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Tap Chi Cong San

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## THE 1980 STATE PLAN AND OUR URGENT TASKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80  
pp 1-8

[Editorial]

[Text] During the past 4 years the people of our nation have, under extremely difficult circumstances, striven very resolutely, healed the wounds of war, overcome the consequences of natural disasters, restored and developed production, met the pressing needs of the people's lives, met the great requirements of strengthening national defense and security, defeated the Chinese aggressors, and begun to construct the material-technical bases of socialism.

However, during the past 4 years the state plans have in some respects been underfulfilled, production has increased slowly, the economic effectiveness of production and construction has been too low, and the existing imbalances in the economy have not been reduced. The basic, underlying reason for the great difficulties in the economy and the lives of the people is that the economy is still largely characterized by small-scale production, with its very low labor productivity, and has passed through 30 years of war and is experiencing the serious after-effects of war and neocolonialism. Another reason is the hostile policy of the reactionary Beijing rulers, who have allied with the imperialists to create new difficulties for us. At the same time, successive natural disasters have caused great damage.

Furthermore, there are many weaknesses and deficiencies in our economic management and social management. The general line and economic construction line of our party are correct, but are not yet fully understood by the echelons and sectors, which especially do not yet fully grasp the characteristics of our country's economy in the initial phase of the period of transition to socialism, during which it is being threatened by war. Therefore, many mistakes have been made in applying the party line. In economic and social management there are still deficiencies which have been prolonged and have been corrected slowly. The drafting of plans is still centralized and bureaucratic, and some

of the norms that have been set do not have an actual, scientific basis. Plans are still heavily characterized by dispersion and equalized emphasis, lack selected emphasis, and do not achieve balance among their parts. They have not yet been closely tied in with market utilization. We have also been slow in overcoming the situation of conservatism in improving the specific economic and financial policies to stimulate the development of production. The state management and economic management apparatus are still weak and deficient. Plan implementation guidance is still dispersed, bureaucratic and ineffective. The ideological and organizational tasks are not sharp and effective, are not yet closely tied in with the political and economic missions, and have not met the requirements of the revolution in the new phase.

At present, our country is at peace, but must be prepared to defeat the attacks of the Chinese expansionist and hegemonistic aggressors, and many difficulties have been encountered in the economy and in the lives of our people. In view of that situation, we must fully understand the line of the fourth party congress and the resolution of the fifth plenum of the party Central Committee regarding the three strategic missions which our entire party, population, and army must endeavor to fulfill:

First, promoting production and stabilizing and maintaining the people's living conditions.

Second, strengthening national defense and security and being prepared to fight aggression and defend the homeland.

Third, continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

In addition, we must fulfill our international obligations toward our neighbors Laos and Kampuchea.

During the last few years those missions have been concretized in the form of several urgent missions set forth by the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee:

--Endeavoring to increase the production of agriculture, forestry and fishing, develop the production of consumer goods, and build a number of key heavy industry installations relevant to those sectors, in order to, above all, meet the need for staple food, nonstaple food, and ordinary consumer goods, rapidly increase the supply of export goods, and stabilize and maintain the people's living conditions.

--Always maintain the initiative, be prepared to fight and smash the attacks of the aggressors and strongly defend the homeland, and strengthen and maintain political security and social order and safety.

--Launch a seething mass revolutionary movement to continually increase production, practice economy, be concerned with living conditions, and

develop the positive factors, while resolutely overcoming the negative phenomena in economic and social activities, especially the evils of thievery, bribery and coercing the masses.

The common mission of the 1980 state plan is to concentrate on the key objectives. Especially there must be strong, resolute policies and measures which bring about real results, in order to victoriously fulfill those urgent missions.

The 1980 state plan rationally regulates the developmental rates of the economic sectors, and assures that the economy advances solidly, and both fulfills the urgent missions and positively prepares for strong development in future years. The plan manifests the spirit of revolutionary offensive and at the same time has a scientific and practical nature. It goes all out to assure overall balance, in order to create conditions favorable for giving rise to new factors and overcoming the difficulties and negative aspects. The experiences of the past 4 years have demonstrated that if plan norms are not in balance with the actual conditions new difficulties will be created, and that failure to closely calculate effectiveness will result in waste and harm the economy.

In order to fulfill the urgent missions set forth by the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee, the 1980 state plan establishes as the foremost mission highly concentrating the nation's forces on developing agriculture and, on the agricultural front, concentrating on the production of staple foods and nonstaple foods, while also increasing the production of raw materials for industry and agricultural products for export. In addition to the forces of the agricultural production cooperatives and the peasants, it is necessary to mobilize all possible labor of the organs, enterprises, military units, and schools to participate in the production of staple foods. Each district and province must, with the strongest possible sense of responsibility, endeavor to attain the plan norms regarding the production and requisition-purchasing of staple foods. The entire economy must concentrate on serving agriculture practically and effectively. The implementation of policies recently promulgated by the state has begun to have the effect of stimulating agricultural production. We must do a good job of implementing those policies and promptly correct the distortions, in order to more strongly develop the effect of those policies that have been and will continue to be promulgated.

We must do a good job of organizing the implementation of the resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee regarding the development of the consumer goods industry and local industry.

Expanding our external economic relations, especially those with the Soviet Union and the other COMECON nations, strictly carrying out the contracts signed with foreign nations, and rapidly increasing export capabilities is a major concern of the 1980 state plan and must be

fully manifested in the economic activities of the sectors, localities and bases. Priority must be given to importing materials for the production of export goods, and to rectifying and strengthening export organization. The policy of stimulating exports is very important in order to encourage the sectors, localities and bases to produce and deal in production goods. The sectors, localities and bases must fully exploit all export capabilities and advance to balancing foreign exchange with their import needs.

Capital construction must be appropriate to capabilities regarding capital and construction materials, and we must resolve the situation of dispersing capital, spreading efforts evenly, and prolonging construction, which causes much waste. Priority must be given to investment to assure the fulfillment of the urgent missions and in heavy industry installations directly serving those missions. We must concentrate on definitively completing the key projects now under construction, and closely calculate the deadline for beginning the construction of new projects, especially those the construction of which requires many years. The construction of installations of dubious effectiveness, and those which will not have sufficient raw materials when they begin production, must be terminated. Equipment which cannot yet be installed must be well stored.

In the situation of difficulties being encountered with regard to raw materials, materials, equipment, and spare parts, industrial production must be appropriate to needs and capabilities, along the lines of promoting the sectors producing raw materials, materials, and spare parts (such as coal, wood, cement, fertilizer, machinery, etc.), assuring electricity to meet the needs of production and construction, and endeavoring to develop the industries producing consumer goods and export goods, with special attention to the industrial, handicraft, and artisan industry sectors using domestic raw materials.

We must strengthen circulation and distribution, create a basic transformation in requisition-purchasing, and concentrate control of goods in the hands of the state, by means of policies to stabilize obligations by concluding two-way contracts and making additional purchases at negotiated prices, meeting the state sector's staple food requirements, and providing agricultural raw materials, forestry products, and marine products for industry and export. The distribution of materials and goods to the localities must be balanced with the requisition-purchasing plans and the degree to which the locality contributes to meeting the needs of the central level; we must overcome averaging distribution among the localities, and separate the materials and commodities supply plans from requisition-purchasing and product delivery plans. If the tasks of requisition-purchasing, controlling the sources of supply, and organizing the circulation of materials and goods, the commercial sector must undergo a strong transformation with regard to organization and commercial operations, especially at the



district level. In the immediate future we must urgently reorganize the district-level commercial network along the lines of unifying guidance of requisition-purchasing and the supplying of materials and commodities within the sphere of the district, in order to assure the carrying out of two-way contracts between the state and the peasants. We must resolutely strengthen the management and commodities, and resolutely stop and punish the evils of corruption, the thievery of socialist property, speculation and hoarding, and dishonest trading.

We must continue to selectively strengthen the material-technical bases, accompanied by the rectification of the organization and management of the communications and transportation sector and its strong reorientation to the use of animal-pulled carts and sail boats. We must promulgate in a timely manner energy policies that are appropriate to the new situation, and resolutely reduce the consumption of POL, especially in the nonproductive sphere.

Labor must be well organized and utilized in each base, locality, and sector; the distribution of labor among the various areas must be rationally adjusted; and the labor forces of the entire nation must be mobilized to promote production and maintain combat readiness. At the same time, we must continue to amend the policies intended to stimulate everyone to produce enthusiastically and increase labor productivity, and make progress in adjusting the distribution and redistribution of the national income by means of price, salary and financial policies, in order to stabilize the incomes and living conditions of the workers, civil servants, and laboring peasants, while also making basic progress in overcoming the situation of overspending the budget and overspending cash. That is an important direction for improving the economic policies according to the principle of closely combining the three benefits (benefit to society, to the collective and to the individual worker), and for urging the workers to produce enthusiastically, produce much and receive much, at the same time assuring that the state controls the source of supply. Since the production level is still low, it is necessary to concentrate on resolving the problem of producing staple food and nonstaple food and make the greatest possible effort to meet the urgent needs for consumer goods. With regard to needs, if they cannot be met, it is necessary to explain the situation to the people, so that they may understand and sympathize.

In all sectors, localities and bases, in drafting plans as well as in the process of implementing them it is necessary to closely combine the economic construction mission with the continuation of socialist transformation in the South and the perfection of the new production relations throughout the nation. At the same time, it is necessary to always closely combine the economy with national defense and national defense with the economy, and meet the requirements regarding the strengthening of national defense and security and readiness to fight to defend the homeland.



The above are the basic guidance thoughts in drafting, and guiding the implementation of, the 1980 plan, and are intended to fulfill the immediate urgent missions. The common direction is to, on the basis of exploiting all capabilities of the economic components, on all scales and in all organizational scales, and the flexible application of the economic policies, fully utilize the existing and future labor, land, forests, seas, and material-technical bases, thus causing production breakthroughs in all bases, sectors, and localities throughout the nation. The key element in those breakthroughs are those in agricultural, forestry and fishing production, especially in the production of staple food and nonstaple food, while creating sources of raw materials for the food industry and for the industries producing consumer goods and export goods. The strong transformation in the production and requisition-purchasing of staple food and nonstaple food will exert a good influence on many other production sectors and create for the national economy a more solid status of advance. The urgent missions of 1980 demand that the sectors and echelons truly concentrate on serving agriculture, by means of specific, practical, and effective measures: concentrating materials and capital, concentrating plans to stimulate the development of production, concentrating cadres, and concentrating the guidance of the party committees and the state organs. The requirement of concentration on agriculture demands that we also pay attention to the sectors and activities which directly serve agriculture. We must especially pay attention to the heavy industry bases which exert great influence on agriculture, such as electricity, coal, machinery, fertilizer, etc.

Strengthening guidance of the drafting and implementation of plans has an extremely important significance in assuring that the plans that are drafted are positive and solid, assure all-round fulfillment, and create a clear transformation in the economy in 1980 and gain momentum for economic development during future years. It is essential that the plans for 1980 and future years are drafted skillfully at the base and district levels. The base-level plans must truly be action programs drafted by the masses and carried out with a spirit of collective master-ship. We stress the drafting of district plans in accordance with the requirement of creating balances in the sphere of the district: balancing labor and land, balancing staple foods and nonstaple foods, and balancing two-way exchange relationships between the state and the peasants. In balancing staple foods with nonstaple foods, the districts must make maximum efforts to satisfy the needs of the locality and those of the bases directly under the central echelon, while contributing most positively to achieving overall balancing of staple foods and nonstaple foods for the state. The districts with large industrial crop areas or many workers engaged in fishing, salt-making, and forestry must do all they can to meet their own staple food needs, but that should not adversely affect the development of sectors and trades they have been assigned in accordance with plans. If they are still short on staple food the province will assist them.

In drafting plans as well as in implementing them, attention must be paid to combining planning with the full utilization of market relations. The plan should be the principal tool for managing the national economy. On the other hand, we must widely utilize the commodity-money relations and the market relations that are appropriate to the characteristics of our country at present, and overcome the situation of overextension and bureaucratic centralization, which hold back the creative labor capabilities of the working people.

The present missions are very great and urgent, while many major difficulties are being encountered in the economy and in the lives of the people. Some material conditions essential for production, construction and the lives of the people are worse than they were several years ago. In that situation, the decisive matter is to launch a mass revolutionary movement that is closely tied in with strengthening the leadership of the party and the state's economic and social management. That revolutionary movement must take place with a spirit of competition in production labor and practicing economy, and must lead to the specific result of increasing labor productivity in each base, locality and sector, in order to victoriously fulfill the state plan. In addition to political education and activation, a key concern at present is continuing to amend and supplement the economic policies and management regulations, in order to exploit the strong effect of the economic levers on the production labor movement throughout the nation. At the same time, all sectors and echelons must assure the conditions necessary for production at the base level, and must pay all-out attention to the living conditions of the working masses.

It is essential that there be a strong transformation in economic and social management. The phenomena of lax management, working without a sense of responsibility, not calculating economic effectiveness, showing off, waste, and negative phenomena in society, such as thievery, bribery, coercing the masses, etc., must be resolutely eliminated. All sectors, echelons, cadres, and party members must clearly recognize the new situation and missions, strive to advance and fulfill their responsibilities, be exemplary in implementing the policies of the party and state, resolutely stop and eliminate the phenomena of degeneration, oppose indifference, localism, and partialism, oppose pessimistic, negative manifestations, and oppose tendencies to become impatient and be unrealistic. The ideological, organizational, and cadre tasks must be strengthened in order to keep up with the requirements of the political and economic missions.

We are beginning 1980 with new confidence, enthusiasm, and determination. We are certain to victoriously fulfill the missions of the 1980 state plan, create a clear transformation in the economy and in the lives of the people, and achieve outstanding accomplishments, in order to worthily commemorate the glorious historical dates of our people and party in 1980.

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CSO: 4209

**BUILD A STRONG REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMY, BE DETERMINED TO DEFEAT ANY ENEMY**

Hanoi VNA in English 1857 GMT 21 Dec 79 OW212000

[Speech by Le Duan at the ceremony to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam People's Army (22 December 1979)--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80 pp 25-36. VNA version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 249, pp K7-K15]

[Text] Dear Comrades and Friends, Dear Guests,

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam the Vietnamese revolution has gone through half a century of extremely heroic struggle and won very glorious victories. The greatest gain of that revolutionary process is that our people have won total independence for and completely reunified our homeland. Our whole country is advancing to socialism and has an invincible army.

In our history of national construction and national defence, never before has our people had such a strong army as today. This is one of the basic factors guaranteeing the everlasting existence of our fatherland and a perpetual life in independence and freedom for our people.

Born and growing up in a seething, broad and continuous revolutionary movement of the working people of our country, the Vietnam People's Army was, right from its birth, a worker-peasant army endowed with the character of the working class and directly led by the party. Its predecessors were red self-defence units set up during the Nghe Tinh Soviet movement and armed organizations during pre-insurrection periods such as the Bac Son and Nam Ky guerilla units, the national salvation army, the propaganda group of the liberation army, the Ba To guerilla unit and other guerilla and militia units throughout the country.

Standing in the forefront of the struggle for national salvation and defence, the Vietnamese revolutionary armed forces, always united and sharing weal and woe with the people, have gone through many historical stages full of hardships and trials and won glorious feats of arms.

During the August Revolution of 1945, the mass political forces in town and country and the revolutionary armed forces were combined, creating an aggregate strength for the movement of general insurrection, the decisive strength which shattered the enemy's leading battles in Hanoi and other towns and provincial capitals, and abolished the enemy's rule in the countryside for the seizure of power throughout the country. With the great victory of the August revolution, our people's armed forces were merged into an army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first workers-peasant state in Southeast Asia.

During the war of resistance against the French colonialists the Vietnamese people's armed forces, mindful of their sacred tasks--national liberation and socialist construction--together with our people successfully carried out the first all-people and all-sided war in the contemporary history of our nation. After nine years of staunch resistance, our people's armed forces, equipped at the start with only bamboo spears and flintlocks, grew into powerful divisions, and together with the people delivered big battles across the country, leading to the winter 1953-spring 1954 campaign, the apex of which was the great and well-known Dien Bien Phu victory, to liberate the whole of northern Vietnam and take it to socialism. The Vietnamese people's armed forces, a heroic and creative revolutionary army, defeated the French expeditionary corps, a professional aggressor army of an old imperialist power in Europe. Our nation's victory in the anti-French war of resistance forever put an end to the domination of old colonialism in our country, and ushered in a period of collapse of old colonialism on the world scale.

During the war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors, the Vietnamese people's armed forces, mindful of their two strategic tasks--continuation of the national and democratic revolution in the south and promotion of the socialist revolution in the north for a common goal: completion of national liberation and reunification and taking the whole country to socialism--together with the entire people successfully carried out the greatest war for national salvation in the history of our nation.

After more than 20 years of extremely heroic struggle, successively foiling all war strategies of the U.S. imperialists, our fighters and compatriots throughout the country won total victory in the miraculous general offensive and uprising of spring 1975, the magnificent climax of which was the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign. Berating the south and accomplishing the cause of national independence and reunification the Vietnamese people's armed forces defeated the U.S. aggressor army, an army equipped with very modern weapons of the ring-leader imperialist and international gendarme who schemed to use a powerful military force to crush our people, destroy our country, push back the revolutionary movements of other countries, check the advance of socialism and realize world hegemony. The victory of our nation in the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists has shattered the biggest counter-offensive of imperialism spearheaded at the revolutionary forces since the Second World War, upsetting the U.S. reactionary global strategy, opening the period of inevitable bankruptcy of neo-colonialism, and weakening the imperialist system, thus increasing the strength and the offensive posture of the three revolutionary torrents of our times.

In the present period, fully aware of their tasks of socialist construction and defence of the socialist fatherland, the Vietnamese people's armed forces have, together with the entire people, won glorious victories in the two wars for national defence in the south-western and northern borders, initially foiling the scheme of aggression of our new enemy--expansionism and hegemonism of the reactionary elements within the Beijing ruling clique. The people's armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have defeated the Chinese aggressors and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, their henchmen, firmly defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, and helping save the Kampuchean people from the disaster of genocide. This victory has created an unprecedented new posture and strength



for the revolutions in our country and our two fraternal countries on the Indochinese Peninsula, increased the possibilities of safeguarding peace and national independence in Southeast Asia, encouraged the movement for national independence and actively contributed to the defence of socialism and the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

Our people and army have fought for more than 30 years without letup and without respite and suffered untold sacrifices and hardship to win glorious victories, completely liberating the country and at the same time fulfilling their international obligations towards the peoples and armies of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea. The victories of our army and people over two big imperialist powers--France and the U.S.--and the hard blows dealt at the Chinese expansionists have greatly contributed to strengthening the revolutionary forces in the world which are fighting for peace, national independence and social progress.

Looking back at the process of fighting and growth from the height of today's victory, our army is deeply aware that all its exploits and achievements stemmed from the party's independent and sovereign revolutionary line. This line is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam, and the constant holding aloft and talented combination of the two banners of national independence and socialism throughout the various revolutionary periods, considering them as the fundamental strategy and the foundations of all our party's lines and policies. Firmly grasping this line, our party successfully solved a series of problems concerning the building of our armed forces, conduct of war and military art in the wars for national liberation and national defence, enabling our people's armed forces to win victory after victory.

The party advocated the use of revolutionary violence by two forces: the mass political forces and the people's armed forces; continuous application of the offensive strategy, developing our offensive posture from small to big, winning victory step by step, and advancing to total victory; bringing into full play our aggregate strength, combining armed struggle with political struggle; staging partial uprisings, turning uprisings into revolutionary war, combining uprisings with offensives and offensives with uprisings; fighting the enemy in three strategic areas: the mountain region, the rural areas and the plains, and the urban areas; combining the three kinds of armed forces, combining local people's war with war by the regular army corps, combining small, medium and big battles; thinning out the enemy forces and encircling them in order to destroy them; fighting and producing at the same time; coordinating activities at the battlefield with those in the rear areas; containing the enemy and forcing them to de-escalate the war step by step in order to defeat them, making strong attacks and also fighting protracted battles; fighting in order to become stronger; controlling the battlefield in order to destroy the enemy, and destroying the enemy in order to control the battlefield; controlling the battlefield in order to attack the enemy, and attacking the enemy in order to control the battlefield; fighting protracted war and at the same time creating conditions and seizing opportune moments to launch strategic offensives, changing the war situation, launching general offensives to shatter the enemy and win final victory.

The above-mentioned forms and methods of fighting are organically interrelated, constituting the comprehensive strategy of Vietnam's people's war. It is being developed and applied to new conditions with many new contents by our party to lead our army and people in the fulfilment of the task of national defence in the present stage.

The Vietnamese people's armed forces have always been victorious and have powerfully grown up thanks to the correct leadership of the vanguard party of the working class,



of the great President Ho Chi Minh, and also thanks to the care and protection by the people, to the new social system and to the wholehearted assistance of brothers and friends in the world.

Over the past decades, our party and venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh have done their utmost to lead, educate and train our armed forces, and constantly created favourable conditions for our armed forces to grow unceasingly to win success in building and victories in fighting. In leading, Uncle Ho, the beloved father of our people's armed forces, always closely followed the advance of our army, thoughtfully educated and guided them in their march forward. The more they rejoice at the growth of our army, the more our people and army are continuing in the party's leadership and the deeper their gratitude for Uncle Ho's invaluable contributions.

As the sons and daughters of a heroic people, our army has inherited our people's tradition of dauntlessness which has been tested through four thousand years of national defence and national construction, has inherited the military genius of our forefathers who defeated many ferocious aggressor armies and won resounding victories. Suffering from oppression and exploitation by feudalism and imperialism, and in face of the great difficulties in their life caused by the U.S. war of destruction, our people always loved and supported their revolutionary armed forces. They were ready to endure all privations so that our troops could be well fed and fight victoriously against the enemy. They were ready to make any contribution in manpower and wealth and to sacrifice their best possessions for the cause of defending the nation and building up the army; the Vietnamese people are truly the loving and courageous mother of our army, the source of our armed forces' boundless strength.

Faced with wicked and ferocious enemies, our people and army have always been the victors, because they have a solid support--the excellent socialist system, the former people's democratic system, and the present system of socialist collective mastery. Thanks to the new system we are able to combine the strength of our national tradition with the strength of our times, the strength of our country with that of the world revolution, to multiply the all-sided strength of the rear area and the front, of the political forces and the armed forces, the fighting strength of each individual, each unit and each organization. In the final analysis, our victories were those of a growing advanced system, and the defeats of the enemies were those of a reactionary regime condemned by history. To do our utmost to build up the new regime is to create a decisive factor for the success of the work of building the army and consolidating national defence.

Our people are proud to have given birth to a heroic army, which "has fulfilled any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeated any enemy". Our army is worthy of our forebears, namely, the Trung sisters, Lady Trieu, Ngo Quyen, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung... Our army is worthy of its position as an advanced section of the Vietnamese working class, the effective instrument of our state, a solid pillar of our system of socialist collective mastery.

On this great festive anniversary of the birth of the Vietnam People's Army, on behalf of the party Central Committee, I warmly commend our armed forces, all our cadres and fighters who have fulfilled their tasks with outstanding merit in our people's great cause of national liberation and national defence, under the party's leadership. The thoughts of our entire party, people and army are going to those cadres, fighters and fellow-countrymen who have heroically sacrificed their lives for the independence and freedom of the fatherland. We convey our heartfelt feelings and warmest regards to the families of war dead and to the war invalids and sick army men.

The victory of our people and army is also a result of the consistent militant solidarity and long-standing special relationship between our people and the Lao and Kampuchean peoples. In the present revolutionary struggle, our people and army are ever more closely united with the peoples and armies of these two fraternal countries. No wicked scheme, no barbarous force can shake the iron-like determination of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, nor break the militant alliance between our three peoples in their struggle for the independence and freedom of each country.

Each step of our growth and each of our victories over the past decades as well as our present cause of national construction and national defence are closely linked with the sympathy, support and all-sided and precious assistance of the Soviet people and army, and of the peoples and armies of other fraternal countries as well as with the strong support and encouragement of the forces of revolution and progress in the world. On this occasion, we sincerely express our deep gratitude to the Soviet people and Soviet army--the comrades who have given Vietnam a great and effective assistance in the noble spirit of proletarian internationalism with the aim of implementing the Vietnam-Soviet treaty of friendship and co-operation. We also express our gratitude to the peoples and armies of the other fraternal socialist countries and to all our friends in the world for their precious assistance.

Dear comrades and friends,

The victory of our people's resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation was a heavy strategic setback for imperialism and international reaction. It was at the same time a setback of the great-nation expansionist policy of the reactionary elements in the Chinese ruling gang. The advocates of hegemonism in Beijing consider the birth and growth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam--an important factor for defending peace, independence, democracy in Southeast Asia--as the main obstacle to their expansionist drive to the south. They hurriedly entered into open collusion with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. They seek by hook or by crook to limit the successes of the Vietnamese revolution, do their utmost to encircle and isolate our country in an attempt to weaken and conquer it, thus paving the way for conquest of other countries in Southeast Asia, and for advancing toward world hegemony. They made use of their henchmen--the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang--to start a criminal land-grabbing war on our country's southwestern border. Then they brazenly mobilized 600,000 troops to wage an aggressive war against our country, under the reactionary and arrogant pretext of "teaching Vietnam a lesson".

That treacherous act has revealed the true colours of the Chinese rulers. They style themselves as Marxist-Leninists and socialists, but they have acted against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. They frenziedly oppose the Soviet Union--the bulwark of peace and world revolution. They oppose Vietnam--a people who love peace and cherish independence and freedom. They oppose the revolutionary movement of the people of all countries and oppose the trend of evolution of history. They completely run counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese working class and labouring people.

After so many years of struggle full of hardships and sacrifices, our people have no other aspirations than to live in independence and freedom in order to rebuild our country in peace, to build a happy life free from want, and to enter into friendly co-operation with neighbouring countries as well as other nations. However, in face of the hostile policy and acts of aggression of the Beijing reactionary rulers, our people had to rise up to fight and defend our fatherland. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom". By defending our national independence and socialism, we fought for the present

generation and also for generations to come, for the revolutionary cause of the peoples in Indochina, for peace and security in Southeast Asia and for the lofty objectives of our times.

Our people sincerely wish to live in peace and friendship with all other countries. We set great store by the friendship with the Chinese people. We wish to peacefully settle through negotiations all the problems arising in the relations between the two countries, but the reactionary elements in the Beijing ruling circle are using negotiations to hide their aggressive schemes, to hide the fact that they are preparing a new military adventure, thus increasing the tension on the border between the two countries. They must bear full responsibility for these actions. Vietnam does not invade any country, but it is resolved to retaliate against all aggressions. Those who pursue an expansionist policy, who want to follow in the ruts of the imperialists, are doomed to heavier defeats.

The historic mission of our entire party, people and army now is to successfully build socialism and firmly defend our motherland. To fulfil that mission, we should uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, build the all-sided and broad system of socialist collective mastery, rapidly increase our economic and military potentials, strive to increase production and practise thrift, stabilize and improve the people's life, intensify national defence, resolutely smash all schemes and acts of aggression, and at the same time build the material and technical basis for socialism.

Dear comrades and friends, the work of building and defending our beloved homeland--Vietnam--requires that we continue to build our armed forces into a mighty revolutionary people's army, an army having all the qualities of a modern regular army, an army ready to fight and determined to defeat all enemies, an army engaged in productive labour, contributing to the building of the economy and to national construction. A mighty revolutionary people's army is one absolutely loyal to the motherland and socialism. One which evinces the character of the working class, is linked heart and soul to the working people, closely allies with friends throughout the world, is determined to fight and defeat any enemy and fulfil any task with outstanding merit. The popular and revolutionary character of our army must manifest itself in its fighting objectives, its organization and structure, its leading mechanism and also in the practice of strategy and tactics.

Now that our whole country is independent, unified and advancing to socialism, homeland and socialism are one. Our army must always hold high the banner of national independence and socialism in the new period. It must see clearly that Chinese great-nation expansionism and great-power hegemonism in collusion with imperialism is the direct enemy of our people now. It must be resolved to fight and defeat all acts of aggression by the enemy. Our cadres and combatants should evince their socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, their sense of collective mastery of society and revolutionary heroism, and fulfil the national tasks and international obligations assigned by the party and the state.

Uncle Ho taught our army to be "loyal to the homeland and faithful to the people" (speech on the 20th founding anniversary of the Vietnam People's Army--December 1964). He also taught the army "to be loyal to the party, faithful to the people, ready to fight and to make sacrifices for the homeland's independence and freedom, for socialism". He always associated the party with the country and the people, and linked national independence with socialism. Our army's very powerful spiritual motive is deep love of the socialist homeland and of the people. The army must always be attached to the people, and there must be oneness of mind between the army and the people. The army must consider every individual among the people as their kith and kin. It must unite with the people, respect, love, assist and protect the people. It must learn from the people and set good examples for the people to follow.

Our army is an effective instrument of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat, of the system of socialist collective mastery of society. Cadres and fighters must always observe and defend the laws, respect and defend the state power, and combine their actions with those of state offices and mass organizations. Our army is placed under the leadership of the party: that is a factor determining all achievements and victories of our armed forces. Our entire army, as one man, is correctly implementing the political line and the military line charted by the party.

Our armed forces are composed of the regular army, the regional armies and the self-defence and militia, which make up the main force and regional troops. It is composed of three categories of troops, forces built in a balanced and uniform way, which are closely linked with the people, masters of the locality and masters of the country. The regular army has necessary services and arms, forming regular and modern mobile detachments, which are composed of well-trained and battle-tested troops, able to wipe out large enemy forces, and defend our strategic positions. The regional forces are composed of regional troops and self-defence and militia; in various provinces, and districts in the border areas there are also frontier guards. The regional forces and self-defence and militia must be strong enough to be the core and, together with the local population, to fight on the spot, and build each village, hamlet, ward, factory, construction site, state farm and logging centre into a stronghold, build each district into a military fortress, and each province and city into a strategic unit. The different categories of troops which make up the mobile and on-the-spot forces are closely linked with one another; they are deployed in a rational way in a continuous theatre of operation of the people's war, and thus are able to control the situation and make strong attacks.

A high-level modern regular army is one which has a rational organization, a self-imposed strict discipline, modern weapons and equipment. It is able to master military science and technology and to grasp the strategy and tactics of people's war for national defence. It is necessary to solve the problem of organization well, keep the full strength of each army unit, ensure that these units have a fixed number, and a high combat efficiency. We must have a strong organization and strong men, strong leading bodies and strong units, strong army corps and solid bases. We must have a tight leadership and an efficient command. We must strictly obey the orders, observe the regulations, rules and regimes of the army, and heighten the sense of discipline of officers and men, and build up an efficient and scientific style of work.

Our armed forces must be equipped step by step with more and more sophisticated weapons and war means, including defensive and offensive weapons, means of combat and combat support, means for command and mobility. Weapons and equipment must suit the fighting methods and the conditions of the battlefield, the role, tasks and organization of various arms and services.

It is necessary to gradually build a national defence industry, pay great attention to securing material, technical and logistic means for the army. Relying ourselves on the people's strength, on the achievements made in socialist construction in each region and in all the country, we must satisfy the requirements of army units and care for the soldiers' life.

Our officers and fighters must constantly study to raise their cultural, scientific and technical level in order to master at all costs, skillfully use and keep well the modern weapons and equipment entrusted to them, and make the best use of the weapons and technical means they have in hand, including rudimentary means. Wars for national defence now pose many problems regarding strategy and tactics. We must rely on the rich centuries-old knowledge and experiences of our forefathers and of our army and people over the past



few decades, and combine them with the new experiences of the Soviet Union and other brother countries, in order to successfully solve the problems of fighting and army building, to raise to a higher level and Marxist-Leninist military art in our country, and the military art of people's war for national defence. On this basis, it is necessary to study new combat methods to train our troops so as to make all our arms and services seasoned ones.

Our armymen must heighten their vigilance, strictly obey the order to stand ready for combat, keep well informed about the enemy's situation, resolutely frustrate their sabotage manoeuvres, defeat all their wars of aggression, whatever their scale, whenever they come and wherefrom, and with whatever force. To stand combat-ready is an important factor ensuring the success of military operations. Our army must at the same time be ready for combat and buckle down to productive work to contribute to economic construction. With regard to the people's armed forces, to fight in defence of the country is the most important and most sacred task; to engage in productive work and economic construction is a task of great importance. Both tasks testify to the nature and fine traditions of our people's armed forces. This is also an objective requirement of the present situation and our revolutionary tasks.

Our country is facing great difficulties created by an economy based on small production, by the aftermaths of long years of war and by continual natural calamities. Besides, the enemy is seeking every means to encircle and destroy our country. In the economic field, our armymen must do their best to produce foods and other things to improve their living conditions, and together with the rest of the people, overcome the difficulties faced by the country. They must zealously study to grasp the fundamentals of economy and technology and apply appropriate forms of organizations and methods of activity in order to stand combat-ready and to tackle production with a high economic efficiency.

To develop the economy is to contribute to building a solid rear area, an on-the-spot logistic base for the people's regional war, and also to serve the operations of big detachments of the regular army. The rear area is a factor deciding the victory of a war. It is the source of moral strength of an army, the source of replenishment in manpower and material for the front. It guarantees the ever growing strength of our army and people. Our armymen must take an active part in all work in the areas where they are stationed, carry out satisfactorily the agitation work among the masses, correctly implement the policy on nationalities, popularize the party's and government's lines and policies, help raise the political awareness of the masses, together with the people increase production, be ready for combat and maintain the social order and political security.

Our people's army must be a really great school appealing to the young generations to turn them into new people, good in production, work and combat, having lofty ideals, good health, a high sense of discipline, an expeditious style of work, organization abilities and labour skills, capable of establishing good relations with other people and of training good workers and cadres for socialist construction. As a core of this school, army officers must epitomize revolutionary heroism, the spirit of making sacrifices for the homeland. They must grasp the party's political and military lines, modern military sciences and technology and those of the people's war for national defence. They must keep close ties with the masses, love and take care of their men, a simple and wholesome life. The number of army cadres must be increased. They must strive to temper themselves, raise their knowledge and their moral qualities in order to fulfill any task and set examples to the soldiers.



Comrades and friends, dear guests, the fight and growth of the Vietnam People's Army over the past 35 years constitute a great pride and a powerful source of encouragement for our people, cadres and fighters of our armed forces. The glorious path travelled by our army heralds the certain and brilliant victories of our revolutionary struggle in the new stage.

As victors and collective masters of society, our army, together with the entire people, is resolved to march forward, and overcome all difficulties to build socialism, make our country rich and powerful, smash all schemes of the aggressors, firmly defend each inch of the sacred territory of our socialist homeland Vietnam, fulfil its internationalist duty, and make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

Side by side with the armies and peoples of fraternal countries, our army and people strongly support the struggle of other peoples for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. We give whole hearted support to the new peace initiative put forth on October 6, 1979 by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the constructive proposals of the conference of the Warsaw Treaty member countries' foreign ministers, regarding this as a great contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

To fulfil its important tasks in the present stage, let our army strive to develop the excellent nature of our working class and the tradition of heroism of our people in order to be worthy of our party's and people's great confidence. Our people have a great strength for national defence struggle for a justice-radiating cause, enjoy the party's correct and creative leadership, boast an excellent socialist system, and the unity of mind of the entire party, people and army.

We benefit from the militant alliance between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and enjoy the assistance and co-operation of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and the sympathy and support of progressive mankind.

The heroic Vietnamese people and armed forces are forever invincible.

For our homeland, for socialism, we will win.

Let our armed forces, together with the people in the whole country, march forward heroically.

CSO: 4209

## FIRMLY GRASP THE PARTY'S LINE, ADVANCE STRONGLY

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[Article by To Huu]

[Text] The resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee regarding the "Urgent Situation and Missions" cast a new beam of light and opened up a new direction of thought in order to exploit the initiative and creativity of our entire party, our entire population, and our entire army, overcome difficulties, and advance to the winning of new victories.

The party Central Committee resolution encouraged an outburst of revolutionary activity. But if our viewpoints are not correct we will commit errors in explaining, and in actually implementing, that resolution. Therefore, we must firmly grasp the basic viewpoints regarding the party line, apply the economic laws in the period of transition from small-scale production to socialism, and create a basis on which to determine the immediate directions and missions, in order to promote production, stabilize the people's living conditions, strengthen national defense and security, maintain readiness to fight to defend the homeland, and overcome the negative phenomena in economic and social activity.

### I. Create an Initial Economic Structure

The fourth party congress confirmed the line of "Priority to the rational development of heavy industry, on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry." Then the second plenum of the party Central Committee stressed that agricultural production is the foremost mission. Since our country is not yet industrialized and our economic cooperation with foreign countries has not yet been expanded, we have no other course than to begin to advance on the basis of agriculture.

In economic development under the condition of most labor being manual, labor and the land, the forests and the seas are the two most basic elements. Therefore, it is necessary to firmly grasp and skillfully

utilize labor, the land, the forest and the seas; exploit all latent agricultural, forestry and fishing capabilities; and fully utilize all of the nation's existing capabilities, in order to meet the needs for staple foods and nonstaple foods and improve the people's living conditions, while at the same time creating means of production and constructing the material-technical bases of socialism. The entire nation, and each locality and base, must firmly grasp their labor sources; take the initiative in reorganizing and reassigning labor; combine labor with the land, the forests and the seas; and assure that everyone capable of working has a job and works, without wasting a single worker. At the same time, there must be appropriate policies to stimulate enthusiasm for labor on the part of every individual and production unit.

We must begin, on the basis of agriculture, to resolve problems regarding our people's living conditions and accumulate capital for industrialization. Therefore, one of the key problems in the economic task at the present time is to reassign and utilize labor in the best possible manner. The most valuable lesson learned from such advanced models as Dinh Cong and Vu Thang is that regarding the division of labor, knowing how to rationally divide labor, knowing how to closely combine labor with the objects of labor, etc. It is regrettable that, while some such bases operate skillfully many bases and districts do not yet know how to distribute labor on their land to bring about the greatest possible output. Since our per-capita agricultural land is insufficient, we must not only know how to rationally utilize labor on the existing cultivated land but must also use labor to open up new agricultural land, accompanied by the development of forestry and fishing. Therefore, we must carry out a redivision of labor in all areas of the country.

That process of labor redivision must be carried out rationally, and labor must be combined with the land, the forests and the seas. Thereby we can break through the "barrier" of staple food monoculture and staple food shortage, create outstanding development of agriculture, forestry and fishing, and develop the consumer goods industry and increase the supply of export goods. A matter of decisive importance in the redivision of labor is the creation of a rational economic structure. Industry, especially heavy industry, must serve agriculture as effectively as possible. That requirement is also posed for all other sectors, including the armed forces. The central echelon has stressed that matter many times, but the various echelons have not yet concentrated their efforts on serving agriculture. That is a major deficiency which reflects failure to fully understand the party's line. It must be overcome.

Our nation's economy, which is advancing from the situation of small-scale production, consists of two major components: the national economic-technical sectors and the local economy. Those two components are closely combined, and depend on each other to develop.

The economic-technical sector, a basic organization of large-scale production, plays an extremely important role in advancing science and technology, increasing labor productivity, transforming manual labor into mechanized labor, and achieving socialist accumulation. But under our specific circumstances at present, the building of scientific-technical sectors must be carried out step by step. Therefore, it is even more necessary to fully understand the strategic nature of the local economy in the party's economic development line, in order to concentrate adequately on that matter.

As Comrade Lenin clearly indicated, the local economy provides the best opportunity for combining labor with the land, the forests and the seas, and for combining industry and agriculture into an industrial-agricultural structure at the provincial and district levels. It is an important link in capital accumulation and the concentration of production, and furthers the formation of large-scale socialist production. It is an important source of export goods, especially in the present phase, when the principal exports are agricultural products and consumer goods, and closely combines production with distribution and the organization of the people's lives. It manifests most directly and explicitly the collective mastership right of the working people, and concretely manifests the unity of benefit to all of society, benefit to the collective, and benefit to the individual workers. It combines the economy with national defense and is the on-the-spot rear services base of national defense.

In order to develop the local economy strongly and stably, the localities themselves must go all out to advance. Moreover, the central sectors must contribute to building up the local economy under the centralized and unified guidance of the central echelon. The recent plenum of the party Central Committee especially stressed the development of the local economy, releasing the ties which bind the local economy, and creating conditions for the local economy to develop rapidly. Of course, it must be understood that the local economy is a part of the whole and a part of the national economy, and absolutely is not a separate "kingdom."

In the local economy, the district is a strategic unit. Therefore, we must concentrate on building up the district echelon so that it is equal to its missions. Because of the strategic significance of the district on the economic front, the guidance of the central echelon must encompass the economic-technical sectors and the provinces but must also, along with the provinces, control all aspects of development in each district.

In order to truly create conditions for building up the local economy, the recent plenum of the party Central Committee stressed that the relationship between the central echelon and the local echelon must be one of mutual obligations. The central echelon has the obligations of



providing the locality with materials, equipment, etc., and of determining rational policies. Each locality must make the greatest possible efforts to balance production and consumption, while also contributing to the central echelon, i.e., to the nation, in accordance with the plan. After fulfilling their obligations to the state, the localities are authorized to expand trade with the other localities, to borrow from the bank, to export and import, to determine a number of matters regarding prices and the market in the sphere of the locality, etc. That is a very great policy, a very positive viewpoint, intended to liberate the local economy, create conditions for the strong development of the local economy, and thereby change our country's economic situation.

## II. The Operational Characteristics of Economic Laws in the Transitional Period: Correctly Utilizing the Economic Components and Combining Planning With the Market

In the initial phase of the transitional period, it is an objective reality that the economy is still composed of many components. Especially with regard to our country, which is advancing from small-scale, dispersed production, the situation of a multicomponent economy will continue to exist for a certain period of time. Therefore, the correct utilization of the five economic components in the south and the three economic components in the north is an essential, rational requirement in order to fully utilize all production capabilities, serve socialist construction, and improve the people's living conditions.

The fourth party congress confirmed that matter as follows: "We must closely combine the state component with the collective and individual components along the lines of developing the state component, strengthening the collective component, and guiding the individual component, with the state component serving as the hard-core and leadership forces." With regard to the south, "within a certain period of time, in a certain number of production spheres, the economy in the south will continue to have many components. On the basis of developing the socialist economic component, the backbone of the national economy, we must fully utilize all other capabilities to develop production, do a better job of meeting the needs of the people, serve socialism well, and limit and eliminate the negative manifestations of the capitalist component and the spontaneous nature of small-scale, individual production." The sixth plenum of the party Central Committee added that "we must correctly implement the party's policy regarding the five economic components in the south, in order to fully utilize all capabilities regarding labor, technology and management, in order to develop production. In the industrial sectors, especially in the light industry and consumer goods industries, the state economic component must play the main role, but some of the national bourgeoisie will be allowed to operate under state control."

The objectives in the utilization of the economic components will be, for a certain period of time, to develop production as much as possible



and to, depending on the product, the sector, and the level of development of the production forces, appropriately utilize the economic forms. For example, with regard to the metallurgy, electric power, large machinery, chemical, mining, railroad transportation, air transportation, and other sectors, there is only the state economic component. But with regard to the agriculture, light industry, and artisan industry and handicrafts sectors, many economic components may be utilized, principally in the sphere of production.

In utilizing the economic components, we must never lightly regard the socialist economic component which, in its state and collective forms, is the decisive force. Those state and collective forms were organized to increase labor productivity, develop production, provide society with many products, and assure the collective mastership right of the working people. But it must be very clearly understood that the organization of the state and collective economic forms requires certain conditions regarding material-technical bases, policies, management, and cadres. Designating them the "highest" form does not immediately make them socialist. Socialism is not merely having a good heart and does not arise from subjective desires, but principally and above all else must be evaluated in terms of labor productivity, the development of production, capital accumulation and contributions to the state, assuring the system of socialist collective mastership, and assuring that the people's living conditions are steadily improved.

We all understand the necessity of building up the socialist economic component and the difficulties involved in doing so. But once we have decided to build it up we must resolutely create objective conditions favorable for its operation, and "resolutely" does not mean impetuously or disregarding the conditions and laws.

Until the socialist economic component, in its state and collective forms, plays the leading role and occupies the dominant position in the economy, it will not be truly socialist. But even after the socialist economic component is dominant, the other economic components, such as the individual and bourgeois components, will continue to exist for a certain period of time. But it must be fully understood that the private economy will be under the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., subject to the control and management of the state. The national bourgeoisie allowed to do business in a number of sectors and trades will no longer be bourgeois in the original sense, but will more or less have entered into the managerial orbit of the socialist state, by means of many systems and regulations regarding prices, the supplying of raw materials, fuel, and materials, the requisition-purchasing of products, taxes, labor management, etc. The same is true with regard to the individual economy of the small producers: it will not be entirely separate from overall social production. Whether it wants to or not, it must be subject to control by the management of the state by means of many economic, financial and educational methods, and especially by means of the economic levers.

The continued existence of such economic components for a certain period of time is an objective necessity, a law-like feature of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

The advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a conscious, organized process of economic development. Therefore, plans must be the principal tools for managing the national economy, in order to meet the material and cultural needs of the people by creating high utilization value on the basis of increasingly developed production. That is a law-like matter of principle of socialism. But under our country's present circumstances, when the economy still has many components, many scales, and many technical levels, there must be an appropriate planning system. That planning system is based on three basic echelons: the central echelon, the local echelon, and the base echelon. It manifests the good utilization and development of the system of collective mastership by the working people in the sphere of the entire nation and in each locality and base. If that is to be accomplished, there must be appropriate organization to assure that the localities and bases take the initiative in drafting plans, under the general guidance of the central echelon. At the same time, the central echelon must help the localities and bases and correctly implement the two-way obligation system, for only then can there be good planning.

Furthermore, because of continued commodity production and distribution according to labor, it is necessary to widely employ the market relationships in order to supplement the plans and implement them as effectively as possible. We must cleverly combine the planning tool, which is the main one, with such market tools such as the combined elements of the management apparatus, in order to both maintain the unity and strength of the economy and assure flexibility and variety in production and social life. Overextension, bureaucratic centralization, transforming planning and economic management into purely administrative tasks, wanting to plan all production and economic activities in society, and not boldly utilizing, to a certain degree, the self-adjustment of society by means of market activities, are far removed from the objective reality of our country's economy at the present time, impede production, hold back the creative labor capabilities of the broad masses, and therefore create additional difficulties in satisfying the essential needs of the people.

Of course, our use of market relationships is an entirely conscious act which is based on the positive application of the law of value, with a correct operational apparatus. We will not allow the market to spontaneously control production, as it does under capitalism, but must be the masters of the market. For a certain period of time, in addition to the organized, planned market, which is the principal one, there will objectively continue to exist, to a certain extent, a market outside the plan (that is, the free market). That extra-plan market will supplement the planned market and will be controlled by the planned market with regard to its nature and scale.

Therefore, all types of markets have their role and use, and we cannot have a simplistic or crude attitude toward them. Since there is still a disparity between supply and demand, if we arbitrarily completely outlaw the free market we will only create additional tension regarding both consumer goods and social production. We must, depending on the product and on the sector or trade, make appropriate use of the market. Positively expanding the planned market is a decisive matter, but at the same time we must know how to skillfully utilize the market outside the plan, for there still exist the secondary family economy, individual handicraft workers, and secondary rural occupations, and there is even a national bourgeois economy in the south. Furthermore, in order to fully utilize all existing production capabilities the state economy may participate in the extra-plan market to a certain extent, and consume products produced outside the plan. The collective economy may also participate in the extra-plan market. For example, after the agricultural cooperatives have paid their taxes, have paid their debts, and have sold the contracted agricultural products to the state, they are completely free to market surplus products and agricultural products not managed by the state.

It is essential that we utilize the extra-plan market, but we must know how to manage it in a manner that benefits the national economy. It must be managed by many means, by economic, administrative, and educational measures, and not solely by purely compulsory measures.

However, we should not worship the market and allow it to govern life and production in a spontaneous manner; that is, we should not change from restraint to giving it a free rein or allowing dishonest merchants to have a field day, but must transform and gradually build the market, strive to become its master, develop its positive effect, and limit and eventually eliminate the negative aspects of the free market. With regard to the speculators and dishonest merchants, there must be suitable punitive measures.

### III. Closely Combine the Economy With National Defense, and Assure Readiness To Fight and Defeat the Chinese Aggressor Army

In the present situation, it is even more necessary to fully understand this matter. In view of the aggressive plot of the Beijing reactionaries, who are closely allied with imperialism, we must maintain our armed forces at the necessary level and our people must produce while maintaining combat readiness. When the enemy arrive we must fight them, both the soldiers and the people must fight them, and our people must resume the habits of "one hand holding a plow, the other a gun" and "one hand holding a hammer, the other a gun," and they must do a good job. At the same time, the armed forces must also keep "one hand on a gun, the other on a plow" to the greatest degree possible without hindering their combat mission. That is both a short-term and a long-term mission of the entire population and the entire army. But we

should not, because of combat readiness, let up on production, which would slow down the construction of socialism, for the enemy's plot is always to weaken us so that they can easily annex us. Therefore, we must very urgently prepare to cope with all complicated circumstances, while at the same time making the greatest efforts to promote socialist construction, especially by concentrating on developing agricultural production, resolving the food problem, enabling us to become increasingly strong in all respects--militarily, politically and culturally--and both promote production and maintain combat readiness.

The economy and national defense are closely related in the enterprise of building and defending the homeland, but they are two different spheres of activity, with their own requirements and mutual contradictions, for both demand much manpower and wealth. In order to resolve those contradictions, we must know how to skillfully combine the economy with national defense, and cause each step in economic development to be a step in strengthening national defense potential; and vice versa, each strengthening of national defense not only protects the economy and the lives of the people but also contributes to stimulating the economy and building the material-technical bases of socialism. However, in developing the economy at a time when we are at peace but there is a threat of war, that is to say when conditions are not yet truly stable, we may encounter major difficulties, so we must make very full calculations regarding the requirements, contents and formula for combining the economy with national defense.

The economic and national defense missions must be carried out side by side, but each sphere of activity has its own requirements and laws and should not be mixed in together. Socialist economic construction must be in correct accordance with the economic laws of socialism and must create motive forces to stimulate the development of production. It must strengthen and improve economic management and fully calculate economic effectiveness; we must not, because of the requirements of national defense, ignore economic laws, relax management and produce at any price. In our economic circumstances, the armed forces must not only know how to closely manage, in order to utilize as well as possible, all materials used in national defense, and go all out to economize on manpower and wealth to reduce the difficulties of the economy, but must also know how to fully utilize the forces of the army to do economic work with real effectiveness, to meet the immediate and long-range requirements of production and life. The troops have very great capabilities for producing food, whether in the lowlands, the piedmont region, the mountain region, the border areas or on sea islands.

When living and fighting under such especially difficult circumstances, we should not be under the illusion that living conditions can be rapidly improved. The mission of defending the homeland demands that we make rather large expenditures for national defense and therefore limits our capabilities to accumulate capabilities. That matter must



be carefully taught in the party and among the people, so that everyone can fully understand it. Furthermore, the party and state must make the greatest possible efforts to stabilize and maintain the people's living conditions.

#### IV. Strengthen External Economic Relations, Expand Economic Cooperation With the Socialist Countries

Today, favorable objective conditions allow such developing countries as ours to advance directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production by bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Those conditions are:

First, we have become masters of the entire nation, have a proletarian dictatorship state, and have a system of collective mastership. That is a very important matter.

Second, socialism has become a world system, an international community that controls a large amount of modern industry and advanced science and technology. We are part of that socialist component. That is a very favorable condition, and we must know how to make good use of that new strength of the era.

Third, the production forces have developed strongly and have grown beyond the framework of individual countries and innumerable economic and scientific-technical relations have been established between many nations of the world. The expansion of economic cooperation, especially with the other nations in the world socialist community, is an objective law which determines the victory of socialism in each country. That is essential with regard to all nations in the community, and is even more essential for us.

We must especially stress that matter, because for many years, under special historical conditions, we were not able to fully carry out such cooperation with the other socialist countries. The situation has now changed. We have joined COMECON. Therefore, the cooperative alliance between our country and the socialist countries has a new quality. Today, we must make use of the results of such cooperation, especially and principally with the socialist nations, to enable our country to advance strongly. That is a matter of decisive importance.

Now more than ever, we must increase all-over cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. At the same time, we must carefully study the experiences of the fraternal countries. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have much valuable experience regarding socialist construction which constitutes a great school for us.

Only by positively and actively participating in international division of labor and cooperation can we be capable of rapidly advancing our country's economy, rapidly achieve socialist industrialization, develop science and technology, and create a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure. With our superiorities of plentiful labor, tropical agriculture, and considerable natural resources, we must utilize some of those workers and natural resources to participate in an international division of labor with the other socialist countries. Furthermore, we must deal with, and expand our exchanges with, the world market (including the nationalist and bourgeois nations) under advantageous conditions.

If that is to be accomplished, we must have a comprehensive external economic policy, clearly determine the markets, the principal export goods, and forms of cooperation, and create an apparatus capable of correctly implementing the party's external economic line. In the immediate future, it is necessary to do a good job of implementing the resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee on "supplementing specific policies to stimulate production and commerce in the export goods, and allowing the enterprise combines and corporations of the production sectors and the local (provincial and municipal) export corporations to deal directly with, and conclude contracts with, foreign corporations in accordance with the state plan, under the guidance of the Ministry of Foreign Trade." That is the best way for the localities to take the initiative in equipping themselves with materials, machinery, fertilizer, etc.

In promoting exports and imports, and in expanding international economic cooperation, we must fully understand the basic objectives: serving socialist industrialization, furthering the division of labor within our country, increasing labor productivity, increasing labor effectiveness, and improving product quality. If we correctly implement that external economic policy we will not only be capable of advancing our country's economy but will also be able to fulfill our country's international obligations and positively contribute to enabling the socialist community to become increasingly stronger.

#### V. Correctly Implement and Strongly Develop Collective Mastership by the Working People

The system of collective mastership by the working people is a strength of our regime, and is both a goal and a motive force of socialist construction in our country. Our viewpoint is that if we are to advance to socialism there must be large-scale mechanized industry (a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure) and we must at the same time create a system of collective mastership. In advancing from small-scale production, we must create and develop a system of collective mastership in order to rapidly enter into the socialization of production and create conditions for promoting socialist industrialization.

The creation and development of a system of collective mastership with regard to economics is necessary in order to reorganize production; redistribute labor; create socialist production relations and increasingly modern production forces; closely combine, from the very beginning, the production relations and production forces to form a unified whole, and advance our country to socialism strongly and stably.

It must be realized that if it is to be truly effective the collective mastership system must be translated into laws, systems, and policies, and into an implementing structure. We must assure the collective mastership right of the working people by means of the state and the mass organizations, under the leadership of the party.

With regard to economics, collective mastership must assure that the laboring masses are truly the masters in production by fully grasping all means of production--land, machinery, and equipment--and not allowing a single field to lie fallow or one machine to go unused. We must assure that the masses truly participate in organizing and managing the collective economy of the cooperatives and participate in managing the enterprises, and assure that the masses are truly the masters in the distribution of products.

First of all, the system of collective mastership must be instituted at three levels: the national level, the local level, and the base level. Only thereby can we both assure centralization and unity and develop the creative capabilities of the echelons, sectors, and base-level units. But in order to assure proper mastership at all three levels, we must implement a system of two-way obligations between the central level and the localities, among the sectors, localities, and bases, between the state and the cooperatives, between the state and the peasants, etc. Therefore, we must promptly and strictly decentralize management to the localities and bases, and authorize the localities and bases to determine what products should be produced from local raw materials, and allow them to, to a certain degree, determine the prices and marketing of a number of local products, trade with the other localities, and engage in exporting and importing. In sum, we must transform the localities and bases into echelons with sufficient authority and material facilities to balance production and consumption, on the basis of two-way relationships with the central echelon and equality regarding both obligations and benefit.

Second, we must correctly resolve the relationship among the three benefits: benefit to society as a whole, benefit to the collective, and benefit to the individual workers. The system of collective mastership allows the development of the great strength of the collective whole, while at the same time fully utilizing all creative labor capabilities of individuals, enabling the individual and the collective to harmonize with each other, and creating unity between rights and duties and between the benefit of society on the one hand and the

benefit of the collective and of individual workers on the other hand. The unification of those three benefits will create great strength with which to overcome the immediate and long-range difficulties, while also creating new capabilities for achieving even greater accomplishments in production and social life.

In the period of transition to socialism, especially during the initial phase, stimulating labor by means of material incentives has an extremely important significance in furthering economic development, so we must pay much attention to correctly resolving the relationship among those three benefits, and must regard the unity of those three benefits as the thread which connects all production management and social management activities. The interests of the state and of the population as a whole cannot be in opposition to the interests of the collective and the individual workers. To exercise leadership art is to, each time a position or policy is set forth, assure unity among those interests. Under our system, it is clear that the population as a whole has its place, the collective has its place, and individuals also have a place. We can advance rapidly only if we are able to mobilize the strength of all three of those forms.

Third, the system of collective leadership has an organizational structure that is led by the people and mastered by the people. In that structure, each component has its role and function. The party leads, but never does the state's work for it. The state manages and implements the lines of the party and the collective mastership right of the people. The party's leadership role with regard to the sectors and echelons is to clarify the party's viewpoints and lines among all cadres, party members, and people, and to concretize those lines and oversee their implementation.

The governmental administration is the organ which represents the collective mastership right of the working people with regard to the state. It must draft policies, regulations and systems to assure the collective mastership of the working people, and must consolidate and strengthen organization, create work systems that assure that the people can fully exercise their mastership right with regard to the state. The time has come to, on the basis of the new constitution, draft very explicit apparatus, regulations and systems. Only thereby can we truly assure the mastership right of the working people.

If the collective mastership right is fully developed at all three levels, the unity of the three benefits is assured, and correct relations among the party, the state, and the masses are assured, very great strength will be created. "No matter how easy something is, without the people it cannot be accomplished; no matter how difficult something is, if the people are willing it can be accomplished." That is a great truth. In order to successfully create the new economy, the new regime, and the new man, and in order to effectively overcome



the negative aspects in society, there is no other way than to truly develop the collective mastership right of the working people. That is also the most important measure the Central Committee has decided upon to assure the fulfillment of the three urgent missions. With the rational policies that have been and will be promulgated, and with the development of the collective mastership right of the masses, it is certain that we will not only be able to overcome the difficulties but also create a new transformation in the situation and win new victories.

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## STRIVE TO BUILD PURE AND STRONG BASE-LEVEL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80  
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[Article by Vu Oanh]

[Text] Since the fourth party congress, and especially since the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee, the echelons and sectors have more clearly understood the important role of the base-level party organizations, and have paid much more attention to the task of consolidating the party bases and taken positive steps in that task. Many sectors at the central level and many local party committees have paid attention to the base level and helped the bases draft guidelines and measures to promote production, achieve combat readiness, strengthen the party building task, and consolidate the governmental administration and the mass associations. They have supervised and inspected the organization of implementation guidance, resolved the urgent problems regarding production, combat, and the organization of the people's living conditions and, especially, urgently sent a number of high-quality, skilled cadres to reinforce the base echelon. A number of places have sent from one-third to half of the district committee members and a number of provincial cadres to serve as secretaries of village party committees, village chairmen, and cooperative directors. The villages in the key areas have further strengthened their key cadres, including the secretaries and chairmen of village party committees, the heads of village security police units and village militia units, and cooperative directors. To date, the base-level party organizations throughout the nation have made considerable progress. Nearly all of the party bases in the border region, in the strategic areas, and in the key work spheres have been significantly improved. Many bases have done a good job of leading and guiding the various aspects of production, other work, and combat in the localities. About 40 to 60 percent of the weak, deficient bases have undergone transformations; some of them have become strong bases and some have become advanced models.

In the south, 98 percent of the villages and localities have party organizations, which are assuming leadership and guidance of the various tasks in the localities. Many party bases in the rural areas have made renewed efforts to lead the peasants onto the path of collective livelihood.

The party organizations and chapters in the industrial enterprises have gone all out to overcome the difficulties regarding raw materials and materials, and to further develop a number of products serving production and life.

However, in view of the requirements of the revolutionary missions in the new phase a considerable number of deficiencies and weaknesses are still being revealed in the task of consolidating and strengthening the base-level party organizations. The improvement of the party bases is not yet strong and uniform. Many party bases have not yet concentrated their leadership on developing the strengths, overcoming the difficulties, and exploiting to the highest possible degree the great latent capabilities of their units. They have not yet truly developed internal democracy and the collective mastership right of the masses, and especially they have not yet strongly advanced to overcoming the situation of weakness in organizing implementation guidance. In many bases, the ranks of key leadership cadres are still weak. Many places in the south have no, or very few, party cadres. The operations of many governmental organizations and mass associations are still ineffective. The average and weak party bases still account for a notable ratio, and in some places there are still political complications.

At the same time, many sectors at the central echelon have not paid adequate attention to the task of consolidating and building bases, and have not yet taken positive steps to strengthen the combativeness of the base-level party organizations. Many comrades fear difficulties and hardships, do not persistently keep close tabs on the bases, and do not realize that paying attention to the bases and bringing about a strong transformation at the base level is one of the very important standards in evaluating the quality of leadership and guidance, and the results in improving work and training cadres, on the part of upper-echelon organs and cadres.

We all know that the base-level party chapters and organizations are the basic combat units, the initial cells of the party, the organizations which transform the lines and policies of the party and state into revolutionary acts on the part of party members and the masses. If the base-level party chapters and organizations are not pure and strong they cannot lead the masses in striving to victoriously carry out the directives and resolutions of the party, and cannot strengthen the intimate relationship between the party and the masses. Therefore, our party always regards consolidating and building the base-level party organizations as a mission of foremost importance in the party

building task. Recently the resolution of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee regarding the three major anniversaries in 1980, Directive 55 of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee regarding the convening of party organization congresses at the various levels, and Directive 72 of the Secretariat regarding the strengthening of party development and the improvement and consolidation of the party organizations, clearly indicated the objectives, requirements, and basic measures intended to build pure and strong base-level party organizations.

Generally speaking, a party chapter or base-level party organization that is pure and strong is a party chapter or organization that is pure politically and has revolutionary qualities, is strong ideologically and organizationally, always stands firmly on the revolutionary standpoints of the working class, fully understands the lines and viewpoints of the party, is sufficiently strong to lead the full development of the collective mastership right of the masses and the effectiveness of the governmental administration, and does a good job of fulfilling all missions of the locality or unit.

In order to build pure and strong base-level party organizations we must, on the one hand, always do a good job of party development, resolutely expel people who are not qualified to be party members from the party, and positively struggling to overcome the negative phenomena within the party, while on the other hand firmly grasping, and striving in accordance with, the five requirements of the base-level party organizations that were set forth in Directive 55 of the Secretariat. Specifically, they are:

1. Do a good job of leading production, developing production capability, and transforming, consolidating, and perfecting the production relations.

This is the first important requirement, a basic requirement which clearly manifests the leadership role and function of a base-level party organization. In determining whether a party chapter or base-level party organization is good or not and strong or not, it is first of all necessary to consider whether that party chapter or organization does a good job of leading production or not, and whether or not it assures that the lines and policies of the party and state regarding economic construction and development are carried out victoriously at the base level or not.

At present, some of the most urgent and important missions of the people of our entire country are manifesting a spirit of socialist patriotism and a self-reliant will; firmly grasping and utilizing as well as possible all latent capabilities regarding labor, land, the forests and seas, materials, equipment, capital, and the other material-technical bases, to promote production, especially agricultural production; concentrate on resolving the food problem, especially the staple food



problem; positively develop the production of consumer goods, raw materials, and export goods; stabilizing and maintaining the people's living standards; strengthening national defense; and maintaining combat readiness, opposing aggression, and defending the homeland. Each base-level party organization in each sphere of production must fully understand the economic directions and lines of the party, and study and apply the experiences of the advanced units, in order to set forth directions, objectives, and measures which are specific, appropriate, and positively promote production. Especially, it is necessary to enter deeply into the organization of implementation guidance and the improvement of economic management. Only thereby can we assure the victorious implementation of the economic policies of the party, and overcome the deficient and retarded aspects.

To do a good job of leading production, the base-level party organizations must do a good job of assigning and managing party members, and assure that all party members are engaged in production, manifest their leadership role, and exhibit the exemplary vanguard spirit of party members in production. During the recent period, the places which have done a good job of leading production, such as Vu Thang and Dinh Cong, have been places which did a good job of assigning and managing party members, and their cadres and party members have been truly exemplary in production labor. In many cooperatives in Thai Binh, Hai Hung, Ha Nam Ninh, and other provinces, 50 to 60 percent of the party members actually work in the basic production units; 15 to 20 percent of the party members work in the sectors and trades; 5 to 10 percent of the party members work in animal husbandry teams, etc. Many party members have assigned party members to be in charge of the spearheads in production and oversee technical matters, increasing labor productivity, and product quality. At present, however, in many places the number of party members participating directly in production is still small.

In addition to leading the development of production, the base-level party organizations must pay all-out attention to consolidating and perfecting the new socialist production relations and to completing the socialist transformation. In the south, the base-level party chapters and organizations must stand firmly on the standpoints of the working class, struggle resolutely, and positively take the initiative in creating conditions for victoriously carrying out the policies of the party and state regarding the socialist transformation by means of forms and measures appropriate to agriculture and to capitalist industry and commerce. In the process of carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture it is necessary to fully understand that the party's guidance thoughts are positive and solid, and at present it is necessary to emphasize their solidity and correctly observe three principles: voluntariness, mutual benefit, and democratic management. We must oppose subjective, hasty thoughts, coercion, commandism, and impetuosity, must closely combine transformation with construction, and must fully understand that the objectives and requirements of the

transformation are to stimulate the development of production, meet all needs of the people's lives, and do a better job of fulfilling obligations toward the state.

2. Develop the collective mastership right of the masses, do a good job of organizing the people's living conditions, and encourage the masses to fulfill their obligations toward the state.

The base-level party organizations, which directly lead the masses and are in direct contact with them, have a very great responsibility in respecting and developing the collective mastership right of the masses and assuring that the masses are truly the masses in all regards. That is a basic principle of the party line at present.

In developing the collective mastership right of the people, we must first of all enable the masses to become truly enlightened regarding the enterprise of building socialism and defending the homeland, regarding the revolutionary situation and missions, and lines, stands, and policies of the party. All important matters intimately related to the lives of the people, such as determining production directions, organizational and managerial measures, distribution plans and methods, etc., must be brought up so that the masses can discuss them and make decisions. The cadres and party members must not resort to coercion or commandism. We must assure that the masses can fully exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations as citizens. We must truly respect and solicit the opinions of the masses, continually arrange for the masses to contribute opinions regarding the leadership of the party chapters and organizations and the deportment and work of the cadres and party members, and resolutely and promptly correct the deficiencies exposed by the masses. The party chapters must listen closely to the masses even with regard to internal party matters, such as admitting people into the party, expelling unqualified people from the party, promoting people, etc.

We must resolutely struggle to overcome the phenomena of bureaucratism, commandism, arbitrariness, despotism, violations of the collective mastership right of the masses, oppression of the masses, and other bad habits which still exist in many places.

At present, due to the after-effects of war, neocolonialism, and natural disasters, our people are encountering many difficulties, especially in the cities, the concentrated industrial areas, the northern border area, and a number of rural areas which have had poor harvests. Our party and state have urgently endeavored to overcome difficulties and gradually stabilize the people's living conditions. But no matter what, we cannot resolve at the same time all of the very great difficulties and needs. The base-level party chapters and organizations must fully manifest their sense of responsibility toward the masses, pay attention to overseeing the distribution of goods in society and distribution within the

cooperatives, do a good job of organizing the people's living conditions, and make real contributions toward resolving the difficulties in the people's lives. We must resolutely endeavor to overcome irresponsibility and the creation of difficulty and trouble for the people.

In addition to being concerned about the people's living conditions, the base-level party organizations are responsible for leading and guiding the good implementation of the economic policies, while at the same time encouraging the people to fulfill their obligations toward the state, helping the state resolve the present difficulties regarding production and living conditions, and contributing worthily to building and defending the homeland. Recently, many bases have fulfilled their food obligations very positively. In many other places, the party chapters and organizations have not entered deeply into educating and motivating the people and have not positively struggled against individual, partialistic thoughts, and there are even some places in which the cadres and party members have not fulfilled their obligation of contributing foodstuffs to the state, so they have not yet motivated the people to fulfill that task. We must rapidly correct those deficiencies.

3. Assure political security and social order, build national defense by all the people, and do a good job of combat and combat readiness.

The reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles, in alliance with the imperialists and the other reactionary powers, are, after suffering one heavy defeat after another, feverishly continuing to carry out wily, insidious plots to annex our country, and are crazily opposing the Vietnamese revolution. A mission of our entire party and population, in addition to developing the economy, stabilizing living conditions, and continuing to construct socialism, is to consolidate national defense, maintain political security and social order, and be prepared to fight to smash all enemy plots of aggression and sabotage. In contrast to the national liberation war, the present war against the Beijing expansionists is a war to defend the homeland, a people's war, which takes place on the spot and has the objective of defending every inch of the sacred soil of the homeland.

The base-level party chapters and organizations have an extremely great responsibility in preparing in all ways for that war and for tightly leading and guiding the fighting when it breaks out.

We must closely combine the promotion of production with combat readiness. In all bases it is necessary to pay attention to building and consolidating strong militia and self-defense units. With regard to the mission of maintaining order and security, there must be plans to defend the party and governmental organs and the revolutionary organizations, and there must be plans to take the initiative in preventing and smashing all acts of sabotage and disturbance, and all enemy

psychological warfare tricks. If that is to be accomplished, it is necessary to launch a broad mass movement to compete in protecting the security of the homeland, resolutely punish those who help the enemy and oppose the revolution, and purify our ranks.

The actualities of the recent fighting against the Chinese aggressor army demonstrated that on-the-spot combat readiness and on-the-spot combat guidance and organization are extremely important. The bases which have a positive and resolute spirit and make active and meticulous preparations in all regards will be able to hold their ground and win shattering victories over the enemy, while smashing the enemy's plots to commit sabotage and incite violence. On the other hand, bases which are subjective, are not vigilant, are dependent on the assistance and aid of the upper echelon or of other places, do not have confidence in the masses, and do not know how to motivate the masses will encounter much difficulty and confusion.

4. Build a strong party, a strong governmental administration, and strong mass associations.

Under the condition of the party leading the governmental administration, the strength of the party is the combined strength of the proletarian dictatorship, with the party leading, the state managing, and the people serving as the masters. At the base level, it is the combined strength of the basic party organizations, the governmental organizations, and the mass associations. The resolutions of the Political Bureau and the directives of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, while stressing the building of pure and strong base-level party organizations, all point out that it is necessary to combine the perfecting of party organization with the consolidation of the governmental organizations and mass associations at the base level. Therefore, in addition to consolidating and perfecting party organization, the bases must also be actively concerned with building and perfecting the governmental apparatus, the mass associations, and the cooperatives and production collectives, and must develop to the maximum the role of those organizations, using them as effective tools in organizing and motivating the masses to victoriously fulfill the political missions of each base.

The party chapter committees and sector party committees at the base level must assign high-quality, capable cadres to the key positions in the governmental administration, the cooperative management boards, the enterprise management boards, and executive committees of the mass associations. They must resolutely replace people who, due to their lack of quality or capability, cannot fulfill their missions and are criticized by the people. Recently in some places failure to pay attention to that matter has adversely affected the operations of the governmental administration and the mass associations. In many places the village and ward people's committees are still confused in



fulfilling their economic management, administrative management, and social management functions. The activities of the mass associations have been erratic and they have in some cases become caught up in red tape and bureaucratized. It must be realized that the quality of leadership of a base-level party organization is always evaluated on the basis of the revolutionary mass movements, the effectiveness of the operations of the governmental organs and the mass associations, and the results attained in fulfilling the unit's production and combat missions and plans. Assigning cadres to, and strengthening the organization and activities of, the governmental administration and the mass associations, is a very important mission of the base-level party organizations. If that task does not receive adequate attention, the party organizations will not be able to fully develop their leadership role and combativeness.

In addition to perfecting the governmental administration and the mass associations, the base-level party organizations must also do a good job of resolving the work relationships between the party chapter committees and higher-echelon committees on the one hand and the people's committees, the cooperative management boards (or enterprise boards of directors), and the mass associations. After they have established policies, the party committee echelons must lead the governmental administration and mass associations in exercising active, creative leadership and effectively organizing the implementation of those policies. The party committee echelons must continually observe, review, and listen closely to the opinions of those organizations, and provide them with prompt guidance. They must not do their work for them, but they also must not give them a blank check.

5. There must be a corps of key cadres who are steadfast, pure, and honest, and who know how to do the work.

The key concern in consolidating and building pure and strong base-level party organizations is to create and perfect a corps of key cadres who are steadfast. In fact, some bases are unable to organize the victorious implementation of the stands and policies of the party and state only because they have not created a corps of steadfast key cadres. Some weak, deficient bases have made progress after replacing some of their key cadres.

During the past several years, although the corps of key cadres of a number of bases have been gradually perfected and have contributed decisively to bringing about a transformation at the base level, it must be acknowledged that the corps of key cadres in a considerable number of bases are still weak in many respects, especially with regard to their knowledge in and ability in economic organization and management, party building, and mass proselyting. A number are still weak with regard to moral character. In general, in the bases only about 30 percent of the secretaries and chairmen of the village party committees

are capable of doing a good job of fulfilling their missions. In many enterprise departments and production units, the corps of cadres are not yet stable, but the task of training and cultivating base-level cadres has not received adequate attention and it has not yet been assured that the base-level cadres can fulfill their missions. Many places have not yet paid attention to promoting and using young cadres, and have not yet closely combined new cadres with experienced cadres and young cadres with older cadres.

In order to quickly create a corps of steadfast key cadres who are fully capable of leading all tasks at the base level, the upper-echelon party committees must help the base-level party committees study and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the corps of base-level cadres, and have plans and measures for cultivating and perfecting them strongly and practically. The principal method, and the best method, is to cultivate cadres on the spot, at the base level. Improving the leadership and guidance of the upper echelon has a very great effect on the training and cultivation of a large number of base-level cadres. The party committee echelons must examine and select people who are fully qualified politically and with regard to moral character, in accordance with their specific functions, who appear in the course of production, combat, and combat service movements and who have the confidence of the masses, in order to cultivate and educate them and assign them challenging work. We must pay all-out attention to cultivating and promoting young cadres, people who are outstanding and come of age in the course of actual work and revolutionary struggle, who have a high level of knowledge and have organizational and implementation ability. In the south, we must form a corps of key cadres outside the party in order to both promote the immediate tasks and create conditions for cultivating and admitting outstanding, fully qualified people into the party. In the bases which do not yet have sufficient cadres to assure their role, the upper echelon must assign additional cadres to assist them for a certain period of time, and while working at the base level those cadres must especially pay attention to training and cultivating cadres, especially key cadres, for the bases. Only by having viewpoints and ways of thinking that are in correct accordance with the lines and viewpoints of the party regarding all types of cadres, for the immediate and long-range benefit of the revolution, without being conservative and narrow and with correct plans and methods for the cadre task, can we do a good job of training, cultivating, and using cadres. Attention must be paid to educating and cultivating the base-level cadres, so that they may be steadfast, have a high degree of determination, be honest and pure, be exemplary in implementing the stands and policies of the party and state, dare to think and do, and have good relations with the masses. In the areas occupying important positions militarily, it is essential that there be cadres with understanding of military matters and knowledge of people's war and national defense by all the people. In the south, the key cadres at the base level must be comrades who take the lead and are capable of leading and guiding the implementation of

the socialist transformation mission. The cadres assigned by the upper echelon must have sufficient quality and ability, work enthusiastically at the base level, and have the confidence of the party members and the masses.

The five requirements regarding the organization of party bases set forth by the Secretariat of the party Central Committee form a unified whole and stipulate the quality of a base-level party chapter or organization. The base-level party organizations in the enterprises, stores, cooperatives, organs, hospitals, schools, military units, security police units, village and ward units, etc., must, according to their functions and missions stated in the party statutes, fulfill those five requirements as well as possible, in order to consolidate and build up their organizations. The upper-echelon party committees must continually guide and assist them, and oversee them specifically and tightly. While endeavoring to attain those five requirements, the base-level party chapters and organizations must carry out periodic reviews, clearly realize the strengths and weaknesses, discover the reasons for their weaknesses, and set forth directions and measures for developing the good points and overcoming the deficiencies, in order to steadily advance to attaining higher quality.

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## CRITICIZING THE VIEWPOINTS OF MAO ZEDONG ON LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] The viewpoints of Mao Zedong on literature and art are a part of the ideology of Mao Zedong. The disciples of Mao Zedong usually praise him for having made very great contributions to developing Marxist-Leninist theory regarding literature and art. Is such praise justified? To discover whether such praise is correct or incorrect, let us examine, with a critical spirit, the viewpoints of Mao Zedong regarding literature and art, and the application of those viewpoints in the literature and art of China.

The viewpoints of Mao Zedong regarding literature and art were presented principally in his speeches at the Yanan Conference in May 1942. In addition, some opinions of Mao Zedong regarding literature and art were scattered about in his other works. The editorial board of the series of books on Marxist-Leninist books of the Bureau of Literary Research of the Chinese Scientific Institute collected those works and arranged them according to date in the book "Mao Zedong on Literature and Art," which was published by the People's Literature Publishing House (China) in December 1958. In studying, in order to criticize, the viewpoints of Mao Zedong on literature and art, we have relied principally on that book.

Despite the praise of his disciples, Mao Zedong never came up with a complete system of literary-artistic theory. He dealt only with a number of matters regarding literary-artistic policies. The matters with which he was concerned were the standpoints, attitudes, work objectives, work and study of artists. He dealt with a matter he regarded as a basic problem of literature and art: How should literature and art serve the masses?

Mao Zedong believed that his opinions regarding literature and art were the application of the literary-artistic theories of Marx and Lenin.



But his opinions on literature and art were in fact far removed from and in opposition to the literary and artistic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism.

We will examine a number of literary and artistic viewpoints of Mao Zedong to determine whether they are in accord with Marxism-Leninism.

## I. The Question of Standpoints in Literature and Art

Mao Zedong brought to the forefront the question of standpoints in literature and art. To speak of standpoints is to speak of class. What was Mao Zedong's concept of class? In two articles published in the CHINESE PEASANT journal of the Nationalist Party in February 1926, Mao Zedong expressed his opinions on the class division in Chinese society. He wrote: "In all countries the people are divided into five categories: the big, middle, and petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletariat, and the proletariat." Applying that class division to the Chinese countryside, he wrote, "The big landowners belong to the big bourgeois class, the small landowners belong to the middle bourgeois class, the independent (self-employed) peasants belong to the petty bourgeois class, people who must rent additional land (semi-sharecroppers) belong to the semi-proletariat class, and the poor peasants belong to the proletariat class." In addition to the comprador bourgeoisie, the bankers, the big merchants, the industrial bosses, and the big landowners, Mao Zedong also regarded the officials and their lackeys, and the teachers and students of the advanced schools and vocational secondary schools, as "belonging to the big bourgeoisie." Mao Zedong estimated the numerical strength of the components of the Chinese proletarian class as follows: the industrial proletariat, nearly 3 million; the agricultural proletariat, nearly 20 million; and the vagabond proletariat, 20 million. Mao Zedong especially stressed the role of the vagabond proletariat, which he believed were the most important force of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong emphasized the role of the bourgeois class in the Chinese revolution. In his article "The Coup d'Etat in Beijing and the Merchants," published in July 1923, Mao Zedong regarded the bourgeois class as the "leader" of the revolution. In the original version of his article "Analyzing the Chinese Social Classes," published in the journal CHINESE PEASANT in February 1926, Mao Zedong regarded the working class as "a friend of the revolution," as was the petty bourgeois class.

That class division by Mao Zedong is not in accord with the class viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism. The fascists believe that the principal characteristic of a class is the difference in its relationship to the means of production. That special characteristic leads to the other special characteristics of classes, such as their position in organizing social labor and their differences in scale and sources of income. When discussing classes, Lenin stated that "What we call classes are large groups of people which differ with regard to their position is a

certain system of social production in history, differ with regard to their relationships to the means of production (most of the relationships being determined by laws), and differ with regard to their role in organizing social labor. Therefore, they differ with regard to their forms of income and share of social wealth they can utilize. Classes are groups of people which, because of their different positions in a certain socioeconomic structure, can assume ownership of the labor of other groups."<sup>1</sup>

Landlords and the bourgeoisie are not "in the same system of social production in history" and therefore they constitute two separate classes. The landlord class is not the same as the bourgeois class, as Mao Zedong claimed. The poor peasants and the proletariat are in different systems of social production. The poor peasant class is not the same as the proletarian class, as Mao Zedong believed.

The opinions of Mao Zedong regarding the class division is entirely contrary to Lenin's definition of classes. Due to Mao Zedong's concept of classes, to base oneself on the standpoint of the poor peasants, as Mao Zedong did, is to base oneself on the standpoint of the proletarian class, for "the poor peasants are part of the proletarian class." According to Mao Zedong, to base oneself on the standpoint of the Lumpen proletarian class is also to base oneself on the standpoint of the proletarian class.

Mao Zedong believed that people had a revolutionary spirit because they were poor and miserable. Those who were most poor and miserable would have the strongest revolutionary spirit. The poor peasants and landless peasants were the poorest and most miserable people, so they would have the strongest revolutionary spirit. That concept is contrary to the viewpoints of Marx and Lenin, who believed that the proletarian class was the most revolutionary class because it was the class which represented the new production mode.

Mao Zedong always negated the global historical mission of the proletarian class. The passages on "the leadership of the proletarian class" in Mao Zedong's "Selected Works" were added by the "committee" assembling Mao's collected works.

A noteworthy point is that Mao Zedong usually ignored the rich peasants. But Mao Zedong especially patronized the rich peasant class. During the period of transition to socialism, Mao Zedong praised the rich peasants for having "revolutionary spirit," and followed the policy of "preserving the rich peasant economy."

Mao Zedong claimed that he followed the class viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, but when he expressed his opinions regarding the class division his viewpoints were completely foreign to Marxism-Leninism.

When he applied his class viewpoints to the sphere of culture, literature and art, Mao Zedong referred to the class nature of culture, literature and art in his own way. For example, in his "Report on an Examination of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," published in March 1927, he wrote, "It has always been true that only the landlords are cultured, while the peasants have been uncultured. But the culture of the landlords was created by the peasants." By making such statements, Mao Zedong sowed confusion regarding the class nature of culture. When we read the above quote we can understand it as meaning that it was acceptable if the culture to which he referred had a landlord class nature (for that culture came under the ownership of the landlords), but it could also be understood as meaning that that culture had a peasant class nature (because it was created by the peasants).

The above argument of Mao Zedong is contrary to the views of Lenin regarding the two types of culture in a national culture. Lenin wrote, "In each national culture, there are democratic and socialist cultural elements, no matter how developed those elements may be, for if in any country the working masses have been exploited the conditions of life must inevitably give rise to a democratic and socialist ideology. But in every country there is also a bourgeois culture (which is always a reactionary culture of an ecclesiastical nature) and is not merely an 'element' but is a ruling culture."<sup>2</sup> Lenin also wrote that "We will say to all national socialists that in each nation there are at present two nations, and in every national culture there are two kinds of national culture."<sup>3</sup>

When we compare Lenin's viewpoints to those of Mao Zedong we can easily see that Mao's opinions are completely foreign to Leninism.

What kind of culture, literature and art did Mao Zedong want to create for the new China? Bourgeois culture, literature and art within the framework of a bourgeois "new democratic republic."

In his article "The May Fourth Movement," written in May 1939, Mao Zedong, after confirming that since the foundation of the Communist Party the Chinese revolution had been a bourgeois democratic revolution, stated that "This democratic revolution is intended to create a social system never before seen in the history of China, i.e., a democratic society, the predecessor of which was the feudal society (which 100 years ago became a semicolonial, semifeudal society), and the successor of which will be socialist society. If one asks a communist why it is necessary to struggle first of all to achieve a bourgeois democratic society, and only then achieve a socialist society, the answer would be because it is necessary to follow the inevitable historical path."

Thus, according to Mao Zedong, it was inevitable that China pass through a phase of bourgeois development, in which culture and art would be bourgeois culture and art.

When discussing "the new democratic culture" in his work "On the New Democracy," written in January 1940, Mao Zedong declared that the new culture was a conceptualized reflection of the new politics and the new economy and served the new politics and the new economy. Mao Zedong wrote, "Since the bourgeois economy blossomed in China, the nature of Chinese society has gradually changed; it is no longer completely a feudal society, but has become a semifeudal society, although the feudal economy is still dominant. In comparison to the feudal economy, the capitalist economy is a new economy. New political forces have arisen and developed at the same time as the political forces of the bourgeois class, the petty bourgeois class, and the proletarian class. The conceptual reflection of the new economic and political forces is the new culture, which serves those forces. Without the bourgeois economy there would be no bourgeois class, petty bourgeois class, or proletarian class, and without the political forces of those classes the new conceptual form and the new culture could not arise."

Thus the new culture, according to the concept of Mao Zedong, was a bourgeois culture, for it was the conceptual reflection of the capitalist economy.

According to Mao Zedong, the new culture is a common culture of all three classes: the bourgeois class, the petty bourgeois class, and the proletarian class, and serves all three of those classes.

Mao Zedong also said that in order to complete the democratic revolution it was necessary to rely on certain social powers. "Those social powers are the working class, the peasant class, the intellectual element, and the progressive bourgeois class." Mao Zedong therefore regarded the intellectual element as a separate class, regarded the peasants as constituting only one class, and did not distinguish the rich peasants, middle peasants, and poor, landless peasants as being separate classes.

As far as Mao Zedong was concerned, the rich peasants were in the same category as the other peasants. Mao Zedong erased the boundary between the rich peasants, which were an exploiting class, and the laboring peasants. Therefore, according to Mao Zedong, in the phase of transition to socialism it was not necessary to eliminate the rich peasants as a class.

Toward the bourgeois class, Mao Zedong had a similar conciliatory attitude. In his work "On Contradictions Among the People," Mao Zedong deliberately glossed over the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In that work, Mao Zedong stated his belief that the contradiction between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class was not an antagonistic contradiction among the people.



We have above presented the viewpoints of Mao Zedong regarding classes and the class nature of culture and art. Only by understanding those viewpoints can we understand his attitude toward the question of standpoints.

The viewpoints of Mao Zedong on classes and their position in the revolution are extremely confused and full of contradictions. Therefore, his viewpoints on the question of standpoints are also confused and full of contradictions. When he called the bourgeois class the "leader" of the revolution, he of course took the standpoint of the proletarian class. When he called the working class as "a friend of the revolution," he of course did not take the standpoint of the working class but that of another class, which regarded the working class as a "friend." Even when he took the standpoint of the proletarian class he actually took the standpoints of many classes and categories: workers, poor peasants, and the Lumpen proletariat.

In his speeches at the conference on literature and art at Yanan in May 1942, what did Mao Zedong have to say about the question of standpoints?

"With regard to the question of viewpoints," wrote Mao Zedong, "we take the standpoint of the proletarian class and the popular masses."

According to Mao Zedong, the proletarian class includes the poor peasants, and indeed is made up principally of poor peasants. In that so-called proletarian class, the Lumpen proletarian class is a very great force, and is the most important of all.

As for the popular masses, according to Mao Zedong they include the proletarian class, the peasant classes (including the rich peasants), the petty bourgeois class, and the bourgeois class.

Thus it is clear that according to the viewpoints of Mao Zedong literature and art are based on the standpoints of many different classes: the proletarian class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeois class, and the bourgeois class. That is completely contrary to the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism.

In his article "Party Organization and Literature With a Party Nature," Lenin wrote, "Literature must become literature with a party nature. In contrast to the mores of the bourgeois class, in contrast to the mercantalist bourgeois publications, in contrast to the competition for fame and wealth in bourgeois literature and individualism, and in contrast to 'aristocratic anarchy' and profit-seeking speculation, it is necessary to set forth the principle that literature must have a party nature, and must develop that principle and implement that principle in a very ample and complete form."<sup>4</sup>

Lenin took the view that it was necessary to "use literature that is truly free and open and closely tied to the proletarian class to oppose false literature that calls itself free literature but is in fact closely tied in with the bourgeois class."<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of party nature, Lenin wrote, "Party nature demands that when evaluating something it must be done openly on the standpoint of a certain social class."

In contrast to Lenin, Mao Zedong stood on the "standpoints" in resolving questions of culture and art. That is totally impermissible, for one can take the standpoint of only one class, not those of many classes. In actuality, a multiclass standpoint is merely that of one of the property-owning classes.

Clearly, in resolving questions regarding literature and art Mao Zedong did not take the standpoint of the socialist proletarian class. Clearly, Mao Zedong negated Lenin's principle of the party nature of culture and art.

## II. The Question of Whom Literature and Art Should Serve, and How They Should Serve Them

The disciples of Mao Zedong believe that one of his brilliant contributions to the treasury of literary and artistic theory was the attention he gave to serving the people, to serving the workers, the peasants, and the soldiers.

The question of literature and art serving the laboring people is not limited to Marxists, a fact which Lenin pointed out long ago. In his article, "Party Organization and Literature With a Party Nature," published in the newspaper NEW LIFE on 13 January 1905, Lenin referred to literature serving the working people. In that article, when dealing with "a truly free and open literature closely tied in with the proletarian class," Lenin wrote, "that literature will be a free literature, for it will serve bored, satiated young ladies, nor will it serve 'ten thousand of the privileged' who are sick and tired and carrying around their heavy bellies, but it will serve millions and tens of millions of working people, i.e., the cream, the strength, and the future of the country." Lenin regarded literature serving the working people as serving "the cream, the strength, and the future of the country." Thus Lenin elevated the literary role of the party to the status of a principle, and made the party's literary task one of its basic tasks in leading the working people in transforming the nation via the revolutionary path.

In a conversation with Clara Detkin, Lenin said, "Art belongs to the people. It must take root very deeply within the broad working masses. Those masses must understand and like it. It must combine the sentiment, thought and will of those masses, and raise them to a higher level."<sup>6</sup>

Lenin added, "In our thoughts we must always consider the workers and peasants. The same is true in art, culture and the other spheres."<sup>7</sup>

He said, "The workers and peasants of our country are truly worthy of more than mere amusements. They have the right to enjoy art that is true and noble."<sup>8</sup>

It is an historical truth that 37 years before Mao Zedong raised the question of "Whom should art serve?" at the conference on literature and art at Yanan, Lenin clearly stated that literature and art must serve the working people, the workers and peasants. So that was not a special contribution of Mao Zedong.

It must be added that many aspects of Mao Zedong's viewpoints regarding the question "Whom should art serve?" are subject to debate.

Mao Zedong said, "Our literature and art must serve the broad popular masses." His concept of "the people" included the various classes: the proletariat, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie. Therefore, literature and art must serve all of those classes, i.e., they must serve even the bourgeois class and the petty bourgeois class.

Mao Zedong wrote, "Our literature and art essentially serve the workers, the peasants, and the soldiers." He added, "We must first of all serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, create for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and create for the use of the workers, peasants, and soldiers."

According to the literary and artistic viewpoints of Mao Zedong, only cultural works written about workers, peasants, and soldiers, and the erection of statues of workers, peasants, and soldiers can serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Cultural works which are not written about workers, peasants, and soldiers, and statues which are not of workers, peasants, and soldiers cannot serve them or be accepted by them.

Of course, revolutionary literature and art regard describing the combat and production lives of the workers, laboring peasants, and revolutionary soldiers as a foremost task, but that does not mean that the literary and artistic works that reflect the life and struggle of youths, women, and white-collar workers; the works which expose the exploitation of the imperialists, the feudalists, and the bourgeoisie; the works which describe the heroic struggle of the various peoples to liberate themselves and defend their homeland in the past, before the working class saw the light of day, are not needed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers, cannot serve them, or cannot be accepted by them.

In his work "What Must Be Done?" Lenin criticized "workerism" in literature, for it was an ideological manifestation of the backward classes

and of some petty bourgeois intellectuals. Lenin criticized the theory of spontaneity in the workers movement. Lenin believed that spontaneous workers movements could not lead to the creation of an independent ideology. Only a Marxist vanguard unit of the working class could create that independent ideology. Lenin wrote, "Of course, that does not mean that workers cannot participate in that creation. But they do not participate as workers, but as theorists on Marxism. In other words, they participate only to the degree that they have gained more or less complete knowledge of their era, and have advanced that knowledge. But if the workers are to continually gain ever more knowledge, we must go all out to raise their level of consciousness. Generally speaking, they should not be artificially limited to the narrow framework of 'books for workers.' It may be said that it would be more accurate to say that they should not 'limit themselves,' for workers read and want to read even what is written for intellectuals. Only a few intellectuals (who are to be pitied) think that they need only speak 'to the workers' about life in the factory and say over and over things the workers have known for a long time."<sup>9</sup>

Mao Zedong's doctrine of "worker-peasant-soldier literature and art" in actuality led to the tendency to create a separate culture for workers, peasants and soldiers, one that is sectarian and insulated. It also leads to the tendency to divide the unified culture of society into separate "squares": literature and art for workers, literature and art for peasants, literature and art for soldiers, etc. That is a "reincarnation," in a different form, of the "proletarian culture" doctrine which appeared in Russia after the October Revolution and was severely criticized by Lenin. Lenin condemned "all schemes to create a special culture" of the so-called "proletarian culture" faction as "wrong with regard to theory and harmful in actual practice." He said that the creation of a new culture could not be assigned to people who claim to be specialists in "proletarian culture."

Marxism-Leninism has the goal of constructing a classless socialist society in which the free development of each person is a precondition for the free development of all people. Marx and Engels advocated the creation of people who were developed in all respects, with man being the master of nature, society, and himself. The task of socialist literature and art is to contribute to creating those comprehensively developed people. Marx and Engels did not advocate the development of the proletarian man alone (or of the worker-peasant-soldier man), separate from the society of man. According to them, in capitalist society man degenerates. Therefore, after the victory of the socialist revolution, in the process of constructing socialism and communism everyone, including the proletariat, must cleanse themselves of the vestiges of the old society and transform themselves into new, socialist men. Socialist culture and art must contribute to creating that new, socialist man. All views that after the victory of the socialist revolution it is necessary to create a "proletarian culture" or



"worker-peasant-soldier culture" in order to create "the proletarian man" or the "worker-peasant-soldier man" are completely foreign to the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism regarding culture and art.

According to the cultural viewpoints of Mao Zedong, the class nature of culture and art is determined by the social origins of the author or by the characters portrayed in the work. It is totally mistaken to evaluate the class nature of culture and art on the basis of the class composition of the author or of the principal characters in the work. The class nature of a cultural work depends on what class standpoint and worldview the author takes in observing and describing life.

With regard to the writers and artists who are closely tied in with the workers and the laboring people, it is essential that they enter deeply into the lives of the masses in order to understand and describe their lives of production labor and revolutionary struggle. Mao Zedong also advocated that writers and artists be sent to the countryside to immerse themselves in the peasant masses, but he had something else in mind. He wanted to use the backward strata among the peasants to "reeducate" the writers and artists who had been educated in Marxism-Leninism and the standpoint of the socialist proletarian class.

With regard to revolutionary culture and art, to enter into the actualities of life is to enter directly into the revolutionary struggle spearheads of the masses. But in his Yanan base area Mao Zedong had for 10 years "bided his time" and "sat on the mountain top and watched the tigers fight." Having writers and artists enter into the actualities of life, even if that practice had been carried out strictly and with a good intention, could not have brought about notable results.

Mao Zedong believed that culture was "one of the two fronts, i.e., the cultural front and the military front." Mao wrote, "In order to defeat the enemy, first of all we must rely on an army that carries arms, but such an army alone is insufficient; we must also have a cultural army."

Mao Zedong reduced the forms of mass revolutionary struggle to "two fronts, the cultural and the military," along the lines of the feudal dynasties of the past. Mao stressed the military front above all, for he believed that "everything flows out of the barrel of a gun." He applied military-style command even on the cultural front. That reveals the militarism of Mao Zedong.

There are many forms of mass revolutionary struggle. Referring to the workers movement in Germany in the 19th century, Engels wrote, "That struggle was carried out in all three of its aspects: theory, politics and practical economics." Later, the working class in the various countries created many new forms of struggle, from meetings, demonstrations, and strikes to sitdown strikes and shows of force; and from participating in parliamentary elections to partial uprisings, general

armed uprisings, revolutionary war, etc. The forms of mass revolutionary struggle are many and varied and are not restricted to "two fronts, the cultural and the military," as Mao Zedong believed.

Superficially, Mao's doctrine of "worker-peasant-soldier culture" seems to manifest the standpoint of the peasants, but in the final analysis it essentially manifests the standpoint of the bourgeois class. With its dogmatic reasoning it mobilizes the forces of the workers, peasants and soldiers to serve the political line of the bourgeois class. It pursues the objective of eliminating Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

### III. Utilitarianism in Literature and Art

Mao Zedong believed that literature and art must follow utilitarianism. He openly claimed himself to be a person who followed utilitarianism. In his article recapitulating the Yanan conference on literature and art, he said, "In this life there is no one who does not follow utilitarianism." "We are people who follow the revolutionary utilitarianism of the proletarian class."

Utilitarianism is nothing new. It is a subjective, idealistic theoretical doctrine of the bourgeois class.

The most outstanding representative of that doctrine was an 18th century bourgeois English moralist named Bentham, who believed that the operational principle of man was individual benefit in its narrowest sense, ordinarily selfishness and individual advantage. According to Bentham's utilitarianism, individual benefit is the foundation of human conduct. The social roots of utilitarianism lie within the capitalist system, for in the competitive world of capitalism everyone thinks only of himself.

Utilitarianism later developed into pragmatism. Pragmatism is a subjective, idealistic philosophical movement which flourished especially in the United States. The famous representatives of pragmatism were Pierce at the end of the 19th century and William James and John Dewey at the beginning of the 20th century. Pragmatism regards actual practice as a synthesis of subjective experiences and sensations. According to pragmatism, the standard of truth is "usefulness" in its subjective sense. According to pragmatism, truth is useful. In this instance, "usefulness" is judged in accordance with the viewpoints of the bourgeois class. Pragmatism's understanding of the relationship between theory and practice is entirely contrary to dialectical materialism, according to which social reality is the standard of truth. Because it confuses truth with usefulness, pragmatism has become a tool serving totalitarianism and distortions of reactionary policies. It has become a means of justifying all criminal acts of the capitalists and the imperialists.

Both utilitarianism and pragmatism are intended to prove that the greatest happiness lies in the success of people who are clever operators and

in the pursuit of profit. Utilitarianism and pragmatism both help the reactionary bourgeois class to justify its crimes, which have brought it enormous profits.

By saying that he practiced utilitarianism, Mao Zedong openly admitted that he adhered to the philosophy of the English and American bourgeois class, and had abandoned the dialectical materialism of Marxism-Leninism.

As an adherent of utilitarianism, Mao Zedong used literature and art to illustrate policies. Therefore, the disease of outline formulaism spread throughout literature and art.

Mao Zedong's utilitarianism transformed literature and art into a tool to serve the selfish interests of a small number of people. Making the excuse that "literature and art must obey politics" and "literature and art must serve politics," Mao Zedong forced literature and art to obey and serve his mistaken political line. Literature and art became a megaphone for propagandizing the thought of Mao Zedong.

Making the excuse that "To serve cadres is also to serve the masses," Mao Zedong forced literature and art to praise the members of his clique. Therefore, the destiny of literary and artistic works were directly dependent on the political lives of the leadership cadres portrayed in those works. So long as those leadership cadres were still in the favor of Mao Zedong, those works and their creators continued to be in favor. On the other hand, if those cadres were no longer in high positions, were dismissed or denounced, etc., the works and their creators were implicated. The novel "Defending Yanan," by Du Pingcheng was an example. In that novel Peng Dehuai was portrayed as a prominent figure. So long as Peng Dehuai remained as head of China's Ministry of Defense the author Du Pingcheng and his work continued to receive all-out praise. After Peng Dehuai was dismissed because he criticized Mao Zedong, the author Du Pingcheng was denounced and his novel "Defending Yanan" was criticized and forbidden. After Mao Zedong died and the "gang of four" was overthrown, the author Du Pingcheng and his novel "Defending Yanan" were restored.

Limiting the function of literature and art to "serving politics," along the lines of Mao Zedong's "utilitarianism" distorted the concepts of Marxism-Leninism regarding literature and art. Of course, in society there are classes and class struggle, so literature and art must participate in class struggle. Politics are a concentrated manifestation of class struggle. Literature and art must serve politics. But that does not mean limiting the function of literature and art to serving politics. Literature and art have a comprehensive function regarding the various aspects of consciousness, education and aesthetics. The goal of socialism is to satisfy more and more fully the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of all components of society. Among the needs of man there are literary and artistic needs that must be satisfied. The

overall enterprise of building socialism and communism includes the creation of new, socialist and communist, literature and art. Therefore, literature and art are not only means but also ends. Believing that literature and art are only means, only tools for "serving politics," Mao Zedong crudely distorted the literary and artistic viewpoints of the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

Openly advancing utilitarianism in literature and art, Mao Zedong did not take into account the special characteristics of art, a special form of consciousness and culture. As far as Mao was concerned, literature and art were completely shifted over to the realm of politics and were regarded only as a means for carrying out political lines. That is a primitive understanding of art. Art must be evaluated only from one angle: Whom does it serve? Such matters as consciousness, education, aesthetics, etc., are not among the objectives of art! According to Mao Zedong the expression "literature and art serve politics" had to be understood in the narrowest sense, as a tactic of the immediate struggle. A novel, a volume of poetry, a drama, etc., that did not serve the immediate political tasks and did not praise Mao Zedong and his thought was not appropriate and should be eliminated, for it did not "serve politics." Art was trivialized to the degree that even the art itself was negated.

In its attitude toward the artistic legacy of the past, both in China and abroad, Mao's utilitarianism was manifested in his policies of "using the past for the present" and "using the external for the internal." In other words, anything that benefited the implementation of Mao Zedong's mistaken and reactionary political line should be assimilated and used, and everything else had to be rejected. That was entirely contrary to the teaching of Lenin regarding the necessity to assimilate the best of the artistic legacy of the past. In a conversation with Clara Detkin, Lenin said, "If anything is good it must be retained, used as a model, and imitated, no matter how 'old' it is. Why turn one's head and refuse to look at something that is attractive, and why refuse to use it as the starting point for future development, merely because it is 'old'?"<sup>10</sup>

The utilitarianism of Mao Zedong eliminated from literature and art their thought and soul. That was entirely contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin stressed the importance of socialist thought in literature and art with regard to the sentiment of the working people. Referring to a literature intimately related to the proletarian class, Lenin wrote, "That literature will be a free literature that will not covet profit and fame but will, because its socialist thought and sympathy for the working people, continually bring new forces into the ranks of the proletarian class."<sup>11</sup>



Socialist thought is the motive thought of the new, socialist society and culture. When referring to the working class, Lenin often spoke of a socialist working class, that is, a working class conscious of its global historical mission. Lenin clearly demonstrated that the workers movement cannot by itself give rise to an ideology higher than trade unionism. Only when it assimilates Marxism can the working class be conscious of its global historical mission and be capable of fulfilling that mission.

In his work "What Is To Be Done?" Lenin wrote, "Since there is no independent ideology created by the working masses in the process of their movement, the question that is posed is whether their ideology will be bourgeois or socialist. There is no middle ground (because mankind has not created a 'third' ideology and in a society divided by class antagonisms there can be no ideology that is outside of or above the classes). Therefore, to lightly regard socialist ideology or to stray from socialist ideology is to strengthen the bourgeois ideology. Much is said of spontaneity. But the spontaneous development of the workers movement has made that movement dependent on bourgeois ideology, for what arises from the workers movement is trade unionism, which is an ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeois class."<sup>12</sup>

Thus according to the viewpoints of Lenin, with regard to ideology the question that is posed is not "bourgeois or proletarian" but "bourgeois or socialist"? Opposed to bourgeois culture, Lenin advocated the creation of a socialist culture, not one that was called "proletarian culture" or "worker-peasant-soldier culture."

Lenin also referred to "a communist art" (not to "a proletarian art"). In a conversation with Clara Detkin, Lenin said, "First of all, it is necessary to insure that popular education is spread very widely. We will thereby create fertile ground for culture, if it is assumed that the people's bread has been assured, ground on which there will spring up a truly new, truly great culture, a communist culture which will create for itself a form that is entirely appropriate to its contents."<sup>13</sup>

Here, Lenin was not referring to proletarian culture (or to worker-peasant-soldier culture) but to communist culture. That demonstrates that Lenin emphasized the decisive importance of the ideological element in creating the literature and art of the new society.

Mao Zedong sought all ways to eliminate the socialist ideological element from literature and art. His viewpoints on the question of "popularization and elevation" in art were also aimed toward that goal. Mao Zedong wrote, "Popularization should be popularization among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and with regard to elevation it is the workers, peasants and soldiers who should be elevated." He posed the question, "What should be popularized among them?" and answered, "whatever the workers, peasants and soldiers need and can easily assimilate."

According to Mao Zedong, since socialist, Marxist-Leninist thought were not "necessary for and readily assimilated by" the workers, peasants and soldiers, they should not be "popularized" among them.

As we all know, when the Communist International announced its dissolution in 1943 Mao Zedong posed the following questions for the members of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party: "Do we need Marxism-Leninism? Why do we need Marxism-Leninism? And is it necessary to propagandize Marxism-Leninism?" Mao himself provided the answer: "Understanding of Marxism-Leninism is not necessary to lead China. The essential matter is to understand China and to understand its needs and customs." Of course, the Chinese revolutionaries had to understand China, but if they were not equipped with the ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism, how could they truly understand China and its needs? Clearly, Mao Zedong always opposed Marxism-Leninism, but he used the Marxist-Leninist label and sought all ways to live as a parasite on Marxism-Leninism.

In the sphere of art, Mao Zedong advocated "elevation along the lines of the workers, peasants and soldiers," not elevation along the lines of Marxism-Leninism or of advancing to socialist and communist ideals.

With his doctrine of "worker-peasant-soldier culture," Mao Zedong eliminated the ideology of scientific socialism from literature and art. By doing so he prepared the way for literature and art to develop along the lines of the ideology of the bourgeois class.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, "Collected Works" (Russian-language edition), Vol 29, p 388.
2. Lenin, "On Culture, Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 171.
3. Op. cit., p 173.
4. Lenin, "On Culture and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 72.
5. Op. cit., p 78.
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9. Lenin, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol 1, p 220.
10. Lenin, "On Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 230.
11. Op. cit., p 78.
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## STEP UP THE PRODUCTION OF EXPORT GOODS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80  
pp 67-71

[Article by Luu Van Dat]

[Text] In the great undertaking of developing our country's economy there are arising many very great and urgent problems which demand that we exploit all capabilities in order to step up production. In the present era there is taking place an international division of labor. The scientific-technical revolution is strongly accelerating that process. During the past several years, in international specialization and production cooperation among the socialist countries in COMECON there have been new developments in such important spheres as energy, fuel, basic raw materials, staple food, and machine building. The program of socialist economic cooperation has won many great victories.

Our country, a member of COMECON, must actively and positively participate in the international division of labor and expand its economic relations with foreign countries, especially the fraternal socialist countries. That requires our country to step up its exports, develop its foreign trade, and expand economic cooperation with foreign countries, in accordance with the principles of equality, mutuality, and benefit to all parties.

With regard to our country at present, stepping up exports is an economic task of strategic significance in the enterprise of economic construction and development, and is a key concern in the process of developing the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

In the economically developed countries, expanding trade with foreign countries is an objective requirement of large-scale production. In order to step up exports, such countries must find markets for their goods. Therefore, the greatest difficulty in exporting as far as those countries are concerned is the matter of markets. As for our country,



the key problem in exporting at present is the problem of developing the production of consumer goods and creating many sources of supply for export goods. In the sphere of foreign trade, we are encountering a major contradiction: our economic and commercial relations with foreign countries, especially with the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, are generally favorable, but we have a great shortage of exportable goods.

Therefore, in order to step up exports we must concentrate on creating sources of goods, developing production, and creating principal export goods with large volumes, high quality, and low production costs which are attractive on the world market. If that is to be accomplished, we must overcome the subjective deficiencies of the task of organizing the production of export goods.

On the basis of the export guidelines set forth by the fourth party congress, the Council of Ministers issued Resolution 280/CP, dated 12 October 1978, which determined the specific export goods, taking into consideration our production conditions and the world market situation. But in 1978 and 1979 exports did not increase. That situation was due in part to such objective difficulties as natural disasters, destruction by the enemy, limited foreign reserves, etc., and in part to the fact that we have not yet concentrated on developing our strengths regarding export goods, have not yet invested adequately and fully to create sources of principal export goods, and do not yet have an appropriate management structure consisting of policies that serve to strongly promote the production of consumer goods and an apparatus sufficiently strong to assure the implementation of the party and state policies regarding the promotion of exports.

In order to correct those deficiencies, the resolution of the fifth plenum of the party Central Committee (fourth term) stated that, "It is necessary to increase production in order to rapidly increase export capabilities, above all in the agricultural, forestry, fishing, minerals, and export goods contracting sectors, we must boldly import materials and raw materials to rapidly increase exports in an economically efficient manner, and must rapidly create large areas producing agricultural goods for export (rubber, coffee, peanuts, soybeans, pineapples, bananas, tobacco, tea, jute, mulberry, and forestry products), raising livestock and marine products, and producing forestry products, and it is necessary to positively develop and supply sufficient raw materials in order to increase the export of goods made of rattan, bamboo, and rush, and of artistic goods. We must promulgate immediately a number of policies to stimulate exports... and must improve the organization of export goods production and business dealings."

The resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee (fourth term) regarding the directions and missions of the development

of the export goods industry and local industry added many important points to the export stimulation policy.

In order to develop the production of export goods, the foremost measure is to increase investment in order to rapidly increase export capabilities, supply sufficient materials and raw materials to the production bases, and supply sufficient staple food to the producers.

In an economy based essentially on small-scale production, the most important measure for rapidly increasing the supply of export goods is to increase investment into developing the latent capabilities of the economy, develop the strengths regarding export goods, and especially expand and modernize the existing production bases, and build new production bases, in order to create rich, concentrated sources of export goods that are high quality, meet international standards, have low production costs, and are capable of competing on the world market. The development of export goods must be tied in with economic development; investment in exports must be tied in with investment in economic construction and development throughout the nation and in each sector and locality; and it is necessary to regard investment in exports as a direction for carrying out the socialist industrialization of the nation. In order to rapidly develop export goods we must concentrate first of all on investment in agriculture, forestry, light industry, artisan industry and handicrafts producing export goods, and the mining sector.

The most important standard of investment is economic effectiveness. Our investment capabilities are limited, so we must concentrate capital on projects which rapidly bring about high economic effectiveness. Therefore, we must pay special attention to investment in depth, focusing principally on providing additional equipment, completing the production line, expanding, improving, and modernizing the existing bases, and boldly importing the necessary materials and raw materials, in order to fully utilize the existing production capabilities and develop the latent capabilities regarding land and labor. In addition to in-depth investment, the principal direction of investment in exports, beginning now we must invest in breadth, in order to build new production bases, create sources of large numbers of high-quality export goods, such as by creating state farms to produce tropical agricultural products (rubber, tea, coffee, cacao, tobacco, etc.); build the necessary material bases for the contracted-out production of exports, such as cotton spinning factories, textile mills, ready-made clothing factories, etc.; and build projects to exploit such large-reserve natural resources as natural gas, coal, tin, bauxite, etc. In order to assure the principle of economic effectiveness, it is necessary to invest in all aspects, from production, processing, packaging, transportation, and storage, to delivering export goods, in order to produce high-quality products and assure the continuity of the process of producing and circulating export goods.

In order to do a good job of implementing the policy of increasing investment in export, we must overcome the thinking of small merchants in export activities—paying attention to collecting natural products and only relying on the mobilization of the surplus but very undependable products of dispersed small-scale agricultural products—and must overcome the thinking of small producers, who are concerned only with investment to develop production and not with urgently planning areas to specialize in growing crops for exports or to organize animal husbandry and develop forestry and marine products, and who pay little attention to building new bases to produce export products or to expanding and modernizing the existing bases.

While agriculture and heavy industry are not yet capable of creating the raw materials and materials necessary for developing the production of export goods, and a large number of raw materials and materials used in producing export goods must be imported from abroad, the problem of supplying of adequate imported raw materials and materials to the production bases and producers is a measure of decisive importance with regard to the fulfillment of plans to produce export goods, especially with regard to light industry and handicraft products for export.

Therefore, we must assure the supplying of the necessary raw materials and materials, including imported raw materials, to the units producing export goods, consisting of the state bases to which the state assigns norms for the production of export goods, the cooperatives which are growing crops for export in accordance with the decisions and plans of the state and are obliged to sell products to the state on the basis of two-way economic contracts, and the artisan industry and handicraft cooperatives which produce consumer goods and sell their entire output to the state, corresponding to the raw materials assigned and on the basis of two-way economic contracts. In the event that some imported materials are insufficient to meet the overall requirements of production, the production units are to receive priority in the supplying of such materials, to assure that the bases can fulfill the production plans assigned them.

Assuring the supplying of sufficient staple food for the areas and people producing export goods has an important significance with regard to the areas specializing in growing export crops and the areas producing forestry products and marine products for export. Since many difficulties are still being encountered in supplying staple foods to society in general, the task of assuring the necessary amounts of staple foods for producers is an indispensable condition in order to implement plans to produce export goods. Since it is one of the state's staple food policies, the policy regarding the supplying of staple food to people producing export goods must both assure a rational relationship between the people producing export goods and the other workers in the locality, especially the members of cooperatives growing staple crops, and supply sufficient staple food to the areas and people producing

export goods, and must form close ties between the producers and the relevant state organs, by means of two-way economic contracts. The amounts of staple foods supplied will be calculated on the basis of tons of products sold to the state.

In the event that the local administration encounters difficulties with regard to staple foods, the state will provide the necessary amount of staple food needed to supply the producers of export goods, and the local administration may not use that staple food for other purposes.

It is necessary to overcome egalitarianism and fear of difficulty in resolving the problem of providing the necessary raw materials and materials to the bases producing export goods and the problem of providing staple food for people producing export goods.

The system of lending foreign exchange in order to develop the production of export goods creates conditions for the production bases and foreign trade organizations to overcome the lack of foreign exchange and for the economic sectors, the production bases, and the foreign trade organizations to meet their unplanned requirements in the production and contracting-out of export goods, in order to rapidly increase the quantity of export goods, expand contracted business, and increase the state's foreign exchange income. In order to carry out that policy, the Foreign Trade Bank has been allowed to set up a special foreign exchange fund called the "Export Foreign Exchange Fund." The state sets aside for the production bases 70 percent of the foreign exchange taken in, after principal and interest has been paid to the bank, for use in the form of a "right to use foreign exchange" award.

In addition to the above-mentioned system of measures, there is also a system of economic levers, consisting of policies to encourage the cooperatives and families producing export goods in the nonspecialized growing areas and in dispersed forestry areas, which do not benefit from the above-mentioned staple food and production materials but sell products to the state for export, a policy regarding the requisition-purchasing prices of export goods, an export tax and subsidy policy, and a system of export bonuses.

The basic spirit of the export goods production incentive policies is, in addition to developing revolutionary ardor, patriotism, and love of socialism on the part of producers, correctly utilizing the laws of economic activity in a socialist economy which has many components, fully utilizing the law of value and the commodity-currency relationship, correctly resolve the relationship between the benefit of the workers, the benefit of the collective, and the benefit of society as a whole, in order to encourage producers, especially the peasants and handicraft workers, to positively and enthusiastically produce many export goods.



In that basic spirit, the incentive price policy is intended to encourage the cooperatives and the individual households to fully utilize land and labor, positively expand the cultivated area, practice intensive cultivation and increase the number of growing seasons, and positively exploit forestry products and marine products in order to create additional sources of export goods. In accordance with that policy, people producing outside the specialized cultivation areas, as well as those exploiting forestry products and marine products individually, are sold staple food, production means, or consumer goods by the state at incentive prices, valued at 5 to 20 percent of the value of products sold to the state, according to the type of product the export of which is being promoted by the state. In order to carry out that policy, the state has set up a special budget called the "Export Incentive Merchandise Fund," made up of materials produced domestically or imported, to be used for the above-mentioned purpose.

In that basic spirit, the state has a policy to requisition-purchase export goods at incentive prices. Although the export goods' requisition-purchasing prices fall within the general system of prices, because export goods require high standards and quality, an attractive appearance, and strong packaging, so when requisition-purchasing prices are fixed it is necessary to determine the rational degree of disparity between export products and products consumed within the country, in order to stimulate the production of export goods. The requisition-purchasing prices of export products must, in general, fully meet rational production costs, reserve for export goods a higher rate of interest than for domestic consumer goods, and especially stimulate the production of goods which meet high export standards.

With regard to industrial goods for export, when determining production costs (in accordance with the state's system for calculating production costs) it is necessary to consider all elements of production in order to assure that the products meet international standards. With regard to export agricultural products, when determining requisition-purchasing prices we must assure an appropriate degree of disparity in comparison to the products which do not meet export standards. With regard to areas which specialize in growing crops for export in accordance with state plans, in fixing the requisition-purchase prices of export goods it is necessary to take into account state investment, production means, staple food, and consumer goods the state supplied to the cooperatives and peasants, and the export incentive bonuses. And we must assure that the people growing crops for export have incomes higher than those growing the other kinds of crops in the locality.

The state also has a policy of material incentives in two forms: bonuses paid in Vietnamese money and bonuses paid in "the right to use foreign exchange." Bonuses paid in Vietnamese money are intended to supplement the three funds of the production units--the production development fund, the collective welfare fund, and the bonus fund--which are intended to

mobilize the workers and management cadres of the production units to enthusiastically produce export goods, assure quality, and fully implement contracts to deliver goods to the foreign trade organizations. Bonuses paid in "the right to use foreign exchange" are an important form of bonuses which allow the production bases to use part of the foreign exchange they take in from exports to import production means, in order to develop the production of export goods, and a number of truly necessary consumer goods. The resolution of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee (fourth term) decided that the sectors, localities and bases will be allowed to use about 10 percent of their export earnings within the plan and about 50 percent of their export earnings beyond the plan quota, to import necessary raw materials and materials.

In addition to those three economic levers, the state has a tax preference policy and an export subsidy policy. Since the production costs of many of our export goods are still high, in order to promote exports the state applies a policy of subsidizing exports, in the form of making up for losses with regard to products the losses of which must be made up if conditions are to be created for developing their production for export.

In order to develop the use and effectiveness of the above system of measures and policies, it is necessary to do a good job of organizing the implementation of those economic incentive policies in each sector, locality and base producing export goods.

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## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROBLEMS IN EXPANDING ADVANCED MODELS IN AGRICULTURE

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[Article by Duong Hong Dat]

[Text] In agricultural production we have many advanced models, on different scales and levels. In order to propagate those advanced models, we must resolve many very different problems in a combined and integrated manner. Here we will only discuss the scientific-technical aspects of that problem.

I. The advanced models in agriculture manifest activities of man that are in consonance with objective laws.

The advanced models attain high effectiveness in production activities and in improving living conditions because they do a good job of combining the revolutionary ardor of the workers with scientific knowledge under the actual conditions of the production base.

In actual production, many lessons that are learned from the advanced bases do not bring about the desired results when they are applied in other places, for those lessons are unilateral and one-sided. The people who apply them do not analyze them fully and comprehensively, and do not correctly understand the nature of such experiences. Experiences in production are those which apply the laws of, and resolve the internal relationships in, the production process. Therefore, in studying models it is very important that we understand those laws in order to apply them to the specific conditions of the unit, and not merely copy the specific accomplishments of the advanced models.

In agriculture, the yields of livestock and crops result from the operations of the agricultural ecosystem. Many people still believe that crop yields are due to the seedstock, and the productivity of livestock is due to the breeding stock. Therefore some people believe that good seedstock or breeding stock alone is sufficient to attain high yields. Many places have used the different kinds of seedstock and

breeding stock, but only the advanced production bases have attained high productivity. In fact, in many advanced production bases the seedstock and breeding stock are not necessarily the most productive, but are most suitable to the natural conditions and material-technical bases of such places.

In addition to good stock, there must be sufficient fertilizer and water, depending on the requirements, if high yields are to be attained. The advanced production bases usually make great efforts to meet the needs of the crops with regard to fertilizer and water. However, in many other production bases, irrigation is as good as in the advanced production bases, and the amount of fertilizer used, including both organic and inorganic fertilizer, is not less than in the advanced production bases, but yields are still not high and effectiveness is less. Here there is the matter of the use of technical materials. If technical materials are used properly--in the right way, in the right place, at the right time, and in the right amounts and strengths--the quantities can be small but very effective. In many instances the advanced production bases are successful because they use technical materials correctly and rationally, not because they use large amounts of them.

In utilizing agricultural technical materials, one matter that must receive attention is that with regard to the biological systems excess is no less damaging than deficiency. Therefore, we should not think that the more the fertilizer the better. Spreading sufficient fertilizer on crops satisfies their requirements, but their tolerance level should not be exceeded.

Whether nutrients are excessive or deficient depends not only on quantity but also on the balancing of elements. In many instances quantity can be insufficient to assure high yields but be excessive with regard to balance because there are exceedingly small amounts of the other elements. A lack of balance among the nutritive elements can have the effect of upsetting the physiological and biological processes in the plants and changing some qualities of the plant, including resistance to disease. Therefore, such imbalances not only influence the process of determining the crop yield but also create conditions for damage by insects and disease, which greatly reduce yields.

Each phase of the plant's growth and development has different requirements with regard to nutrients as well as the other conditions of life, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In the agricultural ecosystem, plants do not grow all by themselves but usually grow together with many other types of flora and fauna on the same ground. Crops can only grow and develop well when their operations are balanced, harmonious, and in accord with the other living things in the ecosystem. The crop's needs for water, fertilizer, and



the other factors depend in part on the operational status of the other living things. Furthermore, the nature and degree of the operations of the various biological types and groups in the ecosystem depend on the conditions of life. For example, if there is sufficient organic fertilizer many kinds of life living in the root area act to break down the organic substances, which are assimilated by the plant as food. On the other hand, when they lack organic substance those microbes become semi-parasites on the roots and on the other parts of the plant, and cause damage.

Therefore, the sowing or transplanting of a rice paddy or a group of plants that are planted is merely the initial premises for attaining economic yields. The initial premises have a great influence on yields, but in the end the question of whether economic yields are high or low depends to a large degree on the operations of the overall ecosystem throughout the growth period. During that time, the effect of man exerted by technical measures has the significance of manipulating the operations of the agricultural ecosystem in order to attain high yields. Acts which are mistaken, are not suitable to the needs of the plants, and are not in consonance with the relationships among the components of the ecosystems will upset those systems and lead to low yields. Ordinarily the initial bases of the manipulation of the operation of the agricultural ecosystem are easily recognized and studied in the advanced bases, but what is more difficult to recognize and study is the manipulation of the operations of that ecosystem that is in accord with the changing external conditions, in order to attain high productivity. Therefore, many bases think that they are doing their work properly and have done everything the advanced production bases did, but in fact they have not done so, for they should have effected the agricultural ecosystem in a manner appropriate to changing conditions but instead mechanically applied what the advanced production bases had done under different conditions and circumstances to their own, different specific conditions.

There are two groups of external factors which affect and control the activity of the ecosystem: the natural factors (temperature, humidity, light, rain and sun, etc.) and the factors created by man (the technical cultivation measures). With regard to changes in the natural conditions, man has never been able to change them, but we can grasp the effects and influence of those factors in the process of creating the yields of crops and livestock. By grasping those laws, although he cannot change the natural elements, man can use many different measures to reduce the harmful effects and strengthen the positive effects, while at the same time manipulating the adaptive responses of the plants, in order to create high economic effectiveness. Therefore, the technical cultivation measures not only supply the factors necessary for crops but also create conditions for the plants to take advantage of the favorable aspects of the environment, help the plants overcome the harmful effects, and maintain for the plants activity that is harmonious and in consonance with the other components of the ecosystem.

In the advanced production bases, production activities are carried out in accordance with the natural and economic laws, so they have attained high yields. Therefore, the effectiveness of their investment in production is also high, even under material-technical conditions that are still limited in many respects.

11. To expand advanced models over a large area is in fact to discover the laws of high productivity and good scientific management in the advanced production bases and apply them to the specific production conditions in each place.

The advanced models attain good results in production because they do a good job of applying scientific-technical and economic management advances to production. When assimilating and applying scientific-technical advances, the close relationship among, and integrated nature of, those technical factors, must be fully understood. Therefore, when applying a scientific-technical advance--such as a new plant variety--to production, there must be changes in the other technical factors (fertilizer, the seasonal schedule, etc.) in order to develop the positive aspects of the new factors. Furthermore, if new scientific-technical advances are to be effective and useful in production, they must be adjusted to a certain degree so that they can be appropriate to the technical factors and the other conditions of the ecosystem.

While applying the experiences gained at the advanced production bases to their specific production conditions, many places have not fully realized the special characteristics of the production conditions of each place, so they have not attained good results. When they encounter failure, some people conclude that since each place has distinctive characteristics, the experiences of one place cannot be applied to another place. The key matter here is failure to grasp the true nature of the successes of the advanced production bases. The objectives of agricultural production are the various kinds of plants and animals. Each of them has its hereditary characteristics, the latent capabilities that can manifest themselves in special characteristics regarding physiology and structure, including the characteristics of productivity. Living things differ from nonliving things in that they react to external stimuli and select and retain what is needed while rejecting what is not needed. If they do not reject the harmful external stimuli, the plants and animals react to reduce the harmful effects and reorganize their activity and structure in order to adapt to those effects, to a certain degree and within certain limits. If those limits are passed, the plant or animal dies. Attention must also be paid to increasing the economic yields of crops and livestock, in order to meet the needs of man and not merely to meet the needs of the plants or animals. Of course, the attainment of economic yields in agriculture is not entirely dependent on the subjective desires of man, but on the characteristics of the plants or animals which are intended above all to meet their needs. But on the course of agricultural development man has caused plants and

animals to increase their economic yields beyond the needs of those plants and animals. Therefore, in order to bring about high economic yields man must, by means of many different technical measures, create a special environment that is appropriate to that unnatural status of plants and animals. Therefore, we cannot examine and evaluate the characteristics of each locality alone, but must view them in their dialectical relationships with the characteristics of the plants and animals.

In applying the experiences of the advanced production bases, it is usually necessary to resolve the relationships between the advanced factors that allow them to develop their effect, and the limited conditions of the locality. In addition to gradually building scientific-technical bases in order to assimilate and fully utilize the advanced production experiences, and gradually preparing for the greater development of production, a very important matter is utilizing the existing material-technical bases in the localities economically, rationally, and with high economic effectiveness. With regard to manipulating the ecosystems, technical materials in the hands of people who are knowledgeable and experienced become very effective weapons, for technical materials not only have an effect because of their quantity but also have great capabilities for creating many biological and inorganic processes in the ecosystems and in stimulating the plants and animals to take advantage of the necessary conditions and factors in the ecosystem. In that respect labor, especially technical labor, becomes a kind of very effective technical material, for by means of correct actions the worker can create and mobilize the great and harmonious structure of the overall ecosystem.

III. Propagating the advanced models in agriculture is a comprehensive activity with scientific contents which requires good organization and close guidance.

The advanced models in agriculture are the combined result of many kinds of activity: cognition, psychology, knowledge, operation, organization, etc.

1. In order to expand the advanced models, first of all it is necessary to do a good job of synthesizing their experiences. In the many-sided relationships of agricultural production activities, economic objectives may be reached by means of many different paths and measures. In the advanced production bases, the path that has been selected is certain to be the most rational path in view of that base's specific conditions. It is necessary to analyze and fully evaluate the rationality of the measures that have been selected and applied. "Rationality" in this sense should not be understood in its absolute sense, but only as the suitability of the measures that have been applied to the characteristics of the crops and livestock. One should not merely analyze and evaluate the general rationality of the course that has been taken to attain the

economic objectives, but must analyze the effect and significance of each specific measure. What should be learned from the advanced production bases is not the applied measures themselves but their significance in bringing about economic yields under each specific condition.

The yields of the crops and livestock result from the application of the technical process. Each process consists of many different measures, which do not act individually but contribute to creating economic yields by means of combined, integrated action. Therefore we cannot make separate recapitulations of each factor but must recapitulate the overall effect of all factors.

Agricultural productivity is not created all at once but results from operational processes of the ecosystem, including the process of accumulation and the process of depletion. Accumulation and depletion are two dialectical aspects of the process of creating economic yields. Therefore, it is not enough to grasp the process of accumulation; we must also discover the processes of depletion and loss in creating productivity.

We must recapitulate the composition, amounts, and ratios of the technical materials and contribute to bringing about economic productivity. In that sphere, a very important matter is distinguishing among the substances man introduces into the ecosystem and the substances nature contributes to the process of material circulation in the ecosystem. The advanced production bases which attain high economic productivity are usually those in which man does not introduce much technical material into the ecosystem, while most of the substances introduced into the material cycle in the ecosystems are natural.

It is necessary to recapitulate the experiences and transform technical knowledge and policies into specific acts on the part of the producers, the technicians, and the people doing management work in the production bases.

2. We must do a good job of basic studies to grasp the natural and economic situation of the production bases. Those studies must be very specific and comprehensive in the advanced bases as well as in the other production bases, places in which we intend to expand the successes of the advanced production bases.

We must fully understand the natural conditions--weather, land, water supply and the irrigation system, the crop varieties, the livestock types, etc.--and the socioeconomic conditions--the production direction, labor, technical materials, the educational and vocational levels of the workers, etc. To grasp the situation is not only to draw up statistical charts but also to correctly evaluate each factor, especially capability to contribute to creating economic yields. We must not only correctly evaluate the existing latent capabilities of the various factors but



also analyze the history of the formation of those factors and the current situation, in order to determine the future direction of development. On that basis, we must set forth the methods of use and the necessary measures to improve them.

In agricultural production the natural and economic factors are analyzed with regard to two aspects: natural value and actual value. In expanding the advanced models as well as in making calculations in order to develop production, it is necessary to evaluate the natural and economic factors according to their actual value. The actual value of the natural and economic factors, in addition to the specific significance of those factors with regard to the specific crops or livestock, also include the conscious acts of man, which make those factors suitable to the needs of the crop or livestock, in order to create economic yields. For example, in the advanced production bases the leached soil, as in other places, does not have high natural value, but because it is well utilized it can produce high rice yields. In other words, in those places such soil has an actual value as great as that of fields with high natural value.

With regard to the various kinds of living things, the effects of the natural factors all have very great significance regarding quantity, quality, factors, frequency, and length of time. For example, the effects of heat are not restricted to intensity but also include length of time, the number of times the plant or animal is in contact with that heat, the degree to which the heat varies, etc. Therefore, in grasping the basic situation in order to evaluate the advanced production experiences and in applying those experiences, adequate attention must be paid to the relationships between the plants and animals and the external factors.

3. The assimilation of experiences and the expansion of advanced models are dependent on the cadres operating in the production bases.

First of all, the base-level leadership and management cadres must receive training so that they can grasp the production directions and the natural and economic characteristics of each base, have knowledge of management, and know how to organize the masses to participate in production activities.

The technical cadres in the production bases must be trained so that they can fulfill their missions in the sphere of work assigned them. Cultivation and animal husbandry technical cadres, planning cadres, and accounting cadres, as well as cadres with such narrow specialties as veterinary medicine, vegetation protection, seedstock, fertilizer, etc., must be present in each production base. Those cadres must assimilate all the advanced experiences in their sphere of activity.

4. We must create a technical network in the production bases and step up the activities of the technical networks, from the central level

to the provincial, district, and production base levels. The advanced experiences in agriculture cannot be merely tasks that can be completed immediately by a few motions, but are a whole series of tasks which follow one another in time and take place in many different areas of operation. A success attained in agricultural production usually results from many actions which enable the objects of production (plants or animals) to grow and develop well under continually changing external conditions. A technical and economic management network that extends from top to bottom and operates harmoniously and uniformly in each production base will rapidly determine the correct way to deal with each development in the situation, in order to do a good job of assimilating and utilizing the advanced experiences. First of all, that network will promptly resolve on the spot the minor developments of a limited nature which do not profoundly affect the plants and animals or the overall production process. Second, that network, with its improved technical and professional knowledge, will accurately reflect the situation of the production process in the technical aspects which the untrained people could never realize. Third, with smoothly operating technical networks, scientific knowledge, and scientific-technical advances from the upper-echelon organs, institutes, and scientific centers will enter into production rapidly and continually, and therefore the developments in the production situation will be dealt with promptly and correctly. Therefore, it is necessary to create a good scientific-technical network and assign skilled cadres to appropriate positions, thus enabling the technical network to operate smoothly and effectively.

Studying and utilizing advanced experiences is a creative process. Only by creatively utilizing the advanced experiences when resolving the problems that arise in production, with a revolutionary and scientific spirit, can good results be attained.

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USE LABOR, CONFIDENCE AND LOVE TO PERSISTENTLY EDUCATE THOSE WHO HAVE  
GONE ASTRAY

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[Article by Do Thi Duy Lien]

[Text] Frightful Infections and Losses

Neocolonialism enslaved our people in the south by means of many very insidious plots, including the plot to cause them to become cowardly, lazy, money-loving, and fun-loving, and to despise labor.

It used many different ways to carry out its plots. It praised and patronized the rich and monied and denigrated manual labor, criticized honest people as stupid, praised people who were dishonest and wheeler-dealers as clever, etc. It synthesized the most poisonous schemes into dozens of different "doctrines" and published books about them; it created by means of Vietnamese and Hong Kong movies and the stories of Duyen Anh, Chu Tu, Nguyen Thi Hoang, etc., people who were wily and cunning, utopian individual heroes who lived adventuresome lives, people who were troublesome and lewd, etc. For a time those "models" became the idols of a considerable number of young people. Neocolonialism also spread a psychology of suspicion among everyone, even of themselves: "Don't believe in anyone and don't even believe in yourself--no one cares about you so you must worry about yourself." It spread the belief that life was a matter of "money, sex, jail and crime" and had no other meaning. Therefore, it must be enjoyed, "enjoyed to the fullest today." It emphasized the value of money, for everything, including love, could be bought with money.

During the time U.S. troops flooded Saigon many families lived in deplorable circumstances: husbands allowed their wives to deal in U.S. goods, work in U.S. offices, and serve as bargirls. Although they were certain they would lose their wives, the luxury goods, money and conveniences their wives brought home were quite "attractive." That is not to mention those who brazenly "gave away" their wives to Americans out of greed for spending money. Some bargirls who sold themselves to

Americans at first hid that fact, but gradually came to regard it as an ordinary matter. And even more pitiful were the parents who were pleased with that situation, for their children "earned a living" for the family.

Neocolonialism caused some people, once they had become accustomed to the decadent way of life, to be content and pleased, seek all ways to rationalize their actions, and use all kinds of arguments in inveigling others to join them in decadence.

Neocolonialism focused on youths and teenagers, who wanted to have fun, were dynamic, were easily influenced, and wanted to try new things, in order to provoke their sensations.

A youngster who liked to shoot guns, race horses and the martial arts imitated the speech, deportment, and mannerisms of the American gangsters, and the braggadocio and bellowing of Li Xiaolong and Qang Dawei in Hong Kong films, etc., suddenly viewed his family as narrow and ordinary, and wanted to "plunge" into the wind and dust and join the "dust of life."

The lascivious publications and movies, with the provocative sign "No one under 18 admitted" outside the theater, which made youths and teenagers determined to enter at all costs, caused young people to seek pleasures of the flesh before they reached maturity.

Young girls fell into a trap because they liked new styles, dancing, and "clubs" which were very mysterious and attractive.

As far as such youths were concerned, family life with virtue and order had become suffocating and stifling. They wanted to find lightning, insane romance to satisfy their curiosity about the things to which they had been introduced in novels and films. They were prepared to bear the consequences:

"I'd rather have a minute of glory and then suddenly die!"

The enemy created a shortcut for youths. There was a time when some Saigon youths found death by fooling around and racing their motor-bicycles across "convoys" of 10-wheeled GMC trucks on the Bien Hoa Highway. That inevitably led to armed bands of thieves, bank robberies, shoot-outs with police, drug dealing, and drug use.

Among the tens of thousands of wayward young men and women studying in the schools and farms of the Bureau of War Casualties and Welfare of Ho Chi Minh City, a considerable number have committed crimes. Some very experienced children of 12 or 13 have lived for 3 or 4 years with thieves, are very skilled at snatching watches and gold jewelry, and have frequented houses of prostitution. With such a headstart, how



corrupt will they be at 19 or 20? There are young girls in their puberty who wilted before they blossomed, the wear and adversity showing on their faces and in their appearance. Many have been vagabonds, thieves, prostitutes, and drug addicts. Some are very skilled at "playing tricks." Some had tattooed on their tender arms the black and green words "Go all out in life." Many of them had become hardened and no longer cared about their self-respect or honor, for they thought that they are already lost and had nothing more to save. They continually plunged deeper and deeper into decadence. Their lives were like an automobile without brakes racing down a precipitous incline. They were already ruined and tried to win over their friends so that many more people could be ruined. They lived one day at a time and never thought of tomorrow. Everything had become habitual, a way of life that is difficult to abandon. There were rare moments when they suddenly thought about what they had done, and realized that they had committed errors and were decadent. But such thoughts suddenly came and suddenly went, and people relented and were easily swayed, and could no longer restrain their "intense desire" and "incest." For example the young girl Ng. signaled her cohorts to free her from the grip of her older sister, who had unexpectedly run across her and intended to take her home. And Ng. herself took her only child, who was 13 months old, to a free hospital and left it there so she could be free to live a debauched life. When she was ill or lacked heroin or medicine, was hungry, was away from her friends, or late at night heard a baby crying in the house next door, she was miserable and regretful, missed her sister and her child, and intended to return home. But the following morning the demands and temptations of her addiction and of her way of life continued to attract her and she could not escape. The youngster H., a "vagabond" at An Dong market, sometimes missed his mother very much and would sneak a look at her when she passed by the market and want to run out, embrace her, and ask for forgiveness. But his friends held him back and challenged him with a few sentences. He would regain his "heroism" and continue his life as a "vagabond."

Clearly, neocolonialism robbed people of their confidence, benevolence and energy. Neocolonialism and the U.S. imperialists were one in the same. For decades, for a hundred long years if one includes the French colonialists, they sought all ways to carry out their insidious plot. Although they were defeated in the end, their effects were very poisonous, and the harm is long-lasting and complicated.

#### Changes and Lessons

Education to transform people who have gone astray is not a simple matter. What did we know about such people? What was the best way and most rapid way to completely eliminate those social evils. On the basis of our limited knowledge and experience, we reached the following conclusions:

--Such people were victims of much misery, had been poisoned by the enemy, and were looked down on by public opinion.

--Since they were victims we had to love and assist them, and not disrespect them.

--We had to arrange for them to work, study trades, and by that means educate them.

By means of those initial conclusions, we tried out reeducation programs and gradually expanded their scale.

At first the work was very difficult; if one did not have a high degree of determination one could easily become disillusioned. We instituted a trial program by setting up a school to educate wayward women. When they first entered the school the girls shouted, banged things around, swore, and were rude and rash. But after a brief period of time the situation gradually stabilized and after a few months the girls showed progress; they spoke softly, their clothes were clean and neat, and they observed the daily schedule. Gradually they came to realize who the enemy was and the harm that had been done them, understood the stands and policies of the party and state, knew how to work, knew how to read and write, and were no longer diseased.

The girls directed their own activities, and there was a set time for everything. Those who were team leaders directed the study sessions quite skillfully. The girls competed in writing wall posters and edited a dictionary of literature and art, and registered to study handicraft trades and participate in production labor. They began to have incomes and knew how to treasure the money they earned by their own labor.

In sum, they had a new life, and gradually adapted to the collective way of life. Although their transformation was in some cases rapid and in other cases slow, the reeducation situation was clearly developing well.

In the course of the actual work we came to have more and deeper understanding of the people of whom we were in charge. On the basis of what we had learned and on those transformations, as well as the remaining negative aspects of reeducation, we continued to study the situation in order to supplement our educational policies and methods.

In addition to the above-mentioned initial conclusions, we had a basis on which to draw additional conclusions and isolate a number of good experiences:

1. Although they were only teenagers and youths, the boys and girls were seriously infected with many bad habits. Indeed, it must be said that they were very degenerate. Clearly, they had to be corrected and

educated gradually, and there could be no "miracle cure," for the serious infection and decadence of the people undergoing reeducation demanded persistence in education and reform. If we say that it was a process of transformation with a law-like nature, that meant that it was essential for the education cadres to come up with creative methods that were in accordance with the laws of that transformation, in order to attain their educational goals.

In actuality, many of our education cadres were at times disgusted and their belief in others, and even their belief in themselves, were shaken. There were doubts whether such people could be reeducated. Where they correctable? When would they be worth anything? We had to continually encourage one another, display persistence in education, and always manifest a truly calm attitude in the education process. In that regard, not only those being reeducated but also the cadres doing education work had a good opportunity to learn to be more patient.

2. Despite such difficulties, the young people proved very capable of being reeducated. Most important, most of them were of poor working class origins and retained some of the positive factors of youth. They rapidly assimilated the things that were good and right, and were very dynamic. In a good environment, those positive aspects were certain to develop rapidly.

3. Generally speaking, such people were victims who had lost their confidence, their self-respect, and their vigor, had inferiority complexes, and lacked love.

We made the correct decision at the very start that we must stress love and absolutely must not shame anyone or be prejudiced toward anyone's past. Although in educating those people it was necessary to have deep and full understanding of their decadent lives, we had to find all ways to express our confidence in them so that we could help them recover their confidence and self-respect. Recently, with regard to the wayward girls we have boldly selected those who have made much progress and have allowed them to visit their families every week. Those who have received such permission are very enthusiastic, have more confidence in themselves, and realize that they have a place in society. They obey all rules of the school. One of them while visiting her family ran across a friend who had fled the school, persuaded her to return, and brought her back. Another girl who overstayed her leave a little went to the War Casualties and Welfare Office in her precinct and requested an affidavit, to be presented to the school upon her return. In some cases the girls did not return, and we learned a lesson very quickly.

4. Showing confidence is an important factor in reeducation, but at the same time we must pay all-out attention to cultivating and developing the progressive elements.

When speaking of his educational methods, the great educator Macarenko concluded that in the process of reeducating badly behaved children it is necessary to "find in youth, in addition to the hundreds of bad characteristics, a positive aspect to develop and cause progress to blossom, for no child is criminal from birth and no child who commits a crime is incorrigible. We must always be enthusiastic and alert in order to discover in them a sacred flame and blossoming flowers, and go all out to cultivate and nurture them."

We have applied those educational experiences to reeducating people during the recent period. We believe that not only toward children, as Macarenko believed, but with regard to all such victims, we must pay attention to prompt praise and rewards in the educational process. As stated above, people who are victims of social vices are people who have lost their confidence and self-respect. Although they have many bad habits, they still retain a number of positive elements, although at times they are not very evident. We must cultivate them, discover them at an early date, praise them promptly, and elevate them, in order to help the victims regain their confidence and struggle. Generally speaking, anyone who is praised but is not enthusiastic needs even more praise.

When giving praise or making awards we do not do so merely to encourage a certain individual with merit, but to both encourage good people and good deeds and use good deeds to encourage the group, praising the good things so that the group will imitate them. That is a method of "multiplying" the positive elements.

During the recent period we have attained good results in applying those educational methods. Each time the people being reeducated were praised or received gifts, etc., they clearly became more enthusiastic, which was manifested in their enthusiasm for labor. It is as if they are given more confidence and strength in order to endeavor to further improve them.

We praise good deeds, even very small ones, but things must be made very clear and specific, so that everyone can realize them and accept them. We praise good deeds, even those of people who only yesterday committed mistakes. So that praise and awards can attain good results, we also pay attention to material awards. At one farm we set up a canteen and gave awards in the form of coupons for the purchase of canteen goods, with each coupon worth 3 to 5 dong. Those who took award coupons into the canteen were happy that they could buy goods and were proud that their accomplishments had been recognized by the group.

In addition to such forms as praise for good deeds in the presence of the group, and the awarding of letters and certificates of praise, or of canteen coupons or other kinds of material awards, we paid attention to sending letters of praise to the families of people at the farm,



which both encouraged the people at the farm and encouraged the families to contribute to helping reeducate them.

5. It is essential that we use labor to reeducate people, but it is also necessary to temporarily isolate them from the urban environment. The guiding directions of the municipal party committee in the reeducation of wayward people left behind by the old society are to take them to rural areas, organize production, form them into labor forces, and use those forces directly in large-scale socialist production.

We sent out of the city thousands of people, and this year will send out four to five times as many, to create farms which will gradually become medium and large-scale state farms.

We discovered many interesting things at the Phu Van farm:

--Working collectively, the young people produced rice, potatoes, and beans, built houses, planted vegetables, etc. They were pleased by the results of their labor, but something more valuable than that was that they recovered their confidence. They believed in themselves and in the collective. The labor process also helped them become physically stronger.

--Their environment is very wholesome and the girls are surrounded by only wholesome things. There they will create for themselves good habits, a new life style, and a new way of life.

In a song the girls wrote they said:

"Oh Phu Van! You gave us a new life and caused our humanity to be reborn."

One cannot but be moved by the bustling activity of Phu Van farm:

Hundreds of youths have ended their drug addiction and participated in construction units. Last year they rebuilt all the farm's housing—a total of 20,000 square meters—out of bamboo, rattan, and leaves with good techniques. The houses were solid, comfortable, and attractive, but no nails or zinc wire were used. They made beds, working tables, dining tables, reading tables, etc., for themselves—a total of 2,500 people, with a spirit of competing to increase productivity and improve techniques.

The production, blacksmithing, carpentry, fishing, welding, mat weaving, and stock raising teams endeavored with consciousness of always making innovations and making maximum use of all production facilities at hand, in order to do a good job of serving the lives of the farm residents.

Girls who in the past frolicked on the sidewalks of Saigon now gracefully carried water from the Be River up the hill to water vegetables, and were happy and proud when their unit sold to the rear services element many vegetables, gourds, and melons.

Groups of youths entered the jungle to cut down bamboo, cut "tranh" grass, and built rafts to bring back materials via the Be River in order to serve construction.

A squad of teenagers imitated the adults by setting up a small forge, making a bellows out of bamboo, making charcoal, and collecting bomb fragments from which to fashion bush-hooks and small mattocks for their use.

The girls were very proud as they sat studying in a school they had built and on chairs they had made, and when they ate food they had produced (including vegetables, pork, beef, etc.).

During a conversation with them we imagined what that place would be like 10 years in the future: There would be a state farm or a town, with enterprises, day-care centers, markets, hospitals, schools, book stores, cinemas, etc. We urged them to gradually prepare the location, decide which road would be the main road and give it a name, decide where the hospital, the schools, the day-care centers, etc., would be located, and construct the area along those lines.

Some, although as yet not many, of the girls have volunteered to remain there to develop the state farm. Some couples, who in the course of reeducation labor came to love each other, have asked permission to start families. They are the first true masters of the state farm.

6. Nothing is better than using the masses to educate the masses, to select cadres to be trained in reeducation from among wayward girls who have showed progress.

In the process of organizing the reeducation of wayward people, we were confused and inexperienced not only because we knew nothing of the new categories of people with whom we were to work, but also because we were very short of cadres. We overcame those difficulties by selecting the most progressive of the people at the farm and organized them to manage themselves and coordinate activities and labor in the schools and on the farm. Clearly, no one understood them as well as they understood themselves, understood both the bad and the good and knew the ways of their everyday lives. We assigned them work to do, had confidence in them, and the results were that they worked very well. From among their ranks we made another selection of the best people and made them the new personnel and cadres of the bases.

As state cadres and personnel, they are better able to continue to make progress. All have made steady progress.

We have been engaged in the task of reeducating wayward people for more than 2 years. We are developing that task very rapidly and widely, in order to implement as well as possible Directive No 19 of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, which calls for the essential resolution, at an early date, of the social evils, and the transformation of wayward people into a labor force with dignity, knowledge, and technical skills.

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## THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS DISTORT VIETNAMESE HISTORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80  
pp 85-88

[Article by Vu Ba]

[Text] The Beijing expansionists want to annex our country, so they try to prove that it doesn't amount to much, has always been uncivilized and dependent on them, and is unworthy of standing in an equal rank with them. Therefore, the writers of the Beijing expansionists have endeavored to distort Vietnamese history.

First of all, they seek ways to negate the long civilization of the Vietnamese people and even the very existence of Vietnam, whose 4,000 years of civilization were comparable to the Han, Tang, Song, Yuan and other dynasties.

Disregarding the documents and scientific conclusions that have been made public, nearly all Chinese history books still portray Vietnam when it was conquered by the Qin and Han dynasties as still sunk in the long night of primitive antiquity, and also negate Vietnam's brilliant Dong Son cultural phase. They refer to the great "civilizing" merit of the Chinese officials, who brought Han civilization to the "barbarians." In the book "Zhong Guo Tong Shi Jian Bian," published in 1955 and widely circulated in China, Fan Wenlan, an historian who had served as a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party fulsomely praised the early and later Han dynasties and declared that "It was very natural that those two dynasties had a stimulating effect on the societies of the countries bordering China," therefore "large numbers of countries voluntarily became dependencies on China or wanted to maintain tributary relationships." (page 175) Fan Wenlan also wrote, "Han Wu Ti established 17 new prefectures, from Nan Hai to the west to the Nan Chu.... The areas populated by the non-Han peoples were transformed very naturally into prefectures and districts. Armed force played a role, but that transformation came about principally because the relatively advanced politics, economics, and culture of the Han people influenced the other peoples, who realized that by requesting



to become prefectures and districts they could benefit themselves." (page 90) According to the author, one of the "three advantages" of such requests to become prefectures and districts was that the people would be ruled by Han officials who were "much more civilized" than the "tribal chiefs of the past"! (page 90) In referring to the administrative apparatus of the Vietnamese people prior to their subjugation by the Han dynasty as "tribal chiefs," Fan Wenlan brazenly ignored Vietnamese civilization, which had taken form long ago and had developed to a rather high level in the Hung Vuong period.

Playing the same tune, Chinese publications have recently brazenly sought to negate the long history of the Vietnamese people. The newspaper DA GONG BAO, published in Hong Kong with the financial backing of Beijing, stated in the article "The War in Kampuchea and the Concern of the ASEAN Countries," published in the 16 January 1978 issue, that Vietnam's history did not extend back 4,000 years, that the Hung Vuong period in Vietnam was only "a myth, a fiction" and that "only at the end of the Tang and Five Dynasties period did Vietnam begin to be independent and form a nation," for prior to that time it had been Chinese territory. Guang Weijiang, in his article "Changes in Chinese-Vietnamese Friendship," published in the 26 July 1978 issue of the newspaper XIN ZHI SHI, foolhardedly stated that in the 2d century B.C. "Trieu Da, a local Nan Hai official, annexed three districts, set himself up as king, established the country of Vietnam, and therefore became the first king in Vietnamese history. After that, during the early and later Han dynasties, the Three Kingdoms period, the Qin Dynasty, the Southern Dynasty, the Sui Dynasty, the Tang Dynasty, and the Five Dynasties, Vietnam was a province of China. In the Bao Yuan reign period of Song Tai Zu, Vietnam was founded, but it was in nature still a dependency of China."

A large number of maps of China in Chinese history books edited and printed in the People's Republic of China, such as the three-volume "History of China," written by many authors, which was published in Beijing in 1958 or the "History of Modern China," a Chinese textbook published in 1954, etc., all refer to Vietnam as "Annam" or "Giao Chi," as a province of China, and include Vietnamese territory within the borders of China or regard Vietnam as one of the "Chinese territories taken by the imperialists." The "Marxist historian" Fan Wenlan referred to the Nam Bo region in Vietnam in the middle of the 19th century as "Lower Giao Chi"! A few months before taking Vietnam's Paracel Islands, Beijing sold the "Atlas of the Chinese People's Republic," in which map No 44 shows the southern border of China as extending to the Vietnamese seacoast, to Kalimantan in northern Malaysia, and to the islands of Luzon and Palawan in the Philippines, etc.

All of those distortions are intended to prove that Vietnam has always been a province, a dependency, of China, that it is still an "Annam" lying within the sphere of China and a southern part of China that must be pacified.

The writers of the Beijing expansionists not only seek ways to negate Vietnam's long civilization but also seek ways to prove that the Vietnamese people's struggle against the feudalist Chinese aggressors to defend their independence was mistaken! According to the pens of people with a "celestial dynasty" and "supreme nation" mentality, the uprising of the two Trung sisters was not in accord with the developmental tendency of history! Fan Wenlan wrote, "Trung Trac separated from the Han Dynasty and took a royal title under conditions that were not in the common interest of all Vietnamese and Ly people. Above all, economically the Vietnamese and Ly people needed relations with the Han Dynasty, but without political relations it would be difficult to have economic relations."\*

The history of Vietnam is a history of glorious struggle against the aggression and assimilation of the Chinese feudalists, of resolutely winning and maintaining independence and freedom for the homeland, but many Chinese historians who are heavily influenced by big-nation expansionism dare not write the historical truth. The royal chiefs dare not refer to the defeats of the Chinese feudalists in their wars of aggression against Vietnam. "Essentials of Chinese History," a textbook for Chinese colleges edited by Shang Yue refers to those wars of aggression only as "foreign wars" and even has the temerity to state, "To the south, the Mongol troops conquered Giao Chi (Bac Bo, Vietnam) in 1257, and Champa in 1282." (page 257) In the book "Outline of Chinese History," Jian Bazan and a number of other authors failed to mention those wars of aggression but transformed the soulless bodies of tens of thousands of Qing troops into "victors over Vietnam in 1789" (page 17), etc.

Recently, in February 1979, when hundreds of Chinese troops with tanks and artillery clamorously invaded Vietnam, the journal HONG QI, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, published a pseudo-historical commentary on "Commemorating the 900th Anniversary of the Ru Yue Victory" by Zou Gaiwu. The article began on a solemn note: "In the long historical relationship between China and Vietnam there have indeed been wars--there were many wars of aggression waged by the Chinese feudalist dynasties against Vietnam. Were those wars the principal current in the historical relationship between China and Vietnam? Of course not.... In the Chinese-Vietnamese historical relationship those wars were only small eddies, and could never change the people's strongly flowing tradition of friendship." The opening sentences demonstrated deception and hypocrisy. It is necessary to affirm that throughout the feudal period in the two countries, there were only wars of aggression by the Chinese feudal lords against Vietnam, in nearly all dynasties, and there were no wars of aggression by Vietnamese feudal lords against China. Ly Thuong Kiet

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\*Fan Wenlan, "Zhong Guo Tong Shi Jian Bian," People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1955, p 196.

attacked the prefectures of Qin, Yong, and Lian in China in 1075, then immediately withdrew his troops, in order to frustrate preparations for a war of aggression against Vietnam by the Song Dynasty, which was aspiring to carry out the strategy of "southern front, northern rear." Ly Thuong Kiet's act was a policy of positively defending the homeland, and absolutely was not a Vietnamese invasion of China. As for friendship, it could not have been that vague. Between the people, especially the working people, of the two countries, there were only friendly relations. As for the Chinese ruling cliques which invaded Vietnam in the past and in the present, both the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people regard them as enemies.

The journal HONG QI and Zou Gaiwu endeavored to champion the Chinese feudal lords, which is not surprising because the reactionary Beijing clique has for a long time haughtily admitted that "Of course we will continue the undertaking of the great Chinese emperors," i.e., the infamous aggressors whom they praise as being heroes, such as Qin Shi Huang Ti, Han Wu Ti, Tang Tai Zong, Song Tai Zu, etc., and even Chenghis Khan! The intent of the journal HONG QI and Zou Gaiwu was to "beautify" and defend the Song Shen Zu-Wang An Shi clique which invaded Vietnam, in order to imply that the present reactionary Beijing clique launched a war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to "punish" Vietnam for having invaded China in the past, just as the Song Dynasty had "had" to do in 1076, and that it was also a war of self-defense, a just war!

The writers of the Beijing expansionists also appear to be truly angry when they observe Vietnamese praising the immortal patriotic tradition of opposing foreign aggression of the Vietnamese people, and treasuring the national heroes of Vietnam for their merit in defending the nation. The journal HONG QI, the newspaper REN MINH RI BAO, etc., have many times made the slanderous remarks that Vietnam commemorates its victories over foreign aggression and act out historical dramas in praise of national heroes because it "wants an excuse to create national hatred and sabotage the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples," to "coordinate with Soviet revisionism, oppose China, and mistreat Chinese, in order to carry out regional hegemonism," etc. The Chinese reactionaries want to forbid the Vietnamese people from praising their glorious feats of arms and praising the national heroes who have achieved merit in repelling foreign aggression in order to defend the homeland!

Chinese publications have distorted Vietnamese history to a great extent. During recent years that distortion, especially in the press, has been even more brazen and has been accompanied by all sorts of fabricated schemes and slander, and open attacks on Vietnam. But it is unnecessary to say any more. All of those distortions reveal great-nation chauvinism and serve Chinese big-nation expansionism and great-nation hegemonism.

Distorting Vietnamese history, negating the long civilization and history of heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, claiming that Vietnam had always been a Chinese province or Chinese territory that had been taken by the imperialists, or falsely accusing Vietnam of sabotaging the traditional friendship between Vietnam and China, etc., are all very much in accord with the desires of the reactionary big-nation expansionist clique ruling in Beijing. They hope that such claims will nurture the great-nation chauvinism of the Chinese people and create among the Chinese people a psychological attitude favorable for forcing Vietnam into China's "sphere of influence," to enter the orbit of China, and to accept the celestial dynasty and vassal order of China, and favorable for "punishing" Vietnam if Vietnam does not yield to them! For in their strategy Vietnam is a "staging area," a bridgehead from which to take over all of Southeast Asia, in order to transform China into the center of world rule. Subjugating and annexing Vietnam is their basic, long-range plot with regard to Vietnam. Therefore, they naturally have Chinese periodicals repeat the reactionary viewpoints of the historians of the Chinese feudal lords, and surreptitiously and openly distort Vietnamese history to serve their aggressive expansionist scheme toward Vietnam.

Under the ruling yoke of the reactionary clique ruling in Beijing, even the Chinese publications on Chinese history, including the history of the Chinese Communist Party, disregard the truth, so what could one expect from the Chinese publications regarding other countries, regarding Vietnam?

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