The income of the collective and cooperative members has constantly risen; the output of products and commodities has constantly increased; the life of the people has constantly been improved; the face of the countryside is continuously being changed; economic management has become increasingly progressive and the new production relations have become increasingly strong; and the movements to produce, protect the security of the fatherland, build military forces and strengthen the national security system are being smoothly carried out.

The birth and growth of the advanced model units mentioned above mark an initial change in the agricultural cooperativization movement within the province. Although the results and advances that have been recorded are low compared to requirements and compared to the potentials of the localities, within the scope of each locality and each unit, the advanced model units have yielded marked returns representative of the trends of development of the agricultural cooperativization movement, thereby opening new prospects for strongly advancing the movement. On the basis of the results of the advanced model units, we can learn the following lessons:

First, to become an advanced cooperative, it is necessary to have a strong party organization and a strong contingent of core cadres who dare to take action, know how to take action, are highly determined, possess the spirit of responsibility, set good examples in work and fully comply with the positions and policies of the party and state while respecting and upholding the right of collective ownership of the people. Secondly, an advanced cooperative must thoroughly implement the lines and viewpoints of the party and establish correct guidelines, objectives and measures. Thirdly, an advanced cooperative must attach importance to building material bases and applying advanced science and technology in crop and livestock production. Fourthly, the management at an advanced cooperative must always be improved to keep pace with the requirements of developing production. Fifthly, an advanced cooperative must know how to closely link the interests of the individual and the collective with the interests of the state, immediate interests with long-range interests and the activities of the cooperative with the overall management by the district level. Sixthly, an advanced cooperative must not only concern itself with production, distribution, the material lives of the masses and welfare activities, but also with cultural and social work, with molding the new, socialist man.

We are expanding the application of the lessons mentioned above within the agricultural production cooperatives of Hai Hung Province in order to accelerate agricultural production throughout the province.

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## HOA AN DISTRICT TENACIOUSLY HOLDS ITS POSITION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79  
pp 59-64

[Article by Thanh Tam]

[Text] In the recent fight against the Chinese aggressors, Hoa An District in Cao Bang Province, although it made many preparations in advance, inevitably encountered difficulties when the enemy attacked, especially during the initial period, some of which seemed to be insurmountable. Relying upon large numbers of troops supported by tanks and heavy artillery to clear the way, the enemy attacked Hoa An in many thrusts, occupied the various hills, surrounded the base area of the district in all directions and severed communication and liaison lines between the district and many villages as well as between the district and the province. Under such difficult combat circumstances, the party committee and local government acted at the very outset to organize and lead combat operations with a high level of determination to firmly remain at their position, protect the people and kill many enemy forces.

Developing upon the results of the phase of political activities concerning the new situation and task in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 4th Party Plenum, the leadership of the district expressed a high determination to fight and defeat the Chinese expansionists. They showed the party organization and people that the war of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries against our country was eloquent proof of the fact that the Peking reactionary gang is the immediate and dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese, of the peoples of Indochina. In the face of the scheme of aggression of this cruel enemy, our people had no other course open to them than closely uniting with one another, determined to fight to the end to firmly protect the beloved fatherland. Because, hesitating or withdrawing at that time would have been a crime against the fatherland, would have encouraged the enemy to advance. The task of the army and people of Hoa An was to be the masters of the battlefield in order to annihilate the enemy, annihilate the enemy in order to preserve their right of ownership, protect their homeland, protect their families, protect



each bit of sacred soil of the fatherland. In the war to protect the socialist fatherland, Hoa An tenaciously clung to its battle position under the slogan "every village is a battle position, the entire district is a fortress" and with the determination "when the enemy comes, young and old alike fight" in order to win victory over the enemy on the soil of historic Hoa An and prove worthy of the unyielding revolutionary tradition of the heroic Viet Bac base area, worthy of the place where Uncle Ho and a number of other principal leaders of the party were active during the period preceding the August Revolution.

After analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, the leadership committee of the district confirmed that the army and people of Hao An surely could win victory over the enemy within the districts because the various nationalities here have a tradition of unity, an unyielding revolutionary tradition, have wholeheartedly fought the enemy under the leadership of the party, possess the strength of the new socialist system and have the effective, predeployed battle position of the local people's war. The problem faced was how to organize combat to convert the determination to fight and win in to reality or, in other words, to insure the victorious implementation of the strategy of the Party Central Committee within the district.

Having established this determination, the district party committee adopted the position of urgently strengthening the district's combat forces. However, where would the forces be obtained? The district party committee decided that it was necessary to urgently mobilize everyone able to fight or support combat, including all cadres, manual workers and office workers within the district, military cadres and soldiers who were transferred to other sectors or have retired within the locality and even persons evacuated from other places. In response to the appeal issued by the district leadership committee, hundreds of cadres, manual workers, teachers, troops transferred to other sectors and demobilized military personnel within the district joined the various combat and combat support organizations. Shortly after it was established, the Lam Son Self-Defense Company alone had nearly 100 soldiers from nine different branches of the military, the majority of whom were demobilized military personnel, manual workers and teachers. Due to the growth in forces, the conditions not only existed for reinforcing the local militia, self-defense and public security units, but also for establishing independent, mobile units (one company on the district level and one platoon or at least one squad at each village). These independent, mobile units played a very good role in taking the initiative and fighting the enemy: they searched for the enemy in order to fight them, fought the enemy while they were still far away and made a competent contribution to breaking the encirclement by the enemy. The Lam Son Self-Defense Company, a mobile unit directly subordinate to the unified district military command, fought continuously, won a large victory, killed many enemy troops and captured many weapons and much ammunition.

In conjunction with building forces, the local leadership committee set forth measures for strengthening the unified military commands and the committees in charge of security from the district to the installations. On the one hand, these committees were strengthened by assigning to them additional cadres with experience in commanding combat operations and specialized knowledge, primarily cadres who served in the people's armed forces, possess good qualities and are competent; on the other hand, determined steps were taken to replace key cadres on the various levels who were considered no longer able to perform their task due to poor health or limited ability. As a result, in the various battles with the enemy, the various party committee echelons and commands of the armed forces and the local public security forces, in general, employed the combined strength of the local people's war, completed their missions well and recorded outstanding feats of arms. The security forces alone killed hundreds of Chinese aggressors and dozens of spies and guides, thereby competently contributing to the effort to protect the organization of the party, the government and the people.

When the fighting between ourselves and the enemy became increasingly heavy, the leaders of Hoa An District made every effort to strengthen and expand the base area and constantly supplemented and improved the various combat plans. On the basis of the requirements of a fight against an enemy with a large, rather well equipped army, an enemy lying on the borders of our country and in order to more effectively deal with their "sea of humanity" tactic and encirclement tactic, the Hoa An District Party Committee decided to expand the Lam Son base area into a system of interconnected base areas, considering this a very important measure in enabling the district to hold its position on a long-term basis and effectively fight the enemy. The interconnected base area system is about 5 kilometers long and 2 kilometers wide and consists of three villages that have a population of about 20,000. It is under the direct leadership and guidance of the standing committee of the district party committee and the unified military command of the district. Below the leadership agency and the unified command were established a number of committees specializing in rear service work, which consist of a number of cadres from the food, public health, finance, banking and other sectors. As a result of assembling additional forces, strengthening the various party committee echelons and expanding the base area, Hoa An was able to firmly hold its position, repulse dozens of attacks by nearly one enemy division, protect the people and keep the base area intact.

When the enemy occupied a number of places in Hoa An and combat became close-range combat, new and pressing requirements were again faced with regard to building the base area. The largest problem faced at that time was insuring the most flexible and effective leadership and guidance possible of combat operations, even in the case of units isolated by the enemy, in which it is difficult to maintain a unified command.

On the basis of the specific requirements and situation at that time, the standing committee of the district party committee and the unified military command of the district decided to divide the interconnected base area system into four subareas to facilitate the leadership and guidance of combat operations. The subareas were primarily established on the basis of the villages. Within each subarea, in addition to the organizations of the party and the government, a unified military command consisting of five to seven persons was also established to take charge of organizing and guiding combat operations. Depending upon its location, each subarea had as its chief or political officer a member of the district party committee or a member of the standing committee of the district party committee. Various subcommittees were established within each subarea to provide support. The political and ideological subcommittee was concerned with conducting political and ideological work among the masses. The specific task of this subcommittee was to keep abreast of the news broadcast over Voice of Vietnam radio in order to promptly report news on victories and disseminate and explain the positions and policies of the party and state while relying upon the people to learn of enemy propaganda and distortions in order to promptly combat them, thereby helping to defeat their psychological war. The combat operations staff subcommittee was responsible for helping the military commander of the subarea formulate and supplement plans for fighting the enemy. The political security and social safety subcommittee was in charge of maintaining order and security and protecting the property of the state and collective, protecting the life and property of the people. The rear services subcommittee was concerned with supporting combat operations and supporting the everyday lives of the armed forces, of cadres, manual workers, office workers and the people.

Under each subcommittee were specialized teams. For example, under the security subcommittee were various security teams; under the rear services subcommittee were resupply teams, cooking teams, teams caring for the life of the people, public health teams, medical evacuation teams, teams to bury war dead and overcome the consequences of the war and so forth. The various committees subcommittees and teams mentioned above operated in a very positive manner and made important contributions in supporting the life or death fight against the enemy. For example, the various resupply teams, under the protection of the armed forces and the security forces, moved dozens of tons of rice and dozens of tons of food products of various types into the base area to promptly support our army and people so that they were well fed and could win victory. Each day, these teams sent persons to carry cooked rice and water to resupply the combat forces at the various battle positions. The various cooking teams also worked very intensely. Every subarea organized one collective kitchen at which dozens of persons, primarily women, worked. These kitchens served an average of 600 to 800 meals per day and as many as 1,000 to 1,200 meals some days. Many elderly women about 70 years of age volunteered to cook food and provided a constant supply of delicious cooked rice and soup.

Another problem that had to be resolved well in the course of holding our position and annihilating the enemy was that of utilizing suitable methods of fighting that were highly effective. With a thorough understanding of the viewpoint of the party on leading and guiding the local people's war, on the basis of specific combat objectives and on the basis of the terrain of the district and the position of our forces, the standing committee of the district party committee and the unified military command, acting as soon as the enemy crossed the border into Cao Bang, adopted the slogan "let our troops cling to the enemy, our cadres cling to the people, our people cling to the soil in order to protect the fatherland, protect their villages, protect their families." The district leadership committee issued an order to the armed forces of the district to hold their battle positions, hold the various blocking positions while stopping the enemy and annihilating them while they were still far away. Having learned of the enemy's attack on Thong Nong District, the unified military command of the district immediately sent local army troops and a number of mobile guerrilla militia units to attack enemy tank and infantry forces before they attacked Hoa An. The result was that the local armed forces blocked a wing of enemy infantry and mechanized forces, killing dozens of troops, destroying a number of tanks and impeding their advance. When the enemy attacked deep within Hoa An District, the leaders of the district set forth the requirement that the three military elements "take the initiative and annihilate the enemy," "use the weapons of the enemy to destroy the enemy and use the weapons of the enemy to equip yourselves." In keeping with this requirement, the militia forces of many villages fought well and won large victories; the militia of Hoang Tung Village fought very tenaciously: they fought a total of 29 battles, killing 220 enemy troops and capturing 20, 4 of whom were officers, and capturing two heavy machine guns, three medium machine guns, 16 AK rifles, 25 SKS rifles, seven K 54's, one 60 millimeter mortar, one 82 millimeter mortar, one B 40 and more than one-half ton of ammunition of various types. The local armed forces blocked the enemy everywhere, not allowing them to spread out, and strongly attacked them at many places, inflicting many losses upon them. The local troops and guerrilla militia always maintained contact with the enemy and continuously fought along Routes number 3, number 4 and so forth; they even launched a strong attack against the rear of the enemy's formation, killing hundreds of troops and forcing them to bring their forces back in order to contend with our attack.

On the basis of the first victorious battle and having promptly gained experience from the various phases of combat against the enemy, the standing committee of the district party committee and the unified military command of the district developed increasingly appropriate methods of fighting in order to meet the requirement of holding our position for a long time and killing many enemy troops in order to protect the people, protect the base area. In addition to the commonly employed frontal assault, the leadership committee and the military command also employed the fighting methods of ambushes, of



attacking the enemy's rear, of attacking the enemy's flank and attacking the enemy in many thrusts, from many directions, in many waves and layers and on many lines. It was in this spirit and by these methods of fighting that the army and people of Hoa An were able to pin down entire enemy battalions and regiments, inflict many heavy losses upon them and break the enemy's encirclement of the base area. One of the typical examples of the methods of fighting mentioned above was the Hoa An District public security unit. Determined to protect the base area, this unit fought independently and fought in coordination with other units in 10 large and small battles against enemy forces advancing from many directions. Taking advantage of the treacherous terrain and flexibly applying various methods of fighting, the unit clung to the enemy, killing hundreds of enemy troops and capturing two recoilless rifles, one 60 millimeter mortar, two medium machine guns, 20 rifles and one pistol together with much military gear.

With the determination that "every team fight, every person fight, fight the enemy with every available means, with many flexible methods of fighting," many examples of bravery in combat were set in many localities: three militiamen of Hoa An District, encountering the enemy while carrying wounded back to the district seat, fought resourcefully, killing three of them and capturing one AK rifle, two SKS rifles and some mortar shells. A militia squad occupying a blocking position on Phéc Via Hill ambushed an enemy company moving Tuan Hamlet, killing 22 and forcing the rest to withdrew into the mountains.

In the same spirit, the Hong Viet Village militia effectively deployed its troops in the path of the enemy's advance into the Lam Son base area, forcing them to flee, leaving bodies strewn along the field embankments and stream banks at the doorstep to Lam Son. The above are a few examples of the creative, interesting methods of fighting of the army and people of Hoa An, methods that are proof of the strength of our people's war to protect the socialist fatherland.

Another very important requirement in organizing combat well is the need to thoroughly organize the evacuation of the people and stabilize the life of the people. This problem was faced ahead of time and preliminary plans were adopted; for example, the various strata of the people were assembled by production units and given specific instructions so that they could immediately evacuate to the base area when necessary. To prepare for a lengthy period of combat, the district leadership committee not only sent grain and food products, but also decided to send grain mortars into the evacuation area and organized rice milling forces to support the base area. The district party committee also decided to mobilize each production unit to always have 1 quintal of rice and one hog weighing 50 kilograms or more in readiness in order to immediately be able to supply grain and food products to combat and combat support forces when fighting broke out. In addition, it encouraged many cooperatives to donate funds and appeal to the people to

contribute money for the purchase of drugs and bandages to be stockpiled. Village rescue units were also trained on an emergency basis and prepared to support the armed forces, to serve the people. Immediately after the enemy attacked the border provinces, the unified military command of the district ordered the people of the town and the people in the villages along the main roads to evacuate in accordance with the established plan. A number of cadres and party members, especially cadres and soldiers of the security forces, were put in charge of organizing, guiding and protecting nearly 20,000 evacuees to insure their safe arrival in the base area. This work, which was performed with utmost urgency, was completed in the space of but one day and one night. Although more than a few difficulties were encountered, the life of the cadres, manual workers, office workers and people in the evacuation zone was quickly stabilized and was rather thoroughly cared for in all areas: the resupply of grain and food, public health services, disease prevention sanitation, national security and so forth. Even cadres and people from other localities were temporarily allocated a minimum supply of rice and certain foods. In particular, cadres, manual or office workers and troops passing through the locality who lacked grain were allocated enough grain for 3 days so that they could re-establish contacts with their agency or work unit.

The committee in charge of the evacuation also encouraged everyone who could to contribute money or building materials so that evacuees could build temporary shelters and organize places at which to eat and organize shelter in the spirit of mutual help, the spirit of "the whole leaf covers the torn leaf." Compatriots not only contributed time and money to protect their birthplace, but also eagerly provided rice, hogs, chickens, eggs, vegetables, money, clothing, cloth and so forth for supply to combat and combat support forces and to help persons in need of help, persons who were encountering many difficulties under the circumstances of heavy warfare.

When the enemy attacked Hoa An and encircled the base area, the district leadership committee remained firm in its decision for us to hold our ground, to fight the enemy and protect the people without sending them to evacuation sites very far away, without abandoning the land, abandoning villages. The standing committee of the district party committee also assigned to the chairman of the district people's committee and one member of the standing committee of the district party committee, who were the persons put in charge of the evacuation, the task of assembling every available force to strengthen the evacuation area and stabilize the life of evacuees.

To insure the stabilization of the life of the people within the evacuation area, the leaders of the district taught cadres and the people the spirit of unity and mutual help and criticized partial and local thinking; on the other hand, they established the amount of grain to be allocated, the persons to whom grain was to be allocated and the procedures for releasing grain from

granaries. To prevent waste and losses, the leadership committee of Hoa An District established the following requirement at an early date: even evacuees must have complete books and clear recorded must be kept; principles and regulations absolutely cannot be violated because of the war. For example, when buying hogs from the people, a receipt has to be given in order to facilitate fair payment to the people in the future.

Organizing the evacuation area well and stabilizing the life of the people not only inspired the persons engaged in combat to cling to the land, to hold their battle position, but also inspired evacuees to make positive contributions to supporting combat and maintaining security within the base area. Many compatriots joined support teams suited to their abilities. Many persons uncovered spies, guides and hoodlums, thereby making it possible for the security agency to promptly punish them and timely manage necessary persons.

As a result of displaying a high spirit of determination to fight and win and taking the above mentioned specific, appropriate measures to organize implementation, Hoa An broke the encirclement of the enemy, turned difficulties into advantages and won a glorious victory. Hoa An not only firmly held its ground and protected the people, but also annihilated the enemy within the district; it put out of combat thousands of enemy troops, captured many prisoners and captured many weapons and means of war, thereby contributing along with the army and people of the northern border provinces to winning victory over the Chinese reactionary aggressors.

The victory of Hoa An showed that by being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the resolution of the Party Central Committee, being highly determined and taking specific, practical steps to organize implementation, every district can build itself into a combat fortress, a strong fortress of national defense and security.

At present, the party organization and people of Hoa An are making every effort to accelerate production on the momentum of the victory that was won; at the same time, they are urgently overcoming the consequences of the war, stabilizing the life of the people and making every preparation necessary for thoroughly implementing the Appeal of the Party Central Committee and the General Mobilization Order of the state. The party organization promptly gained experience from the 1 month of organizing and leading the fight against the Chinese aggressors in order to redeploy the corps of cadres, primarily key cadres, reorganize combat forces, reorganize production and improve the apparatus so that every aspect of work, production and combat readiness develops better and meets each requirement of protecting and building the socialist fatherland. In the pre-deployed people's war battle position, the army and people of Hoa An are always vigilant and ready to thwart each malicious scheme and action of the enemy and are determined to win victory over the Chinese aggressors on Hoa An's soil if they dare to launch another war

against our people in order to be worthy of the trust of the party and the people.

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## ORGANIZING THE CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL LIVES OF THE PEOPLE IN NGHIA BINH PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79  
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[Article by Thanh Binh]

[Text] Nghia Binh, once a poor province, has moved forward to create a relatively stable material life and a rapidly developing cultural and spiritual life. One of the important reasons for this profound change is that Nghia Binh has made every effort to uphold its revolutionary tradition and its cultural tradition.

After being liberated, Nghia Binh had a poor, backward and reactionary culture. The task of building the new culture was a very large one. In the face of the large difficulties that existed at the start, more than a few cadres were concerned and pessimistic. The Nghia Binh party organization quickly found a lever with which to lift this "heavy rock." It was the lever of upholding the revolutionary tradition, creating a superior political position and ideological strength and transforming them into action.

Nghia Binh is a province with a relatively rich cultural tradition, was the home of the Sa Huynh culture, the crucible of Tuong theater, of Bai Choi folk singing, of the martial arts movement, of the poem "Thong Tam," of the famous satirical poem "Chang Lia," and so forth. However, during the 21 years under U.S.-puppet domination, practically all of these traditions were destroyed. To satisfy the need of the masses to appreciate and create culture, in addition to developing the new fields of literature and art, we have given particular attention to restoring and developing the cultural and artistic strengths of the locality. With the concern and help of the Ministry of Culture, a theater for Tuong theatrical art began to operate. The systematic collection and research of material and scientific conferences in Tuong theatrical art have been carried out well. We have organized the research of Dao Tan, the major artist in Tuong theatrical art and resident of former

Binh Dinh, in order to learn lessons to help us develop this field of art. The recently established Nghia Binh Tuong theatrical art troupe has performed many new plays, such as "the Ba To Uprising," "United Tay Son," "The Great Attack on the Thanh Army" and so forth and has had a good impact. The restoration and development of Bai Choi folk singing have also been carried out; in view of its universal nature, this type of singing has been, is being and will be widely encouraged and developed within the mass art movement.

We revived the various local folk dances, such as the sword dance, which reflects the martial arts tradition, the hammer dance and "Ba Trao" Cheo theater. Dance must be rapidly restored because in the lowlands, the former national center of dance, dance is not being practiced much.

The rich cultural traditions of the ethnic minorities within the province, such as the Bahnar, Ede, Hroi, Cor, Jarai, Cham, Cadong and so forth, have begun to be restored. The famous folk art dancehalls, ancient novels, proverbs, satirical folk songs, musical plays, happy, wholesome and beautiful dances, many types of tribal musical instruments, literary works on art, music, architecture and archeology, the techniques of dyeing, weaving, decoration and carving and the various forms of wholesome enjoyment during holidays and harvest festivals are being studied and restored in cultural activities. A fondness for collective dance is a precious trait, one that has been given attention and is being widely developed in order to help maintain and enhance the tradition of optimism, spontaneity and love of life of the ethnic minorities and provide momentum for accelerating the collective dance movement throughout the province.

In addition, we have continuously encouraged among the masses the movement to collect epic poems and satirical poems on the Can Vuong period, on the democratic reforms and anti-tax movement and on the building of the revolutionary base and collect war of resistance folk songs as well as short stories and historical vestiges of the Tay Son period, the Ba To combat zone, the victory of Van Tuong, the Son My massacre and the Sa Huynh culture in order to enrich the revolutionary tradition and the cultural tradition of the locality.

The process of performing these jobs has taught us a lesson: only by inheriting and enhancing the cultural tradition of the locality do the conditions exist for developing cultural activities steadily and well, because therein lies a breadth and depth of material and there is true participation by the masses.

"Transformation in conjunction with building" is a familiar guideline, a guideline of a classical nature which everyone recognizes; however, practice has shown us that this guideline cannot be thoroughly implemented at all times and places. At first, there was "transformation for form's sake" in our province. Although we abolished the old, we did not replace it with the new

and the progressive, consequently, the old came back and posed problems. Therefore, whenever anything is being transformed, it is necessary to immediately organize and build something to replace it that is more stable. For example, we transformed the distribution system for books, magazines and cultural products and allowed qualified persons to work as book and magazine agents for the state. In conjunction with this step, revolutionary books, magazines and publications were immediately sent to the cities, towns and hamlets by means of mobile distribution organizations, after which book stores and libraries were established in the districts, cities and towns. To meet the need of the people for movies in conjunction with transforming the private movie theaters, we tried to build state-operated movie theaters in a number of districts and towns together with establishing numerous movie units. In many large areas, movies have reached the hamlets; 80 percent of the villages have two outdoor movie sites. Therefore, in 1978 alone, each person in the countryside attended movies an average of 6.72 times; this percentage was even higher in the ethnic minority area (7.24 times). We cleared sites for outdoor movies and do not charge admission to members of the ethnic minorities. All of the private theatrical companies (in the cities and the countryside) with their half-native, half-foreign, their decadent art and profit motive were transformed and many companies have become professional art units under the guidance and management of the local government.

Endeavoring to utilize many forces and measures in order to create a combined strength is an important method in accelerating the development of the cultural and spiritual life of the people of our province.

The prerequisite and factors insuring the victory of the organizing of the cultural and spiritual life of the people of Nghia Binh are, above everything else, the concern and leadership of the provincial party committee and the various party committees at the installations. Everything from accelerating and developing general and supplementary education and wiping out illiteracy to the movement to build the new lifestyle, the mass art movement and the restoration and development of the various types of traditional art in the locality has always been under the close and timely guidance of the standing committee of the provincial party committee. The realities of the cultural activities in our province have taught us the following lesson: at places where cultural and information cadres adhere closely to the political task and at places where cultural activities support the political task well, the party committee and government can, regardless of how many difficulties are encountered, create favorable conditions for cultural activities to achieve good results. Cultural activities cannot achieve good results if the party and government are concerned with these activities but the persons who actually perform cultural work are not activists, are not energetic or do not organize implementation by the masses.

The combined internal strength of the cultural and information sector has been fully utilized. Whenever major jobs are being performed, the forces of the entire sector are utilized. For example, in the campaign to bring the light of culture to the masses in the movement to wipe out illiteracy, we mobilized thousands of teachers, students, supplementary education instructors and students and local youths, provided them with many means, rapidly deployed their forces all the way to the remote mountainous jungles and completed our work at one place before moving on to another. As a result, we wiped out illiteracy among the people of our province well ahead of the deadline. The art exhibits that have been held and the campaigns that have been held to launch and expand the movement to build the new lifestyle have also been carried out by assembling the forces and means for cultural activities of the entire sector in order to complete each job and phase at one place at a time.

Efforts to support major campaigns and emergency jobs have also been carried out by this measure and through the function of the cultural sector. Maintaining and expanding the implementation of this measure everywhere in the province has involved a struggle to confirm its effectiveness. Because, at first, when mobilizing forces at a number of places to support major work campaigns, such as building water conservancy projects, combating drought and so forth, several commands, fearing the loss of forces to dig ditches and bail water, decided that cultural and art cadres had to set their main duties aside and take part in work like everyone else.

The mobilization of forces to support military recruiting, winter-spring production and so forth achieved good results, to which a significant contribution was made by concerted cultural activities. For example, the persons engaged in library work and the distribution of books and magazines found and supplied to the people interesting and suitable books and materials. Those engaged in literary work promptly wrote short plays, songs and poems on the topics in demand. The professional cultural entertainment and amateur literary and art groups gave support performances. Interesting films, scientific films supporting production, club activities and intense forms of motivation have had a very large impact upon the persons performing these jobs.

Close coordination between the cultural sector and the other sectors, between it and the mass organizations has been used to create a large strength and has had a positive impact upon cultural activities. Without the efforts of the Grain Service, the Finance Service, the Commerce Service, the schools, the government agencies and the mass organizations, the training of performers, cultural activities and the building of cultural material bases could not have achieved good results.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. Caring for and guiding the organizing and building of the cultural and spiritual lives of the people are



the responsibility of the entire party, but the masters of this undertaking are the masses. Under the leadership of the party and relying upon the government agencies and the mass organizations, the masses have moved forward and are making every effort to personally organize their lives. At a time when the state does not have much money or supplies, the masses in our locality have been making every effort to contribute money and build many schools, clubs, wired radio networks, the Quang Trung Square, the Son My Memorial Hall, athletic fields, markets and ocean beaches. Besides making every effort to uphold the tradition of self-reliance, Nghia Binh has sought help from the central level and other provinces. For the purpose of learning, we boldly "hosted" several conferences of central sectors. The scientific conferences on Quang Trung, Dao Tan, Van Tuong and Son My that have been held in the locality received many valuable opinions of representatives of the central level and other provinces.

The cultural and spiritual lives of the people of Nghia Binh have undergone marked changes. However, we see that many weaknesses still exist: the emulation movement in cultural activities has not been uniform, intensive nor comprehensive, especially in the mountain districts and at a number of villages, hamlets and towns. Material bases and means for cultural activities are meager and do not meet the requirements of development; the corps of cadres of the cultural sector is not well coordinated and the qualifications of district and village cadres are still poor. At some times and places, leadership has not shown appropriate concern and guidance has not been timely or full, consequently, the quality and results of work have been affected.

Overcoming these weaknesses, learning from other provinces, developing the potentials of the locality and tapping the tremendous abilities of the masses, we are determined to further improve the material and spiritual lives of the masses and make Nghia Binh a province that is strong politically, economically and militarily, thereby meeting the requirements of building and protecting the fatherland.

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## CANH THUY VILLAGE PARTY ORGANIZATION NO LONGER WEAK AND DEFICIENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79  
pp 69-75

[Article by Ha Phuong]

[Text] Six or seven years ago, Canh Thuy was a weak and deficient village of Yen Dung District in Ha Bac Province. Located near a town, near main roads and having little cropland, the people developed the habit of working as merchants and operating markets, consequently, Canh Thuy encountered more than a few difficulties in managing the cooperative and developing production. Throughout the period from 1965 to 1973, there was not one year during which the cooperative here completed its plan to sow 370 hectares with an output of 1,000 tons of grain. Some years, only 500 tons were harvested. The average amount of grain per capita for 1 month was only 8 kilograms. During the best year, 1972, it was only 10 kilograms. Ordinarily, only 60 to 70 percent of the grain obligation to the state was fulfilled. There were even some years when the contribution to the state had to be made in money because there was no grain. In 1972, as a result of encountering a number of difficulties in management and internal unity, the Canh Thuy Cooperative had to be divided into a number of smaller cooperatives, but even these could not be managed. Production continued to develop slowly and the people continued to encounter difficulties in their everyday lives. The production units performed whatever jobs pleased them and continued to carry out their own distribution, to share crops on the basis of contracts with families. The illegal occupation of public farmland, unpaid debts by the cooperative, the concealment of paddy, the use of public funds for private purposes or drunken "banquets" and so forth were rather widespread. In the face of the difficulties encountered in production and everyday life, the masses became confused and wavered. Many people asked to leave their cooperative. The cooperatives faced the danger of being disbanded.

Today, following a period of time spent strengthening the organization and although there are weaknesses that must continue to be corrected, the Canh Thuy

Village party organization has become a strong party organization, one strong enough to lead and guide the various areas of work within the locality. The Canh Thuy Cooperative has now become the leader of Ha Bac Province. Extraordinary progress has been made in developing production, improving the standard of living and fulfilling obligations to the state. Compared to 1973, Canh Thuy's total income increased more than three times by 1978 (1.6 million dong compared to 567,000 dong), grain output increased 2.5 times (2,300 tons compared to 919 tons), rice yield increased nearly 2 times (7.2 tons per hectare compared to 4 tons per hectare), the average amount of grain per capita per month increased nearly 2 times (25 kilograms compared to 13 kilograms), the amount of grain contributed to the state under obligations increased 3.6 times (550 tons compared to 154 tons) and the quantity of food products contributed to the state under obligations increased 5.5 times (39 tons compared to 7 tons). The cooperative has constructed relatively good material-technical bases to support production and everyday life. The material and cultural lives of the people have been markedly improved.

Why has Canh Thuy, which was once weak and deficient, been able to make such changes for the better?

The primary reason for the situation which existed in past years was the fact that because the Canh Thuy party organization was very weak, it could not lead production, could not strengthen the cooperative, could not support the life of the people. For many years, the party organization lacked harmony and unity. Self-interest guided party members and cadres. A number of persons became corrupt and irresponsible. A number of persons were jealous, formed factions, spoke poorly of others, verbally attacked others and falsely accused them; one hamlet blamed the problems on another, one group defended and protected another. There was even one party member who hired a decadent person to write banners attacking cadres and falsely accusing the party organization. One decadent element dropped poison into the well at the house of the party committee secretary and boldly tied up the cooperative cadre. Many party members became discouraged and left their jobs to be merchants. A number of party members also asked to leave the cooperative. In 1972 and 1973, the Yen Dung District Party Committee sent nearly 20 cadres, including the district party committee secretary and the district party committee standing committee, to help Canh Thuy restrengthen the movement and strengthen the party organization; however, because they did not have a suitable method of working and did not mobilize or rely firmly upon the positive factors within the locality, they did not achieve results. The district party committee suggested several times that one of the party chapters here be disbanded.

In the face of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, a number of ardent cadres and party members at Canh Thuy, especially several persons on the party committee and a number of comrades who are demobilized military

personnel, could not help but worry. Should the Canh Thuy party organization, an organization of more than 100 members that has a tradition of tenacious revolutionary struggle and whose ranks are more than 90 percent demobilized military personnel and two army heroes, fold its hands in the face of such a situation. Could cadres and party members, persons who had experienced hardships, had shared life and death with the masses, with their homeland, now become discouraged and evade their responsibility, thus bringing down the entire revolutionary undertaking of the locality which they and their party organization had worked so hard to build? These comrades met and discussed the issue with one another and became determined to rebuild the movement. With the help of the district party committee, the comrades at Canh Thuy saw that in order for a unit that had been seriously deficient for a long period of time to upgrade itself, it is necessary to make an effort in very many areas, necessary to perform very many jobs, the first one being strengthening and consolidating the party organization so that it truly becomes the leadership nucleus, becomes a combat organization capable of leading the revolutionary movement within the locality.

Realizing that the thorniest and most difficult problem faced in strengthening the party organization within their locality was building a contingent of core cadres who possess good qualities, are competent and are able to rally and unite the other members of the party organization, the comrades at Canh Thuy set about to resolve this problems. Together with conducting a phase of widespread criticism and self-criticism within the party organization, deeply reviewing the responsibility of the party organization, in general, and of each cadre and party member, in particular, reawakening the revolutionary tradition of the locality, struggling to point out the difference between right and wrong and establishing the responsibility of each cadre and party member in the face of the requirements of the new political task, the comrades at Canh Thuy took a number of organizational measures. Through research and discussion, they reached the unanimous agreement that in view of the fact that the locality is encountering numerous difficulties, it is necessary to mobilize and rely upon activists to rapidly strengthen the corps of leadership cadres. Those who occupy key positions must be comrades who possess a high degree of partyhood, a high spirit of responsibility, who dare to think and act, who have the trust of the masses. Determined steps must be taken to replace or prosecute those comrades who are unable to perform their task, engage in factionalism, are cowardly, violate the code of discipline of the party and the statutes of the cooperative or have been denounced by the masses. Four party committee members (including a vice chairman of the village people's committee and an assistant head of the cooperative), two party chapter secretaries (who concurrently served as production unit chiefs) and one party member who was a member of the standing committee of the village people's committee have been expelled from the party; the secretary of the village party committee, the chairman of the village people's committee and the head of the cooperative were replaced. In two cases,



because the party chapter was too weak, failed to struggle and did not decide to take disciplinary action against core cadres, the party committee reported to the district party committee and suggested that it directly decide the matter.

In the assignment and redeployment of cadres, the comrades at Canh Thuy made an effort to adhere to the guideline of concentrating on guiding production, determined to accelerate it. They maintained that, in the advance from a weak and deficient installation, it would be impossible to persuade party members and win the confidence of the masses without rapidly developing production. The party committee assigned a number of party committee members and party chapter secretaries to serve as production unit chiefs and requested that each cadre display a high spirit of enduring difficulties and hardships, stay close to their unit, wade into the fields, set good examples in labor and correct the practice of cadres running around from one place to another within the cooperative and providing loose leadership of production. During the initial period, in order to encourage cadres and party members to remain at their production jobs, the secretary of the village party committee personally took charge of one production unit and the chairman of the village people's committee served as the assistant chief of a production unit. (At present, of the 11 party committee members, 6 have been elected to the cooperative management board; the chiefs of 10 of the 11 production units are party chapter secretaries). The heads of the various sectors and mass organizations of the village also personally perform a number of specific jobs in guiding agricultural production.

The strengthening of the corps of leadership cadres at Canh Thuy was not something that proceeded smoothly from start to finish. It was truly a sharp struggle by positive factors against negative factors, by progressive thinking against conservative thinking. When Canh Thuy began to strengthen the organization by replacing and prosecuting a number of cadres, a few decadent cadres and party members protested and opposed these actions. A number of persons used ties of kinship to suppress and control party members who struggled with enthusiasm. Some persons provoked and divided local cadres from the upper level cadres sent to help strengthen the organization. There was even one person who boldly proclaimed that there was no longer a party organization in Canh Thuy; he then provoked a number of decadent elements into destroying the vegetables and burning the piles of straw of the families of cadres and throwing bricks into their homes in order to create difficulties for them and intimidate them. In the face of this situation, the Canh Thuy Party committee displayed a very resolute attitude and took very positive steps: on the one hand, it harshly punished all acts of sabotage and the disruption of order and security; on the other hand, it adopted a plan to actively help those comrades upon whom damages had been inflicted. The party committee publicly declared that if decadent elements burn the house of a cadre, funds will be allocated by the cooperative to build another, more beautiful house for the cadre; if crops are destroyed, damages will be paid by the

collective. This stern attitude and these strong measures made cadres feel secure about their work and mobilized the masses to protect cadres, struggle against negative activities and thwart acts of disruption. The party committee takes determined steps against those cadres and party members who continue to engage in improper acts and do not comply with the resolutions or the code of discipline of the party organization. The party committee has pointed out that every cadre and party member must "speak and act in accordance with resolutions and perform one's work on the basis of resolutions." Anyone who opposes a resolution is subjected to strict disciplinary action. For example, a member of the party committee was demoted for his failure to comply with a resolution of the party organization regarding the redistribution of cropland; when, while serving as the secretary of a party chapter, he continued to oppose the resolution of the party organization and, in collaboration with a number of backward persons, stole paddy from the cooperative, the party organization took sterner disciplinary action: the party member was expelled from the party. Another party chapter secretary and one other party committee member were also expelled from the party for opposing a resolution of the party organization. As a result, the discipline of the party was maintained and the positions and resolutions of the party organization have gradually been implemented in a serious and effective manner.

Together with the struggle to strengthen the corps of cadres, the Canh Thuy party organization has sent a number of cadres to study the experiences of advanced model units. The leaders here realize that following many years of loose leadership, of loose management and a serious lack of knowledge and experience in their work, the only way to move forward is to diligently learn, to make every effort to learn, to learn in every possible way. However, the most effective way to learn is to study the actual experiences of advanced model units. In 1973 and 1974, the Canh Thuy party organization sent a number of cadres to study the experience in strengthening the party organization of Tan Hong Village in Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province, the experience in the improvement of fields and the expansion of production of the Minh Sinh Cooperative in Thanh Oai District, Ha Son Binh Province, the experience in reorganizing production and improving management of the Dong Hai Cooperative in Dong Hung District, Thai Binh Province and so forth. Since then, Canh Thuy has sent persons to study good experiences wherever they have been recorded. Any comrade in charge of any job goes to study the experience that has been gained in that job. Once he has studied it, the experience is applied to the specific circumstances of the locality in a creative manner, not in a manner that hides one's ignorance or is the duplication of how it is applied elsewhere. The slogans of the comrades of Canh Thuy are: "Use your feet in place of ignorance" and "let us rapidly rebuild our storehouse of knowledge." They have gone as far as Dinh Cong in Thanh Hoa Province, Quynh Giang and Quynh Hong in Nghe Tinh Province and even to Vu Thang in Thai Binh Province, Phuc Le in Haiphong and so forth to conduct research and study. And, through these learning trips, the comrades of Canh Thuy have broadened their

knowledge and learned many good experiences for leading and guiding every aspect of work in the locality.

On the other hand, in order to prepare a corps of cadres for the long-range future, the Canh Thuy party organization has also sent cadres to attend elementary and advanced training classes held by the province and the district, provided basic theoretical training to party members, held "work-study" classes within the village and sent a number of comrades to attend classes held by the Ministry of Heavy Industry and the Ministry of Light Industry. To date, dozens of comrades have attended the provincial and district party schools and 33 have attended middle level and college classes in the techniques of crop and livestock production, economic management and specialized skills. The party organization is trying to create a relatively complete and well coordinated corps of cadres in the not too distant future.

In the effort to increase the fighting strength of the corps of party members, the Canh Thuy party organization has attached particular importance to assigning and managing party members well in order to correct the problem of previous years of weak fighting strength despite the large number of party members. The comrades at Canh Thuy realize that in the advance from a weak, deficient unit, without doing a good job of assigning and managing party members, it is impossible to create strength, impossible to bring about changes in the movement and, on the other hand, impossible to teach and forge party members. As a result, throughout the process of strengthening the organization, the comrades at Canh Thuy closely coordinated with the requirements of the political task within the locality and assigned party members to important jobs. All of the 155 party members, with the exception of a few who are elderly or ill, have been assigned specific jobs, thereby insuring that a party member is present in every production unit, on every important job. There is a party member in all basic production units, all specialized units and sectors (tillage, farmland water conservancy, fertilizer processing and so forth) and the mobile combat units. Every production unit has one party chapter. The largest party chapter consists of 15 members. The smallest consists of three members. Retired party members are assigned jobs suited to the abilities and health (such as front work, planting trees, joining the "white haired army," encouraging their grandchildren to join the army, implementing army rear area policies, and so forth). On the other hand, in order to teach, inspect and closely manage party members, the Canh Thuy party organization has strengthened the regulations on party activities; in particular, it has improved party chapter activities by gradually putting them on a regular basis, thereby insuring strict compliance with the discipline of the party. The party organization has established a monthly activities schedule for party chapters and requested that each party member fully adhere to the various regulations governing party life.

Persons who are no longer qualified to be party members are dealt with by the Canh Thuy party organization in accordance with the spirit of directive

192 and circular 22 of the Party Secretariat. After organizing studies and discussions to give the entire party organization a clear understanding of the need to build a pure and strong party organization and improve the quality of party members, the party committee and the party chapter committees researched and classified party members and, on this basis, adopted plans and measures for dealing with them in a correct manner.

The party organization has taken determined steps to expel from the party persons who have degenerated, become deviant or seriously violated the discipline of the party (opposing resolutions of the party organization, causing a loss of unity, engaging in misappropriation and gambling, adversely influencing the masses and so forth). Since 1974, the Canh Thuy party organization has expelled 16 persons, nearly 40 percent of whom have been core cadres, from the chairman and vice chairman of the village people's committee to party chapter secretaries and production unit chiefs.

As regards party members whose qualifications and abilities are very deficient and who regularly fail to complete their task, the party committee and party chapter committees meet individually with these persons in order to gain an understanding of their specific circumstances, adopt specific plans for helping them and encouraging them to make an effort to improve themselves. If, after a period of time, they have still not made progress, the party chapter encourages them to ask to leave the party and the party chapter removes their name from party member roles. Since 1974, the Canh Thuy party organization has removed the names of 32 persons from party member roles. Thus, since 1974, the Canh Thuy party organization has expelled from the party a total of 48 persons (nearly 24 percent of the party organization's membership). This, a strong, positive step by the party organization, has been welcomed by party members and the masses.

The process of expelling unqualified party members from the party at Canh Thuy has not been a simple process of internal struggle. The party organization has not only had to wage a determined struggle against persons of position and authority who have made mistakes, but also struggle to correct deviations among a number of cadres and party members, such as saving face, fear of retaliation, fear of offending friends or relatives and not wanting to wage a thorough struggle or only emphasizing the expulsion of persons from the party while not attaching appropriate importance to teaching and improving the quality of the party organization's members. Through this struggle, the party organization more thoroughly implemented the policy and met the requirements of the Party Central Committee by resolutely expelling unqualified members from the party and helping to raise the level of understanding of party members through education while encouraging every cadre and party member to make strong progress. Through this struggle, the corps of cadres and party members of the party organization has constantly made progress and grown. The relationship among the party



organization, party members and the masses has clearly been strengthened. In 1978, the Canh Thuy party organization had not one average or deficient party member. All cadres and party members are playing their leadership role and setting good examples in work and production. Seven of the 11 party committee members were selected as emulation warriors by the cooperative member congress. The majority of party members are progressive workers.

To imbue the party with new strength, the Canh Thuy Village party organization has made efforts in party development. Since 1974, the party organization has accepted 11 persons into the party and is preparing to accept 10 more. Of the 11 new party members, 10 are less than 30 years of age, 4 are women, 6 are direct production workers and 3 are Youth Union cadres. In keeping with directive 72 of the Party Secretariat, the Canh Thuy party organization is struggling to overcome narrowmindedness and factionalism and accelerating the development of the party in order to meet the need to strengthen the leadership role of the party in the present stage of the revolution.

In conjunction with strengthening the organization of the party, Canh Thuy has also strengthened the government, the cooperative and the mass organizations, considering this to be an indispensable requirement in strengthening the basic level. The comrades at Canh Thuy have researched, discussed and clearly defined the function and task of each organization; on this basis, they have strengthened the corps of cadres of each organization while clearly defining the relationship among the party committee, the party chapter committees, the people's committee, the cooperative management board and the executive committees of the mass organizations in an effort to correct duplication of activities.

In the strengthening of the corps of cadres of the various organizations, the comrades at Canh Thuy have always given their attention to insuring the quality of these organizations, insuring that they have an efficient structure and avoiding all ostentatiousness. The village people's committee now has seven members, two of whom are less than 30 years of age. The chairman is 37 years of age. The commander of the village military unit is 26 years of age. The executive committee of the village Youth Union consists of 13 persons, 4 of whom are party members; practically all of the rest are candidates for acceptance into the party. The chairman of the village Fatherland Front is a person who was secretary of the village party committee for 10 years in a row and has now retired. The commander of the "white haired army" company is an army hero who has been demobilized; his two deputy commanders are a former first lieutenant and warrant officer of the people's army, etc.

In the strengthening of the cooperative, the Canh Thuy party organization has attached particular importance to improving the management of the cooperative, from the management of labor and the management of fields to the management

of product distribution, in order to create the conditions for cadres, party members and the people to become more closely linked to the cooperative, to the collective way of life. In late 1974, after studying the experience of the Dong Hai Cooperative, Canh Thuy reorganized its production, replanned its fields, reallocated its land and crops under the guidelines of specialized farming, intensive cultivation and a gradual advance to large-scale production and, on this basis, reorganized and redistributed its labor force. The 23 production units of the cooperative were reorganized into nine basic production units, one livestock production units, one trade unit and a number of specialized units; at the same time, cropland was redistributed among the production units under the guideline of creating favorable conditions for the housing and work of cooperative members. Beginning with 350 labor quotas, Canh Thuy established 1,204, thereby gradually putting labor management on a regular basis. To correct the illegal occupation of public cropland and the development of the subsidiary household economy in improper directions, the Canh Thuy party organization, having adopted the position of tightly managing cropland, redistributed the 5 percent plots and re-established the amount of land to be left for cooperative member households, determined to reclaim all cropland being illegally occupied. In the management of products, the Canh Thuy party organization has taken the position of unifying business operations, unifying management and distribution and completely eliminating the use of contracts with individual households and distribution on the basis of production units; cases involving misappropriation, abuse of authority, the theft of public property or the pilfering of paddy and property belonging to the cooperative are dealt with in a harsh manner.

By strengthening the management of the cooperative, the Canh Thuy party organization has been able to tightly manage cadres and party members and achieve good results in the effort to strengthen the organization of the party.

At present, in the face of the new requirements of the revolution, the Canh Thuy Village party organization is taking positive steps to reorient its leadership and guidance under the guideline of accelerating every aspect of production and construction while maintaining combat readiness and supporting combat. With the material-technical bases that have been constructed, with a corps of cadres and party members who have been forged challenged and are constantly maturing, with the close relationship between the party organization and the masses and with the experience that has been gained in past years, the Canh Thuy Village party organization will surely lead every aspect of work of the locality so that Canh Thuy continues to march steadily forward and successfully completes each task of the revolution in the new stage.

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## COMRADESHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79  
pp 76-79 BK

[Article by Trong Nghia--previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific  
DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 231, 29 Nov 79, pp K9-K12]

[Text] Mankind has already witnessed the unprecedentedly great and emotional friendship between Marx and Engels, which was also a marvelous symbol of comradeship among communists. In our country, throughout the course of revolutionary struggle there have been countless stirring stories about comradeship, which no book can record fully. Working and struggling together for the party goals and ideals, the communists and revolutionaries have warmly and sincerely loved one another to the point of caring more for their comrades than for themselves, such as giving their own clothes to their comrades when dying, enduring torture on their comrades' behalf, attracting enemy fire to rescue their comrades and even sacrificing themselves to protect their comrades. As the song goes:

No river nor sea can be more immense than our comradeship,  
No mountainous heights measure up to it.  
More beautiful than rivers and mountains can it be depicted,  
And how loyal and single-hearted it is.

Some people have contended that profound and sincere comradeship existed only during the former revolutionary struggle, because at that time, when leaving their families to join the revolution, the communists had nothing but will to endure hardship and sacrifice. During clandestine operations, they were constantly tracked down and terrorized by the enemy. Embarking on the revolutionary path, they had to accept the fact that they could hardly "avoid jail and death and that their life was already reduced by half." The communists necessarily had to love and protect one another. Otherwise, survival would not be possible.

During the years of protracted and dangerous resistance, the personal belongings of each individual consisted at most of a mere rucksack, and everyone was treated on the same footing. It was easy then to live comfortably together in friendship. But now, since our party has ruled and large numbers of cadres and party members have been assigned positions, authority and some criteria for benefits, treatment has become different. Moreover, as everyone has his own family and life now, comradeship is no longer as before--not to say non-existent; such an assertion is completely erroneous.

Indeed, during the former clandestine struggle and before seizing power there was truly warm comradeship among Vietnamese communists. This does not necessarily mean that since the seizure of power comradeship among communists has disappeared or cooled off. Before and after the takeover, comradeship among genuine communists remains unswerving.

Comradeship among communists is not a shallow or temporal feeling of those who are in the same boat; nor is it mutual understanding and assistance among those who are enduring the same suffering and poverty. Much more noble than that, comradeship is militant friendship among revolutionary combatants enlightened by communist ideals, who share the same desire to struggle which has been tested in the course of revolutionary struggle. It exists and develops throughout all the revolutionary stages, becomes one of the valuable traditions of the party and a guarantee of solidarity and unity in the party, and creates the party's invincible strength. Enemies have been dumbfounded and frightened by and forced to admire comradeship among communists and they have become resigned in the face of the solidarity and unity of communists. To treat one another as comrades is an important manifestation of the communists' quality, behavior and conscience just as humanity, altruism and self-sacrifice for the people and revolution are the greatest and loftiest ethics which occupy the whole life of communists. A communist party member can never be a genuine one if he does not have profound and sincere sympathy for his comrades or if he loves his comrades only for a time in a given situation and is indifferent and unfriendly at another time and in another circumstance.

At a time when the party is guiding the administration in building socialism, not only will the comradeship among communists never erode and fade away but, with new political, economic and social bases already established, it will have more material and spiritual conditions to develop vigorously, comprehensively and profoundly and will become everlasting. Specifically, communist comradeship means militant solidarity for the cause of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland. Those communists working in the same or in different fields, regardless of whether they are young or old and whether they hold a high or low position, always closely unite and coordinate with each other and assist each other in satisfactorily fulfilling their assigned missions, and in satisfactorily implementing all of the party's policies and resolutions.



It is common knowledge that striving to satisfactorily implement all of the party's policies and resolutions and serve the fatherland and the people is the central task and the raison d'etre of the communists and is the number one standard by which to evaluate the quality and ability of each cadre and party member. Comradeship among communists is built on the basis of sharing the same revolutionary ideal and is aimed at fulfilling all revolutionary tasks. It is not at all the relationship between individuals, nor is it based on individual bourgeois sentiments.

The comradeship among communists is built on the basis of communist world conception philosophy of life, and also on the basis of the communist party's ideological and organizational principles.

Comradeship among communists is a pure and sincere love, involving mutual respect, concern and understanding, modesty and mutual concessions. Thanks to the revolutionary gains, today every cadre and party member has a separate position, duty and task and has a family to take care. Yet, this is not a reason for him to be unconcerned about his comrades. Our people's traditional ethics have upheld the principles of "loving other people like loving oneself," and "good leaves provide cover for torn leaves," thus promoting the treatment of one another in a grateful and sympathetic manner. Today with new social relations, that ethical code has been developed and improved to such a degree that it now upholds the principle of "all for one and one for all." Thus, how could we, the communists, who regard the struggle to sacrifice oneself for the sake of the people's well-being as our raison d'etre, divorce ourselves from that ethical code? Communists love the people dearly and are closely attached to the people. They also love and are bound together with their comrades. Communists, under any circumstance and in any position, must always love their comrades dearly and sincerely, showing their understanding and making concessions to their comrades and knowing how to take the joy and the happiness of their comrades as their own.

The love of communists for their comrades does not mean covering up and forgiving wrongdoings. Instead, communists must help their comrades to maintain their revolutionary qualities and to constantly improve their general knowledge and performance. Armed with criticism and self-criticism, communists must calmly examine themselves while sincerely pointing out to their comrades their shortcomings in a true love of comradeship in order to help the latter correct their shortcomings and make progress. They must refrain from talking big and suppressing their comrades and must not condone and cover up their shortcomings. If, out of respect for their comrades and a desire to avoid harming them or because of other reasons they do not seriously criticize their comrades for their shortcomings, this will in fact harm their comrades by driving them into a debauched and sinful life. Thus, we end up not loving our comrades properly. When the party is guiding the administration, it is very easy for cadres and party members to become involved in bureaucracy and commandism, and to become divorced from reality and the people (these things may erode the revolutionary character of cadres and party members and may easily cause them to become degenerate and debauched. If communists are not clear-sighted enough and do not frankly and straightforwardly point out their comrades' shortcomings and wrongdoings so that they can be corrected, how can they help their comrades to maintain their qualities as communists?

To say that today there is no comradeship or there is a decline in comradeship is to inadvertently or deliberately misrepresent the communists' character and to defend a number of cadres and party members for their actions which lack comradeship. It should be admitted that in the recent past there have been cases in which cadres and party members treated each other in a manner not suitable to comradeship, offending the sacredness and nobility of comradeship. A number of individuals, blinded by profits and social titles and preoccupied with selfishness, have not united and cooperated with their comrades, nor have they loved and been concerned with the latter. They have even shown their envy of and rivalry for social titles and benefits with their comrades. Some individuals, who had been in and out of [the enemy's] jails, had fought indomitably against the enemy and had wholeheartedly cared for their comrades, have now, in a situation in which the party is guiding the administration, developed the feeling of envy at the social titles of their comrades. Some who found their comrades appointed to higher positions than themselves have developed a loss of appetite and insomnia, looking for ways to attack or discredit their comrades. Others who wanted to protect or save their individual interests, have adopted a dishonest and unfaithful attitude, now doing no object to the shortcomings and wrongdoings of their comrades. Sometimes, they have even ganged up to defend and condone each other's wrongdoings, thus causing the implementation of the party's discipline and state law to become less strict. A report of the YCP Central Committee at the fourth nationwide party congress pointed out: "It is due to such bad behavior rather than the serious differences in the views and policies regarding rank-order. In most cases, have been the primary causes--that have caused disunity in the army or disunity in the party."

We sternly criticize and resolutely struggle to oppose these unhealthy manifestations. Only by so doing can we develop the valuable unity tradition of our party. Among us communists there is a need to promote "comradeship and a love for each other," as repeatedly advised by President Ho in his testament.

(SO: 4109)

## DEBATE: THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 79 pp 80-88

[Text] The Strength of the Viet Culture

[Presentation by Dinh Gia Khanh]

Culture is the process whereby man constantly endeavors to improve his material and spiritual life; at the same time, it represents the achievements recorded in this process. Examined from a different point of view, culture is the process whereby mankind reads and constantly elevates his stature while constantly transforming the world on the basis of this stature.

When talking about culture, we are talking about explaining the relationships between man and nature, that is, the process whereby man separated himself from nature and began to transform nature in accordance with his requirements. When talking about culture, we are talking about explaining the relationships between one person and another, that is, the process of change from relationships of a biological nature to relationships of a social nature and the increasingly beautiful development of these relationships. Thus, culture, above everything else, is the process whereby man becomes acclimated to the natural environment and, through creative labor, begins to force nature to increasingly serve his needs. It can be said that culture is the endeavor that results in harmony between man and nature. This harmony is of a relative nature during each period of history; however, it is always being raised to a higher level as mankind moves more rapidly forward. This process cannot be separated from the process of building and developing an increasingly beautiful society, that is, a society better suited to the rising requirements of production and the growing stature of mankind. The material and spiritual culture of each nation must be viewed from the point of view of the two processes mentioned above, two processes that intermix with and are closely linked to each other.

In our country, our forefathers reached a rather high level of cultural development some 4,000 years ago. At this agriculture closely linked to rather sophisticated metal refining technology (bronze followed by ironware) to a rather diverse handicraft sector was a reality in the country of Van Lang during the reign of the Hong Kings. It can be said that, during the Lac Viet period, our forefathers reached a relatively high level of material cultural development compared to the level of development of mankind at that time, a time when the people at very many places in the world were still living by picking wild fruits and hunting. On the basis of agricultural production, the Lac Viet quickly became settled in villages and built a highly organized social life. The alliance of Viet tribes, that is, the country of Van Lang during the reign of the Hong Kings (and, later, the country of Au Lac during the reign of King An Duong) was a community of voluntary association closely linked to the requirements of agricultural production at a time when water conservancy work was performed on a large scale in the basin of the Red River and the other rivers and closely linked to the requirement of uniting to resist very many aggressions during the early period of our history. This alliance of tribes, the community based on technology at that time in the face of the danger of aggression by the feudal imperialists after they had annexed the land of the Ba, Bo, Viet, Man, Au and Thai tribes, lands called Hoa Nam today. Due to the invasion of Au Lac and King An Duong's resistance made by King An Duong, the country of Au Lac lost its independence. However, this spirit of community, a deep belief in our history, was a strength that caused the Viet to never yield to the Chinese feudal imperialists, who imposed their rule on our country for 1,000 years, never had a day of peace. The name An Duong given to our country as the name Au Lac simply reflected an empty dream of the Chinese monarchy, because the history of the Viet lying to the south would never accept the rule of domination. From the Han and Tan to the Ly and Duong, the aggressions had occurred with hundreds of uprisings, the most significant of which were the uprisings of the Trung Sisters, Mrs. Trieu, Ly Han, Trieu Quang Phuc and the Trung Truc Hung, etc. These uprisings were the pictures of a heroic and brave struggle in many areas of life, including the cultural domain. The community spirit closely linked to a culture of a unique nation, the community spirit was a strength that the feudal imperialists could not conquer. No matter how powerful in every technique and crafty method of assimilation, the Chinese feudal imperialists could not destroy the Viet culture. And, although they had completely conquered the country of the Viet militarily, they could not conquer the Viet culturally. Because they could not conquer the Viet culturally, they were unable to conquer their military domination of us. For the Chinese, because they firmly maintain their unique culture, our people were able to defeat the struggle to liberate themselves. As a result of maintaining their culture, that is, maintaining their character, the line between our people and the aggressors was never broken. As long as this line remained, the Chinese could never be extinguished. This was a line that never broke.



The fight against foreign aggression ultimately won total victory in the 10th Century. And, the country of Dai Viet, the reincarnation of the countries of Van Lang and Au Lac of ancient times, was established. The inheritor of the cultural achievements of the periods of Van Lang and Au Lac and the period of resistance against northern domination, the people of Dai Viet created the Dai Viet culture. This culture not only developed in peaceful construction, but even in the decisive fight to preserve the country's independence. In the country of Dai Viet, the culture was controlled by feudal social relations. However, the important traditions of the people of Dai Viet still had a decisive influence upon the spirit of the Viet culture. The culture is the strength that closely links everyone in our country into one nation. At the same time, the culture is a strength for resisting aggression. It is not surprising that Nguyen Trai wrote in "Binh Ngo Dai Cao": "Our Dai Viet is a civilized country, a country with its own mountains and streams, a country with different customs in the north and the south. Although it has been strong in some periods and weak in others, there have been heroes in every generation. The mountains and rivers, the country, have been closely linked to customs and habits, the culture. 'Van' means culture, civilization; 'hien' means talent, courage, all of these things helped to create the nation.

When he sent his troops to fight the Thanh, Nguyen Hue proclaimed to all the people:

'Fight to wear long hair,  
Fight to have black teeth;  
Fight until they cannot resist,  
Fight until their armor is gone,  
Fight to be the masters of the heroic South.'

So, they fought until the enemy had been routed, until they had not one chariot or piece of armor left, not only to show them that the country of the South had its own master, but also to show that the Viet retained their traditional habits unlike the Chinese, who were forced to wear their hair in pigtails by the Thanh aggressors. For a long time, everyone thought that in a country under occupation, the life of the people became miserable and the national culture was destroyed. The fight to protect the fatherland was also a fight to live as a Viet, to maintain the Viet culture. Closeness to the national culture has been a strong moving force behind the struggle to protect our fatherland.

The strength of the Viet culture not only lies in its strength to resist each plot to undermine it from the outside. Its strength not only lies in the fact that it has not been assimilated into the culture of ruling foreign aggressors, but has also flexibly incorporated the cultural achievements of foreign countries and assimilated these achievements in accordance with the requirements of the Viet.

Cultural intercourse is something frequently seen in the history of nations. How it reacts to this intercourse is a measurement of the strength of a culture. A "self-contained" culture is not a wholesome culture and easily finds itself faced with the threat of becoming weak and withering away. An open culture is a strong culture, a culture overflowing with vitality. Because it is very strong and stable, the Viet culture is a very open culture. It is open in two ways; open to persons who have migrated to our country and, secondly, open to cultural achievements spread from other countries. In history, there have been very many groups of people, especially from the north, who have migrated to our country. One example is the Ma Luu sent to our country by Ma Vien who organized themselves in groups within our country for the purposes of controlling and assimilating the Viet during the period of northern domination. Another example is the people of Minh Huong who fled to our country when China was dominated during the 16th and 17 Centuries. All of these groups that migrated later were assimilated into the Viet culture. This was not forced assimilation. Their assimilation was very easy to understand. The groups of people who migrated to our country from other places found here a rich and stable culture. To live in our country, they had to acclimate themselves to the new environment. The assimilation in the Viet culture of peoples migrating to our country proved the strength of the Viet culture. The Viet culture had a strong attraction.

The Viet culture was open to man and even more open to cultural achievements outside our country. After penetrating our country, these achievements were assimilated into the Viet culture in accordance with the framework of Viet life. This trend, which was never one of a compulsory nature, can be clearly seen in the history of language, the history of literature, the history of thought and the history of art. From the Southeast Asian, Chinese, Indian and French expressions to the philosophies of China, India and the West, from the customs of the spiritual life and material life of foreigners, everything that has penetrated our country has been incorporated by the Vietnamese on the basis of the framework of the Viet culture and in the spirit of the Viet culture. The Vietnamization of the cultural achievements of foreign countries is based on the stable nature of the Viet culture. The Vietnamization of the achievements of foreign cultures has increased the strength of the Viet culture in the continuous advance by our nation, in the continuous broadening of our country's relations with the world community.

Ever since the Indochinese Communist Party was born and began leading the Vietnamese revolution, the Vietnamese culture, along with the increasingly large victories that have been won, has made increasingly large strides forward. In the past, the strength of the Vietnamese culture was manifested in the struggle by the nation to build and defend the country. At present, under increasingly favorable conditions, the strength of the Viet culture will be developed even more, developed even more beautifully. In keeping with the viewpoint of inheriting and enhancing the fine cultural values of the nation and mankind, our new socialist culture is having a positive impact

upon the fight against the Chinese aggressors, upon socialist construction, upon the building of a prosperous, socialist Vietnam in which the people are comfortable and happy, in which everyone is the master of nature, the master of society, the master of himself.

## General School Education Is the Cultural Foundation of a Country

[Presentation by Hoang Ngoc Di]

General school education is a cultural sector. In broad terms, it is a type of social activity which has the purpose of supplying everyone with basic knowledge of nature, society and man in order to lay the foundation for the formation of one's world view and for occupational training; in narrow terms, it is a social entity that molds the basic character of the young generation so that they can be the members of a social system. As a result, the socialist general school has the task of comprehensively developing the young generation; specifically:

--The young generation must have basic, systematic knowledge of the primary sciences to serve as the basis for comprehensive development and the formation of the world view of the working class;

--The young generation must have basic knowledge of technology and the economy, must have a grasp of the principles of modern production, of universal tools and machines, of commonly used raw materials and building materials and of the methods of organizing production and managing the economy; at the same time, we cannot exclude the possibility of general occupational training;

--The young generation must develop communist ethics, possess the sense of collective ownership, possess patriotism and the love of socialism, possess a pure proletarian international spirit, possess love for friends and the working people, possess the communist attitude toward work, possess the sense of discipline and respect for the laws on protecting public property, possess the large-scale industrial style and possess the virtues needed for a civilized and happy life;

--The young generation must possess the ability to engage in creative thought, the ability to apply what is learned in practice, the will and ability to study on one's own, a thirst for scientific and technical knowledge, a thirst for art, the correct socio-political outlook, the ability to engage in social activities and the ability to work in an organized, technical and highly productive manner;

--The young generation must have correct knowledge of aesthetics and art, have the desire to enhance life with beauty, have wholesome art tastes and be trained in creating art;

--The young generation must have the sense and habit of maintaining personal hygiene and forging good health, must be conscious of protecting the environment, must have the will to protect the country and must be trained in military affairs.

In summary, general school education imbues man with the basic qualities of the new man so that he becomes a good laborer, a good worker and a good soldier of the socialist system. General school education also has the task of developing and cultivating the special talents of each person and using them as the strength for accelerating the entire development of man.

General school education is the cultural foundation of a country because of the following three reasons:

First, general school education is the first door through which the people pass to gain access to the entirety of cultural values;

Secondly, general school education is the most important means in forming the new man, the man who possesses the socialist character;

Thirdly, in the process of providing general school education, we must stimulate all other activities of the culture in order to develop upon the products of education.

The socialist revolution can only be successful when the working masses are fully aware of the laws of development of society. The sense of collective ownership must go hand in hand with the ability to exercise this ownership. Lenin said: "A person who does not know how to write is someone who stands outside the scope of politics."<sup>(1)</sup> A general school education is the foundation upon which everyone can leap forward in the various fields of social activity. Whereas the bourgeoisie was able to industrialize the economy with a corps of nearly illiterate workers, our country is able to successfully complete this work with a working class that has a middle school education of the most modern content possible. Because, they are masters living within a progressive social system and an extremely rapidly developing situation surrounding science and technology. The living conditions of man today alone demand this minimal level of education.

Lenin opposed the use of narrow specialization at too early a date in the education of the young generation. This viewpoint is even more correct today because as science develops, in conjunction with division into special fields, there is also the process of the integration of the various fields of science. The same occurs between science and art; art, which has the task of describing man in ethical and humanitarian conflicts, must also delve deeply into the intellect of man, into the complexity of the new social order. Moreover, our people have a very low cultural level at this time.



The majority of the working people only recently overcame their illiteracy. We face a large task, a task that absolutely must be performed, namely, the task of providing supplementary education to the working people, primarily cadres, party members and outstanding youths.

General school education plays the decisive role in the formation of the new man because it lays the foundation for a scientific world view. The world view of the working class is the crystallization of the essence of the culture of mankind, and its formation within the mind of man must go hand in hand with accepting the cultural achievements of mankind. As a person becomes more cultured, his ability to raise his awareness of a scientific world view increases. Here, there is a oneness between the intellect and ideology. The natural and social sciences taught in school reveal the special laws governing each aspect of the existence of material things, the combination of which inevitably leads to conclusions concerning the scientific world view.

Another advantage of the general school in the molding of the new man is that education is provided in a systematic manner beginning in childhood, that is, beginning when it is easiest to teach man and when man shows the highest potential for development. Therefore, the rudiments of the scientific world view must be imbued in children when they are small, when they are able to recognize the world around them in all of its diversity.

However, it is not enough to merely reveal the laws of development of nature and society; the problem lies in transforming nature and society to satisfy man's needs. Therefore, within the general school, education must be coordinated with productive labor; an integrated technical education must be provided along with occupational counselling. The need to work for society must be taught so that it becomes a habit in childhood and becomes the highest expression of the love of man.

Man is the integration of social relations, the product of the three revolutions, in which man himself plays the dominant role. Therefore, education must be closely coordinated with other cultural activities, as understood in the broad meaning of the term and including the creation of material values and spiritual value. The resolution of the Political Bureau on the reform of education states: "As regards educational methods, the reform is designed to properly and closely coordinate the teaching of the new man with the transformation of society and the transformation of nature." The problem we face is that we must structure this coordination in such a way as to avoid falling into pragmatism, which limits the development of the intellect or causes a lack of balance in this development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 106.

## Accepting the Very Best of the Thinking and Art of Mankind Through Culture, Literature and Art

[Presentation by Hoang Trinh]

Cultural intercourse and learning from one another in the field of culture are an historic necessity, a law in the life of the peoples of all countries and times. Our party has frequently set forth specific guidelines concerning this matter.

The quintessence of the culture, literature and art of mankind is the quintessence of man's ideology, man's intellectual achievement and man's art; these three factors are the indispensable parts of a whole.

The ideological quintessence is how this culture, this literature and art have made excellent contributions, in various ways and at different times, to the process of liberating man, liberating society from the grip of nature in which he lived in darkness and shame, from domination by exploiting and oppressing classes, from theories, ethics and lifestyles that are injurious to human dignity and detrimental to social progress. The quintessence of ideology must have the liberation of man, the liberation of society, the spirit of struggling for man's right to live as its standard, with man's right to live being understood as the right to be the master of nature, the master of society, the master of oneself in accordance with the different requirements of the different periods.

The quintessence of man's intellectual achievement is the coordination of the height of thinking and intellectual development with the depth of practice which results in new discoveries concerning the essence of things, the world of man and life and which help man to deepen his understanding and improve his ability to think and be creative, thereby enriching his knowledge and experience.

The quintessence of man's art lies in new contributions in the areas of aesthetic viewpoints and mode of expression: on the one hand, the quintessence of man's art must reflect the living relationship between beauty and objective truth; on the other hand, it must reflect the essence of art, namely, the constant breaking of new ground by art and the boundless ability of man to search for the new.

The cultural intercourse of nations is governed by its own laws.

Man's attention is first diverted toward values of a contemporary nature. Contemporary means that this culture, literature and art were born at the same time of the people of a certain age; a higher level is to be living during a specific age and have similar historic tasks; and the highest level is to have similar historic tasks and similar political and social ideals.

Of course, in this case, when incorporating the cultural achievements of others, we must do so on the basis of the cultural, literary and art line of our party, on the basis of the political task, which includes the cultural task during each period of the revolution and on the basis of the requirements of the work of our country, with attention to the psychology, style and traditional and modern tastes of our nation.

Patriotism and revolutionary heroism in combat, in working to build the system of large-scale socialist production, in the spirit of attacking science and technology, the new, socialist man maturing in social life, in families and within the individual through the struggle for the beautiful *raison d'être* "one for all, all for one," these are the cultural, literary and artistic achievements of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries to which we must give priority to incorporating. Major projects and works that are part of the trends of anti-imperialism, anti-monopolistic capitalism and anti-great nation expansionism in the western countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America also must be promptly introduced in our country.

Secondly, attention must be given to values of a historic nature. The knowledge, thoughts and things of interest these values provide can contribute to the overall quality of life, the overall store of knowledge and the spiritual life that are so very necessary to the new, socialist man. Overall means relatively comprehensive and systematic, means not interrupted or isolated in individual localities and regions, not remote from the historic and international social community. A love of Raphael and Michelangelo, a liking for Shakespeare, Moliere, Goethe and Petofi, a fondness for Bethoven, Mozart and Chopin, a desire to read Tolstoy, Chekhov and so forth will certainly cause our socialist man to grow, to be enriched, to have greater affection for things pertaining to the soul, to feelings, to culture and to be more sensitive to the struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity, the struggles to create the scientific and artistic values necessary for the life of man. These unparalleled achievements must gradually be disseminated to the basic level, to the masses so that everyone in our system has the right to be the master, with the fullest possible awareness, of the hallmarks of the culture of man.

Incorporating the very best of the culture, literature and art of mankind will also have the effect of increasing the knowledge of one another and the militant friendship among nations resisting imperialism, great nation expansionism and big power chauvinism. Because, in substance, all of those things that represent the very best of the culture, literature and art of mankind concern (to one degree or another) the genuine thirst of man since antiquity for freedom, independence, justice, love among men and so forth. Those who advocate destroying the cultures of other countries are persons who want to rule by tyranny, by their own stupidity and lack of talent. Since antiquity, dictatorial, self-idolizing fascists have feared the truth very much, consequently, they have had to destroy words and their meanings, to

"burn books and bury students." They hate man and, as a result, hate even the culture of mankind. Conversely, revolutionaries fight for the truth, consequently, they respect the spiritual values of their people and the peoples of all other countries very much.

However, due to the very basic differences between our age and all preceding ages, especially with regard to class stand, world view, philosophy of life and aesthetic ideals, it is even more important that we be selective when incorporating foreign cultural values of preceding ages and to criticize them on the basis of the historical viewpoint and class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

Generally speaking, something that is a value, is the very best of a culture, literature or art can be incorporated into our culture. However, this must be done on a gradual, selective basis for each sector as well as on the basis of the requirements of political work, ideological work and the building of our culture in each stage. On the other hand, it is necessary to point out the naivety and negative aspect of the culture or literature and art of preceding ages as regards ideology, the method of dealing with the problems of man and society and even the methods of expression and style of art.

Finally, incorporating the very best of other cultures also has the purpose of creating something of value for ourselves. The creativity of each nation must be used as the basis for determining the spirit with which that nation incorporates the very best of the culture of mankind.

The period called the Renaissance in Europe revived the ancient Greek and Roman cultures, but it also opened new horizons, the horizon of Italian culture, French culture, British culture, Spanish culture and so forth with the "ravenous" strength of the national bourgeoisie desiring to be the masters of society and to achieve national unification.

Our forefathers had the awareness to learn from the cultures of neighboring countries. However, all of our representative literary works deeply reflect the soul, the character and the intellect of Vietnam. These literary works themselves are a mode of being the masters of the country, the masters of life under the circumstances of having to constantly preserve the nation's destiny and continuously developing.

Today, we have a new culture of a socialist content and national nature. We are making every effort to strengthen and develop this culture in order to support combat and the maintenance of combat readiness for the sake of building socialism and molding the new, socialist, fully developed man. The quintessence of the culture, literature and art of mankind will bring to us the vitality, the storehouse of thinking, the experience and even the confidence and the valuable spiritual and aesthetic nutrients created by countless generations.



Introducing what we have to the world and bringing to our country that which the world has in order to make it our own, make it part of our own flesh and blood, this is the most correct viewpoint to hold with regard to incorporating the quintessence of the culture of man, this is the spirit of being the master. This viewpoint is the complete opposite of jealousy, of worshipping that which is foreign and of being enslaved; it is also the complete opposite of the spirit of "taking" from foreign countries on a pragmatic and selfish chauvinist basis. Because, only by fighting for national independence and socialism, only by means of a culture, literature and art that fully reflect the spirit of being the master and are of a national nature can we contribute to the common development of history and of the culture of man.

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