

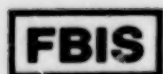
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15 January 1980

Vietnam Report

No. 2164

TAP CHI CONG SAN No. 11, 1979



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THE URGENT TASKS FACING US

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 1-7

[Editorial]

[Text] Since the historic victory of the spring of 1975 and under the light of the resolution of the 4th Party Congress, our people have struggled hard and won tremendous victories.

Our army and people defeated the two wars of aggression on the southwestern and northern borders of our country, which were planned and launched by the Peking reactionary authorities, thereby maintaining the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland while fulfilling our international obligation to the revolutions of Kampuchea and Laos.

Following the liberation of the South, we rapidly reunified the country in terms of state administration and are now continuing to complete the reunification of the country in every other field. The draft of the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is being enthusiastically debated by all the people.

As regards international relations, the militant solidarity among the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is stronger than ever before. The solidarity between us and the USSR was strengthened through the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. We have officially joined the Council for Mutual Aid. The diplomatic and economic relations between our country and many other countries of the world are being expanded. We have played a positive role in many important international conferences; many of the insidious schemes of the Peking expansionists to collaborate with imperialism in a vain attempt to reduce the prestige and isolate our country in the international arena have been exposed and thwarted.

Economically, despite encountering very many difficulties and challenges and despite repeated natural disasters, our people have also recorded important

achievements in the efforts to heal the wounds of war, combat natural disasters, restore production, carry out socialist transformation, meet the minimum needs of their everyday lives and continue to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

The tremendous victories mentioned above have made a positive contribution to protecting and developing the influence of socialism, accelerating the national independence movement and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world. These victories eloquently prove that our people are very rich in patriotism and the love of socialism, that our party is truly a dependable and strong Marxist-Leninist party.

In order to win the great victories mentioned above, our people had to overcome countless difficulties and challenges and endure countless hardships and sacrifices, even sacrifice their own flesh and blood! In the face of the schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage of the Peking expansionists, the imperialists and the other international reactionaries, we have stood firm and constantly moved forward. However, we are encountering many difficulties, especially economic difficulties and difficulties in everyday life: production is developing slowly, labor productivity is low and the people are experiencing shortages in their everyday lives, especially the people who live and work in the cities and industrial areas. Many persons of work age either do not have a job or have a job but have been laid off because of the lack of raw materials and supplies. Negative phenomena within society have shown a tendency to be increasing.

The underlying causes of these difficulties are that we have been building our economy under conditions in which the country has experienced several decades of war and still faces the threat of war, thereby compelling our people to devote much manpower to the national defense system and constantly maintain combat readiness. Moreover, our country, which is advancing from a system of small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, must simultaneously carry out the two pressing and basic tasks of satisfying the everyday needs of the people and accumulating capital in order to carry out socialist industrialization.

On the other hand, we must also realize our subjective shortcomings, especially in economic work.

We have yet to thoroughly implement the line on building the socialist economy set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party; the various sectors and levels, from the central level to the installations, have not truly focused their efforts on developing agriculture; little attention is still being given to light industry, local industry and the artisan and handicraft industry; the development of heavy industry has not been closely linked to nor does it primarily support agriculture and light industry; there is no coordination of transformation with building, of transformation with the reorganization of production.

We still are not fully aware of the fact that our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition from small-scale production to socialism, which is a period in which many different economic segments still exist, many types of laws still have an impact, small-scale, commodity production still is in existence and so forth, not the period of achieved socialism, consequently, there are shortcomings in planning, the formulation of specific policies and the organization of economic management and social management. Plans are usually bureaucratic in nature, are not consistent with practice, reflect a heavy emphasis upon subjective will and aspirations and do not give attention to coordinating planning with the use of market relations; specific policies are rigid, do not coordinate the three types of economic interests (the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual), do not correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and do not utilize the various segments of the economy in a manner that benefits socialism; attention has not been given to utilizing the law of value. Economic management is characterized by administrative-supply procedures and does not correctly implement the principles of socialist production and business management; this has led to the practices of operating without making the necessary calculations, of not assuming responsibility for economic returns, etc.

In order to advance our country's revolution to new stages of development, the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee set forth the following three pressing tasks for the entire party, all our people and our entire army:

1. Accelerating production and stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people;
2. Strengthening the national defense and security systems and maintaining a readiness to fight against aggression and protect the fatherland;
3. Waging a determined struggle to overcome the negative aspects of social and economic activities, especially pilfering, bribery and the intimidation of the masses.

The three tasks mentioned above, which are closely linked to one another, must be carried out simultaneously, not one of the them can be postponed or set aside. To carry out these three tasks well, we must continue to thoroughly implement the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party, be deeply aware of the characteristic of the period of transition, namely, the fact that our country is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, and, on this basis, rectify our shortcomings in economic management and social management; in particular, we must bring planning and our economic policies up to date so that production "explodes" in keeping with the line of the party and the guidelines and plan of the state.

The most important task at this time is accelerating agricultural production, forestry and fishing primarily for the purpose of maintaining a stable supply of grain and food products while supplying many raw materials to light industry and increasing the sources of export goods. We must have a deeper understanding of the very important significance of the grain problem in order to focus our efforts on successfully resolving it. Only with grain do we have the conditions needed to develop livestock production and the cultivation of industrial crops, develop agriculture in a comprehensive manner, thereby helping to stimulate exports. Only with the development of agriculture and light industry do we lay the basis for giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry.

Focusing our efforts on developing the production of food does not mean focusing our efforts on the monoculture of grain, rather, we must constantly adhere to the guideline of developing agriculture in a comprehensive manner, one that encompasses both crop production and livestock production (even pisciculture) as well as the development of the handicraft trades in the countryside. Efforts must be focused on developing the production of a number of industrial crops and fruit crops that are of high export value and can be produced in large quantities, such as rubber, coffee, tea, tobacco, mulberries, jute, rushes, coconuts, bananas, pineapples and so forth, for the purpose of accelerating our exports in order to not only import raw materials for industry, but also import a stable supply of food. We must rapidly develop livestock production in order to supply meat, milk, eggs, leather and down to the processing industry.

It is necessary to intensify the harvesting of marine products in order to resolve the food products problem for the people. We must strengthen state-operated installations and establish balance between rear service support facilities and the harvesting of marine products in order to raise the efficiency of fishing. We must strengthen the fishing cooperatives in the North and reorganize the fishing industry in the South under a variety of suitable forms in accordance with the guideline of taking steady, positive steps forward.

We must reorganize and properly manage the forestry trade, strengthen the state-operated forestry sites and forestry cooperatives, take determined steps to stop the destruction and burning of forests and rapidly implement afforestation plans in order to quickly cover barren hills and create a forest system capable of fulfilling the two tasks of providing protecting and supplying products. Appropriate investments must be made in the construction of forestry roads and the mechanization of the forestry trade. We must organize the harvesting, transportation and distribution of wood well in order to serve both domestic and export needs.

As regards industry, we must closely and urgently guide the production of consumer goods and export goods and develop local industry and the artisan

and handicraft industry. Production must be accelerated in the coal and electricity sectors. Communications and transportation must be completely reorganized. The industrial sectors must take an inventory of all their equipment, supplies and labor in order to adopt plans for utilizing them well, raising labor productivity and developing production.

International cooperation and the intensification of exports are not only pressing jobs, they are also a strategic task throughout the process of socialist industrialization. It can be said that we cannot advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production without international cooperation. All sectors, localities and installations (both state-operated and collective) must work very hard to accelerate the flow of export goods. Investments must be increased in order to expand existing installations and build a number of new ones specializing in export goods, especially goods in which we have an advantage, such as tropical agricultural products, marine products, forestry products, medicinal plants, minerals and products of the traditional handicraft and artware trades.

In our foreign economic relations, we must first fulfill our obligations and responsibilities in economic cooperation with the fraternal countries of the Council for Mutual Aid. At the same time, we must broaden our cooperation with other countries.

We must meet the pressing requirements of everyday life. Only by improving the standard of living can we generate enthusiasm in order to accelerate production. We must urgently resolve the pressing problems being encountered in everyday life within the cities, within the industrial complexes, within the areas along the northern border and in a number of rural areas that are encountering difficulties with their crops.

Positive preparations must be made so that we are always ready to fight in defense of the fatherland. At present, our country is at peace, but a war could be launched at any time by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. As a result, we must always coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation, coordinate the defense of the nation with the economy and always be ready to fight and defend the fatherland. We must make good preparations for maintaining combat readiness and protecting the people in order to insure that our country is always ready to smash aggression by the enemy.

We must accelerate the campaign to "display the fine nature and heighten the fighting strength of the armed forces" throughout the army. We must expand the military draft to each citizen of draft age.

The various levels of the party and government must closely guide national defense and security work, strengthen their specialized measures in

coordination with launching a movement of the masses to maintain the security of the fatherland, promptly uncover and thwart each scheme and act of reactionaries, spies, insurrectionists and so forth, thereby maintaining political security and social order and safety.

The matters of decisive significance in developing production, accelerating the flow of exports, stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people and strengthening our economic and national defense potentials are bringing planning up to date and fundamentally improving the various economic policies, especially the policies on circulation and distribution.

Planning must be brought up to date along the lines of combating bureaucratic centralism, upholding the right of economic collective ownership of the various sectors and levels and coordinating planning with the use of market relations. The general principle is that the integrated agencies should not take over that which production sectors can do and do well. That which the localities can do and are doing efficiently should be assigned to the localities. The upper level should not do that which installations can do; the state should not take over those jobs that can be performed by the people, rather, it should provide the people with assistance.

We must combat bureaucracy, conservatism and the practice of not looking at the shortcomings of several policies that have been promulgated; on this basis, we must immediately revoke all outmoded policies that do not reflect the line of the party, that are not consistent with the realities of production and everyday life. At the same time, we must conduct thorough research when establishing new policies in order to avoid mistakes. The highest standards for evaluating the correctness of policies are whether or not they raise labor productivity, develop production and improve the life of the people. As a result, policies must coordinate the interests of society with the interests of the collective and individual and must provide incentive for the worker to work with enthusiasm in production.

To perform the tasks and jobs mentioned above well, the sectors and localities must, on the basis of their political, economic and social tasks, launch an intense and continuous revolutionary movement of the masses to accelerate production, organize life and develop upon positive factors while waging a determined struggle to overcome negative phenomena, especially theft, bribery and intimidation of the people.

We must strongly uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses so that they willingly and voluntarily fulfill their responsibilities and exercise their authority along with responsible agencies in a strong struggle against these negative phenomena. We must coordinate economic measures with administrative and educational measures in order to manage the market and must resolutely punish saboteurs and speculators who raise prices.

The leader of each sector, level and unit must assume responsibility and establish a tightly structured organization for thoroughly protecting the property put under his management by the state. The mass organizations must fulfill their important functions and role in teaching politics to and mobilizing the masses in a struggle against negative phenomena within society.

Only by performing good ideological work is it possible to teach politics in an effective and timely fashion. A phase of strong political and ideological activities is needed in order to show everyone the very large victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 4 years and give everyone a clear understanding of the difficulties that cannot be avoided under circumstances of protecting the fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists while maintaining the life of the people and building the material-technical bases of socialism. At the same time, we must also see our subjective shortcomings in economic management, the management of society and the corrective measures that have been taken and, on this basis, heighten our revolutionary will, heighten our spirit of self-reliance and become determined to overcome every difficulty and successfully carry out the urgent tasks we face.

Each agency and level must take the initiative and perform those jobs that lie within the scope of their responsibilities and authority without hesitating or waiting. The pressing jobs we face must be very closely supervised and inspected; after each phase of inspections, we must reach necessary conclusions, take specific corrective steps, praise and promptly disseminate good examples, correct deviations and take strict disciplinary action against persons who do not comply with resolutions.

We must take determined steps to revamp the guidance and management apparatus of the party and state from the central to the local and installation levels along the lines of reducing the number of intermediary elements, eliminating unnecessary elements and raising the level of efficiency, with particular importance attached to strengthening the district level, the key element in building the agro-industrial structure.

The various sectors and levels must perform good cadre work in accordance with Political Bureau resolution 225 and must attach importance to improving the corps of cadres so that it is truly qualified and competent. Cadres who have become deviant or degenerated must be purged; persons who are incompetent and cannot perform their task must be replaced; positive steps must be taken to train future cadres.

Although we face many difficulties, with the patriotism and revolutionary heroism of the people and with our determination to comply with the line of the party, boldly bring economic policies up to date and improve the guidance of implementation from top to bottom, we will surely bring about

strong changes, complete the urgent tasks we face well and advance our country's revolution to new stages of development in socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

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SEVERAL MATTERS REGARDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSUMER GOODS INDUSTRY
AND LOCAL INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 8-22, 35

[Article by Le Thanh Nghi]

[Text] The 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, which dealt exclusively with the consumer goods industry and local industry, defined the basic matters involved in the development of a very important economic sector while setting forth the urgent tasks we face with regard to the economy and everyday life.

The consumer goods industry and local industry meet the vital needs of the people and the army and accelerate our exports, thereby helping to make full use of social labor and increasing the accumulation of capital for socialist industrialization; at the same time, the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry is a very important factor in strengthening the trade between industry and agriculture, strengthening the relations between the state and farmers and eliminating both the budget deficit and the cash deficit, thereby helping to put the economy on a wholesome basis.

On the other hand, the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry requires the solution of problems in the organization of production and the division of management levels and the improvement of management policies and procedures. In summary, it demands a further improvement to the economic management system along the lines of thoroughly implementing the line of the party and applying the objective economic laws well on the basis of correctly understanding the characteristics of our country's economic situation at this time.

This is a basic viewpoint of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, one to which we must fully adhere in order to correctly understand and properly implement the new decisions on economic policy in order to carry

out the pressing tasks we face as well as accelerate the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry.

The most important characteristic of our country's situation at this time, as analyzed by the 4th Congress of the Party, is that we are in the initial stage of the period of transition from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Although it differs in degree, this characteristic encompasses both regions of our country. In the North, which has experienced 20 years of the socialist revolution, the socialist economic segment now occupies a position of absolute dominance within the economy; however, material-technical bases are still small and the majority of labor is still manual labor, consequently, we are in the first stage of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. In the South, following several years of socialist transformation, the economy is still divided into five segments, included among which is the private capitalist economic segment, which still exist to a certain degree (in substance, it is the economy of small-scale bourgeoisie) within a certain number of fields. The present economy consisting of many different segments is consistent with the objective requirements of social production. Reality has proven the correct viewpoint of the resolution of the 4th Party Congress: "It is necessary, on the basis of developing the socialist economy, to make full use of each capability of the other segments of the economy in order to develop production and meet the needs of society well."

The fact that the economy is in the initial stage of the period of transition and the fact that many economic segments still exist raise the requirement of correctly applying the various economic laws in order to establish economic positions and policy and build a management device consistent with the characteristics of the economy. In the recent past, as a result of the failure to fully understand this characteristic, the failure to fully implement the line of the party and the failure to attach importance to correctly applying the objective economic laws, especially the law of value and the law of distribution in accordance with labor, there have been certain manifestations of impetuosity in several positions and policies regarding socialist transformation and socialist construction as well as prolonged shortcomings in management work.

Under our country's circumstances, the application of the various economic laws becomes increasingly complex because we are constantly threatened by a war of aggression by the Chinese expansionists. The requirements involved in mobilizing manpower and materiel for the defense of the fatherland are longer in duration and higher compared to the war of resistance against the United States. This situation makes it even more necessary that we fully adhere to the line of the party and creatively apply the various economic laws in order to bring management activities up

to date and change the economic situation in accordance with the following general guidelines:

--Developing upon the superior nature and the dominant role of the socialist economic segment and making planning the center of the socialist economic management system while using the market well and utilizing every capability of the other economic segments in order to rapidly increase our material wealth and meet the needs of society well.

--Closely linking the interests of the state with the interests of the collective and the laborer in economic policies and management procedures as well as in the teaching of ideology in order to provide incentive for and encourage everyone to enthusiastically participate in productive labor.

--Being determined to correct the administrative style of management in which one level overlaps another, rapidly establishing the management procedures of socialist production and business and upholding the right of ownership in conjunction with heightening the responsibility of the worker, the basic production units, the sectors and the localities for the results of production and business and the returns from each economic activity.

The guidelines presented above must be thoroughly understood and embodied in specific policies and measures in order to bring the mode of management up to date, bring planning, the organization of management and the organizing of management cadres up to date. These policies and measures must yield the following final results:

--The social product must be rapidly increased on the basis of making full use of social labor, raising labor productivity and increasing the returns from the use of arable land, supplies, equipment and capital;

--The working masses must be producing and working with enthusiasm, positive factors must be strongly developed upon and negative phenomena within society must be thwarted and stopped.

Bringing economic management up to date is a difficult and complex job, consequently, it must be carried out in a systematic and well coordinated manner in order to bring about fundamental and strong changes. On the other hand, we must urgently resolve the problems of which we are aware in order to gradually overcome the obstacles we face and create the conditions for new stages of development.

In keeping with this spirit, the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee made a number of decisions on revising economic policies with a view toward opening the way for the development of production, stimulating the performance of pressing economic tasks and accelerating the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry. These decisions have been

and are being concretized and codified in legal documents of the state, such as the policy on making full use of cropland, the policy providing incentive for livestock production, the policy providing incentive for the full use of discarded materials, rejected products and domestic raw materials in order to produce consumer goods, the policy and purchasing prices for grain and other agricultural products, the policy providing incentive for exports and so forth. A number of important matters related to economic policy and management regulations, such as planning regulations, the wage and price policy and so forth, are being researched in order to make basic improvements to them.

The revisions mentioned above are only the beginning and we must continue to make improvements in many areas; only in this way can we build an effective and efficient management device and correct the problem of bureaucratic centralism existing at the same time as loose, haphazard management as well as the problem of the serious overlapping of echelons in management at this time. Of importance is the fact that the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee set forth the guiding thinking, and the decisions made regarding newly promulgated economic policy have brought about positive changes in a number of areas.

Only by firmly adhering to this guiding thinking can we fully comprehend and properly implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum regarding the pressing tasks we face as well as the consumer goods industry and local industry.

Below are a number of matters that must be further clarified under the light of this guiding thinking.

The Tasks and Guidelines in Developing the Consumer Goods Industry and Local Industry

1. Meeting the diverse consumer needs of the people in a manner consistent with our country's economic circumstances.

The consumer needs of the people are very diverse:

In the consumer policy, the state must, on the basis of the specific economic conditions of our country, attach importance to the basic, pressing needs of the people; however, it must also take positive steps to meet the variety of other needs that we are capable of meeting.

Our responsibility to the life of the people demands the implementation of one principle: we cannot ignore any consumer need of the people, even the smallest, which domestic conditions enable us to meet.

Some persons are of the opinion that "we should not talk about other things as long as important, pressing jobs have yet to be completed." In my

opinion, there is no contradiction between focusing our efforts on performing important, pressing jobs while trying to meet the varied needs of the people. Although we might sometimes be unable to perform jobs that are large in scale, we cannot ignore small needs that can be met. For example, we are unable to provide enough cloth for clothing but why have we allowed a shortage of hats and sandals to develop? Why do many persons from the various localities still have to go to Hanoi and a number of other cities to buy bamboo toothpicks, chopsticks, fans and so forth? Why have many cities and industrial areas not organized the salting of vegetables and fish for sale to the people? Why is there not an ample supply of soysauce for the people? We do concern ourselves with meeting the primary needs of the people, such as their need for grain and food products, but we cannot fail to give attention to products of secondary importance, such as fuel for cooking, for example.

We must correct the thinking of "ignoring the small" because this thinking causes the variety of our consumer goods to become increasingly poor and causes the people to lack very many things they should not lack at a time when the potential for producing consumer goods, especially the potential of the artisan and handicraft industry and the subsidiary household trades, has not been developed well.

Specific, practical steps must be taken to correct this situation.

To begin with, it is necessary to investigate and research in detail each consumer need of the people, to delve into the working conditions and living conditions of the people in the different environments, in the different segments of the population, in the different age groups and circles of society. For example, as regards supporting the daily meals of the people, we must concern ourselves with the family cooked rice dish and also take into consideration the characteristics of labor and the ever developing collective activities of everyone from small children to adult laborers. On this basis, we must give thought to developing the grain and food processing industries in a comprehensive manner so that many different types of "food" and "beverage" are produced and give thought to the various products needed to prepare and serve a meal, such as fuel, cooking utensils, bowls, chopsticks, glasses, cups and so forth.

The other consumer needs, such as the needs for clothing, shelter, transportation, education, health care and so forth, also demand that we conduct detailed investigations and research and give attention to the consumer tastes of each stratum of the people.

Thus, investigating and researching consumer needs are a matter of major importance. This matter was raised at the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee, but the necessary work still has not been thoroughly carried out; this proves that our viewpoint concerning meeting the consumer needs of the people is still very one-sided, very simplistic.

The government must organize the performance of this work by a specified deadline, must draw up a detailed list of the various types of consumer goods, must assign production responsibilities to the various sectors and localities and must create the conditions for developing each production capability of all economic segments, including the subsidiary household trades.

In this work, the production sectors and the circulation-distribution sectors must closely coordinate with one another. In particular, the home trade sector must correct the problem of doing nothing more than waiting for goods to arrive or restricting itself to controlling raw materials in the production of products under contracts; rather, it must take the initiative and research the needs and tastes of the people and set forth requirements of producers (central state-operated enterprises, local state-operated enterprises, cooperatives and private producers). The sector must broaden its business, not only in products sold at directed prices, but also in products purchased at prices reached through negotiations with producers and sold at profitable prices.

Thus, by fully understanding the viewpoint of taking positive steps to meet the diverse consumer needs of the people, by taking the initiative and researching each type need, even the smallest, and by developing every potential in order to organize and assign production on the basis of a revised and amended policy (such as the recent decision of the Council of Ministers on expanding the production and marketing of products that are not under the management of the state nor for which the state supplies raw materials), we surely can create a wide variety of consumer goods at an early date so that the people do not experience unnecessary shortages.

2. Resolving, in a well coordinated and thorough manner, problems related to a number of our most important and pressing objectives.

In conjunction with taking positive steps to meet the varied consumer needs of the people, we must focus our efforts on resolving, in a well coordinated manner, problems related to a number of our important and pressing objectives.

Experience has shown that the successful implementation of every economic position requires the examination and coordination of all related factors, from material conditions (including economic and technical conditions) to matters relating to management policies and procedures, organization and cadres, ideological work and work involving the masses. Under circumstances in which the economy is still seriously imbalanced in many areas, the management system operates with difficulty and localism, partiality, and departmentalism are still prevalent, insuring the well coordinated nature of the effort to resolve related economic problems is of decisive significance to the results of implementation.

Within the scope of the consumer goods industry, we can cite several major, important programs requiring the concerted guidance of the government, such as:

--The program for resolving the clothing problem, the immediate objectives of which are to provide the people with the supply of cloth required under ration standards, fully meet the needs for protective work clothing, for cloth for pregnant women, cloth for weddings and funerals and the need for other consumer goods made from fiber, such as mosquito netting, face cloths, socks, winter jackets, blankets, thread and so forth and eventually raising the consumer standard and selling textile goods normally.

This is a major program, one which requires efforts in many areas, especially the following:

- + Raw material sources: in the immediate future, raw materials from agriculture, including cotton, raw silk and jute, will be exported in exchange for cotton and fiber; positive steps must be taken to develop the production of other fiber bearing crops, such as coconut, bananas, sesbania and "buong" leaves to replace cotton fiber in suitable products; at the same time, we will build manmade fiber installations and prepare for synthetic fiber production under the plan for building petroleum refineries.
- + Processing installations encompassing everything from reeling silk and pre-processing cotton and jute to spinning fiber, dyeing and sewing in order to meet domestic consumer needs and improve our ability to perform contract work for foreign countries.
- + Providing the secondary raw materials for the textile and sewing sectors, such as dyes, thread, buttons, etc.
- + Building the mechanical engineering sector to gradually meet the equipment needs of the silk reeling, spinning, textile and sewing industries.

--The program for completely resolving the grain processing problem, primarily the processing of wheat and subsidiary food crops: this is part of the program to resolve the grain problem in the next few years and has the immediate objective of processing the wheat and subsidiary food crops introduced to the diet of the people under many suitable forms that are high in quality and easy to eat while making full use of byproducts to make livestock feed.

--The program for developing a number of primary export products in order to rapidly increase the volume of exports, insure the quality of exports and open stable and profitable markets. In the immediate future, it is necessary to develop a number of principal products, such as frozen shrimp

and squid, rubber, coffee, tea, tobacco, castor oil, vegetables, fruit and so forth. The production of each export product must be well coordinated from planting, harvesting, processing and transportation to packaging and exportation; as a result, there must be coordination among many sectors and localities, with the consumer goods industry playing an important role in processing.

3. Focusing efforts on resolving the raw material problem.

Many factors are needed to accelerate consumer goods production, such as energy, equipment, tools, labor and so forth, and there are also problems regarding these factors that must be resolved. However, the problem of most decisive significance in developing consumer goods production at this time is the raw materials problem.

The raw materials of the consumer goods industry are supplied from two sources: from agriculture, forestry and fishing and from heavy industry, primarily the chemical and metallurgy industry, with some raw materials being supplied by the mining industry. Although we have made an effort to develop a number of chemical production plants and mining installations in order to supply some of the raw materials needed for consumer goods production, the construction of heavy industry, in general, and the construction of the metallurgy and chemical industries, in particular, demands large capital investments and takes a long time to complete. Therefore, to produce consumer goods, we must, at this time, rely upon the primary source of raw materials, that is, agriculture, forestry and fishing, primarily agriculture.

This source of raw materials has long been unstable, production has increased slowly and the quantity of raw materials purchased has been small; one of the important reasons for this has been that we have been slow to build centralized, specialized industrial crop growing areas that practice intensive cultivation.

At present, with the exception of rubber, coffee and tea, the production of all other industrial crops is decentralized into many different localities and crop yields vary very widely. The provinces that have a large amount of land under cultivation and on which production is relatively centralized usually achieve yields higher than provinces that only raise these crops in a decentralized fashion; cotton yields are five times higher, jute yields are five times higher, rush yields are four times higher, peanut yields are two times higher, soybean yields are four times higher and so forth.

Many industrial crops raised in areas that have suitable soil are worth more per hectare than rice; however, because the grain supply problem has not been resolved well and due to the automatic viewpoint of achieving self-

sufficiency in grain, some localities have reduced the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops in order to plant grain crops, which yield lower returns.

We should not, simply because we are encountering difficulties with grain, limit the rate of development of industrial crop production, especially the production of those crops that do not take land away from the production of grain and especially on land that is better suited to industrial crops than grain crops.

We must soon plan in detail centralized, specialized, industrial crop growing areas in places where soil conditions are suited to each type crop. We must also clearly state the amount of area under cultivation in these areas. When planning, it is necessary to calculate economic returns, especially for fields that can be used to raise grain crops. In conjunction with planning, it is necessary to resolve a series of problems in a well coordinated manner in order to stimulate the formation of specialized farming areas and constantly raise crop yields, the output harvested and the output of commodities of these areas.

The 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee set forth basic and comprehensive measures designed to resolve the agricultural product and raw material problems, such as measures related to investments, the supply of grain and commodities, the purchasing policy, the price policy, the tax and accumulation of capital policy, etc.

The Council of Ministers has decided to revise the purchasing prices of several primary agricultural products, including the agricultural raw materials. The agricultural raw material purchasing policy is also being researched and revised in accordance with the grain purchasing policy; in general, this policy will be as follows: farmers in specialized industrial crop growing areas will pay their taxes in product at a rate that has been stabilized for a 5 year period, roughly 10 percent of their output. the agricultural products that are purchased will be purchased under two-way contracts between the state and farmers in the following manner: the supplies and commodities of the state and the agricultural products of farmers will be sold at directed prices; however, because we have yet to rectify the unreasonable aspects in the rate of exchange, the balance between the two parties will be computed not in value, but in product. For example, to purchase 1 kilogram of nitrogen fertilizer, 1 kilogram of grain, 1 kilogram of gasoline, and so forth from the state, farmers will have to sell a certain number of kilograms of agricultural products. This trade relationship, which is being researched and established for each type agricultural product on the basis of the principle of insuring two-way trade between farmers and the state, is better than selling agricultural products and purchasing commodities on the "free" market. Under two-way contracts, the state can provide supplies and commodities in

advance and not receive agricultural products until they are harvested. Remaining agricultural products (those remaining after the payment of taxes and the fulfillment of the two-way contract) can be purchased by the state at negotiated prices or traded on the market by producers.

To implement the purchasing policy well, it is necessary to establish a unified organization and guidance in order to closely coordinate the supplying of materials and commodities and the purchasing of agricultural products within the scope of the district. We must revamp both organization and management to insure that the supplies and commodities of the state are delivered directly to farmers without being lost, without being misappropriated, without being distributed in a haphazard manner or to the wrong person as is the case now.

The Relationship Between the Central Level and the Locality in the Organization of Management, Primarily Within Industry

Coordinating central economic construction and local economic development at the very outset is a major, creative viewpoint in the line of our party on building the socialist economy.

However, in the implementation of the party line, in addition to cooperation and unity between the central economy and the local economy, we often find more than a few examples of the separation of or even opposition between these two areas of management.

The speech by Le Duan during the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee helped us to achieve a uniform and deep understanding of the close relationship between the central economy and the local economy; on this basis, we can resolve the specific problems relating to the organization of management:

"The central economy and the local economy are the two parts of a unified economic structure. There is not one installation subordinate to the central level that is not located within a specific locality, consequently, every installation subordinate to the central level has certain economic relations with the local economy. Conversely, all economic installations that are subordinate to the local level are part of one sector or another and are closely tied to the economic installations that are directly subordinate to the central level within nationwide, unified economic-technical sectors and so forth. The local economy belongs both to the locality and the entire country and is built and managed by the central level together with the locality in accordance with an efficient division of labor and division of echelons."

The management responsibility of the locality extends not only to the installations directly subordinate to it, but also to the installations subordinate to the central level located within the locality.

Conversely, when talking about the economy that is managed by the central level, we cannot restrict ourselves to the installations directly subordinate to ministries and general departments, but must also take into consideration those installations that are directly subordinate to the locality but lie within the economic-technical sectors that are managed entirely by the ministries and general departments. The ministries and general departments also have a responsibility to the local economy, in general, because the growth of the local economy always requires a larger supply of the coal, electricity, iron and steel, machinery, spare parts, fertilizers, chemicals, building materials and so forth managed by the central level. The central level is concerned with developing the economic-technical sectors and establishing the general balances on a nationwide scale. The locality is directly concerned with supporting the life of the people and undertaking distribution within its boundaries. This is the general guideline in the division of labor between the central economy and the local economy.

As regards the specifics involved in industrial management, every enterprise, be it subordinate to the central level or the local level, is under the overall management of the state; this management can be divided into several principal elements:

- First, the administrative-economic management of enterprises, which primarily involves complying with the legal plan norms and the enterprise management policies and regulations of the state;
- Secondly, production-business management, which primarily involves relying upon the legal plan norms of the state to establish the production-technical-financial plan of the enterprise, organize the implementation of this plan and insure a profitable business in accordance with the principles of cost accounting;
- Thirdly, the management of the material, political, ideological and cultural lives of cadres and manual workers (including party work, work involving the masses and the emulation movement within the enterprise).

The areas of management mentioned above, especially administrative-economic management and production-business management, are closely inter-related.

As regards administrative-economic management, the government and the various ministries and general departments have the primary responsibility in researching and promulgating uniform management policies and regulations for the entire country or for each economic-technical sector and for organizing and inspecting implementation by all enterprises throughout the country. The localities also have a certain responsibility in researching and proposing or concretizing management policies and regulations within a certain scope. However, the main function of the localities in this

field is to organize, inspect and supervise the implementation of management policies and regulations within local enterprises as well as inspect and supervise implementation within the central enterprises located in the locality.

In the field of production-business management, the relationship between the central level and the locality is more complex. Regarding this, it is first of all necessary to emphasize one principle, namely, the need to heighten the responsibility and the independence of the enterprise and the production-business federations in production-business management based on cost accounting. The ministries and general departments as well as the local people's committees and the provincial and district industrial services and bureaus primarily fulfill the function of providing administrative-economic management and are not cost accounting agencies. A situation has long existed in which the ministries, general departments and local governmental agencies have been drawn into the effort to resolve many problems that lie within the scope of production and business, but because they are not cost accounting agencies, they have not been held materially responsible for economic returns. Meanwhile, their administrative-economic management function, which is very important and complex, is being carried out in a lackadaisical manner; planning and plans are weak and formulated slowly; many management policies and regulations are outmoded or have loopholes but have not been promptly researched, revised or amended; the organization of implementation and the inspection and supervision of compliance with management policies and regulations have been given light attention and this has led to haphazard methods of operating and loose discipline. This is an important reason why the administrative style of management in which one level encompasses all others has persisted.

In order for the ministries and the governmental agencies on the various levels to concentrate their efforts on fulfilling their administrative-economic management function well, it is necessary, in conjunction with broadening the independence of the installations in production and business, to build production-business federations within each specific economic-technical sector, federations that operate on the basis of cost accounting and in the form of federations of enterprises, corporations or federated enterprises. (In the field of agriculture as it is closely linked to industry, the key issue in the organization of management is building the district into an important economic area that consists of many production and business organizations that are independent but are linked together in an agro-industrial structure, thereby maintaining the basic balances in the everyday lives of the people within the district). The production federations must have all the authority and independence they need in production and business and must, at the same time, be fully responsible for the results of the production and business of all of the installations within their federation.

Production federations that are nationwide in scale or are on the scale of a large area encompassing many provinces and municipalities must, of course, be directly managed by the central level. However, some state-operated, collective and private production installations within the same economic-technical sector will still be managed by the locality. Those production units that are managed by the locality must maintain close relations with the production federations within the same sector, especially as regards planning and plans, the division of labor for the production of main products, research in the application of technological advances, the supplying of a number of types of equipment, spare parts and materials, the training of cadres and workers, etc. These relationships are necessary prerequisites for the development of production units and must be implemented by means of suitable forms of organization (such as the product group, the industrial federation and so forth).

For this reason, the legal norms of the plans of the local enterprises, although they are approved and assigned by the local government, must be discussed and agreed upon with the management sector of the central level. Conversely, the plans of the central enterprises must have the participation of the provincial or municipal people's committee of the place at which the installation is located and must have the agreement of the locality with regard to certain matters, such as the supply of labor and materials within the locality, the construction of housing and welfare facilities for enterprise cadres and workers, etc.

As regards the management of everyday life, the revolutionary movement of the masses, party work and work involving the masses, both the central level and the locality have a responsibility, but it is the locality that is directly in charge of this area of management for all enterprises within its boundaries.

The analysis presented above of the various aspects of enterprise management is only a brief analysis, and further research of this subject is required. However, through it we can conclude that every enterprise is under the management of both the central level and the locality, because the national economy must be an entity, because an economic-technical sector must be a unified, nationwide system. The distinction as to whether an enterprise is a central enterprise or a local enterprise is only of significance in defining whether the primary responsibility in each area of management belongs to the central level or the locality.

With a clear understanding of this relationship, the management provided by the central level and the management provided by the locality must be unified within a tightly organized structure. However, in actuality, in the present division of enterprise management responsibilities, disputes and arguments frequently occur, enterprises that are subordinate to the

central level are treated differently than those that are not. Generally speaking, the ministries and general departments give little attention to enterprises of the same sector which are managed by localities or by other ministries and general departments. Conversely, localities, especially places that have agricultural raw materials, such as tobacco, tea, coconut, sugarcane and so forth, want to build their own enterprises, want to produce the complete product; they do not want to supply raw materials to central enterprises even though the enterprises of the central level have surplus production capacity, produce products of markedly higher quality and make full use of raw materials.

This situation is due to many reasons, including the matter of policies. However, in terms of the organization of management, the main reasons are:

--We have been slow to establish production federations by economic-technical sector. A few such organizations have been established, but they are not fulfilling their function, have not become complete cost accounting units and have not become units that provide unified management by economic-technical sector.

--We have yet to clearly define the specific requirements and responsibilities of each sector and each level with regard to each area of management.

--Within the enterprise management system, responsibilities and rights must go hand in hand; however, we must avoid special rights and privileges, which lead to localism, partiality and departmentalism. We eliminated the distinction that existed between central enterprises and local enterprises in terms of budget revenues. We must now continue to seek a reasonable solution to the problem of profit distribution between agricultural production and the agricultural product processing industry. The management of products is still marked by many loopholes and is inefficient. The products produced by a local enterprise are usually controlled exclusively by the locality and are frequently distributed or utilized in a haphazard manner that does not comply with the plan and policy of the state. This is a shortcoming in management work. We must correct this situation by means of a tightly structured and unified product management system. The products that are managed by the central level, be they produced by a central enterprise or a local enterprise, must be distributed in accordance with the state plan; localities must fully comply with the plan for the delivery of products to the central level. The locality has the right to distribute, utilize and trade products distributed to it by the central level as well as products that are not under the unified management of the state; however, it must still comply with the product marketing regulations stipulated by the government within the state-operated enterprise statutes. No one, not the enterprise director or the local or central leadership agency, is allowed to use and consume these products outside these regulations.

If we adopt the outlook mentioned above and correct the shortcomings presented above, the division of management responsibilities between the central level and the local level will be improved and there will be no opposition between central enterprises and local enterprises, rather, they will help each other, be close to each other and create good conditions for the various installations to conduct their production and business and create a combined strength that strongly stimulates the development of all industrial sectors, including both central industry and local industry, and of the entire national economy, including both the central economy and the local economy.

Improving Planning

On the basis of the characteristics of the present economic situation and in order to implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, one matter of major importance facing planning is how to coordinate the plan with the market in such a way as to tap the initiative and creativity of the various sectors and levels, especially of the production units within the various segments of the economy. Involved here is the relationship between centralism and democracy in the division of labor and the division of responsibilities in managing and planning the production and distribution of products.

It must be understood that the plan and the market are not in opposition to each other. The market must also be planned; the organized market is planned in a direct fashion while the unorganized market, although not planned directly, must be taken into consideration when putting together and balancing the national economic plan and must be led. The plan plays the role of regulating the largest and most important components of the economy with a view toward meeting the primary needs of the production and everyday lives of the people. With regard to those fields of production that meet very flexible needs, needs which, although not of primary importance, are indispensable in the economy and the everyday lives of the people and fields of production which the state cannot manage or regulate in a centralized manner, we can and must use market relations and the law of value to regulate production. Even with regard to those segments of the economy that are directly planned, we must know how to use market relations and the law of value to heighten the spirit of initiative, creativity and responsibility in the production and business of production installations and production-business federations by strengthening the cost accounting system and implementing the economic contract system well.

In order to coordinate the plan with the market well, there are many changes that must be made in planning and throughout the entire management system.

To begin with, it is necessary to resolve the following problems:

1. We must establish the division of labor and division of responsibilities between the central level and the local level, between the government and the various ministries and sectors in planning the production and distribution of the various types of consumer goods and supplies. We must determine which type supplies and goods must be planned in a centralized manner and controlled by the central level and for which types should we allow the localities and production installations to formulate production and marketing plans.

--At present, the supplies and goods that lie within the scope of the balance of our state plan are very limited compared to the other socialist countries; however, there is still restricting bureaucracy as well as decentralization and laxity in planning and managing the products of the national economy. The basic cause of this situation is the "one, all encompassing administrative level" style of management, the primary characteristic of which is: all economic needs, especially needs for supplies, equipment and investment capital, are forwarded to the upper level for a decision and incorporated within the state budget. Localities even send requests to the central level for food and ordinary consumer goods. Of course, the agencies on the upper level must have an apparatus to research and take action upon each need of the lower level, must adopt many regulations, establish many bothersome procedures, much burdensome paper work, which create the opportunity for authoritarianism, collusion and so forth to develop. On the other hand, this style of administrative management does not affix specific moral or material responsibility for the returns from investments, the returns from the use of supplies, equipment, goods and so forth, consequently, the lower level always asks for much but is not required to keep close account of how it uses whatever it receives. This is not to mention the practice of requesting capital, supplies, equipment and goods for one job but using them on another job, even not using them and allowing them to become damaged, lost or wasted. Therefore, to truly uphold the right of collective ownership of the various sectors, localities and installations, we must be determined to abolish the "one, all encompassing administrative level" style of management and replace it with management based on cost accounting. In the present management structure, planning is also characterized by "one, all encompassing administrative level" and does not uphold the right of collective ownership of the sectors, localities and installations; as a result, plans are not truly formulated from the bottom upward. Therefore, the improvement of planning must be closely linked to abolishing the "one, all encompassing administrative level" style of management throughout the management structure.

--Our country's economy is imbalanced in many areas and the various production sectors, especially industry, are heavily dependent upon foreign countries at a time when our foreign currency capabilities are very limited. Therefore, we are not even able to establish a well coordinated and stable balance for the most important products. On the other hand, although the

localities and installations can provide the raw materials needed for products not managed by the state, they still require many other supplies that are managed by the state, some of which must be imported. The majority of these products are related, to some extent, to grain, electricity, coal, petroleum products, wood, iron and steel, a number of chemicals and so forth. At present, many localities and sectors that require raw materials and supplies provided by other sectors and localities, many types of which are not managed by the state, are requesting that they be incorporated within the balance of the state plan to insure that their needs are met. As a result, what kind of division of labor and division of product management responsibilities are needed to meet the requirements of balancing and coordinating production is a matter that must be researched in a detailed, scientific manner, not something that can be stipulated in a simplistic fashion.

The division of labor, division of management responsibilities and product balance within the plan must be closely linked to the division of labor and division of management responsibilities in the other areas, especially the management of prices, market management, the management of cash, financial management, the management of the fiscal year and so forth, all of which must be coordinated within the management structure.

Planning is the center of the management structure, consequently, improving planning will lay the foundation for improving the other elements of the management structure. We must accelerate the work of formulating the list of products (supplies and commodities) that are managed by the central level so that the localities can, on the basis of this list, arrange their plans for the production and marketing of other products that lie within the scope of their authority in accordance with the following general principles:

As regards the products of the national economy, the central level manages two types to two different degrees:

A number of products used to meet essential needs of production and consumption throughout the country or within many sectors or many localities and primary export goods, regardless of whether they are produced by the central economy or the local economy, are managed and distributed exclusively by the central level.

Certain products that are needed for the production of many localities and a number of important consumer goods for which one locality must rely upon other localities are partially managed by the central level through product distribution norms assigned to the localities producing these products in order to meet the needs of sectors and other localities. The locality has the right to distribute, utilize or trade the remaining products with other localities in accordance with regulations.

In addition to the two types of products stipulated above, localities can take the initiative and formulate plans for the production and marketing of other products. State-operated installations, collective and individuals that produce products from discarded materials supplied by them, not by the state, are permitted to sell their products to state-operated commerce units or marketing cooperatives at negotiated prices or directly to consumers if these products are not purchased by state-operated commerce units or marketing cooperatives.

2. In conjunction with the division of labor and the division of responsibilities for product management, it is necessary to improve the system of legal plan norms by simplifying it and increasing the independence and responsibility of the sectors, localities and basic units; norms on obligations must be closely linked to norms on providing the material conditions needed to fulfill these obligations. We must correct the tendency to assign many plan norms that restrict production installations and are ineffective as well. In particular, we must research ways to improve the assignment of plan norms to the economic segments that are not state-operated and to the localities in the South, where many non-socialist economic segments still exist.

3. To insure the successful improvement of planning, importance must be attached to organizational work and cadre work in the planning system. The key elements at this time are the streamlining of the organization and the planning activities of the district level and the production-business federations by economic-technical sector in order to do a good job of formulating and putting together plans from the installation upward. Of importance in formulating the plan from the installation upward is that the plan truly reflect the opinions of the production installations and producers and not merely be formulated by the specialized agency, by the administrative-economic management agency as has long been the case. Only in this way can we truly develop the potentials that lie in our labor, land, forests, ocean waters and existing material-technical bases.

The jobs mentioned above are not the entirety of what is involved in bringing planning up to date; however, they are the most pressing, most important areas that we must urgently improve in order to support the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum.

These improvements, together with the latest decisions concerning economic policy, are designed to uphold the right of ownership of the various sectors and localities, especially of the production-business installations, while intensifying the central level's guidance of key economic matters and improving unified management by nationwide economic-technical sector. We must grasp the basic spirit that eliminating restricting, bureaucratic centralism must go hand in hand with combating decentralization, partialism and localism. We must guard against and promptly put a stop to deviations resulting from onesided points of view, from only emphasizing one aspect, as

a result of which jobs are not performed correctly and the economic machine is further disrupted.

The guiding thinking emanating from the latest decisions of the 6th Party Plenum concerning a number of economic policies as well as a number of aspects of management represents a change in direction and has created a new strength for changing the economic situation. It is not only of significance in developing the consumer goods industry and local industry as well as in our pressing economic tasks, but also opens the way for the entire economy to overcome the difficulties it faces and carry out its weighty tasks in the face of the new situation. We must firmly grasp this guiding thinking in order to unify our thoughts and actions in the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and bring about new changes in the socio-economic life of our country.

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ORGANIZING THE CULTURAL LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE BETTER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
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[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] Our people are building socialism not only to achieve a full material life, but also to achieve a rich cultural and spiritual life. Our party and state, who are constantly concerned with these two areas of life, have set forth and guided the implementation of economic and cultural development plans in order to constantly improve the life of the people. The working people of our country, despite very difficult circumstances, have begun to achieve a stable material life and an increasingly beautiful cultural life.

The political and spiritual unanimity of the people has been strengthened on the momentum of the advance of the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country. Today, in the face of the policy of great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of the reactionaries within ruling circles in Peking, this unanimity is even more clearly evident in the urgent work being performed to build socialist and protect the socialist fatherland. The spirit of collective ownership and socialist patriotism are evident in the emulation movement to protect the fatherland, work, produce and frugally build the country. Loving cooperation among working people has blossomed and developed. Each year, hundreds of thousands of families earn the title "family of the new culture." The movement to build the new lifestyle has been expanded throughout the country, even to the remote mountains.

The cultural and scientific-technical levels of the people have gradually been raised. Only 3 years after the total liberation of the South, we are able to publicly state that illiteracy has been virtually wiped out throughout the country. The children of all strata of working people attend school. General school enrollment has risen to nearly 12 million. The

enrollment in middle schools, colleges and technical cadre and worker schools has also increased rapidly. There are schools and classes for every type of student. It can be said that the entire country is attending school while working, is working while learning. The masses are learning new knowledge, are delving into science and technology.

The hygiene and public health movement has become a broad mass movement. Hospitals, public health stations and maternity clinics have sprung up everywhere, abolishing superstition and repelling social diseases. The sports and physical education movement has developed, thereby making a direct contribution to improving the health of the people, supporting production and supporting the national defense system.

New factors are always emerging in cultural life, in literature and art. Today, books, newspapers, pictures, the performing arts, movies and so forth have reached every strata of the people, even in the most quiet hamlets. The majority of villages have their own literary and art units. The masses have actively contributed time and money to build many cultural projects on the basic level. The country now has 38 provincial and municipal libraries, 212 district libraries and 506 village libraries. The museums and tradition halls at installations have made a competent contribution to teaching and upholding the fine traditions and the revolutionary heroism of our people. Each year, hundreds of thousands of working people visit or spend their vacations at beautiful places in the fatherland, historic ruins or places of importance in the revolution and the wars of resistance.

It is clear that the light of the new culture, which shines on every region of the fatherland, is repulsing the influence of the slave culture of colonialism, both old and new, abolishing the remnants of all other non-proletarian cultures, supporting politics and production on a daily basis, molding intelligence and feelings and beautifying the country and the people of Vietnam.

However, the achievements and progress that have been recorded do not meet the requirements of the revolution in the new stage and are low compared to existing potentials. There are units that are advanced models in every aspect of the new culture as well as individual aspects of this culture; however, these advanced model units are not uniform. There is no uniformity among the various regions and localities. In the South, for example, Nghia Binh and Dong Nai Provinces have organized the cultural lives of the people better than the other provinces have; in the North, Ha Nam Ninh Province, Hai Hau District, Dong Cong Village and so forth have developed their cultural life more rapidly than other provinces, districts and villages have. Sometimes two adjacent districts or villages which share similar conditions still have quite different cultural lives. More than a few places still give light attention to the cultural life of the people. The quality of cultural products is not high. Generally speaking, the cultural

lives of the people of the various tribes in the mountains and the border areas is much lower than at other places.(1)

The experiences of the advanced model units as well as the experience of deficient, underdeveloped places prove that the factor of utmost importance in organizing the cultural life of the people well is to thoroughly understand the viewpoint of the party concerning the new culture, the culture within our system of socialist collective ownership.

Material needs and cultural needs cannot be separated from one another in the normal development of man or society. However, in the systems of private ownership, culture is of and for the ruling class alone; the working people, who are deprived of everything, are poisoned and are kept in poverty and ignorance, must live from hand to mouth, consequently, their cultural needs are pushed aside and ignored. Today, under the socialist system, the working people have become the collective masters of their entire social life, of their material as well as their cultural life. Material needs and cultural needs are closely linked, are united with one another within each collective master of the new society. Material life and cultural life are intertwined, they rely upon and affect each other, they develop together and share the common objectives of socialism of the comfort and happiness, the full and harmonious development of the people.

In the system of socialist collective ownership, satisfying a material need of the working people is not a purely economic activity. Replanning residential centers and improving and building road systems in the countryside are designed to produce more, to make it easier to live and travel and, at the same time, to put a new face on the countryside. The purpose of building a child care center is to give mothers a place to send their children while they are working and, at the same time, to meet a spiritual need: to give mothers peace of mind, the peace of mind that comes from knowing their children are being fully cared for. A cooperative purchases a winter vest for each female member so that they can continue transplanting during cold spells; this action also expresses a beautiful aspect of the new relations between people. Conversely, the construction of a meeting hall in order to provide farmers with a spacious place to discuss and decide the work of the cooperative, the construction of a wired radio system to promptly disseminate the positions and policies of the party and state, the construction of a library or on-the-job school to increase the knowledge of cadres and the people, the supplying of uniforms to students to increase the sense of organization and discipline, the mobilizing of the people to hold funerals and weddings based on the new style of life, the eradication of superstitions and so forth do not merely have the purpose of meeting a cultural need. All of these jobs are closely linked to production, are stimulated by and support production and have the purpose of serving the material needs of the people. This is because in contrast to capitalist society, which considers the working person to be a tool for earning profit,

to be something to be exploited, our socialist society considers man to be supported and feels that everything must be done for the sake of the happiness of man. Economic work as well as cultural work have the purpose of improving the life of the working people, of providing them with a full material life and a rich spiritual life.

Socialist construction in our country also requires that we simultaneously carry out the three revolutions (the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution). These three revolutions must be closely linked to one another and have a profound impact upon one another in order to create a combined strength for successfully building socialism. As a result, it is even more necessary not to separate economic work and cultural work. Cultural life reflects material life and helps to stimulate the improvement of material life. Only on the basis of a large-scale, socialist production economy in which the working people are the collective masters of the instruments of production, of labor, of management and distribution can a socialist cultural life truly be rich. However, culture has a dynamism of its own. Culture is the most precious asset of a country, a nation, a person. Culture is a need of man; at the same time, it is a factor in the development of production, the development of society and is both an objective and a measure of the socialist revolution in our country. As a manifestation of the economy, culture becomes a measurement of the life of the people. Therefore, developing the culture and improving the cultural life of the people are a political task of the entire country, of each locality. This political task must be expressed in positions and policies, especially in specific plans. A complete plan is a plan for the development of the economy and the culture as well. In the countryside, for example, accelerating agricultural production cannot be separated from the effort to build the new countryside, to mold the new man and the new culture in the countryside.

Giving light attention to cultural life or having a shallow understanding of cultural life not only limit the development of the culture, but also impedes the entire progress of the socialist revolution of our country in the new stage.

Today, building the new cultural life in our country means implementing the system of collective ownership of the working people in the field of culture. The resolution of the 4th Party Congress pointed out: "Building the system of collective ownership in the field of culture will create for each person a rich spiritual life, will make each cultural value the property of the people and create the conditions for the people to create cultural values and will cause the relationships among persons to reflect the beautiful lifestyle: 'One for all, all for one.' To achieve these objectives, every effort must be made to build the new culture, to gradually

turn our country into a highly cultured society."(2) Depending upon the specific situation, each locality can begin with one cultural activity or another; however, all localities must have a deep and full understanding of exactly what the new culture is and must adopt a plan for gradually building the new cultural life of the people within the locality in accordance with the common principles of the new, Vietnamese, socialist culture.

When we talk about cultural life, we are talking about politics, ideology, emotions, ethics, customs, habits and so forth, which reflect the relationships between one person and another in a specific, vivid manner in the organization of daily life. The new cultural life exists wherever the people unite with one heart and enthusiastically implement every position and policy of the party and state with the deportments of masters; wherever the people maintain their readiness to fight in defense of the socialist fatherland and work in a voluntary, disciplined, technical and highly productive manner; wherever the way the people eat, live and travel and every other aspect of daily life is convenient, hygienic, orderly and comfortable; wherever everyone lives in equality, devotion and love for one another, families live in harmony and villages live in happiness; wherever everyone is polite, orderly and civilized at public places; wherever bad customs and superstitions have been eradicated; wherever the individual cares for the collective and the collective cares for each individual and so forth. A life that has been organized in this manner proves that the world view of Marxism-Leninism has gained dominance, that the thinking of the party has been popularized, that the masses possess socialist awareness, that the relations between one person and another have been improved, etc. Thus, the organization of life is an integrated cultural index.

When talking about the new culture we are also talking about the cultural and scientific-technical level of development in production and everyday life. Therefore, showing concern for training workers in every respect, constantly raising the cultural level of the working people and accelerating the dissemination and application of science and technology is a concrete expression of the new cultural life in a locality. To introduce the culture, introduce science and technology into production and everyday life, we must have certain organizations, certain material bases and means. These are the various scientific agencies, from the research and applied research institutes and the councils disseminating science and technology to the scientific-technical sections within each production unit. They are the various educational agencies, from the child care centers and kindergartens to the system of cultural schools. They are the cultural and art agencies, such as libraries, museums, clubs, wired radio and radio networks, theaters, movie houses, cultural parks and so forth, which fulfill the function of providing education outside the school. They are the public health, hygiene and recuperation installations that protect the health of the working people. They are the sports and physical culture projects supporting the work of forging and improving the physical conditioning of each stratum of the working people, etc.

When talking about the new cultural life we are also talking about the cultural activities of the working people, about the working people's enjoyment of culture and their creation of cultural assets.

The time remaining each day after working, studying, caring for one's family, raising children and meeting personal material needs is idle time. Organizing and guiding the working people in making good use of this idle time in social activities, cultural activities and wholesome, scientific and useful entertainment are an important task. We must not only bring the new culture to the masses and meet the requirements of the masses for books and newspapers, films, music, stage productions, paintings and so forth, but must also make every effort to develop every form of cultural activities among the masses: the creation and presentation of art, club activities, exhibits, movies, wall posters, weight lifting meets, swim meets, athletic competitions, tours, etc. Each province and district must develop upon its own unique forms of art and traditional cultural activities. All of the cultural activities mentioned above will, if conducted well, have the participation of the majority of the masses and have the effect of improving the spiritual life of the people and molding their thinking, intelligence and emotions, thereby making a competent contribution to molding the new man and building the new, socialist culture.

Building the new cultural life and making the working people the true collective masters of the culture are a major and long-range revolutionary undertaking, are the task of all sectors and levels.

Each leadership level of the party and government must truly guide cultural work in the locality by means of economic and cultural development plans. The concern leadership levels have with regard to thoroughly caring for the lives of the people is expressed in how comprehensive plans are and how well they are implemented. Within the plan for each period and within each yearly plan, attention must be given to establishing balanced development between the economy and work in the fields of culture, education, public health, physical culture and sports, etc. Within each cultural activity, attention must be given to organization, to material bases and to the mass movement.

In the countryside, the district and the village are the direct level and play a very important role in caring for the cultural life of the people. The Party Central Committee has directed: "The district level is a level managing politics, the economy, culture, society and the national defense system within the district, is a level that manages a comprehensive plan and has its own budget. The district level provides state administrative management, manages production, business, circulation and distribution, manages cultural activities, education and public health services and organizes and cares for the life of the people within the district." (3) Therefore, in district planning, it is necessary to have both economic-

technical projects and cultural projects. Comprehensive planning should be conducted from the very outset and a plan should be adopted for gradually building cultural projects in order to establish the cultural center of the district, the cultural center of the province or municipality and the cultural center of the entire country and establish the system of cultural centers of our country. In the immediate future, we must make full use of and expand existing material bases, and not give light attention to building and developing a widespread cultural and literary-art movement among the masses. All cultural activities within the district are guided by the district cultural center through a cultural system extending from the district to the village level which supports the effort to improve the spiritual life of the rural people.

The cultural agencies must truly serve as the competent staff of the party committee echelon and provide professional guidance to the various sectors. To accomplish this, the cultural agencies must firmly assess the basic situation surrounding the various areas of the work of the various sectors, must have a thorough understanding of the political task set forth by the party committee echelon and must, on this basis, take positive and effective steps to help to perform this political task by means of cultural activities, not by sitting and waiting for the various sectors to request the coordination of activities. Only in this way is it possible to adopt a practical, effective plan for cultural activities and correct the lack of coordination between cultural activities and other activities.

Finally, the forces that carry out cultural activities must be well organized. Our general guideline is for "the state and the people to work together." The state plays the role of providing comprehensive management of the development of the culture, which includes the formulation of plans, the promulgation of regulations on organization and activities and the formulation of plans for the training of cadres and plans for the construction of material bases for the various cultural sectors. However, in cultural activities, the forces of the masses are the foundation. Places at which the cultural life is a good one are places that rally the forces of the masses to perform cultural activities. Only by relying upon production units, schools, mass organizations and so forth to organize cultural forces and conduct cultural activities is it possible to develop a large corps, provide the necessary material conditions and launch a movement. How can the tremendous needs of the people be satisfied if activities are limited to the regulations promulgated by the state concerning cultural organizations? It is also a mistake to only rely upon the cultural forces sent into the locality by the state as this does not reflect a correct understanding of the profoundly popular nature of our new culture nor a clear understanding of the policy of socialist collective ownership in the field of culture. Only by widely mobilizing local forces is it possible to rapidly create for the people a rich, new cultural life. Under the leadership of the party, the working people of our country are the persons who

enjoy culture as well as persons who are fully qualified to organize their own cultural and spiritual lives.

The highest objective of socialism is to satisfy, more fully with each passing day, not only the material needs, but also the cultural needs of society. President Ho tirelessly struggled throughout his life for this noble objective. In his Testament, he advised: "The party must adopt a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people." The Political Report of the Party Central Committee delivered by Le Duan at the 4th Congress of the Party pointed out: "The various party committee echelons and the various governmental agencies as well as the mass organizations of manual workers, youths and women must concern themselves with the cultural and literary-art activities of the masses, considering this to be an important job of theirs." Gradually building for our people a rich cultural and spiritual life, "gradually making our country a highly cultured society" are the responsibility of each of us, of all sectors and levels. Let us try to move forward and excellently fulfill this glorious responsibility.

FOOTNOTES

1. For example, the per capita average attendance at literary-artistic activities in 1978 was 3.93 times in Ho Chi Minh City, 1.7 times in Ha Nam Ninh Province, 1.44 times in Tien Giang Province and so forth but only 0.24 time in Bac Thai Province, 0.14 time in Lai Chau Province and 0.06 time in Cao Bang Province.
2. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 23.
3. Directive number 33 CT/TU of 24 January 1978 by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party on building the districts and strengthening the district level.

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THE EVER DEVELOPING ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE USSR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 29-35

[Article by Le Khac]

[Text] In 62 years of struggling and building under increasingly large plans for socio-economic construction and development, the USSR has profoundly and creatively manifested the thinking and theory of the great Lenin concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction within an economically backward country. Under the leadership of the glorious communist party organized and forged by Lenin, the Soviet people rapidly met every challenge and overcame every difficulty; today, they have victoriously completed the construction of developed socialism and are steadily building the material-technical bases of communism.

In a relatively short period of time, the Soviet people turned their poor, backward country into a country with powerful economic and technical might; with an industry that constitutes 25 percent of world industrial output; with a comprehensively developed agriculture whose output has increased four-fold over the past 62 years; with progressive science and technology that lead the world in clearing the way to conquer space and use atomic energy for peaceful purposes; with a strong national defense system capable of protecting the socialist fatherland and safeguarding peace throughout the world; with a civilized and happy life, etc. In many important production sectors, such as iron and steel, petroleum, natural gas, anthracite coal, iron ore, tractors, mineral fertilizers, cement and so forth, the USSR has surpassed the United States, the most highly developed country in the capitalist world. The extremely large achievements of the USSR mentioned above are not only of important significance to the Soviet people, but also of extremely important international significance. In the effort to open the way for profound revolutionary changes on a worldwide scale, the USSR has set a bright example of a new social system in the history of mankind, one that is completely in the interests of the working people and of which the working people are the master. With its powerful strength, with its

peace and justice-loving foreign policy, with determination to struggle against imperialism and reactionaries and support the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world in the genuine proletarian international spirit, the USSR became the firm and dependable base of revolutionary and progressive movements in the world.

The October Revolution had a very profound effect upon the Vietnamese. The theory and practice of that revolution charted the course of revolutionary struggle to be followed by Vietnamese revolutionaries to liberate their nation from the yoke of domination of French colonialism. As President Ho Chi Minh said: "Vietnamese revolutionaries fell under the influence filled with vitality of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism. It was like a thirsty traveller finding water, a hungry traveller finding food."(1)

The victory of the USSR over fascism in World War II created the conditions for our people to arise, carry out the victorious August Revolution (1945) and establish the people's government in our country. On this basis, the Vietnamese revolution, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party and President Ho Chi Minh, overcame countless difficulties and challenges, defeated many powerful imperialists, the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, victoriously completed the task of liberating the nation and reunifying the country and is building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

In the course of their long and arduous revolutionary struggle, the Vietnamese have always received many kinds of support and assistance from the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

After the North was totally liberated, we had favorable conditions for establishing and strengthening direct ties in every area with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the USSR. Since then, the economic ties between our country and the USSR have constantly grown, thereby making a positive contribution to strengthening the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. In contrast to relations between developed capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries, the economic ties between our country and the USSR and the other socialist countries originate in common ideals, in the beautiful nature of the socialist social system and in the correct foreign policy line of the Marxist-Leninist parties, consequently, the economic relations between Vietnam and the USSR have, from the very outset, been a model of the new style relations, relations of impartial mutual help among brothers of the same class on the basis of the principles of genuine proletarian internationalism. These pure relations have experienced every challenge of our times, been tested by real life and increasingly become a material strength.

Our people received wholehearted assistance from the communist party, government and people of the fraternal USSR during the very first days

following the total liberation of the North. On 18 July 1955, on the occasion of a visit of friendship to the USSR by a delegation from our party and government led by President Ho Chi Minh, our government and the government of the USSR, for the first time in the history of the relations between the two countries, signed an agreement on the USSR giving economic and technical aid to Vietnam to heal the wounds of the war and restore and develop the economy.

The USSR concentrated on helping our country to rapidly overcome the serious and widespread aftereffects of the 9-year war of resistance against the French, thereby creating the necessary material conditions for restoring and gradually developing production, primarily agricultural production, and meeting the most essential needs of the people following the war.

With the assistance of the USSR, the first state farms--the first socialist state-operated enterprises in agriculture--emerged and began carrying out their primary task of setting an example of the new mode of production in order to help to stimulate the cooperativization movement in the rural areas of the North at that time.

Also during this period of time and also with the assistance of the USSR, we, in conjunction with restoring and enlarging old production installations, such as the Lao Cai apatite mine, the Tinh Tuc tin mine and the Lang Cam coal mine, constructed a number of new production installations in industry in order to support agricultural production, such as the Lam Thao super-phosphate plant, several medium and small size power plants at Lao Cai Vinh, Viet Tri, Thanh Hoa and Phu Tho and a system of transformer stations and 35 kV power lines to pump stations. At the same time, our people, with the help of the Soviet Union, began to build a number of industrial installations in order to prepare for subsequent stages of development, included among which was the Hanoi Machine Works, the first child of the machine manufacturing sector in our country.

The help provided by the USSR during this period was not limited to the projects mentioned above. We still have fond memories of the first Soviets who arrived during the years and months filled with difficulty following the war to help us train our first economic management cadres at a time when we were still confused as a result of shifting from war time to peace time. Our people will forever remember the beautiful image of the units of public health specialists from the USSR who wholeheartedly cared for and treated their Vietnamese brothers, the victims of nearly 100 years of colonialist domination.

At the start of the first 5-year plan (1961-1965), Vietnam received even greater assistance in many areas from the party, government and people of the fraternal Soviet Union. This assistance centered primarily around helping us

to rapidly develop upon the strengths we have in our natural resources, especially within agriculture, build some material-technical bases of socialism in keeping with the line on socialist industrialization set forth by the 3rd Congress of the Party and gradually establish a number of key industrial sectors and a number of industrial complexes.

In agriculture, with the help of the USSR, dozens of modern state farms came to life and many of the state farms constructed in past years have been improved and modernized. A number of industrial enterprises processing agricultural products have been constructed. The construction of numerous large-capacity water conservancy pump stations has helped to resolve the problem of achieving effective irrigation and drainage over large areas in the Red River Delta.

In industry, in conjunction with helping us to continue to expand the production capacity of the power and coal sectors by building new production plants, such as the Thac Ba Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Uong Bi Thermo-electric Power Plant, several coal mines and so forth, the USSR helped us to gradually establish a machine manufacturing sector, as typified by the expansion of the Hanoi Tool Making Machine Works, the construction of the diesel engine production plant and the construction of numerous machine enterprises. We further strengthened the capacity of the communications-transportation sector and the system of warehouses with the help of the USSR.

The new production capacity established during this period helped to further strengthen the economic potential of our country and created the conditions for our people to acquire additional material strength in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

The war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists in the North and their widened war of aggression in South Vietnam faced our people with new strategic tasks. The national economy had to be shifted from a peace time to a war time footing. The North, which became the great rear area of the entire country, had the tasks of maintaining production, maintaining combat readiness, fighting and reinforcing the great frontlines in order to win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors.

Once again, the militant solidarity and the close bond between our people and the peoples of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries showed their strength even more. It was during those years and months filled with decisive challenges that the USSR constantly increased its aid to us in every area. This was fully evident in the sincere words spoken by comrade Brezhnev, the general secretary of the communist party of the Soviet Union: "To the communists of the Soviet Union, uniting with Vietnam is a mandate of the heart and mind...; supporting Vietnam is our international

obligation, is the cause of all socialist countries." Despite the very many difficulties caused by the war, despite the U.S. imperialists doing everything possible to blockade the seaports of Vietnam and despite the steps taken by the Peking expansionists to impede the trans-shipment of goods to Vietnam, the USSR provided our people with a regular supply of the materials and goods needed for combat, production and everyday life.

The very large, effective and valuable assistance of the USSR during this period was an extremely important factor helping us to win victory over the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists in the North and competently reinforce our compatriots in the South so that they could win victory over the large expeditionary army of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

With the help of the USSR, we kept lines of communications open in the face of heavy enemy attacks. The construction of numerous medium and small machine and machine repair enterprises, a system of stationary and mobile diesel generating stations and so forth helped to strengthen the forces of local industry, meet local rear service requirements and support the evacuation and relocation of enterprises. Consumer goods, primarily grain, supplied by the USSR helped to meet an important percentage of the essential needs of our people.

Even during the most difficult and savage years of the war, Soviet specialists continued to remain in our country, standing shoulder to shoulder with our people and sharing both difficulties and the joy of victory with our compatriots.

After the Paris Agreement was signed and peace was restored in the North, the communist party, the government and the people of the fraternal USSR turned their hands to helping us heal the wounds of the war and restore and develop the economy. Projects destroyed during the war were restored and many new projects, especially projects in the coal industry, the building materials industry, the machine and machine repair industry and so forth, were prepared and constructed in order to create the conditions for larger stages of development in the future. Sympathizing with our difficulties, the difficulties of persons who recently experienced a long war, the party and government of the USSR declared the cancellation of all debts incurred during previous periods and continued to give us economic and technical aid.

The total liberation of the South and the reunification of the country in 1975 ushered in a new era of development of our country; at the same time, they laid the foundation for a new stage of development in the economic ties between our country and the fraternal socialist countries, primarily the USSR.

In the autumn of 1975, our government and the government of the USSR signed a number of important documents designed to further tighten the ties of friend-

ship and fraternal cooperation in every respect between the peoples of the two countries. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed on 3 November 1978 and the Treaty on Long-Term (10 years) Economic Cooperation marked a new stage of qualitative development in the relations between our country and the USSR.

During the years from 1976 to 1980, the USSR has continued to give us very large assistance in many areas. This assistance is primarily designed to create the conditions for us to quickly develop the potentials we have in our manpower, arable land, forests, ocean waters, minerals and other natural resources in order to take an important stride forward in building the material-technical bases of socialism in accordance with the guidelines set forth by the 4th Congress of our party and achieving the major objectives of the second 5-year plan.

Through the projects which we are building and will build with the help of the USSR, a number of new, very basic production sectors will emerge in Vietnam, production sectors that serve as the foundation of large-scale socialist production, such as a tractor manufacturing sector, a heavy machine industry manufacturing forge and press machinery, a chemical fertilizer industry, a chemical fiber industry, a basic chemicals industry and so forth with relatively large-scale production enterprises equipped with modern technology. The fuel and energy sector will continue to grow with the construction and putting into production of large power generation centers, such as the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant and the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, a number of coal mines with coal washing and machine repair systems, etc. In the not too distant future, our country will have new industrial complexes, such as the Hoa Lu chemical complex, the Long Binh and Trieu Son machine complexes, the Bim Son building materials complex and so forth, which will create the conditions for us to take an important stride forward in redistributing production forces and building the new economic structure.

The construction of the nitrogen fertilizer plant, the expansion of phosphate fertilizer production capacity, the construction of the viscose fiber mill, the construction of the Bim Son Cement Plant, the construction of a number of enterprises making concrete members for housing and so forth will make important contributions to resolving the food, clothing and housing problems of our people in the coming years.

Long-term ties of economic cooperation in the spirit of mutual help and mutual benefit exist between our country and the USSR. In order to make it possible for us to quickly develop domestic potentials to support socialist industrialization, the Soviet Union has been cooperating with us in the cultivation and processing of several tropical industrial crops, the production of textile goods and ready-made clothing, the production of wool rugs, the harvesting of fish and other marine products, the mining and

processing of a number of useful minerals, etc. Through this cooperation, we can provide some jobs for our people in the present stage and increase the sources of export goods while meeting some of the needs of our friends.

The trade relations between our country and the USSR are continuing to be expanded. During the past 5 years, the USSR has continued to meet a very important percentage of our needs for raw materials, fuels, finished materials, equipment of various types and primary consumer goods and, in this manner, helped us overcome many of the difficulties we faced during the first years following the war. Even during years of serious crop failures, the USSR has provided us with grain to meet the essential needs of the people. Sympathizing with us because of the difficulties we are facing now, the Soviet Union has granted us preferential terms in the trade relations between the two countries, such as maintaining 1957 export and import prices at a time when prices on the international market and trade prices with the other fraternal socialist countries have increased many times.

In summary, over the past several decades, regardless of the circumstances, the economic and other relationship between our country and the USSR have constantly been expanded.

The USSR, through a wide variety of forms, from increasing non-repayable aid, especially during the years of the war, to accelerating commodity trade and economic cooperation, loaning capital to us with preferential terms so that we can import technology and so forth, has, together with the other fraternal socialist countries, effectively helped our people in their socialist construction as well as in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. Today, as a result of this tremendous assistance, we have an increasingly mature corps of scientific-technical cadres and economic management cadres, many industrial-agricultural economic zones have developed within the country and many key industrial sectors of the national economy have been established, thereby insuring that we can develop the potentials we have in our natural resources and labor and strengthen our economic and technical forces. This help has been a factor of extremely important significance in the victories that have been won by our people. For this reason, Le Duan said: "The Vietnamese deeply understand that each step forward, each victory of the Vietnamese revolution has been closely linked to the important historic events occurring in the USSR; in particular, the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation cannot be separated from the strong support, the very large, valuable and effective assistance in many areas of the USSR."(2) Our people are deeply grateful to the party, government and people of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries for this tremendous support filled with the proletarian international spirit.

In order to continue to win new and even larger victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, maintain combat readiness, win

victory in combat, firmly protect the fatherland and thwart the acts of aggression and sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who have collaborated with the imperialists, we must, in addition to our other important tasks, make every effort to overcome our difficulties and heighten the spirit of self-reliance of our people while constantly broadening and developing the economic ties between our country and the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries within the Council for Mutual Aid, considering them to be a firm guarantee of each of our victories.

In the development of the economic relations between our country and the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, although we still face very many difficulties in many areas, we must try to make full use of each existing potential that the country has in its natural resources and labor and accelerate the production of those products we are able to produce and our friends need in order to trade with them, thereby making the economic relations between ourselves and the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries increasingly reciprocal and mutually beneficial in nature in order to fulfill our international obligation and create the conditions for satisfying our increasingly large requirements as regards the importation of technology.

As Lenin taught: "With the help of the proletariat in the advanced countries, the backward countries can advance to the Soviet system and, through specific stages of development, advance to communism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development." (3) We are deeply confident that with the constant expansion and growth of our economic ties with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries and through self-reliance, our people will surely overcome the tremendous difficulties they face, successfully implement the economic construction line and the economic tasks set forth by the 4th National Congress of the Party and successfully build socialism in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 652.
2. Le Duan: "Tien len duoi ngon co Cach mang thang Muoi vi dai," [Advancing Under the Banner of the Great October Revolution] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 192.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 295.

THE TRUE REACTIONARY NATURE OF MAOISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 36-47, 75

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] Maoism, camouflaged under revolutionary slogans and Marxist terms has revealed its true nature as an extremely reactionary ideological and political movement which is allied with imperialism and is openly at odds with Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the true interests of the Chinese people, and the development of the three world revolutionary currents.

Exposing the reactionary nature of Maoism with regard to thought and theory is a very necessary requirement of the struggle to defeat it.

I. Roots and Nature of Maoism

Maoism is not a complete, integral system with closely reasoned logic. It is nothing more than a hodgepodge made up of an assortment of very divergent, sometimes contradictory, concepts and thoughts. In that mixed lot, the development of petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism, the source of which was greater-China chauvinism, into great-nation expansionism and big-nation hegemonism is its true nature and central nucleus, around which all borrowed elements are pragmatically formed and combined, while Marxist-Leninist terms are painted on its external shell.

In each particular period of time, Maoism cannot avoid undergoing certain changes due to changing circumstances to which it must adapt, and due to its inherent special characteristics of pragmatism it is also easily adapted. But behind all such changes, the core—big-nation chauvinism, expansionism, and hegemonism—remains unchanged. Furthermore, the followers of Mao are not all the same, but are divided into several factions with differing colorations and viewpoints. Within those factions there are viewpoints which differ even from those of Mao himself, and even contradict Mao in one respect or another. Despite that, the common ground on which all of them stand is big-nation nationalism, expansionism, and hegemonism. That common, unified basis is concentrated in and exemplified by Mao, who serves as a symbol, so

although among the Maoist factions there are such violent contradictions that they cannot live together, when they seek to overthrow one another they all hold high the flag of Mao in opposing their adversaries, whom they call "anti-Mao."

After overthrowing the "gang of four", the present ruling clique in Beijing declared that only it was loyal to Maoism. By means of the resolution of the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (August 1977) and of the Fifth Term of the National People's Congress (February 1978), the present ruling clique in Beijing confirmed that Maoism was still the political-ideological basis of the Chinese party and state. Meanwhile, pressed by the actual situation, they were forced to correct some of the more egregious mistakes of the period of Mao and the "gang of four" and to institute an apparent "de-Maoization" process in the internal spheres. Thus are they not raising the flag of Mao to eradicate Maoism? At first, some people thought that by that means the Hua-Deng clique would gradually return to the correct path, that the logic of the internal line would ultimately force them to also correct the mistakes in the external line. But actual events soon demonstrated that that estimation was baseless.

Of course, the possibility of a "de-Maoization" in certain regards and to a certain extent has not been eliminated. A series of events that have recently occurred in Beijing have caused people to think along those lines. Are not debate on the topics "the actual situation is the only standard of truth"; the nullification of a large number of unjust court verdicts during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" period; the restoration, and entry into the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, of a number of former officials; a reversal of the evaluation of the Tien An Men affair; the appearance of numerous anti-Mao articles during the wall poster movement, etc., gradually pulling down that sacred image of Mao?

It is true that the logic of the present free-for-all among the factions in Beijing cannot avoid touching Mao himself and even some of his doctrines. But the fact that the doctrines of Mao are in dispute are of only secondary importance. The basic problem is that the present ruling clique in Beijing is still Maoist, for they still stand on the foundation of Maoism: great-nation chauvinism, expansionism, and hegemonism.

In fact, even Deng Xiaoping, who was twice a victim of Mao and therefore may, as an individual, feel a strong hatred for Mao, from an ideological point of view still a Maoist, for he and others are the soul of the "four modernizations" which are intended to create the material base on which they can realize their aspirations of great-nation chauvinism and hegemonism. No matter how he feels inside--perhaps Deng continues to wear Mao's hat reluctantly, for he realizes that it is still beneficial to do so, but in the future Deng may throw it into the dustbin of history--that exemplary pragmatist is objectively still a Maoist, for he continues to base himself on the foundation of Maoism.

Lenin said, "Of course, we do not base ourselves on individuals or groups, but on an analysis of the class content of the social movements and on a study of the politics, ideology, and basic, essential principles of those movements."¹

In order to fully understand the objectives of great-nation chauvinism and hegemonism--the core of Maoism--it may be said that the present ruling clique in Beijing is more Maoist than Mao himself.

Maoism is not a phenomenon with an individual or spontaneous nature. Its appearance and process of development were integrally related to the social-historic conditions of China in the first half of the 20th Century, to the social structure and developmental level of China, and to the Chinese ideological and psychological-social traditions.

The important conditions of the birth and continued existence of Maoism were the economic, social and political backwardness of Chinese society, and the darkness, ignorance, superstition, and weakness left behind by the feudal dictatorship among the popular masses of China. We know that the history of China is the history of thousands of years of feudal rule. On the basis of a backward agricultural economy and a patriarchal system, it developed to the degree that it epitomized the Oriental dictatorship. At the end of the 19th Century there had begun to be formed in China capitalist relationships which hastened the collapse of feudalism, but a backward agriculture with a patriarchal nature continued to be the principal production sector. Corresponding to that backward economic situation were an underdeveloped social structure and a class categorization that was not yet complete. In 1949, there were only 2.5 to 3 million industrial workers out of a population of 450 million. The petty bourgeois class was in a position of overwhelming superiority, the peasantry amounted to 90 percent of the population, and the small merchants, handicraft workers, and urban lumpenproletariat elements accounted for a rather large percentage. The Chinese bourgeois class in fact grew powerful only during the process of penetration by foreign capitalism, and the bourgeois revolution that broke out in 1911 was too weak and was not strong enough to completely destroy the fortified feudal citadel. Therefore, after the 1911 revolution Yuan Shikai proclaimed himself Emperor and warlords sprung up like mushrooms on the vast territory of China.

The backward economic-social structure hindered the developmental process of the working class, and impeded their maturization with regard to class consciousness and political independence. Although there were resolute struggles during the 1920's, and although it had begun to ally with Marxism-Leninism, which was blown in by the winds of the October Revolution after 1917, the Chinese working class at that time was only beginning its history. The workers' movement had not sufficiently ripened to be able to grasp the flag of nationalism when nationalism and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist movement appeared at the beginning of the century and continued to gain strength. Gregory Voitinsky, a representative of the Communist

¹ Lenin, Collected Works. Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963 vol 21, p 167.

International (1923), wrote: "In the present situation in China, it will be a long time before the workers' movement becomes a major factor capable of persuading the nationalist movement to follow it in imposing imperialism."

Under those conditions, the Chinese Communist Party entered upon the scene without adequate theoretical preparation, sufficient strength to oppose and defeat the viewpoints and thoughts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism, or a clear and independent political program. Mao Zedong himself admitted that "My thought at that time was a strange amalgam made up of the viewpoints of liberalism, reform democracy, and Utopian socialism."² Mao also said, "At that time...I did not yet know about Marx, and knew nothing of Lenin. Therefore, it had not yet occurred to me to organize the Communist Party. I believed in Confucian idealism, and secondly, in the theories of Kant."³

However, even at that time the Chinese Communist Party had a strong position brought about by historical inevitability, which created objective conditions for the Chinese revolution to reach a turning point of an epochal nature by advancing directly from the democratic revolution of the socialist revolution. The "three great policies" of Sun Yat-sen (alliance with Russia, tolerance of communism, and support of the workers and peasants) were an objective admission of the importance of the bourgeois class and of the capitalist path in China. The treason of Chiang Kai-shek in 1927 revealed that impotence even more clearly. Furthermore, those events helped to strongly affirm the position and role of the Chinese Communist Party.

Mao Zedong entered the Chinese Communist Party immediately after it was founded, but with regard to stands and viewpoints Mao had never been a Marxist. Even afterwards, all of his life, Mao was never a Marxist. At most, it is possible to regard Mao only as a petty bourgeois revolutionary, a very wily petty bourgeois revolutionary who hid under the signboard of communism and sought to live as a parasite on the objective movement of history and speculate in the revolutionary and socialist aspirations of the laboring masses for the benefit of his individual aspirations. Due to the relative weakness of the Marxist nucleus in the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the low theoretical level throughout the Party, the very complicated situation in the Party with regard to its social composition and ideological consciousness, the scheming of Mao, etc., gradually Mao ascended to the position of "leader" of the Chinese Communist Party and created and imposed his "doctrine"—the thought of Mao Zedong.

The thought of Mao Zedong is in essence petty bourgeois nationalism in the form of great-nation chauvinism and hegemonism. It is petty bourgeois thought but is deeply imbued with the flavor of imperialism, and its process of development it increasingly changes over to the viewpoints of bourgeois nationalism.

² Li Yue, "The Initial Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Mao Zedong"

³ Interview with representatives of the Japanese Socialist Party, 1964 in Beijing.

Maoism grew up principally on the ground of petty bourgeois society, especially the peasantry, in a China which still had a medieval flavor and had been poisoned by the tradition of "great Hanism." Lenin wrote that "the more backward a country is, the more pronounced small-scale agriculture, the patriarchal way of life, and the poverty of thought are. That situation cannot but cause the petty bourgeois prejudices which have penetrated to the core, such as a spirit of selfish nationalism and narrow-minded nationalism, to put up a strong resistance."⁴

The strong hatred of the Chinese people for the imperialists, the landlords, and the bureaucratic comprador capitalists was fertile ground for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism. If, when the "tiger of the East" was aroused, it had been led by Marxism-Leninism, it would have been peerless. But opportunism, which arose very early, steered the revolution of the Chinese people's revolutionary movement away from the Marxist-Leninist orbit. Due to the strong influence of the old prejudices, due to the fact that they were deceived by the opportunistic, dogmatic schemes, and especially because the boundary between the revolution and opportunism was covered over by a broad liberation movement which combined all sorts of nationalist tendencies, the Chinese popular masses were not able to distinguish between Marxism and Maoism. Therefore, there were profound reasons for the temporary victory of Maoism in China (and it was not, of course, predestined).

In addition to its economic and social roots, Maoism has definite theoretical and ideological precedents. Here, we can clearly discern the stamp of classical Chinese thought, from the primitive dialectical factor in the yin-yang theory and the "classical ethics" of Lao-tze to the sophism of the Chuang Tzu school. We see in Maoism the rather clear influences of Confucius and Mencius, with their respect for the monarch, their strict "three bonds," their artificial "five cardinal virtues," their line of "rectification, harmony, regulation, and equality," and their concept of all other peoples being barbarians and of China being the center of "all under heaven."

In Maoism, we also note certain traces of the political ideology of the legalists, the personification of which was the cruel dictatorship of Qin Shi Huang Di, an ideology of violence and repression, of militarism, of war, and of cultural annihilation and disregard for people's lives. At the Beidaihe Conference in 1958, Mao himself spoke of "combining Marxism with Qin Shi Huang Di" in order to manage Chinese society!

As Mao admitted, he was an "on-the-spot philosopher." He concentrated his study on Chinese history, on the study of topics ranging from imperial dictatorship to the objectives of greater-Han hegemonism, and from base, cruel schemes to wily stratagems to win hegemony, such as "killing two birds with one stone," "establishing diplomatic ties with distant countries and attacking nearby countries," "sitting on the mountaintop and watching the tigers fight," etc.; and those "lessons," as everyone knows, are very plentiful in the long free-for-all history of China.

⁴Lenin, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1969, vol 31 p 182.

But it would be truly a mistake to regard Maoism as a purely Chinese phenomenon. Mao, a political pragmatist, knew how to adapt and to stand firmly on "modern" ground when utilizing the ancient traditions. Mao not only knew how to "use the past to serve the present" but also knew very well how to "use the exterior to serve the interior." Therefore, Mao was not alien to the foreign bourgeois political ideology which was imported into China at the beginning of this century. Furthermore, Mao learned from that ideology in its "Sinified" form, i.e., after it had been recast in the spirit of the traditional greater-Han chauvinism, via the bourgeois reform nationalism of Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Sun Yat-sen, and even via the reactionary bourgeois nationalism of T'ai Guidao and Chiang Kai-shek.

The important matter is that Maoism is not only a product of China's social-historical conditions but is also a product, and important manifestation, of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale. With regard to contents, Maoism touches upon matters which are not only related to China but also have a universal, international nature. The fact that Mao and his followers had to wear Marxist-Leninist or socialist cloaks is sufficient to show that Maoism is not a purely Chinese phenomenon. The victories of Marxism-Leninism and socialism forced their enemies to employ the stratagem of "raising the red flag to fight the red flag," and that is also a symbol of an epocal nature. Among the ideological currents outside China which Maoism assimilated were anarchism, Trotskyism, etc.

All of the above operating factors and influences, whether arising from Chinese history or abroad, were recast by Mao and his followers into their own possessions, under the decisive influence of the petty bourgeois standpoints and through the prism of petty bourgeois nationalism.

Maoism in essence reflects the position and inherent characteristics of the petty bourgeois class. Of course, it does not represent and cannot represent the true, just interests of the petty bourgeois class in general and of the peasant class in particular. The petty bourgeois class, a class "sitting between two chairs" (Lenin), cannot by itself defend its class interests. In the present epoch, the true, just interests of the petty bourgeois class cannot be but to follow the working class. Maoism is fundamentally opposed to the working class viewpoint, so it not only cannot represent the true interests of the peasants and the petty bourgeois class in general but is entirely contrary to the interests of those classes. The relationship between Maoism and the petty bourgeois class lies in the fact that it reflects the intermediate position of the petty bourgeois class and the inherent characteristics caused by the position of that class.

The intermediate position of the petty bourgeois class is clearly reflected in Maoism via its assorted policies toward the other classes, "policies of a Napoleonic nature." Indeed, while seeking sources of social support Maoism tends to take advantage of the different classes and strata--sometimes one clique, sometimes another clique--and often relies on the cooperation of all kinds of social forces, which are sometimes directly opposed to one another, under the signboard of the common benefit of the entire nation.

Hoping to identify its narrow interests with the common interests of the entire nation and "stand above" the classes, are the special characteristics of the petty bourgeois class itself.

The petty bourgeois nature of Maoism is integrally related to the above characteristics and tends to seek a "third path." Before 1949 that characteristic was manifested in the "New Democracy." By means of the "New Democracy," Mao wanted to "create" a separate, unique path for China and bring about a "new contribution" to the world, one entirely different from the path of the October Revolution, different from capitalism, and also different from socialism. With the "united dictatorship of several classes," Mao wanted to realize the dream of "everyone being able to share in eating rice" (in the words of Mao himself), and thus once again we encounter the petty bourgeois illusions regarding "the interests of all the people" and "standing above" the classes.

Mao's highest political ideal was always the "New Democracy," the true nature of which was bourgeois democracy that had been "renovated" in order to be appropriate to the era of the proletarian revolution (this will be analyzed carefully in the passage below). But when the "New Democracy" was overcome by historical inevitability, Mao reluctantly had to accept the path of transition to socialism, but his displeasure with the "socialist model" which the October Revolution had delineated was reflected in the resolutions of the Eighth Congress (1956) of the Chinese Communist Party, in which Mao abandoned that path and sought a "unique" path along which to advance China to socialism: the path of the "three red flags." Here, with all the petty bourgeois illusions, and with ardent enthusiasm and petty bourgeois adventurism, Mao and his followers thought that they could in one leap reach "communism" before the Soviet Union, and could with regard to economics, first surpass England, then surpass the U.S., and thus realize the dream of world hegemony!

But the special characteristic of petty bourgeois psychology is that it rapidly changes from one extreme to another. When the "three red flags" were in tatters the "sound of trumpets excitedly advancing to communism" immediately changed its tune and became the sound of trumpets accompanying a funeral. If in the past he thought that tomorrow he would open his eyes and see communism, now that path seemed distant. Mao said that it will take tens of generations more to attain communism.

In their disappointment, the petty bourgeoisie suddenly became crazy. They arose to tear everything asunder. In the name of culture they shouted "revolution, revolution!" and "proletariat, proletariat!" in order to say that they were "overthrowing the ruling faction which was following the capitalist path," but they were in fact completely smashing the proletarian dictatorship. With its anarchistic chaos, with its bragging about "extreme left" revolution, with its sources of support in the army and the "little red guard generals," with its atmosphere of national chauvinism combined with the frenzied worship of Mao, etc., the years of the "Great Proletarian Cultural

Revolution" exemplified in a concentrated manner the crazy petty bourgeois psychology which Maoism stirred up in Chinese psychology.

The Maoist ideology very clearly reflects the petty bourgeois psychology. The intermediate position of the petty bourgeois class determines that it can have no independent ideology. Since it is not independent, the petty bourgeois ideology is usually the same as bourgeois ideology and inevitably tends toward bourgeois ideology. That is clearly discernable in Maoism.

Indeed, the "New Democracy" Mao intended to institute after the victory of the democratic revolution was regarded as an historic phase preceding the advance to socialism. If it had been achieved, it is certain that it would not have been a "third path" between capitalism and socialism but could only have been a capitalist path, a capitalist regime. The doctrine of the "New Democracy," despite the intentions of Mao, could in actuality only be a system of bourgeois political thought, and could be nothing else.

Likewise, the Maoist scheme to seek a "Sinified" socialism, i.e., outside the universal laws of the world and indeed contrary to those laws, could only have been an abandonment of scientific socialism. That path could not avoid gradually leading Mao and his followers to the reactionary standpoints of the imperialist bourgeois class. The logic here is that Maoism, formerly petty bourgeois nationalism, was transformed into bourgeois nationalism and even into reactionary bourgeois nationalism, to the point of close alliance with imperialism and open opposition to Marxism-Leninism, to socialism, and to all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. That process, which began with Mao, has been completed with the Maoist clique in the present ruling circles in Beijing.

II. The Principal Contents of the Political Thought of Maoism

With its core of great-nation chauvinism, expansionism, and hegemonism, Maoism is above all manifested in a system of political ideology and in political practice. As for philosophy and theory in general, they are tools for serving the reactionary political viewpoints and line of Maoism, and are only facilities intended to justify the political schemes and aspirations of greater-Han chauvinism, expansionism, and hegemonism. Of course, the relationship here is not entirely one-way. Theory and philosophy--which Mao relished above all else--were not only justifying tools and facilities but also played a definite role by providing the methodological base for the Maoist political line and practices. But, in general, that aspect was not as outstanding as others. Therefore if, when criticizing Maoism, one fails to sufficiently criticize it with regard to political thought and practices, or when criticizing it with regard to philosophy does so in isolation from its political objectives, one cannot correctly and clearly delineate its true nature.

Since it is a system of political ideology, Maoism is notable above all because it pays lip-service to, but in practice negates, the historical role and mission of the working class, the advanced guard class which leads the way in eliminating capitalism and building socialism and communism.

Mao Zedong was not a Marxist who became a traitor and revisionist. In fact, Mao was never a Marxist for, in actuality, he always denied that "the most basic point of Marxism" (Lenin) is the historical mission of the working class.

Even in his first works, after he entered the Chinese Communist Party, Mao demonstrated that he was not a Marxist. In his article "The Coup in Beijing and the Merchants," published in July 1923, Mao openly referred to the bourgeois class as the "leader" of the revolution. And in the original version of the article "analyzing the Chinese Social Classes," published in the February 1926 edition of the journal CHINESE PEASANTRY, Mao regarded the working class only as "a friend of the revolution," in the same rank as the petty bourgeois class and the semi-proletarians. When it was included in Mao's "Selected Works", published in 1951, that passage was amended: the semi-proletarians and the petty bourgeois class were only the "closest friends," while the proletarian class, now called the "industrial proletarian class", was the "leadership force of our revolution." Although it had been amended, the article "analyzing the Chinese Social Classes" was in essence still non-Marxist.

The article "Survey Report on the Hunan Peasant Movement" (1927) was similar. In its original version, the role of the peasants was emphasized, while the role of the working class, which Mao called "urban people," was without significance; and nothing was said of the leadership of the working class and the Chinese Communist Party. The passages which referred to the working class and to the Communist Party were in fact added later. Indeed, in one of the most representative works of Maoism--"On the New Democracy" (1940)--the basic principle of Leninism regarding the leadership role of the proletarian class in the bourgeois democratic revolution in the era of imperialism was originally not mentioned, but was added only later.

In the history of the Chinese Communist Party during the 1920's and 30's there was the situation of the Marxist-Leninists, although in a dominant position at that time, failing to fully realize the special characteristics of China, a society in which the peasants were in an absolute majority. They paid attention only to the workers, to the urban movement. Mao learned from their deficiency of regarding the peasants and the countryside lightly, and used what he had learned in his struggle to win power.

Stressing the role of the peasants and the countryside and the policy of building base areas in the countryside during the democratic national revolution in a country such as China has never been a mistake but a necessity. It is entirely a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, if it is understood that under certain specific historical conditions (such as in China, in Vietnam, etc.) building revolutionary base areas in the countryside is a specific form intended to exercise the leadership of the working class over the peasants to establish a worker-peasant alliance; that although the Red Army there had been recruited mainly from the peasantry it was with regard to its political nature still a worker-peasant army under the leadership of the working class

(and was not simply an army of "peasants in uniform," as Mao viewed it); that the revolutionary movement in the countryside was a product not of the peasants alone but of both the working class and the peasant class; and that the rural movement, from the point of view of the over-all revolutionary process and of both the roots and the end result, cannot be separated from the struggle of the working class and the urban laborers; and that therefore both the working class and the peasant class are main-force troops of the revolution, with the working class playing a leadership role. The following Marxist-Leninist principle is absolutely correct in all cases: "The communist movement can never arise in the countryside but must always arise in the cities."⁵ The reason is that communism can only arise from large-scale industry and from the class that has always been a special product of large-scale industry--the working class.

If the principal experiences of the Chinese revolution are analyzed and evaluated objectively and accurately, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, they can contribute positively to the common store of revolutionary theory and practice. But Mao and his followers molded those experiences on the standpoints of petty bourgeois nationalism and through the prism of something called "Sinified Marxism." Therefore, the universal received scant attention, while the particular was transformed into principle, and emphasis on the role of the peasants and the countryside and attacks on dogmatism became facilities with which Mao could devalue and negate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and devalue and negate the historic role and mission of the working class.

One problem that is posed is why, when Mao betrayed Marxism in such fundamental ways, was the Chinese revolution still victorious in 1949?

In fact, the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was a great victory of the Chinese people; it was a victory for the leadership of the Chinese working class via the Chinese Communist Party, which at that time was essentially still a Marxist-Leninist party. It was a victory for Marxism-Leninism in China, a victory for the historic current in China at that time, which was entirely in accord with the tendency of the era. Another very decisive factor which brought about that victory was the extremely great assistance of the Soviet Union, especially the Soviet Union's defeat of the fascist Japanese Guangdong army in 1945 and the liberation of north-eastern China. After that, the Red army of the Soviet Union left behind for the Chinese revolution all of its weapons and military equipment, as well as that confiscated from Japan.

The development of the Chinese revolution in the 1930's and 40's led to the great victory of 1949, and essentially took place contrary to Mao's most secret objectives and plans. Only that can explain why even while the halo of the victory of 1949, and, after that, of the outstanding accomplishments of the first years of the socialist revolution were still glowing Mao was repulsed at the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956: the thought of Mao Zedong was eliminated from the Party statutes approved by the 7th Congress in 1945.

⁵ Marx, K. and Engels, F. "Collected Works", Russian language edition 1955, vol 3 p 350.

It was not only when resolving the problems of the Chinese revolution that Maoism absolutized the role of the peasants and negated the role of the working class. Mao and his followers, including the present ruling clique in Beijing, applied those anti-Marxist viewpoints even to their theory regarding the process of world revolution. The principle of "the rural areas surrounding the cities" was expanded into "the rural areas of the world surrounding the cities of the world." Their theories regarding the era, the contradictions of the present era, and the "three worlds" also arose from a basic anti-Marxist root: the negation of the worldwide historical mission of the working class.

According to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the international working class--the principal accomplishment of which is the world socialist system--is the center of the present era, and in the alliance of forces opposed to imperialism and the reactionary powers, the leadership role belongs to the international working class and the world socialist system. Only under those conditions can the anti-imperialist movement have an absolute revolutionary nature and complete the enterprise of national and class liberation along the lines of socialism. The international working class, through its ranks in each nation and the existing socialist system, and by its representation and resolute, absolute defense of the basic vital interests of the laboring masses and the oppressed peoples, is naturally and inevitably rallying around it all of the progressive forces on our planet, enabling their struggle movement to go in the right direction, and bringing them into the struggle against the common enemies: capitalism and imperialism, the basic roots of social injustice, national oppression, and the aggressive, unjust wars in our era.

Essentially in opposition to Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, the core of Maoist theory regarding the process of world revolution is its negation of the international significance of the historical mission of the working class. By confirming that our era is the "era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution," Maoism has in fact "erased" the existence of the socialist system, the main product of the international working class. Whereas they might have concealed this negation in the 1960 article "Leninism Forever" and in 1963 in the "Recommendation on the Common Line of the International Communist Movement" (both documents filled with anti-Marxist-Leninist arguments) in 1974 Deng Xiaoping openly declared it on the podium of the United Nations.

In denying the existence of the socialist camp, Maoism of course denied that the most basic contradiction of our era is that between socialism and imperialism. Instead, they stressed the contradiction between imperialism (and above all social imperialism!) and the oppressed peoples. That led to the "three worlds" theory. Thus, according to the viewpoint of the reactionaries in Beijing, the Soviet Union, and in actuality the world socialist system, became the "main enemy." Opposing it were two and one-half worlds, in which "the third world serves as the main-force troops"; "the second world" (in which the Eastern European socialist countries--except for the Soviet Union--were placed in the same basket as the developed

Western European countries, Japan, and Canada) which were in an intermediate zone and with which alliances could be formed; and the other half-world, the U.S. (which was part of the "first world", made up of the two superpowers), which could also be won over because "an enemy of our enemy is our friend", which with regard to the reactionaries ruling in Beijing has the specific meaning that anyone who opposes the Soviet Union is their friend!

With such an analysis and categorization of the world political forces, Maoism in fact takes the stand of the most reactionary classes and sides with imperialism against the international working class and world socialism, social forces which are standing at the center of our era. As for the "third world", which Maoism regards as the "main-force army" of the world revolution, that is in actuality a deceptive demagogic trick, for it hopes to use the "third world" as a rock on which Maoism can step on its way to achieving world hegemony.

In brief, all the reactionary contents of Maoism are determined, in the final analysis, by its most fundamental feature of not only denying, but even opposing the worldwide historical mission of the working class--eliminating capitalism and building socialism and communism--and replacing it with big-nation nationalism and the objectives of hegemonism.

One of the most important components of the political ideology of Maoism is the "New Democracy."

The Beijing propagandists have affirmed that in his work "On the New Democracy", Mao Zedong developed Leninist doctrine regarding the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. Indeed, when we compare it to its original version, in the "Collected Works of Mao Zedong", published at Dalian in 1946, we see that Mao's "New Democracy" has nothing in common with Leninism.

From the point of view of the proletarian class, Leninism regards the anti-imperialist revolution for national liberation as part of the struggle against world capitalism and as the first step in opposing native capitalism. Lenin wrote, "It is entirely clear that later, in the decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's people, with the initial objective of national liberation, will shift over to opposing capitalism." ⁶ That means that opposition to imperialism, and national liberation, are preconditions for the socialist revolution. Similarly, the struggle against feudalism is not intended to develop capitalism but to open the way for the socialist revolution. The more absolute the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal missions, the more uncluttered will be the path of advance to socialist revolution. For that reason, Marxism-Leninism believes that "the victorious conclusion of the democratic national revolution also means that the way has been opened for the socialist revolution" (Le Duan). There can never be an intermediate period separating those two revolutions.

⁶ Lenin, "Collected Works", Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, vol 32 p 626.

In essence, Maoism regards the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution as being intended to create conditions favorable for the development of capitalism in China. In his work "On the New Democracy", published in 1940, Mao Zedong, deep in his heart, negated the transformation of the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. And in his work "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (Chapter II, point 6), when referring to the prospects of the Chinese revolution he wrote, "After the revolution is victorious, because it will have eliminated the obstacles on the path of capitalist development, the capitalist economy in Chinese society will undergo considerable development. That is very conceivable and there is nothing surprising about it."

The fundamental differences between Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong are also manifested in the matter of the conditions determining the capability to transform the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution by skipping over the phase of capitalist development. According to Leninism, those conditions are within a country, that there be leadership by the proletarian class; and, on the international scene, there be assistance from the proletarian dictatorships in the countries that have carried out successful revolutions. But Mao Zedong never acknowledged those two conditions. Mao clearly negated the leadership role of the working class. As for the second condition, beginning in the 1940's Mao harbored the intention of not wanting to rely not on the assistance of the Soviet Union but on that of the U.S., in the post-war period. In August 1944 Mao, speaking to the Second Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in China, said: "We do not want to rely on help from Russia....The interests of China and the U.S. are identical---we will have to cooperate with each other." At that time, Mao also told the U.S. reporter H. Foreman that "We do not want communism modeled after the Soviet Union."

In April 1945 Mao Zedong, in his report "On Coalition Government" to the 7th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, declared that "capitalism in our country is still weak," and "the struggle to achieve the new democracy will be a long one." He affirmed that "without the development of the private capitalist economy and of the rest of the economy, we cannot construct socialism". In March 1949 Mao Zedong, at the Second Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Seventh Term), expressed his opinion that after the victory of the democratic revolution in China another long period of time will be required to build the "new democratic society". In Mao's view, the "new democratic society" was a full-fledged regime, with a complete structure made up of new democratic politics, the new democratic economy, and the new democratic culture. The new democratic economy was an economic structure made up of many components, including the capitalist economic component. What were the new politics? In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", published in June 1949, Mao affirmed that it was not a proletarian dictatorship but "a coalition dictatorship of four classes: workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie."

Does that policy have anything in common with Leninism? Absolutely not. Don't think that that was a development, an expansion, of Leninism regarding the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletarian class and the peasantry. Lenin affirmed that the dictatorship is always one of a single class. Indeed, the dictatorship belongs to the class which has a political line and which grasps violence; those things cannot be separated and there can be no coalition. It must be understood that the worker-peasant dictatorship of which Lenin spoke was in fact a precursor of the proletarian dictatorship and fulfilled the transitional mission between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. If the first revolution is victorious it immediately merges into the second revolution; there is no, could not be, and in fact never has been, a period of worker-peasant dictatorship.

Once the bourgeois democratic revolution concludes it either advances to the path of socialism and the proletarian dictatorship or results in the establishment of capitalism with a bourgeois dictatorship. There can be no third course. The so-called "new democratic society" of Mao Zedong in fact can never be anything but a bourgeois society. As for the "coalition dictatorship of four classes" it in fact could not be the "third kind of state" of which Mao spoke, but could only be a bourgeois dictatorship. The "new democracy" of Mao Zedong in fact went no further than the "three people's principles" of Sun Yat-sen, and did not go beyond the bourgeois political ideology framework. Furthermore, if the "three people's principles" led to the "three great policies" (alliance with Russia, tolerance of communism, and support of workers and peasants) of the great Sun Yat-sen who was more or less abreast of the times, they announced (indirectly and objectively) the impotence and obsolescence of the bourgeois political ideology and the inevitability of its giving way to the proletarian political standpoint, for with the "new democracy" camouflaged with a Marxist-Leninist label, Mao Zedong was extremely dangerous, and it may be said reactionary, in that he "hung up a goat's head but sold dog meat" and "ambiguously deceived the common people" in hopes of reversing history. He spoke of the proletarian path, but in fact followed the bourgeois path.

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THE PRESENT MANAGEMENT OF THE GRAIN MARKET

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 48-52

[Article by Trinh Xuan Tien]

[Text] In addition to controlling and guiding the production of grain, the state must control, manage and guide the grain market, that is, must organize and manage the distribution and consumption of grain by society in a reasonable manner. Only in this way can the state control the grain problem of the country, support the daily lives of the people and provide the basic conditions needed to develop the entire economy and build and protect the fatherland.

In our country at this time, the distribution of grain is being carried out in two ways: distribution through the plan and distribution through the market.

In the northern provinces, the overwhelming majority of grain is distributed in accordance with the plan. The quantity of grain distributed through the "free" market is very small, only about 5 to 7 percent of the total grain consumed by society. The grain distributed in accordance with the plan is the grain of cooperatives distributed directly to cooperative members after each harvest and the grain of the state distributed by the state in accordance with monthly ration standards to manual workers, troops, cadres and office workers in the industrial zones and cities. At places where grain has been distributed in accordance with the plan, the life of the people has virtually been stabilized.

In the southern provinces, because the rural areas are now in the process of socialist transformation, not much grain is controlled by the state, consequently, the state does not have the basis needed to expand the planned grain market. Therefore, the "free" grain market is still rather widespread and is meeting the majority of the grain needs of society.

The formation and development of the organized, planned grain market has been determined by the following objective conditions:

a) By nature, the socialist economy is a planned economy and the instruments of production used to produce grain are instruments of production under the two forms of socialist ownership, national ownership and collective ownership.

b) The socialist state considers grain to be the product of number one importance to society, consequently, grain must be distributed in accordance with a plan in order to support the lives of the people and insure the development of the economy and culture and the protection of the country. The prerequisite to insuring that grain is circulated in an organized and planned manner is the state's control of the majority of commodity grain. This can only be achieved on the basis of policies that provide incentive for the development of grain production as well as reasonable policies governing the purchasing, distribution and consumption of grain.

The objective basis underlying the existence of the "free" market in grain is the existence of different economic segments within our country's society, especially in the South at this time, where there are five different economic segments, including the private economy of farmers and handicraftsmen and the private capitalist economy.

However, the structure of the sources of grain on the "free" markets in the two different regions of our country differ in nature as well as in size and degree.

In the northern provinces, the sources of grain on the "free" market consist of the following:

a) The grain saved by cooperative members and private farmers: the grain saved by cooperative members consists of grain "shared" within the cooperative and grain produced on the 5 percent plots allocated to households; in addition, some cooperative members and private farmers who, although they do not have surplus grain, are in need of cash to cover expenses and, as a result, also sell grain on the market.

b) Grain within the state sector that is stolen, misappropriated and so forth and sold on the "free" market.

In addition to the two sources of grain mentioned above, there is also some grain that is traded on the "free" market in order to be consumed in different forms, for example, wheat or corn are sold to buy rice, poor quality rice is sold to buy high quality rice, rice and wheat are traded for dumplings, cakes and so forth. In this trade, a number of persons who specialize in buying and selling for a profit have emerged and made this their livelihood.

The consumers of grain on the "free" market are divided into the following four primary types:

- a) A number of persons who do nothing for the state, who do not participate in any cooperative, who earn their living privately, who are not distributed grain by the state or a cooperative and who live on grain from the "free" market.
- b) A number of cooperative member farmers who, although they have been distributed grain within their cooperative, lack grain for one reason or another and must purchase additional grain on the "free" market.
- c) A number of persons in the cities who are distributed grain by the state under ration standards but who sometimes experience unexpected needs for grain within their families, such as on the occasion of funerals, weddings, the arrival of house guests and so forth and must purchase a small amount of additional grain on the "free" market.
- d) A number of small businessmen who are licensed to sell cakes, dumplings, cooked rice and soup also purchase grain on the "free" market for resale in cooked form.

All of the above mentioned sources of grain and needs for grain on the "free" market exist in an objective manner. Therefore, the state must gradually transform and reorganize the structure of this market in a reasonable manner in order to better serve consumers. Of the four types of consumer needs mentioned above, it is necessary to determine which needs are reasonable and which are unreasonable in order to adopt an appropriate policy regarding them instead of eliminating all of these needs in accordance with the subjective desires of leaders. While some consumer needs should not be eliminated or cannot be immediately eliminated, we must show everyone that other needs are very harmful to society and must be immediately eliminated. These are cases involving a number of persons who do not earn their living in a legitimate manner, including hoodlums, thieves, "vagabonds," a number of persons who have left cooperatives to work on the outside or be merchants and so forth in order to earn much money; these persons usually consume lavishly, thereby forcing prices on the market upward and adversely affecting the lives of the people. They are the persons who buy and sell products for dishonest merchants and smugglers; they have created a lack of social order and security and many other ills and, in particular, they have weakened and eroded a number of cooperatives and corrupted a number of state cadres and personnel.

Resolving the negative problems of the "free" market in grain will make a significant contribution to resolving the negative aspects of society at this time.

Since liberation day, five economic segments have existed in the South: the state-operated economic segment, the collective economic segment, the private

economic segment, the joint public-private economic segment and the private capitalist economic segment. The process of socialist transformation is the process of change and evolution, of rearranging these economic segments of the national economy, among which the state-operated economic sector is becoming increasingly strong and plays the dominant role; the collective economy (agricultural and handicraft cooperatives) is also constantly growing; the private capitalist economy will decreasingly be oriented along the lines of socialism to serve the people. The southern market is under the control of the socialist factors of the economy of the entire country and is becoming an organized market in certain respects. In this process of change, an organized and planned grain market will gradually be established. However, it must also be realized that, in this period of transition to socialism, the economic laws of capitalism, especially the economic laws of commodity production, continue to have an effect and the economic laws of socialism, although they are the laws of progressive production relations, have only recently been established, consequently, they are still weak and are unable to immediately play the dominant role in certain areas of the national economy. The socialist and non-socialist segments of the economy with their separate laws exist side by side, intermix with and have an impact upon one another and frequently struggle sharply with one another. This process unfolds in a very complex manner and is manifested on the market.

Under these circumstances, the distribution of grain in the southern provinces occurs as follows:

The non-agricultural population (more than 9 million persons) must buy grain to meet their consumer needs. These persons buy grain from the state (the organized market) and buy grain on the "free" market. Because it is still carrying out the transformation of agriculture and the transformation of industry and commerce, the state only controls a portion of the grain of society and is only able to supply some of the grain needed by the non-agricultural population; therefore, a relatively large percentage of this population must buy grain on the "free" market. Farmers who lack grain but are not members of a cooperative also must purchase grain on the "free" market. Thus, two grain markets exist side by side in the southern provinces: the organized, planned market and the "free" market, with the "free" market in grain being rather widespread. Therefore, the problem facing the state is that it must manage both of these markets in a reasonable manner that creates the conditions for the state to control the sources of grain better through purchasing activities and help the people to purchase grain on the market in a more convenient manner without encountering speculation and hoarding of grain to monopolize the grain market; on the other hand, private farmers must be organized within cooperatives in order to lay the foundation for the formation of the organized, planned grain market in the countryside.

Because the economy of the southern provinces still consists of five segments, the mode of circulation is still complex. The process of changing

this economy of five segments into a purely socialist economy is also the process in which the organized, planned market is constantly expanded while the "free" market is constantly reduced in size.

From now until a unified socialist grain market is established throughout the country, we must comply very well with the various directives and resolutions of the party and state concerning the organization and management of the grain market.

The common objective is for the state to successfully build the organized, planned grain market of socialism to gradually replace the "free" market in grain.

In a case in which the forces of the state-operated economy are still weak, are unable to replace the "free" market and farmers are still earning their livings privately and not being distributed grain by a cooperative, the failure to resolve the problem of the "free" market in grain in a reasonable manner will create many difficulties for the production and everyday lives of the people; grain producers will work with less enthusiasm, consumers will not be satisfied and the state will be unable to control much commodity grain.

When discussing the grain tax, Lenin said: "Thus, in the face of such an economic situation, which policy should the socialist proletariat pursue? Should it trade with small farmers all the products produced by socialist heavy industry they need in exchange for wheat and raw materials? This would be the best, the most 'efficient' policy; and it is also the policy that we have begun to pursue. However, we cannot trade all of these products, can never trade all of the products with them; we cannot begin trading with them soon and, in any case, cannot start before completing the first parts of the regional electrification projects. Thus, what should we do now? Should we look for ways to impede and restrict until the very end every development of private trade, of non-state trade, that is, of commerce, of capitalism, which is the inevitable stage of development when there are millions of small producers? This would be a stupid policy, would be suicide to any party that wanted to implement it." (1) "Trade is free commerce, free commerce is capitalism. It benefits us to the extent that it helps us to combat the decentralization of the small-scale producer and combat bureaucracy to some degree. The precise degree depends upon experience and practice. Here, there is no threat whatsoever to the proletarian government as long as the proletariat tightly holds political power, as long as the proletariat tightly controls the transportation sector and heavy industry." (2)

On the basis of the arguments of Lenin presented above, on the basis of our country's actual situation, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee stated: "Once they have paid their taxes in full and sold to the state all the grain required under contracts, cooperatives and

farmers are allowed to freely circulate the remaining grain... The state also permits the people to trade this surplus grain with one another..." (resolution number 12 of 19 September 1978). In his concluding remarks at the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee (August 1979), Le Duan said: "The state must control, by every available means, an increasingly large quantity of grain so that it can provide grain to persons who do not produce grain. To control grain, we must not use compulsory administrative inspections as has been done in the recent past at a number of places, rather, we must adopt correct policies regarding taxes, the stabilization of obligations, two-way contracts and prices in order to insure that the state controls grain and provide incentive for farmers to eagerly produce grain and happily sell grain to the state... Determined steps must be taken to punish those who speculate in and smuggle grain... For a certain period of time, in addition to the purchase and sale of grain by the state, there can also be the free circulation of grain between producers and consumers." These are the important, very basic thoughts on resolving the grain market problem. Council of Ministers' decision 286/CP of 16 August 1979 also pointed out: "The free circulation of commodities in the form of grain, food products and so forth from one place to another within the scope permitted by the state cannot be prohibited... The inspections and control work performed to prevent dishonest merchants and speculators from disrupting the market, prevent persons from earning their livings illegally, prevent persons from stealing property of the state and so forth, must be strict, not haphazard..."

At present, at places that fail to perform good work involving grain, we frequently see the loose management of the collection of taxes and the poor organization of the purchasing of grain under two-way contracts, consequently, grain is purchased at "negotiated" prices, that is, at high prices approximating "free" market prices. At these places, grain purchasing activities achieve few results and dishonest merchants and decadent persons have many opportunities to distort our policy and undermine us. The crux of the grain market management problem is to do a very good job of collecting agricultural taxes and organize the purchasing of grain well under two-way contracts; cadres and party members must very strictly comply with policies in order to guide and encourage compliance by farmers. These are the principal and most important aspects of elements of "managing the grain market at its foundation."

In order for the management of the grain market to yield practical returns, we must perform the following primary jobs well:

--In the northern provinces, the various sectors and levels must manage labor well and must, on this basis, adopt measures and policies for appropriately supporting the life of the people in terms of grain. This will strengthen the organized, planned grain market.

--In the southern provinces, the sectors and levels must provide very good guidance in order to collect agricultural taxes in full, purchase the full quantity of grain required under two-way economic contracts and then purchase additional grain at negotiated prices. Performing these purchasing activities well will be the most positive step possible in managing the "free" market in grain well.

In conjunction with broadening the independence of producers as regards circulating grain, the state must take determined steps to stop the speculation in and hoarding of grain by private merchants and stop the spread of arguments that distort our policies, thereby disrupting the market and spreading panic among the masses. The management of the grain market at its foundation must be coordinated with the transformation of private merchants and the reorganization of the market. The state must promulgate specific policies on the management of purchases and sales, transportation and the stockpiling of grain and must publicly announce these policies to the people and to persons permitted to buy and sell grain; at the same time, the state must organize and guide compliance with these policies so that they are implemented very well. As regards those items for which the people have a reasonable need, the state must guide and organize the convenient selling of these products or allow private individuals to do so. The purpose of managing the "free" grain market is to support the everyday lives of the people well. Therefore, the grain market must be managed in a unified manner and this unified management must have the purposes of serving the everyday lives of the people well, eliminating all speculation in and hoarding of grain and managing and using social labor well in order to accelerate production.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part 2, p 502.
2. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, pp 473-474.

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MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO DEVELOP LOCAL INDUSTRY TO SUPPORT EVERYDAY LIFE,
PRODUCTION AND COMBAT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 53-57, 74

[Article by Dong Thao]

[Text] Developing local industry is a matter of strategic importance in socialist industrialization in our country because it has an impact in many directions: it makes full use of each source of natural resources and labor in order to produce many commodities for society; it coordinates industry with agriculture at the very outset and at the installation; it coordinates the economy with the defense of the nation and establishes local rear services in time of war; it taps the spirit of collective ownership of the people and mobilizes everyone to participate in socialist industrialization.

Local industry has developed in the recent past and recorded noteworthy achievements. In 1978, local industry produced more than one-half the industrial output value of the country. Local industry produces many ordinary goods supporting everyday life, production and combat. In order to do a better job of developing local industry in the new situation, we must correctly establish the tasks and structure of local industry and resolve a number of matters related to measures and policies.

I. The Tasks and Structure of Local Industry

The production of local industry is based upon the capabilities and needs of the locality; therefore, it must first support the everyday life and production of the locality. However, each locality has special natural resources that other places do not have, such as fish, salt, wood, cotton, jute, rushes, mulberries and so forth, consequently, local industry must make every effort to develop these natural resources to serve the needs of the entire country and export requirements.

Local industry supports everyday life and supports production. With the exception of important products that serve nationwide needs and are produced by central industry, local industry must develop to the point where it is meeting the majority of the ordinary needs of the local people, from processing grain and food to ready-made clothing and the production of household utensils. Local industry must deeply research the needs of each locality, each area and each objective in order to produce a large quantity of a wide variety of products to meet the varied needs of the people. Local industry must consider the countryside to be an important market, must make every effort to produce goods to trade with farmers in order to stimulate the development of agriculture. As regards instruments of production, local industry must attach importance to producing various types of tools, machines and simple spare parts as well as building materials in order to help equip the economic installations within the locality with technology, primarily the installations in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Local industry also has the task of supporting combat operations and the maintenance of combat readiness by processing grain and food products, producing medicine and clothing and producing and repairing various types of ordinary weapons in order to provide good local rear services for local troops and militia and self-defense troops.

Local industry must develop within the local economic structure and must be closely linked to agriculture in order to form the industrial-agricultural structure of the province and the agro-industrial structure of the district. On the other hand, local industry must develop under unified planning and be coordinated with central industry in order to form the economic-technical sectors of the entire country. Within the scope of each locality, local industry must make the greatest possible effort to fully utilize every capability and meet many needs, but this is no reason to develop all sectors and the production of the various types of products in a self-contained, subsistent fashion; to the contrary, there must be cooperation and an efficient division of labor among the various localities and between the provinces and municipalities in order to develop the strengths that each locality has in its raw materials and technical labor and achieve the highest possible economic returns.

Local industry must make good use of the various segments of the economy. Local state-operated industry and artisan and handicraft cooperatives must be developed along the following lines: state-operated industry must develop those sectors and trades in which cooperatives do not have a tradition or whose requirements cooperatives cannot meet (complex technology or large investments, for example). As regards those sectors, trades and products whose requirements cooperatives can meet or can be developed to meet, it is necessary to make full use of the forces of cooperatives and to provide them with the equipment needed to accelerate production; we

should not hastily develop state-operated industry to take the place of cooperatives. It is also necessary to establish the following relationship between collectives and individuals: collectives should produce those products which individuals are unable to produce; we should help individuals produce those products that they can produce well instead of hastily assigning these products to collectives.

Local industry must coordinate the full use of existing installations with the construction of new installations, coordinate the use of rudimentary technology with modern technology. At present, there are few local industrial installations; however, due to many different reasons, their capacity is not being fully utilized and they are not producing many good products. As a result, we must soon reorganize and rationalize production, make technological improvements and improve management in order to make full use of and highly develop existing capacity. The construction of new installations should only be carried out once we are making full use of existing installations and only when the following conditions are met: there is a clear need for the product that will be produced, there is a stable supply of raw materials and all the necessary conditions have been prepared, especially in terms of management cadres and technical workers, so that the enterprise can, once it has been constructed, operate well and yield high economic returns. Local industry will gradually bring its technology up to date in order to gradually achieve a modern level of production. However, in the immediate future, we must continue to utilize manual technology coordinated with semi-mechanized and mechanized technology. Local industry will be developed widely throughout the country in a manner suited to each locality; in the immediate future, importance must be attached to developing local industry in the mountainous provinces, the provinces along the northern border and the provinces of the South so that the mountains quickly catch up to the lowlands and the economy of the entire country develops in a uniform manner while helping to build a strong, solid rear area and protect the borders of the fatherland.

To perform the tasks mentioned above well, local industry must, between now and 1985, make every effort to develop the production of consumer goods while producing a number of necessary instruments of production.

As regards the production of consumer goods, importance must be attached to developing the sectors and trades that produce products, such as paddy and rice milling, subsidiary food crop processing, wheat flour production, the harvesting and processing of marine products, salt production, sugar production, the production of tea, cakes and candies, the production of various beverages from local ingredients, the processing of pharmaceuticals, the production of drugs, the weaving of cloth of various types, the weaving of face cloths and bath towels, the production of knitted goods, silk reeling, the production of ready-made clothing, the weaving of mats, the weaving of rush, jute and woolen rugs, the production of civilian ceramic-

ware and glassware, the production of ordinary metal products, the production of bicycle spare parts, paper production, the processing of lumber, rattan and bamboo, the production of teaching aids, cultural products, children's toys, athletic and sporting equipment, handicraft artware, etc.

As regards instruments of production, importance must be attached to producing various types of common and improved tools, simple machines and spare parts, common building materials, ground apatite, a number of ordinary industrial chemicals, such as sulfates and soda, and processed livestock feed. Where possible, we should open small coal mines and phosphate mines, build small hydroelectric power plants, etc.

As regards supporting everyday life and supporting production, local industry must attach full importance to developing the support and repair trades. This is an increasingly pressing requirement that local industry is capable of meeting well; therefore, it is necessary to organize a widespread support and repair network in all localities, a network extending from the cities to the countryside and encompassing such universal trades as the repair of machinery, the repair of production tools and weapons, the repair of housing, electrical and plumbing work, the repair of household utensils, laundry services, the mending of clothing, jewelry production, etc. State-operated installations can undertake some of these jobs for which there is a large, centralized demand; however, for the majority of these jobs, we should organize repair and support cooperatives and teams employing private handicraftsmen in order to make these services available along each street, within each hamlet and for each family and promptly support the specific requirements of production and everyday life.

In order to develop local industry in the correct direction, research must be conducted in order to establish an efficient structure for this industry, because only with a correct structure can local industry perform its tasks. Due to the specific conditions of our country, local industry has two structures: the universal structure and the special structure. The universal structure is that which every province and municipality must have and can develop, such as the processing of grain and food products, the processing and production of pharmaceuticals, the production of ordinary consumer goods, the production of handicraft artware, the support and service sectors, machine repair and the manufacture of simple tools, spare parts and equipment, the production of common building materials, etc.

The special structure is a structure under which each locality can, depending upon its natural resources, needs and technical traditions, strongly develop a number of sectors in order to develop upon capabilities, meet needs well and achieve high economic returns. In the coastal provinces, attention must be given to developing the fishing and fish processing sectors, the salt and fish sauce production sectors, the salt

weaving sector, the rush production sector and so forth. The lowland provinces must develop the grain and food processing sectors, the silk reeling sector, the handicraft cloth weaving sector, the jute processing trade and the production of handicraft artware. In the mountain provinces, attention must be given to developing the subsidiary food crop processing sector, the forestry product and pharmaceutical harvesting and processing sectors, the ethnic minority cloth weaving sector, etc. The municipalities must give their attention to developing the processing of food products, the production of beverages, pharmaceuticals and metal consumer goods, the support and repair sectors, etc.

The capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have many production installations utilizing advanced industrial technology, have many scientific research centers and have much technically skilled labor; there is high demand for a wide variety of products and broad relations with the various localities and even with foreign markets; therefore, in these two municipalities, it is necessary to develop many trades and enterprises, develop the production of many products in order to not only meet local needs, but also serve the common needs of the entire country and serve export requirements.

Within the structure of local industry, particular attention must be given to developing the artisan and handicraft industry and a number of necessary state-operated installations on the district level in order to help quickly establish an agro-industrial structure within the scope of the district.

District industry is a component of the district economy; at the same time, it is a structure within the local industry of the province and municipality, consequently, it must be developed in accordance with the overall planning of local industry and must be closely linked to agriculture and the economic sectors of the district. The universal structure of district industry is: grain and food processing installations; pharmaceutical, drug and essential oil processing and production installations; ordinary consumer goods production installations; installations producing handicraft artware and export goods; repair and service installations; installations harvesting and processing forestry products and marine products; installations producing building materials; tractor units and tractor repair stations; water conservancy construction units and pump stations; installations raising livestock by industrial methods; installations producing common and improved tools; housing and public welfare project construction units; transport, information and posts-telegraph installations.

II. Measures and Policies

To strongly develop local industry, it is necessary, together with correctly establishing the tasks and structure of local industry, to promptly resolve problems related to measures and policies, considering this to be the key to bringing about changes in the situation.

First, it is necessary to carry out production planning and establish an efficient division of labor between local industry and central industry, between state-operated industry and cooperatives and necessary to determine which products localities must produce for supply to meet local needs and common needs as well as which products cooperatives must produce on a stable, long-term basis so that localities and cooperatives can adopt plans for making investments in the development of production. In this planning, it is necessary to determine which sectors should be developed primarily by central industry with some help from local industry, such as the heavy industrial sectors; which sectors, such as a number of light industrial sectors, should be developed by both central industry and local industry; which sectors, such as the grain and food product processing sector, should be developed primarily by local industry with some help from central industry. Between state-operated industry and cooperatives, it is also necessary to determine which trade should only be developed by state-operated industry, not by cooperatives, such as silk reeling and leather tanning, which trades should only utilize cooperative forces, but not state-operated forces, such as handicraft artware and weaving, which trades should be developed by the forces of state-operated industry and cooperatives, such as ready-made clothing, the production of wooden furniture and so forth.

Secondly, positive steps must be taken to resolve the raw material problem of local industry. On the one hand, the state must research, amend and promulgate suitable policies, especially a policy stabilizing the obligations to sell agricultural products, a grain supply policy and a price policy in order to provide incentive for agricultural cooperatives to produce many raw materials for supply to local industry. On the other hand, it is necessary to adopt a reasonable policy for the distribution and supply of raw materials. The sectors on the central level have the responsibility of supplying to local industry in accordance with the plan the various types of raw materials produced or imported by central industry. With regard to the types of raw materials that are produced within the locality but managed exclusively by the state, such as sugarcane, tea, tobacco and so forth, it is necessary to clearly stipulate how much of which raw materials should be supplied to central industry and how much of which raw materials should be left behind for local industry. As regards the various types of raw materials that are not under the management of the state, the localities must adopt plans for developing their production for use within the locality or for trading with other localities. In localities that have both raw materials and processing facilities, the state will not, generally speaking, purchase raw materials, rather, it will help the localities process these raw materials well so that it can purchase products and only redistribute that portion of the raw materials which the locality cannot process. Local industry must look for every possible way to collect and utilize discarded materials and rejected products originating in production, circulation and consumption in order to create important, supplementary sources of raw materials for local industry.

Thirdly, it is necessary to improve a number of policies governing local industry. We must broaden the independence of the localities; on the basis of the line and policies of the party and the plan of the state, the localities must select optimum economic plans, implement specific policies and take necessary measures to develop local industry. As regards those products that are under the exclusive management of the central level, the locality may, after fulfilling its obligation to deliver these products to the central level, consume the remaining quantity within the locality. As regards products that are not under the exclusive management of the central level, the localities have the right to decide what to produce and consume within the locality or trade with other localities.

As regards prices, the following is suggested: the price of products produced and consumed within the locality should be determined by the locality. Prices can vary from one locality to another on the basis of production conditions provided that the products are consumed. Products produced and consumed by two parties can be sold and purchased at prices reached through negotiations. Only the price of products which are produced locally but marketed throughout the country should be determined by the central level.

Generally speaking, products of local state-operated industry must be sold through the commerce sector; however, it is necessary to reduce the number of intermediary elements so that these goods take the shortest possible route from the place of production to the place of consumption. If, in special cases, the commerce sector is slow to market products and this affects both production and consumption, production installations can organize the direct marketing of their products in order to promptly serve needs and reclaim capital quickly and quickly make warehouse space available. The marketing of products of cooperatives and the private economy should be handled in one of three ways depending upon the nature of production and the source of raw materials: marketed entirely through the commerce sector, marketed partially through the commerce sector and marketed by the producer.

In the present situation, performing the jobs mentioned above well will surely enable us to advance local industry to a new stage of development, thereby making a positive contribution to socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

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TAPPING THE ECONOMIC CAPABILITIES OF THE DISTRICT LEVEL IN ACCELERATING THE PRODUCTION OF EXPORTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
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[Article by Manh Tan]

[Text] Accelerating the production of export goods is the common responsibility of all sectors and levels, including the district level. The district level plays an important role and has important capabilities with regard to producing export goods. Approximately one-third of our country's exports are contributed by the district level. In the process of building the districts into agro-industrial economic units, the district is becoming a comprehensive management unit and the capabilities of the district in the production of exports are constantly increasing. These capabilities are evident in the following areas:

First, the district level has the ability to directly organize and build farming areas specializing in the production of exports.

In the immediate future, while the establishment of large-scale farming areas of the entire country specializing in the production of such long-term crops as rubber, coffee, tea and so forth for exportation are being surveyed and planned, the districts can allocate some of their farmland or make full use of land planted with winter crops as well as fallow land to establish small areas specializing in the production of such annual crops for exportation as jute, peanuts, beans, millet, sesame, garlic, peppers, mulberries, essential oils, such as citronella, peppermint, elsholtzia and so forth. There are many advantages to building farming areas within the district that specialize in the production of exports, such as being able to use land that is available within the locality, being able to utilize the abundance of local labor and being able to utilize the farming practices of the people, consequently, capital investments are smaller and exports are available more rapidly than in areas where land must be cleared for the planting of long-term crops. With help from the province and

the central level, the district level is capable of organizing the processing of agricultural products locally, closely coordinating the production of raw materials with their processing and creating a federation of production of suitable size in one or several adjacent districts. This is also part of the process of building the district agro-industrial economic structure.

In recent years, many districts, from the seacoast and lowlands to the midlands and mountains, have established many farming areas specializing in the production of exports and have achieved good results.

In the coastal provinces of Thai Binh, Ha Nam Ninh, Thanh Hoa and so forth, many districts have led the people in improving beaches and reclaiming land from the sea in order to establish areas specializing in the production of rushes in order to create a local source of raw materials, provide hundreds of thousands of jobs and contribute a rather large quantity of rushes for exportation. In the central coastal regions of military Region 4 and former Zone 5, many districts are also making full use of the strips of sandy land running along the beach, land that cannot be used to raise grain, to establish areas raising suitable export crops, such as peanuts in Dien Chau, millet in Nghi Xuan (Nghe Tinh Province), onions in Thuan Hai, coconuts at many places, etc. A number of places are experimenting in the cultivation of palms, peaches, wild pineapple, "huong bai" and so forth in order to provide export goods and combat the blowing of sand in these coastal areas. In the Red River Delta and Nam Bo, many districts have accelerated the intensive cultivation of rice and allocated some farmland or put more land under the cultivation of winter crops in order to specialize in the production of export crops, such as jute, mulberries, peppers, garlic, bananas, pineapples, citronella and so forth in order to provide additional sources of income. In the midlands and mountains, especially in eastern Nam Bo and the Central Highlands, many districts have established areas raising tea, pineapples, oranges, coffee, beans, peanuts, citronella, pepper, *mallotus philippinensis*, anise, cinnamon and so forth, which are of high economic value.

Relying upon their natural conditions, arable land and farming habits, the districts mentioned above have established areas specializing in the production of export crops on the scale of a few hundred hectares to a few thousand hectares, the majority of which are under the cultivation of annual agricultural products. If all districts were to build such specialized farming areas, the volume of exported agricultural products of the entire country would rapidly increase and the structure of our country's exports would be improved.

Secondly, the district is the level that directly manages the majority of the agricultural labor force; it is organizing and redistributing local labor and is capable of redistributing and fully utilizing this abundant labor force in the development of the production of export goods.

The majority of our country's 24 million laborers are agricultural laborers at agricultural production cooperatives managed by the district. However, the average amount of farmland per capita is very low (from only 600 square meters to 1,000 square meters); as a result, even if multicropping is practiced and crop yields are raised, the average income and the quantity of products supplied to society will still be small. In the process of building water conservancy projects and mechanizing agriculture, more and more labor will be displaced. Labor will gradually be shifted from agriculture to industrial production or to the other sectors and trades. The redistribution of labor on a nationwide scale has been strongly promoted for many years and an increasingly large number of persons from the cities and the lowlands will continue to be sent to build new economic zones. However, the labor force managed by the districts will continue to be an abundant force, especially as regards female labor. Moreover, because the level of development of our agricultural production is still low, because agricultural production has only been partially mechanized and because this mechanization has not been well coordinated, there is a shortage of labor during the busy periods of the season but much idle labor afterward. This situation makes it necessary for cooperatives to have a reserve labor force for the agricultural season. There is a very large number of persons outside work age who are in need of a suitable job in order to increase the incomes of their families.

Therefore, in conjunction with redistributing labor on a nationwide scale, it is absolutely necessary to redistribute labor within the scope of the district and within each cooperative.

At present, in the development of the trades at agricultural cooperatives, each district is only able to shift a few tens of thousands of persons from agricultural production to the production of export goods. The development of the production of exports in the districts of Thuong Tin in Ha Son Binh Province, Vinh Bao in Haiphong, Kien Xuong and Tien Hai in Thai Binh, Xuan Thuy and Kim Son in Ha Nam Ninh, Chau Giang in Hai Hung, Tien Son in Ha Bac and so forth has shown us that every district is capable of mobilizing a few tens of thousands of persons to work in the embroidery trade, the woolen, jute, rush and corn stalk rug trades, sericulture and silk reeling, the production of artware, the production of rattan and bambooware, the cultivation and extraction of essential oils and so forth for exportation. With this number of persons engaged in the production of exports, many districts have created a rather large source of annual income (roughly 10 million dong), the equivalent of roughly one-third the total income of the district. In Kien Xuong District in Thai Binh Province, in addition to the thousands of persons specializing in the production of exports at the 35 agricultural cooperatives, the district has also organized 14 professional handicraft cooperatives, each of which had hundreds of laborers and well equipped production installations, thereby laying the foundation for the birth of district industry.

Thirdly, the district level is able to smoothly organize the purchasing of export goods.

In order to have large sources of export goods, it is necessary to have large-scale production installations. In this case, the production installations deliver export goods directly to the foreign trade sector under economic contracts. However, under our country's present conditions, an important percentage of our export goods (including agricultural, forestry and marine products as well as handicraft artware) is contributed by small-scale, decentralized production installations. In particular, in the southern provinces, the socialist transformation of agriculture and the handicraft trades is in the process of being carried out and the majority of bananas, pineapples, vegetables, fruit, coffee, pepper, peanuts, sesame and so forth which the state needs to purchase for exportation is privately owned. In order to centralize these diverse but widely scattered sources of goods, it is necessary to organize purchasing activities within the district well.

At present, the majority of farmland and labor lies within the collective economy. This segment of the economy supplies the state with an important percentage of its agricultural products, forestry products, marine products and handicraft artware for exportation. Therefore, in conjunction with organizing large-scale production installations and building sources of primary exports, the state must make full use of the existing production capacity of the collective economy and rely upon the district as the level to directly manage and guide agricultural, forestry, fishing and handicraft cooperatives and develop each potential of production within the collective economy to support export activities.

At places where the foreign trade sector relies upon the district and has the district level provide guidance in organizing the production of export goods, the purchasing of exports yields good results.

It is clear that the district level has many capabilities and conditions in its favor for developing the production of export goods. The organizing of production and the development of sources of export goods on the district level have a reciprocal effect upon the effort to build the district into an agro-industrial economic structure. The experience in many districts has shown that developing the production of export goods stimulates the specialization of production, makes it possible to coordinate production with processing and creates the conditions for developing the trades and the artisan industry within the scope of the district. The key growing areas in Vinh Phu, Nghia Lo, Bao Loc and so forth, the peanut growing areas in Dien Chau in Nghe Tinh Province and Viet Yen in Ha Bac Province, the pepper growing area in Quynh Phu District in Thai Binh Province, the garlic

growing area in Kim Mon District in Hai Hung Province and the orange, pineapple, tobacco, jute, rush and other growing areas in many other districts prove this. Since a jute growing area was established in Chau Giang District in Hai Hung Province, the district has annually sold to the state 4,000 to 5,000 tons of jute, earning nearly 5 million dong. The profit per hectare of jute compared to the profit per hectare of rice is 1,613 dong/745 dong; the income per workday cultivating jute compared to the income per workday raising rice is 2.31 dong/1.9 dong. The greatest benefit derived from the specialized jute growing area in Chau Giang is that the district has created a local source of raw materials for developing the rug weaving trade, thereby providing work for more than 3,000 laborers and providing more than 1 million dong in additional income per year. Ham Yen and Chiem Hoa Districts in Ha Tuyen Province, which have established areas specializing in the cultivation of citronella and have developed the essential oil extraction trade, have not only contributed large amounts of citronella oil for exportation, but also helped to raise the income of cooperatives and stabilize the life of persons coming from the lowlands to build new economic zones.

The development of the production of export goods has made it possible for the district to introduce machines in agriculture in a steadier and more rapid manner. The experience of the districts in the Red River Delta has shown that agricultural mechanization must be carried out at the same time as reorganizing and redistributing labor and strongly developing the trade sector. At cooperatives that produce many export goods, such as Binh Minh in Chau Giang, Trang Long in Kim Mon, Co Am in Vinh Bao and so forth, the real income from export goods is roughly 1 million dong per year. In addition to the money paid to the tractor station of the district, these cooperatives have also purchased many hand-operated plows, mechanized operations on 80 percent of their farmland and provided draft power for the development of winter crop production and the planting of three crops per year. Once the production of export goods has begun to provide an increasingly high income per manday (ordinarily two to three times as high as the income per manday in crop production), cooperatives have requested much more mechanization in order to reduce the labor in crop production and shift labor to the production of export goods; and, on this basis, they have constantly raised labor productivity within agriculture, raised the average per day income within the cooperative and improved the lives of cooperative members. In 1976, the Binh Nguyen Cooperative in Kien Xung, Thai Binh Province, was worried about how to obtain 10,000 dong to pay for tractors at a time when its income per manday was still low. However, in 1978, after resolutely transferring 200 laborers to the production of export goods, the cooperative earned 32,000 dong and not only had enough money to pay for tractors, but also doubled its income per manday. This year, the Binh Nguyen Cooperative wants to plow much more land by machine in order to withdraw more labor from crop production and increase the amount of labor engaged in the production of exports two-fold. In 1977, the Xuan

Phu Cooperative in Xuan Thuy District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, shifted slightly more than 200 laborers to the harvesting of rushes and developed the weaving of rush rugs and mats for exportation; today, the cooperative has repaid its entire debt to the bank and it maintains a balance of 14,000 to 16,000 dong per month in its bank account, thereby providing liquid capital to purchase supplies for agricultural and livestock production.

Developing the production of exports not only makes a positive contribution to the redistribution of labor within the scope of the district and to the management of labor by reducing the number of merchants who "run to markets," but it also helped to stabilize order and security, improve public welfare and improve the standard of living of farmers. The living standard of the people in those districts that produce many export goods, such as Thuong Tinh, Chau Giang, Kien Xuong, Kim Son, Xuan Thuy and so forth is much higher than that of those districts which have the same circumstances and conditions but do not produce export goods. Many villages, as a result of the income earned from exports, have been able to build auditoriums, museums, level II schools, child care centers, medical aid stations and wired radio networks.

The district level economy is highly capable of developing the production of exports. The capabilities of the district originate in the potential that lies in the arable land and labor managed by the district level. However, these capabilities are also limited in certain ways. Generally speaking, the average amount of farmland of the majority of the districts is low and practically all of this farmland must be allocated to the production of grain. Very little land is available for the cultivation of crops that provide raw materials and crops that can be exported. The labor force managed by the district is an abundant labor force; however, the majority of this labor is unskilled labor. The districts lack capital, production tools, raw materials, finished materials, instruments of everyday life and so forth, all of which are necessary in order to make thorough use of the labor force in production.

Starting as it is from a system of small-scale production, primarily subsistence production, the district does not have the habit of producing commodities, especially export goods; the district economy does not have many relationships with the nationwide market and, in particular, has no contacts with the international market. In keeping with the resolution of the 4th Party Congress and the various resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the districts have begun to concern themselves with export activities and have issued resolutions concerning this work; however, the majority of the districts are still encountering difficulties and confusion in organizing the production of export goods.

To overcome these limitations and difficulties in order to develop upon the capabilities of the district level economy in accelerating the production of

export goods, the state must give its attention to and resolve the following primary problems:

First, it is necessary to satisfactorily implement the resolution of the party on building the economy within the district and building the district into a comprehensive management level. To stimulate the process of economic construction within the district and turn the export capabilities of the district into reality, the provincial level must assign management responsibilities to the district level and create the conditions for building the district level into a comprehensive management level. In Thai Binh Province, chiefly because the province assigned management responsibilities to the district level and boldly assigned tasks, authority and material-technical bases to the district as well as organizing, managing and doing business in exports within the district, the production of export goods has developed within the districts, thereby increasing the budget revenues of the district level. Only when the state creates the conditions needed for the district level to become a comprehensive management level can the district tap its capabilities in accelerating the production of export goods.

Therefore, while formulating plans from the installation and the district level upward, the state should allow the district level to balance exports and imports at an appropriate ratio in order to, on the one hand, tap the spirit of self-reliance in socialist construction and, on the other hand, cause the district to give much more attention to its exporting responsibilities and create the conditions for importing technical supplies for economic construction, accelerating production and stabilizing the life of the people within the district.

Secondly, it is necessary to satisfactorily implement the various policies designed to provide incentive for the production of exports. The state recently promulgated "the policies and measures providing incentive for the production of exports" and "the policies providing incentive for the production and circulation of consumer goods not managed by the state and for which the state does not supply the raw materials or consumer goods produced from local raw materials and discarded materials or rejected products." These two types of policies will have a very large impact when implemented well within the scope of the district.

The economy within the district now consists of three segments: the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the private economy, with the state-operated economy playing the dominant role. In the district, however, there are few state-operated production installations; the majority of the district's production installations belong to the collective economy and a small portion belongs to the private economy. As regards the economic relationship between the state and the cooperatives not managed by the district, there are no relationships other than the obligation of the

cooperatives to contribute to the state and commodity trade relations. At present, the state only supplies to cooperatives a number of necessary materials, primarily for use in the production of grain and a number of other important agricultural products. To provide incentive for the production of export goods and consumer goods within the district, the state has applied certain measures and policies that serve as levers in stimulating the development of production, such as prices, credit, monetary policy, investments and two-way economic contracts.

The various policies and measures designed to provide incentive for the sectors and localities to accelerate production and create many sources of export goods, although they have been in effect for a long time, are still fragmentary and do not constitute a system; a number of these policies are vague and lacking in detail and this has led to different interpretations of them and difficulties in implementing them; a number of other policies are not suited to the situation.

This situation has led to sluggishness in the production of export goods and caused the production of many products, especially agricultural, forestry and marine products, to decline. The production of exports must be carried out on a large scale with highly technical equipment and the quality of exports must be better than the quality of goods consumed domestically to insure that the requirements of the international market are met. However, because the state has not given appropriate attention to making investments in production, has not provided a full supply of the raw materials, fuels, supplies and spare parts needed for production and has not adopted a suitable price policy and purchasing mode in order to guarantee the interests of producers, many sectors, localities and production installations do not have the conditions needed to develop production and are unable to meet the norms on the delivery of export goods, as a result of which the sources of export materials have seriously shrunk.

To correct this situation, the state recently promulgated the "regulations on the policies and measures providing incentive for the development of the production of export goods," which deal with many basic matters and establish a system of special, closely related measures in order to provide strong incentive for the production of export goods. These policies consist of: the policy for investments in the development of the production of export goods; the policy for supplying imported raw materials and supplies to installations producing export goods; the policy on supplying grain to cooperatives producing export goods; the policy on granting capitalist foreign currency loans for the development of export goods production; the policy providing material incentives to cooperatives and producing households in non-specialized farming areas and in forestry areas in which harvesting is decentralized; the policy on the purchasing prices of export goods; tax regulations and regulations on the reimbursement for losses incurred in the production of export goods; and regulations on awards that provide incentive

for the production and delivery of export goods. The basic spirit of these policies is to provide the producer with the conditions needed to develop the production of export goods and with an appropriate income, one higher than the income from the production of domestic consumer goods. These policies reflect the correct coordination of the interests of the state with the interests of the producer, the application of the various economic laws and the widespread use of economic levers in order to encourage the sectors, localities and each laborer to give attention to producing an increasingly large volume of high quality products at reduced costs. It is clear that the good implementation of these policies providing incentive for the development of the production of export goods will cause the district level economy to develop its potentials in support of export activities.

Today, our state is building the district into a comprehensive management level and an agro-industrial economic unit. As an economic management level, the district must fully apply the policies that have been put into effect to the various production installations in order to stimulate the strong development of production. In the production of exports, the district level has been granted permission by the state to include within the district budget a certain percentage of the profits from the district's export goods; the district level can use some foreign currency to import goods and so forth in order to expand its production and build public welfare products within the district.

Thirdly, it is necessary to strengthen the foreign trade organization on the local level, including the district level.

The exports of our country are being accelerated on the basis of a system of small-scale production that is being upgraded to large-scale socialist production. Constructing and investing in production installations, the production of goods under contracts and the purchasing of exports in the various localities play important roles. Therefore, in addition to leadership by the party committee echelon and local government and assistance from the central economic sectors for export activities, it is necessary that the foreign trade organizations on the local level engage in positive activities. In actuality, these organizations were established with the functions of conducting research and serving as the staff of the provincial level in establishing production guidelines and developing sources of export goods while guiding and organizing production, organizing the sources of goods and organizing the business in export goods. The foreign trade organization within the locality is an economic organization that is directly subordinate to the local people's committee and under the management of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in terms of its planning, plans, regulations, policies and professional practices in accordance with the principles of sector economic management.

In the process of development, the installations producing export goods have increased rapidly, in particular, more and more agricultural cooperatives

are participating in the production of export goods. In order to manage, guide and help production installations and centralize the sources of goods, it is necessary to establish foreign trade organizations on the district level that are directly subordinate to the provincial export corporation.

To be able to smoothly implement the cost accounting system, the foreign trade organization on the district level must be streamlined and must have a corps of cadres who are capable of conducting research in order to help the district carry out planning and guide the production of exports as well as the exports business. This organization must be placed under the direct guidance and management of the district people's committee and under the guidance of the provincial export corporation in terms of its plans and professional procedures.

Building and developing the economy within the district and building the district into an agro-industrial economic unit are organically linked to accelerating production and rapidly increasing the sources of export goods. Foreign trade cadres must be clearly aware of this relationship and must bring about strong changes in organization, policies and the mode of operation of the foreign trade sector within the locality in order to be able to develop the potentials of the district economy in accelerating the production of export goods and meeting the requirements of socialist industrialization.

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ON THE NEW SOCIALIST CULTURE

[Editorial Report] Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79, on pages 65 to 74, carries a "Discussion" section consisting of three short articles. First is an article on pages 65 to 68 by Phan Huy Le, "On the Nature of Vietnamese Traditional Culture," which discusses the popular and national nature of Vietnam's culture throughout its history. This is followed by the article, "Further Discussion of the Historical Origins of the Special Features of Vietnamese Culture," by Ha Van Tan on pages 68 to 71. The third article, "Origins and Nature of Vietnamese Culture," by Tran Quoc Vuong, appears on pages 71 to 74.

THEY DESTROYED CULTURE AND ERADICATED THE INTELLECTUALS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 79
pp 82-88

[Article by Minh Sam]

[Text] Wiping Out the Cultural Heritage

Kampuchea has a very rich cultural heritage--from ancient temples to songs and dances which have been handed down over thousands of years. The diligent and creative Khmer people contributed to mankind the famous and glorious Angkor civilization.

In the 5-year war (1970-1975) against the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol lackey clique, a number of buildings and remains were unavoidably damaged by bombs and shells. But in fact that damage was not as great as that inflicted during the 4 years of "peace and independence" under the ruling yoke of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, during which time 50 percent of the ancient edifices were destroyed.

Nearly all of the country's 3,500 pagodas were used to store fertilizer for the communes or were dismantled to obtain materials to build stables and pens for stock raising. Some 82,000 monks and Buddhist intellectuals were forced to shed their cloaks and nearly all of them disappeared. In brazenly tearing down the pagodas, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique wanted not only to eliminate Buddhism, the religion of 85 percent of the Khmer people, but also to deprive the people of all places where they could meet and assemble so they would not have an opportunity to exchange thoughts and sentiments.

The Angkor temples were abandoned after the war and were not taken care of until the end of 1978, after Ieng Sary agreed with the Thai bourgeoisie to jointly exploit those remains to obtain tourist dollars. Pol Pot himself denigrated the value of the Angkor temples, believing that they were merely buildings erected by the feudal kinds and were not as "great and superb" as their irrigation systems and improvements made on the land. Their ignorance was also revealed by the absurd narratives of the guides who conducted tours of the remains in that historic temple complex. Seldom had there been such a country as Kampuchea, which even after experiencing many wars

still had many ancient relics representative of the nation's long-lived culture. But the National Museum in Phnom Penh, which was established in 1917, fell into the hands of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, and now not half of those precious relics remain. And there were discovered many large and small bronze statues which had been sent to the Tuol Sleng jail, where they were to have been recast by the prisoners into statues of the bloodthirsty Pol Pot.

Burning and destroying books and cultural, scientific, and artistic works were also familiar acts of the "angka" gang, who wanted the people to know nothing more than what was in their own stupid minds. The national library in Phnom Penh, a research center for intellectuals and students which once had more than 300,000 books, now has only a few hundred books. That place long ago became a warehouse for the chinaware used to serve the banquets of the Pol Pot gang and their Chinese masters. More than 10,000 books on Kampuchea belonging to the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient were burned.

Kampuchean culture and art, which had always been very rich and deeply imbued with a national flavor, rapidly disintegrated under the ruling clique of the executioner Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. Some 90 percent of the artists and the people engaged in cultural work were sent away to do heavy labor and die a gradual death. Over a period of 4 long years, no singing or music was heard in Kampuchea. All folk music and folk dancing were forbidden because they were "spiritual products of the old society"! Furthermore, the people were forced to work 14 or 15 hours a day and go hungry. For months on end they had no days off, and amusement and relaxation were out of the question. Meanwhile, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang set up culture-drama and movie teams not to meet the needs of the people's spiritual activities but to serve as propaganda facilities to disseminate the "absolutely revolutionary" policies of the "angka" and to emphasize its "supreme power".

The evil intention of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang was to, by completely eliminating the social relationships of the Kampuchean people, completely paralyzing their sentiment, and isolating them from the outside world, cause the people to become completely dependent on them. Within a period of only a few years the Khmer people, who had always been very happy, free-spirited, and life-loving, became dried-up and lifeless, and all but lost their natural feelings. In the "democratic Kampuchea" society, life lost all significance and there was no more individual happiness, but only hunger, poverty, disease, misery, and death surrounding them night and day. That explains why it was difficult to find a happy face or a smile among the people in the Pol Pot gang's "socialist society"!

As was the case regarding culture and art, national education during the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary period also suffered greatly. All levels of the educational system were eliminated immediately after 17 April 1975. All schools, large and small, were ordered closed and were transformed into warehouses, stock-raising stables, weapon repair shops, and places where patriots and law-abiding citizens were imprisoned, tortured and liquidated. The students and teachers shared the fate of the various categories of urban people

and were chased into the countryside to do heavy labor. Only a small number of such educated people are still alive because they were able to cleverly conceal their identity. It is estimated that about four-fifths of the teachers were killed. In the colleges and specialized secondary school sector of Kampuchea there were seven institutions with 40 faculties, more than 1,200 instructors, and in some academic years as many as 8,000 students. But now only a few hundred college graduates remain.

In the past, the dictator Pol Pot himself usually appeared confused when he had to explain why the educational system was eliminated. He felt that the "democratic Kampuchean" regime had to pay attention to raising the cultural level of the 90 percent of the people who were illiterate peasants, and thus could not provide education for a small number of upper-class people, as under the old regime. Actuality has demonstrated that such bragging about "the essential elimination of illiteracy" was without basis. In fact, in the localities there were only a few classes teaching reading and arithmetic to the core cadres ruling at the local level. As for the people in general, their material lives were desperate, their lives were threatened, and their psychological state was very tense, so how could they think about study, or have the conditions for studying? Even the children lost the right to play and study in schools because they had to set aside most of their time to tending cattle and shoveling fertilizer for the communes.

As far as the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang was concerned, culture and education had no place in the "new society" which they were building. To them, it didn't matter whether one was literate or illiterate or whether one's cultural level was high or low. For example, the resolution of the party organization congress of the eastern region in July 1977, when dealing with the training of public health cadres, stressed that "It is necessary to completely eliminate the previous viewpoint and policy of only selecting people who attained a high cultural level under the old society. If we continue to make selections in that manner, we will clearly continue to cause harm. It is not necessary to know how to read or to know French, provided that the person is of the right social origin and has a good record, for that is sufficient. The cultural level is not the basic concern, for we do not treat illnesses with cultural levels. An illiterate person can also study medicine....The important matter is their political standpoint, which is the basis of technique." When relating his experiences to the Maoists in a number of Southeast Asian countries, Pol Pot often bragged that they achieved rapid results in training technical personnel without requiring that they have a high cultural level, for "the illiterate are also capable of studying." He gave the example that in Vietnam in order to study radio, radar, or the operation of ships and airplanes it is necessary to have a 10th grade educational level and to spend 6 years learning the trade, while "our peasants can master those subjects in only 3 months"! He also was proud of building a corps of scientific-technical cadres by means of a "shortcut" - that is, he exposed them briefly to the subject and then put them to work, and had no need for the theory "actual study is the only basis." His objective was to cause the young Kampuchean generation to grow up to become ignorant people who are far removed from the cultural and scientific-technical advances of mankind,

and therefore only automatons who only knew how to hoe earth and fire weapons for the reactionary rulers.

Systematically Eliminating the Intellectuals

Kampuchean intellectuals had to live the most bitter, disgraceful, and deprived life ever under the barbaric ruling regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which posed as "communist intellectuals".

Most of the patriotic Khmer intellectuals in the past stood in the ranks of the Kampuchean national united front during the years of the resistance war against the U.S. imperialists and their Lon Nol lackeys. Many intellectuals living in the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy supported the revolution and wanted to contribute their talents after the country was liberated. But the Kampuchean intellectuals, whether they participated in the resistance war or only recently joined the revolution, all became victims of a terrible policy of revenge after the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang took power.

In fact the reactionary Pol Pot gang, not waiting until they assumed complete power, during the resistance war clearly revealed their deceitful nature in rallying and utilizing the intellectuals. Pol Pot did not conceal that when he introduced the "experiences of the Kampuchean revolution" to the Maoist parties in Thailand, Burma, etc. On the one hand, he mentioned the necessity of rallying broad forces in a front opposing the imperialists and their lackeys, while on the other hand pointing out the necessity of regarding the intermediate strata, with its large numbers of students and intellectuals, as only "tactical forces", and of taking steps to prevent the intellectuals from being close to or coming into contact with the peasant masses, to disperse them in order to control them closely, and to assign them only unimportant tasks, regardless of their abilities. It was absolutely forbidden to utilize people who had served in the old administrative apparatus.

Immediately after 17 April 1975 the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang showed their true face to the intellectuals. The old intellectuals who held positions in the "Kampuchean Royal Government of National Unity" were quickly removed from the offices and ministries and were kept under close surveillance.

With regard to the students and intellectuals in the newly liberated cities, in early October 1975 the reactionary "angka" gang affirmed during a meeting of Organ 870 (the Pol Pot gang's standing committee) that "CIA contacts" were "living ordinary lives among the people". They believed that "all educated people such as engineers are full-fledged CIA agents" and that the enemy were organizing operational bases "among the intellectuals, especially the technical specialists". Therefore, they decided "not to allow intellectuals and technical specialists to join our ranks," and ordered that "they be concentrated in order to keep them under observation".

From the central level to the local level, the "angka" gang's decision on and evaluation of intellectuals reeked with prejudice and hatred; they

always stressed that it was necessary to "maintain revolutionary vigilance" toward "technicians, teachers, doctors, and engineers". A directive of the regional party committee of the Eastern Region, dated 5 September 1977, stated that "our party's policy is not to make use of them." At the annual party organization congress of Organ A33 (Pol Pot's information ministry) in January 1977, a representative of "angka" said emphatically. "The knowledge of the bourgeois intellectuals absolutely must not be used to build the socialist society". As for the petty bourgeois intellectuals, he believed that they "may be used immediately, but after a period of time they may become discontented". In brief, no one who worked with their minds was allowed to do a job corresponding to the person's capabilities and knowledge. All were sent to work in the communes and "whether they wanted to or not, forced to accept the leadership of the peasant class".

Organ S021 (Pol Pot's secret police organization) made up a list of old and new intellectuals and categorized them: if they were not classified as lackeys of the CIA they were classified as agents of the KGB (the Soviet Union's intelligence organ) or as pro-Vietnamese. Therefore, regardless of their social origins or political attitudes, all educated people were declared guilty by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary guard and were subject to being arrested or killed at any time. Those who had the good fortune of not being considered enemy were ultimately found guilty of the crime of "opposing the party" merely because they did not approve of the "angka" gang's actions in the localities. According to a July 1977 report of the Eastern Region, most of the anti-party elements were from the intermediate class: petty bourgeois teachers and students and "highly educated people". After that, large numbers of people were arrested and massacred. It has been estimated that in the provinces of Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Kompong Speu, etc., as many as 80 percent of the educated people were liquidated. Those who could not conceal their knowledge and intelligence from the "angka" lackeys could not avoid being sent to have their heads beaten in or their throats cut. Generally speaking, the lackeys of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had the right to kill people. They could kill as many as they wanted and the more intellectuals they killed the better. One dossier of Organ 21 recorded the names of 337 people killed in May 1976 at the prison in Phnom Penh included 64 intellectuals, among them 15 engineers, 6 doctors, and 16 teachers and other technical personnel. In the localities, it was not necessary to maintain lists recording the number killed.

The Khmer intellectuals who had lived abroad for many years shared the same fate as those who had remained in the country. After the war ended, Kampuchean intellectuals living in many countries enthusiastically returned to their homeland to rejoin their families and have the opportunity to directly contribute to developing the nation. Many people believed the deceitful words and sugary promises of Ieng Sary when he met with Kampuchean living abroad. They did not imagine that they would be a special target Pol Pot's security forces and secret police, who believed that they "had been heavily influenced by bourgeois and imperialist thought for many years". Rather complete lists of the doctors, engineers, teachers, technicians, etc. who

flew from France to Beijing and then to Phnom Penh in the first months of 1976 have been found in the files of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang's prisons. The columns recording the dates of "repatriation", "arrest", and "death" show that they lived at most a few months after their return.

In the first part of 1976, many intellectuals who had worked for years in Kampuchea's diplomatic corps were suddenly called home to study "the new situation and mission". As soon as they arrived in Phnom Penh they were sent to concentration camps in the provinces and were referred to by the disparaging term "the front gang". They had to do heavy labor 14 to 15 hours a day and were fed two cups of watery rice gruel a day. Some people, who could stand it no longer, hanged themselves or committed suicide by leaping from upper stories. Many high-ranking Kampuchean diplomats, such as Huot Xambat, Chea Xan, etc, were imprisoned and barbarously killed.

It has not yet been possible to make a full accounting of the crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang against the Kampuchean intellectuals. But preliminary investigations have shown that in the past there were 2,300 teachers and 106,000 students in Kampuchea's educational sector, but only 207 teachers and about 5,000 students survived. Of the 725 college professors and instructors, only 50 are left. In the public health sector (as of 1974) there were 643 doctors, pharmacists, and dentists, but only 69 remain alive. In the physical education and sports sector, 300 trainers and 2,000 athletes were killed. Only about 10 percent of the artists survived, and only 40 of the 190 female artists remain alive. In the press sector prior to 1975 there were 200 people, but now there are only five.

Those were the results of the large-scale massacres which were carried out by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang in 1976-1977 and which continued for several years after that. Pol Pot himself, when meeting with his reactionary masters in Beijing on 29 September 1977 proudly reported "We have essentially achieved complete pacification; there is no trouble, and not a single gun fired." When, during a talk with Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Sonoda in Tokyo on 12 June 1978, he was asked about the massacres in Kampuchea, Ieng Sary evaded the issue by saying, "The killing of people is an old story." "We have a small population, so nothing could be gained by killing more people." Although he sought to deny there had been no mass slaughter in Kampuchea, when responding to a question asked by an AFP correspondent in Beijing on 18 June 1979, Ieng Sary had to admit that "at most, only a few thousand, or a few tens of thousands, of people have been killed!"

The criminal acts of the bloodthirsty Pol Pot-Ieng Sary not only annihilated the precious capital of the Khmer people and caused the national culture to collapse, but also instilled in the Kampuchean intellectuals a false impression of socialism, communism, and the Communist Party's role in leading the revolution, which the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang misrepresented.

The Criminal Ringleaders

At one time, progressive opinion in the world did not know whether to believe the news about the unimaginable terror and murder because it was very difficult to learn about the situation in a "democratic Kampuchea" that had closed its borders. But after the liberation of 7 January 1979 the many documents left behind by the reactionary rulers, who were overthrown and fled, and the countless number of collective graves which were discovered everywhere were proof the horrible crimes of genocide and cultural annihilation, which the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang cannot deny.

Peace-loving and justice-loving people angrily condemn the bloodthirsty reactionaries, and also want to understand the roots of the genocide in Kampuchea, in which the cultural and intellectual circles experienced a horrible calamity. Some people cannot but be confused when they consider why Pol Pot and Ieng Sary who are also intellectuals, would adopt a policy of annihilating intellectuals. Actually, that is easily understood when one remembers the cruelties that occurred during the period of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" in China, in which the people who established lines and policies and gave direct guidance were not uneducated, but proudly styled themselves legitimate "Marxists-Leninists".

Everyone is now aware of the fact that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang consists of people from the exploiting classes who were educated by the colonialists abroad and became intellectuals. Those opportunists, who were heavily chauvinistic, employed many very wily schemes to take over leadership of the revolution, and used reactionary methods to consolidate and maintain their individual dictatorial powers. In the mid-1960's Pol Pot made his way to China, was granted an audience with the "Great Helmsman", and witnessed the earth-shaking "Great Cultural Revolution". After that, Pol Pot and his cohorts, wheedled and bribed by their masters, willingly sold out their bodies and souls to Beijing and were prepared to serve as tools in carrying out the anti-revolutionary strategy of the Chinese hegemonists in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

In their attitude toward intellectuals, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang modeled themselves after their masters in Beijing. Their crimes against intellectuals originated in part in their acceptance and reverence of Maoism. They stated many times that they used the thought of Mao Zedong as a guide in drafting and applying all of their lines and policies in Kampuchea. Clearly, with class stands and viewpoints that were entirely modeled on Maoism, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang brazenly eliminated the role of mental workers in society. They did not hesitate to annihilate the intellectual class because they determined that educated people who knew how to think scientifically were usually people who opposed their barbarous regime. In fact, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang did not allow anyone to think or act contrary to their predetermined plans. Even high-ranking intellectuals who had cooperated closely with Pol Pot, such as Hu Yun, Hu Nim, etc. were liquidated.

Everyone can see that if Beijing had not been its source of ideological, political, and military support, the clique ruling the so-called "democratic Kampuchea" could not have been free to impose their dictatorial, fascist policies on the Kampuchean people. It is very easy to understand why, when all of progressive mankind was severely condemning the genocidal crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, the Chinese rulers remained silent. Indeed, Beijing unashamedly praised their Pol Pot lackeys for having "delineated a correct revolutionary path" and having "washed clean the dirty traces of the old society", and for "democratic Kampuchea" having "a new, sparkling appearance", "standing proudly in the eastern part of the world", etc. (from a letter from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to Pol Pot's central committee, 29 September 1977). In November 1977 Chen Yonggui, a Chinese Vice Premier who was visiting Kampuchea, also praised the lackey gang to high heaven. He praised Pol Pot for "daring do things that the people of previous generations dared not do and never thought about, and winning great victories."

For that reason, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang loudly bragged that their regime "set an example for Southeast Asia and the world"!

Today, when thinking of the genocidal tragedy in Kampuchea, righteous public opinion in the world clearly recognizes the terrible face of the criminal ringleaders: the reactionary powers ruling in the Chong Nan He Palace, who are obstinately continuing to protect and support the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary criminals, who have been sentenced to death by the Kampuchean Revolutionary People's Court.

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