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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 7, 1980



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

CONTENTS

Accelerate Exports and Expand International Cooperation (pp 1-8).....	1
A Great Honor (pp 9-10).....	9
Speech by Le Duan (11-13).....	11
Speech by Academic N.N. Blokhin (pp 14-16).....	14
Several Basic and Pressing Economic Problems (pp 17-28) (Nguyen Duy Trinh).....	17
Struggling to Overcome Negative Phenomena (pp 29-36) (Do Muoi).....	33
Reflections on Our Literature (pp 37-41) (Tran Do).....	44
Nguyen Trai--His Time and His Works (pp 42-48) (Prof Phan Huy Le--on 14th century Vietnamese poet Nguyen Trai) [Not translated]	
The Relationship Among the Class, the Nation and the World (pp 49-54, 75) (Do Tu).....	50
Thoroughly Implementing the Principle of Frugality in Every Activity of the People's Armed Forces (pp 55-60) (Nguyen Duc Nhan).....	58

Investigation: Subsidiary Food Crop Contracts in Vinh Phu (pp 61-64, 88)	
(Huu Hanh).....	66
Abolishing Sweeping Subsidies and Correctly Implementing the Principle of Distribution in Accordance with Labor (pp 65-68)	
(Tran Ngoc Vinh).....	72
On Improving the Diet of the Vietnamese (pp 69-75)	
(Hoang Dinh Cau).....	77
Nicaragua, A Revolution on the March (pp 76-79)	
(Nguyen Khac Thin).....	87
The Reactionary, Anti-Marxist Viewpoint of Maoism on Party Building (pp 80-88)	
(Le Xuan Luu).....	92

ACCELERATE EXPORTS AND EXPAND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 1-8

[Editorial--passages within slantlines denote boldface in the original]

[Text] In the present era, internationalizing economic activities is an objective process originating in the different natural conditions of each country, in the development of production forces and the socialization of production on an international scale and in the fact that the division of labor forces have been carried out not only in each country, but also between countries. In the world today, no country can build and develop its economy separately and outside the evolutionary cycle of the world economy. Therefore, /relentlessly accelerating the exchange of goods and expanding the division of labor and international cooperation in the economic and scientific and technical domains/ are an indispensable demand of the economic life and also an objective necessity of the era. Particularly for such economically underdeveloped countries as ours, the expansion of the exchange of goods with foreign countries and the strengthening of international cooperation are not only strategic tasks in the industrialization process, but also an urgent requirement for solving immediate economic problems.

Today, the favorable conditions for the development and expansion of trade relations and economic cooperation among countries are increasing. The scientific and technical revolution, which is developing strongly in the world, has become a direct production force deciding the development of society. The great achievements of modern science and technology are opening up great prospects for mankind in solving many important and urgent problems related to the conditions of production, labor, and lives of human beings. With regard to our country, the application of the achievements of the world's modern science and technology will help us advance quickly along the path of economic development and, in a relatively short time, narrow the gap in the degree of economic development between our country and economically developed countries.

Today, when socialism has become a world system, our country's economy must necessarily be associated with the economies of the socialist countries, and our country must expand relations with other countries in the world. "With the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and with the comprehensive cooperation with these countries, our country is in a good position to advance directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development." (1)

In guiding our country's economy from small-scale production toward large-scale socialist production, we have been experiencing the greatest difficulties in simultaneously insuring the material and cultural life of the people, strengthening and consolidating national defense in order to cope with the adventurous actions of the Beijing expansionists and other reactionary forces, and carrying out socialist industrialization and intensively building the material and technical bases of socialism. The expansion of the exchange of goods and economic cooperation with other countries, especially the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will create conditions for us to import complete equipment, machinery, raw materials and technical materials that cannot be produced locally, to use the advantages of the international division of labor, to effectively apply the achievements of modern science and technology, and to receive capital and techniques from foreign countries so as to effectively exploit our rich natural resources and make full use of the abundant labor force in the country. On this basis, we will be able to increase the efficiency of production and labor in the country and improve the quality of products. This is /one of the basic conditions/ which helps our country to proceed from small production to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. V.I. Lenin said: "With the assistance of the proletariat in advanced countries, backward countries can advance toward the Soviet system and, after going through definite developmental stages, proceed to communism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development."

Through the expanded exchange of goods and increased international cooperation, we will have conditions to closely combine right from the outset the two basic production sectors of society, namely industry and agriculture, in conjunction with efforts to build the centrally-run economy and develop the local economy. Through various forms of specialized and cooperativized production and through other economic relations with various fraternal socialist countries, we can shorten the time needed to renovate agricultural techniques, build and develop a modern industry and carry out socialist industrialization in the country.

Through international cooperation and division of work, we can improve those weak aspects of our national economy and effectively exploit the great potentials our country now has. Rationally carrying out international cooperation and division of work on the basis of maintaining independence and sovereignty will enable us to quickly build an independent and sovereign

economy and to do away with the dependency as shown in the old economy. In addition, building an independent and sovereign economy and effectively exploiting all latent potentials in the country will even give us more conditions to expand international cooperation and division of work, thus actively contributing to consolidating and increasing the overall strength of the world's socialist system.

In economic cooperation with foreign countries, our party and state attach specific importance to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the first socialist nation in the world. Twenty-five years ago, on 18 July 1955, President Ho signed a treaty of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, laying the fundamental foundation for economic cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union. Since then, economic relations between the two fraternal countries have constantly developed. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union has produced a positive effect on socialist construction in the North and on our people's struggle for national unification. Following the liberation of the southern part of our country and the achievement of national unification along the path toward socialism, SRV-Soviet economic cooperation has been marked with new developments.

The 3 November 1978 Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the agreement on long-term (10 years) economic cooperation are the inevitable fruit of the process of cooperation between the two countries. They are also a new developmental step in terms of quality in relations between our country and the Soviet Union. Article 2 of the treaty clearly establishes the direction, objective and essence of cooperation: "The two countries will join hands in trying to consolidate and expand their mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical cooperation in order to step up socialist and communist construction and constantly improve the material and cultural living standards of the two peoples. The two countries will continue their long-term national economic cooperation, will come to terms with long range measures aimed at developing the most important aspects of their economies, science and technology and will exchange the knowledge and experiences they have accumulated in their socialist and communist construction."

In February 1978 our government decided to /join CEMA/ as an official member at the 32nd CEMA Conference (1978). This event marked a new important turning point in its relations of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and opened up a new potential for multipartite cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

Increased relations of cooperation with various fraternal socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, and developed relations of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the framework of CEMA will serve as an important assurance for the success of our people's socialist construction. They will create favorable conditions for our country to gradually carry out socialist industrialization and to fulfill

its obligations toward consolidating and increasing the economic strength of the community of socialist countries.

At the same time, we also attach great importance to the expansion of our economic relations with other countries in the world on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

To expand international exchange and cooperation in our country's present conditions, /the key is stepping up exports/. Stepping up exports is a condition for developing foreign trade and expanding international exchange and cooperation.

In creating an ample supply of goods for export, apart from relying on our own efforts and the existing potential for producing export goods, we must draw foreign capital and technology through various forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation in order to most efficiently develop the strongpoints of our national economy. Thus, /the promotion of exports and the expansion of international cooperation are closely related and they support each other for the development of both/. Only by promoting exports will we have the conditions to improve the balance of foreign trade and the balance of international payments, and on this basis, to strengthen and expand our relations of economic cooperation with foreign countries. On the other hand, by strengthening international cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological fields, especially under such forms as production cooperation and specialization among industrial and agricultural production sectors, we will be able to greatly increase the supply of goods for exports and develop mass production in the main export items of high quality, low manufacturing cost and great appeal to the international market. In this sense, /stepping up exports is an economic task of strategic significance in the undertaking to build and develop our national economy, a key issue in the process of advancing our economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, and at the same time a pressing economic task that contributes to solving the immediate difficulties/.

In the field of foreign trade, we are facing a large stumbling block: while our country's economic and trade relations with foreign countries, especially the fraternal socialist countries, are generally favorable, we are critically short of goods for export. Therefore, in order to step up exports, we must /concentrate efforts on creating the sources of goods and developing the production in great quantity of a number of main export items of high quality, low manufacturing cost and great appeal to the international market.

Developing the production of export goods in the actual conditions of our country constitutes a new and complex undertaking that requires the solution of a series of problems, from /the line and composition of export goods to their organization and management and the organization of export activities/.

To correctly set the direction for exports, first of all we must proceed from the party's line for building the socialist economy, from the capability of the various sectors and localities to develop the sources of export goods, and from the conditions for the production. Since export goods are destined exclusively for foreign markets, they must meet international standards for specifications and quality and must have a force of attraction--that is, they must be competitive.

In its 4th Congress resolution, our party established the line and composition of export goods in the present stage as follows: "Rapidly step up exports by developing the great potentials of our tropical agriculture and forestry, making full use of the capabilities of light industry, small industry and handicrafts, and accelerating the exploitation of a number of maritime and mineral products of relatively large reserves; and advance toward exporting a number of heavy industry items."

The guidelines for organizing the production of export goods at present is to rely on the state-run and collective economic sectors and at the same time, to fully tap the capacity of the individual production sector. Stepping up exports by the regional economies is an important factor. The correct establishment of production orientations and the composition of export goods is of great significance to both the scale and speed of the development of the production of goods for export.

In order to insure the above export guidelines, our party has again pointed out many concrete measures as outlined in the resolutions of the 5th and 6th Party Central Committee Plenums (fourth tenure). The resolution of the 5th Party Central Committee Plenum says: "We must promote increased capital investment in order to quickly increase our export capacity, particularly in the agricultural, forestry, fishery, mineral and export service sectors; must unhesitatingly import raw materials and equipment in order to step up export activities with good economic results; must quickly shape up large export-oriented production centers specializing in agricultural products (such as rubber, coffee, peanuts, beans, pineapples, bananas, tobacco, tea, jute and silk), in animal husbandry, marine products and forestry products; must positively exploit and produce enough raw materials in order to help increase the export of rattan, bamboo and rush articles and art objects; must quickly issue a number of export promotion policies; and must improve the organizational production and trade of export goods." The resolution of the 6th Party Central Committee Plenum supplements many important points to the aforesaid export promotion policy.

By virtue of the above resolutions, the government has promulgated "regulations concerning policies and measures to boost the production of export goods." These policies and measures are designed to solve the basic and key problems and a number of difficulties usually encountered in the production of export goods--from investment and the supply of production

materials and grain to the loan of foreign currencies, the fixing of purchase and collection prices to promote and support exports, the granting of purchase privileges, incentive bonuses in vietnamese currency and the right to use foreign currencies, and so forth. The aforesaid policies and measures form a system of measures and economic stimuli in order to insure material conditions for the production of export goods and encourage various sectors, localities and establishments producing export goods to pay attention to increasing their production. These policies and measures simultaneously meet the interests of the state and the needs of various establishments, localities and economic sectors.

To enhance the initiative, creativeness and sense of responsibility of all establishments producing export goods, under certain conditions, the government allows various associations of enterprises and corporations specialized in producing export goods of various production sectors and export organizations in some localities to directly contact and sign export contracts with foreign corporations under the direction and control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in terms of policies and operations in accordance with the principle that the state holds a monopoly on foreign trade and economic relations with foreign countries.

To rapidly increase the volume and value of export goods, it is necessary to quickly secure the sources of /main export items/ of good quality. These are goods which can be rapidly developed, which are more economically effective than other types of goods, and which have a big, stable, firm and long-term market for consumption. By creating the main export items, we will be able to quickly boost exports; firmly insure the importation of equipment, machinery and technical materials; and create favorable conditions for firmly maintaining and stabilizing the market and expanding international cooperation. With favorable natural conditions, abundant sources of manpower and rich natural resources, we can develop various main export items including agricultural, forestry, maritime, industrial and mineral products. Developing the main export items is a process of combining the various aspects of activity of many sectors involved in economic and social affairs. This process involves the building of production establishments at home and the finding of foreign markets as well as the expansion of international cooperation; the simultaneous development of both the central and regional economies; and the development of the role as collective masters in the economic field of the various sectors, localities and production establishments under the unified leadership and management of the state through the plans for economic development and the initiative of the foreign trade sector. This is also the process of setting up specialized cultivation areas along the line of economic zoning and establishments and enterprises specializing in the production of export goods, and the process of expanding the variety of goods, developing main export items and making full use of all capabilities for accelerating production in order to rapidly increase the value of exports.

With an abundant source of manpower and with traditional experiences in many areas of production, promoting/increased work on international contracts/ is not an important objective to be achieved in order to increase the value of exports. Accepting work on international contracts is a special improvement in the characteristics of labor objectives in order to attain a new use-value through creative labor in accordance with a specific formula. The products derived from work performed on international contracts is the result of a combination of domestic and foreign labor. Carrying out work on international contracts will contribute to promoting production and increasing sources of export goods under various forms--employing the abundant sources of manpower in the process of production, increasing national income, improving work skills and the production level, encouraging domestic production facilities to meet the consumption requirements of foreign markets, creating conditions for us to enter foreign markets, and overcoming the shortage of raw materials and technical equipment which cannot be solved by a small production system even with abundant labor force. Performing work on international contracts is an organizational form designed to promote expanded international cooperation.

In order to satisfactorily perform work on international contracts, we must, on the one hand, satisfactorily organize its production and management and, on the other hand, increase and expand relations of international cooperation. It is necessary to teach laborers to uphold a sense of responsibility in production, and increase the responsibilities of production and management organs in order to correctly carry out labor contracts and commitments signed with foreign countries.

Increasing exports and expanding international cooperation is a duty of our entire party and people. Led by the concerned party committee echelons, all sectors and localities are dutybound to directly or indirectly participate in export work. All sectors, localities and production establishments must develop their collective mastery spirit, and work out plans and measures to step up export activities in order to contribute to achieving socialist industrialization while obtaining money to meet all import requirements and repay the debts owed by themselves, other production sectors not directly involved in the production of exports and other sectors such as culture, education, circulation and distribution must formulate plans to directly or indirectly participate in the production of exports. It is necessary to economize on consumption in order to reserve goods for export.

The foreign trade sector must make important contributions to the organizational production of export goods; must guide, encourage and serve the production of export goods; and, at the same time, must insure the selling of these products which are up to export standard. It is necessary to urgently improve the working methods of the foreign trade machinery from the central down to the local level, and increase the

training and replenishment of cadres in order to build a contingent of foreign trade cadres capable of satisfactorily carrying out the production task in the new stage.

All sectors and echelons must strictly comply with the export policies of the party and the state, strive to quickly increase the sources of export goods, bolster international cooperation, and thereby, contribute to bringing national construction and defense to new successes.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 295.

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A GREAT HONOR

Hanoi TAI CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 9-10

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On 30 April 1980, the Committee of the International Lenin Prize "for Promoting Peace Among Nations" publicly announced that the International Lenin Prize for 1977 would be awarded to Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party, and, on 20 June 1980, the ceremony to present the prize was formally held in the capital Hanoi.

The noble prize that bears the name of the great Lenin is awarded to outstanding political, social and cultural activists of other countries who have made tremendous contributions to world peace and to strengthening the friendly relations among nations.

In awarding this prize to Le Duan, the prize committee highly evaluated the contributions made by our general secretary, the outstanding successor of the work of the revered President Ho Chi Minh, in leading our entire party, our entire army and all our people in winning total victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors, winning independence and unity for the country, winning victory over the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and protecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland, thereby making worthy contributions to the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, steadily advancing our country toward socialism and constantly making a contribution to the strengthening of peace and to mutual understanding and cooperation among nations.

At the ceremony to award the prize, Academic N.N. Blokhin, on behalf of the Committee of the International Lenin Prize "for Promoting Peace Among Nations," discussed the important role and the tremendous contributions of Le Duan, "a genuine internationalist and great friend of the Soviet people, a militant who has struggled tirelessly to unite the socialist community, strengthen the unity of the international communist and worker movement and strengthen the peace and security of nations."

The awarding of the International Lenin Prize "for Promoting Peace Among Nations" is a great honor for our party and our people. Speaking to the representative of the prize committee, Le Guan said: "The honor that you have bestowed on me in awarding this noble prize primarily belongs to the glorious Vietnam Communist Party and the heroic people of Vietnam, the forces that played the decisive role in the brilliant victories won over the past half-century and more."

The victories of our people in the struggle to win total independence for the fatherland, reunify the country and build socialism over the past years have included important contributions by the fraternal socialist countries and all progressive mankind, primarily by the Soviet Union, the citadel of the revolution, the pillar of peace, the symbol of the pure proletarian international spirit.

Today, our people are devoting their efforts to building the country while protecting their independence and sovereignty, protecting the fruits of their revolution and resisting the reactionary gang within selling ruling circles who, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionaries, are threatening war against our country each day in a vain attempt to carry out their scheme to annex it. In this struggle, a struggle that has involved more than a few difficulties and hardships, our people will surely win increasingly brilliant victories because we possess the strength of a heroic, unyielding, intelligent and creative people, possess the strength of the system of socialist collective ownership that is being built, have the correct and creative line of a determined and experienced party, have an independent and unified country that is advancing to socialism and have abundant labor and rich natural resources; at the same time, we have a special relationship with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, enjoy a great friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and have unity with the forces of independence, democracy and peace in the world.

The awarding of the International Lenin Prize "for Promoting Peace Among Nations" to the general secretary of the Central Committee of our party has inspired our people even more to move steadily forward and be worthy of the trust and love of their brothers and friends.

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630: 4209

SPEECH BY LE DUAN

Hanoi VNA in English 0736 GMT 20 Jun 80

[Speech by Le Duan at the 20 June ceremony to award him the Lenin Peace Prize--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80, pp 11-13. VNA version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 121, 20 Jun 80, pp K6-K8]

[Text] Comrade Academic N.N. Blokhin, president of the Committee of the International Lenin Peace Prize.

Fellow comrades and friends, first of all, allow me to express my gratitude to the International Lenin Prize Committee from its decision to award me the noble prize "for promotion of peace among nations" named after the great Lenin. From the bottom of my heart, I would like to sincerely thank Comrade Academic N.N. Blokhin for his high appreciation of the Vietnamese people's contribution to the cause of world peace, for your warm congratulations and your fine words about the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam and about our esteemed President Ho Chi Minh whose noble revolutionary cause for independence, freedom and socialism has been and is being faithfully and splendidly continued by the entire party, people and army of Vietnam.

Dear Comrade N. Blokhin and the other Soviet guests, the honour you have bestowed for me at the conferment of this noble prize belongs first of all to the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese people, who have played a decisive role in making splendid victories over the past half-century. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have fought courageously against the brutal Aggressive forces, Japanese fascism and French colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Chinese expansionism, thus writing the most beautiful pages in their history of struggle for national liberation and defence and contributing to restoring the balance of forces in the world in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our people have overcome all difficulties to march forwards and defeated all enemies. That is thanks to the strength of revolutionary heroism emanating from ardent patriotic and earnest love for independence, freedom, peace and life. Through a protracted and arduous fight, we are deeply conscious that only genuine independence and freedom can bring about real peace and that, inversely only in peaceful conditions can independence and freedom be maintained, and that at present peace, independence, freedom and socialism are inseparable. That is the truth of our era.

our people's love, the fighting frontlines are being freed from the isolationist
isolationism extended by enemies and friends in all countries. First of all,
by the fraternal Soviet people, in Vietnam. The Soviet Union is a precious, living
example of revolutionary struggle and proletarian internationalism. During the
years of Vietnam's resistance to French colonialism and U.S. imperialism the
Soviet Union stood beside the Vietnamese people. At present, while the Vietnamese
people are confronting the Chinese expansionists, the Soviet Union is a strong
comrade-in-arms of Vietnam. Having made world sacrifices in the anti-fascist
war, the Soviet Union will be forever the bastion of peace, the fortress of revolution
and the firm support of the forces struggling for national liberation and social
emancipation.

Comrades and friends, the world opposes the U.S. with enormous successes for
peace and the three revolutionary currents. However, the increasing hostile actions
of the imperialist and international reactionary forces have caused the world's
people to be vigilant. The U.S. imperialists have proved daily more unlikable and
ferociously rallying reactionary forces in an effort to speed up the arms race and to
restart the cold war period and are creating divisions in many parts of the world.
The fact that the U.S. imperialists have increased their alliance with the
reactionary clique within the Beijing leadership and that the latter has
hysterically attacked the revolutionary forces and carried out its expansionism,
is seriously threatening peace, independence, and freedom of nations.

After more than 30 years of unrelenting struggle against aggression, the Vietnamese
people, more than anyone else, wish to be able to live in independence, tranquility
and durable peace to rebuild their country. Yet, that earnest aspiration has been
trampled underfoot by the Beijing authorities' hostile policy. The Chinese
authorities launched a revival war against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
early in 1979, and are daily threatening with war in an attempt to realize their
dark design of conquering Vietnam and the other countries in the Indochinese
Peninsula and eventually bringing all of Southeast Asia under their sway.

Standing on the frontline against imperialism and international reaction, the
Vietnamese people have to cope with a very cruel enemy and overcome numerous
difficulties. But our people are fully confident in the victory of their struggle to
safeguard their independence, sovereignty and revolutionary gains and to build a new
life. This is because Vietnam has become completely independent, unified and
stronger than ever to defend their country. Moreover, it has stronger ties of
solidarity with fraternal lands and peoples, the Soviet Union and the socialist
community, and the world forces of national independence, democracy and peace.
The days when the imperialists ruled the roost in the world, the
Beijing expansionists, who are dripping in the sins of betraying imperialism, will
surely meet with shameful failure. In our time, people of all countries have risen
up to take their destiny into their own hands and among the socialist world today
the Soviet Union has extremely powerful and well-organized and energetic forces strong
enough to stop any and smash all adventurous plans of war-making forces.

The Vietnamese people have also used with boundless joy and profound sympathy the
sustaining efforts of the Soviet Union and of Comrade L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the USSR, in strengthening the defence of the Soviet Union and of the
socialist community, in implementing the peace programme aimed at further reducing
eventually eliminating the danger of a new world shambles. Together with peace-
loving people in the world, the Vietnamese people warmly welcome the ratification of
the Political Consultative Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty
and its new declaration which expresses the determination and goodwill of the Soviet
Union and the whole socialist community in the struggle for improving the
international atmosphere.

Comrades and friends, following the road of the October Revolution and uniting with the Soviet Union represents an extremely important source of strength for the Vietnamese revolution. We are glad to note that the great friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, personally forged by President Ho Chi Minh as early as the (twenties) of this century has blossomed and born fruits, leaving its splendid imprints in every success and achievement of Vietnam. With the signing of the Vietnam- USSR Treaty of friendship and cooperation, the Vietnam-Soviet militant solidarity have turned a new page. It constitutes an untreatable force and a guarantee for the Vietnamese people in their advance towards more glorious victories in socialist construction and national defense, in order to contribute to the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia, Asia and the rest of the world.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Communist Party and people of Vietnam, I would like to convey to esteemed Comrade L.I. Brezhnev the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union my warmest greetings and my heartfelt gratitude for their wholehearted assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism to the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause in the past as well as at present. The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people pledge to do all they can to strengthen the great friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to foster the consistent special relations with the fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, to unite with the peace and justice loving nations and forces in the world and make active contributions to the common struggle for the noble aims of the present time peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Peace among nations will win! Our great ideas will win!

Thank you, all comrades and friends present here today.

CSO: 4209

SPEECH BY ACADEMIC N.S. BLOKHIN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 14-16

[Speech by N.S. Blokhin at the ceremony to confer the International Lenin
Prize on Le Duan]

[Text] Dear Le Duan,

Dear Comrades,

Dear Friends,

Today, I am very happy to present the International Lenin Prize "For
Promoting Peace Among Nations" to Le Duan, the glorious son of the Vietnamese
people, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist
Party and an outstanding activist of the international communist and worker
movement.

On behalf of the Committee of the International Lenin Prize and all fighters
for peace in the world, permit me to warmly congratulate you on being awarded
this noble prize and honor for your tremendous contributions to the
strengthening of peace, to mutual understanding and cooperation among nations.

Closely linking his life to the party of Vietnamese communists, Le Duan and
the Vietnam Communist Party have experienced a glorious struggle for the
liberation of the nation and the society of the Vietnamese.

Dear Le Duan,

The Soviet people know you as a comrade-in-arms of President Ho Chi Minh,
as a person who has actively participated in the revolutionary activities,
combat and labor of the people of Vietnam, as a person determined to protect
the independence of his fatherland and the achievements of socialism against
every act of aggression by the international reactionaries and their lackeys.

to know you as a genuine internationalist and great friend of the Soviet people, as a militant who has struggled tirelessly to unite the socialist community, strengthen the unity of the international communist and worker movement and strengthen the peace and security of nations.

Your country has endured very stern challenges. The enemies of the Vietnamese have schemed many times to take away from the people of Vietnam their right to independent development in peace. However, every time they have arisen in determined struggle to protect this sacred right, the Vietnamese have won victory. Through their experience, the French colonialists and Japanese militarists, the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists have come to see the invincible strength of the heroic country of Vietnam. In the past as well as at present, there is no force in the world that can extinguish Vietnam's love of life and peace. Your people have eloquently and clearly proven this.

Everyone knows that it is the aspiration of the Vietnamese to build socialism in peaceful labor. However, those who have impeded the building of socialism by the Vietnamese are those who consider Vietnam to be an obstacle along the course of their scheme of expansionism and hegemony, those who continue to threaten war on the Vietnamese border. The people of Vietnam are always ready to fight and highly vigilant in the face of their serious threat.

The enemy of the Vietnamese should harbor no illusions. The Vietnamese are fully determined to protect their fatherland. The Vietnamese have loyal and trustworthy friends, friends who have been and will supply the Vietnamese with everything they need.

We are proud that, during the period of the stern challenges of the war as well as in peace time, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, have been and are unwaveringly determined to take the side of the Vietnamese. While the aggressors continue to pursue schemes against Vietnam, the strength of our friendship and solidarity is, as stated by L.I. Brezhnev at the ceremony to sign the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam, of special significance.

Vietnam always embodies the noble international spirit. This is seen in the relationship between the Vietnamese and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. It is seen in Vietnam's solidarity with all peace-loving and progressive forces of our times.

Today, I would like very much to repeat the words spoken by Le Duan during the ceremony to award L.I. Brezhnev the International Lenin Prize "for Promoting Peace Among Nations" in Moscow in 1973: "In our age, the struggle for peace is a revolutionary task of extremely important significance."

And, in actuality, this objective is the aspiration of all peace-loving and progressive persons on our planet, primarily of communists, the persons who

represent the basic, vital interests of the working people, represent the humanitarian ideals of all mankind.

Persons who have experienced war value peace more than anyone else; however, peace, as President Ho Chi Minh said, must be true peace, must be peace in independence and freedom. This teaching of President Ho Chi Minh will forever live in the hearts of his comrades-in-arms. It is manifested in the life of Vietnam today.

The Soviet people are genuinely happy over the fact that there is a complete unity of views between the Soviet Union and the SRV concerning all of the most important issues of our times. Within the great family of countries in the socialist community, we and our Vietnamese friends have always been confidently moving forward along the same road to achieve the common objectives of strengthening our militant solidarity and unbreakable unity.

From the bottom of our hearts, we and all of your friends throughout the world warily congratulate the Vietnamese on the glorious victories and the achievements recorded by them, a nation who, under the banner of the Vietnam Communist Party, has devoted its strength, talents and energies to building a Vietnam of peace, independence, unity and socialism, resolutely protecting their revolutionary achievements and actively participating in the development of mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations on the Asian continent and throughout the world. And, throughout this undertaking, tremendous contributions have been made by Le Duan himself, the leader of the militant command staff of the party, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party.

Dear Le Duan,

As I confer on you your certificate and medal for the prize of "promoting peace among nations," I once again want to congratulate you on being awarded this noble prize named after the great Lenin. We are deeply confident that this prize shows high appreciation of your meritorious service and, at the same time, acknowledges the tremendous contribution made by all the Vietnamese to the common struggle for peace throughout the world.

Dear Le Duan, I wish you robust health, a long life, and many new achievements in your noble work in the interests of the Vietnamese, the immediate interests of strengthening the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Vietnam and the interests of achieving the pure ideals of socialism and communism.

May the unbreakable friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our two countries be strengthened and developed more with each passing day.

Long live peace in the world!

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SEVERAL BASIC AND PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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[Article by Nguyen Duy Trinh]

[Text] We presently face a special situation, a situation involving very large victories and advantages, but also many complex difficulties in the economic field.

The resolutions of the 5th and 6th Party Plenums and the recent resolution of the Political Bureau on distribution and circulation--a resolution that thoroughly reflects the line of the 4th Congress of the Party--set forth correct solutions to the pressing problems raised by life. Correctly understanding and fully implementing these resolutions are of decisive significance in bringing about a change in the situation and extricating the economy from the difficulties now being faced.

I. Correctly Evaluating the Situation, Thoroughly Understanding the Line of the Party

In the face of the complex economic and social changes that have occurred, we cannot correctly evaluate the situation if our thinking is simplistic or superficial or if we do not have a thorough understanding of the viewpoints of the party. We are encountering many difficulties. The largest of these difficulties are the slow development of production, the serious imbalance of the economy and the emergence of many negative factors, especially in the field of circulation and distribution, which have led to very low economic returns and labor productivity and numerous difficulties in the daily lives of the laboring people, especially state workers and personnel and farmers at places that have suffered crop losses or have been ravaged by war. This situation has created a psychology of worry and concern and given rise to pessimism and negative thinking on the part of some people.

Why is this?

We cannot correctly answer this question if we do not place it within its proper historic perspective. The difficulties mentioned above truly are challenges to us, persons who have begun to follow the new course of history--the course of advancing from a society whose economy is predominately one of small-scale production directly to socialism.

We are beginning our advance in a situation in which the economy is still underdeveloped and production does not fully meet consumer needs and is still disrupted in many areas following the shift from war time to peace time; serious natural disasters have occurred several years in a row; meanwhile, we have had to mobilize the forces of the entire country to fight the two wars of aggression unleashed by the Beijing expansionists and, before we could heal the wounds of the previous war, we suffered additional damages; domestic and foreign reactionary powers have collaborated with one another and are taking advantage of this situation to undermine us.

Only by realizing these historic circumstances is it possible to correctly evaluate the objective causes of the difficulties we face and correctly evaluate the achievements of the party and the people. Against this background of so many difficulties, we have restored and expanded production, strengthened the national defense forces, firmly protected the fatherland, maintained political security and social order, broadened and strengthened our international cooperation, cared for the life of the people, carried out cultural, educational and public health development and so forth. These are victories of basic significance, victories very deserving of pride. Without recognizing and affirming the existence of these victories we cannot avoid wavering or being pessimistic as we move forward, cannot avoid a decline in our revolutionary will and zeal.

And, what are the subjective causes?

The 5th and 6th Plenums of the Party Central Committee, after analyzing the situation in a scientific manner and with an attitude of forthright self-criticism and criticism, confirmed that the line set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party is totally correct. However, in the implementation of the line of the congress, we have exhibited weaknesses in planning, in the formulation of specific policies and in the adoption of various measures for organizing and managing the economy and managing society. The mode of management is heavily characterized by bureaucratic centralism and the management of the economy is an administrative style of management and subsidies.

These weaknesses have posed an obstacle to the effort to build the economic structure, utilize our abundant labor and develop our natural resources, especially our arable land, in order to develop production. We have also been lax in the struggle between socialism and capitalism and lax in our management of the economy; we have not made good use of the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor have we upheld the right of collective ownership of the working people in economic management and the management of society. The weaknesses mentioned above are primarily the result of the failure on the part of the various sectors and levels to

thoroughly implement the line of the party in practice; they are also the reasons why our victories have been limited and additional difficulties and numerous negative phenomena have arisen. There have been more than a few cases of persons speaking and acting in a manner contrary to the line and viewpoints of the party, cases that have led to needless losses! Therefore, we must first of all fully understand and scrupulously implement the line of the party; no one has the permission to explain the line of the party in any way he sees fit or to act in a manner contrary to this line.

The line of the party has been formulated on the basis of creatively applying the laws of the socialist revolution and the various economic laws and applying the achievements of modern science and technology to the specific conditions of our country in a manner that fully reflects the interests of the working class and laboring people. This line is of a profound revolutionary and scientific nature. In the thorough implementation of the economic line of the party, we must especially grasp and correctly implement the following several basic points:

1. In order to advance the economy to large-scale socialist production and build an economic structure encompassing a modern industry and modern agriculture, we must firmly adhere to the line on socialist industrialization, the key point of which is the development of heavy industry. Under the conditions of our country and in view of our population, natural resources and geographical position, it is necessary to build heavy industry at an early date. Of course, as our party has pointed out, we cannot unilaterally develop heavy industry and, in so doing, loosen the ties between industry and agriculture, as has occurred in history; moreover, we must create the premises needed for the development of heavy industry. Therefore, the only correct line is to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development and coordinate industry with agriculture within one structure from the very outset, thereby causing these two sectors to stimulate and create the conditions for each other's development. In the initial stage, our party has pointed out that agricultural development is the task of foremost importance, that efforts must be focused on developing agriculture and accelerating the production of consumer goods and exports. To accomplish this, we must make good use of our abundant labor to develop our natural resources, primarily our arable land, on the basis of making full use of existing technology; at the same time, we must broaden our international cooperation, rapidly build the heavy industrial installations needed to directly support agriculture and light industry, actively prepare for the construction of a number of large-scale industrial sectors and gradually create the new economic structure and new labor productivity. These are the main guidelines for creating the position from which the economy can move forward.

Chiefly because we have not firmly adhered to the stages of development of industrialization, have not closely coordinated industry with agriculture,

have not focused our efforts on agricultural development, have not made good use of labor and arable land and have not brought about the redistribution of labor, we have been slow to extricate production from its low level of development, unable to fully support the life of the people and unable to create the conditions for industrialization. The task of building the new economic structure and creating a new labor productivity must be the primary goal of our economic work at this time.

2. Carrying out socialist transformation involves an arduous, decisive struggle between socialism and capitalism to establish the system of collective ownership of the laboring people and advance the economy to large-scale socialist production. To accomplish this, we must firmly grasp the party's viewpoint of coordinating transformation with construction, coordinating the establishment of the new production relations with the development of production forces. We must, on the basis of the level of development of production forces, apply suitable forms of transformation, forms that have the effect of stimulating production. To achieve this objective, we must, in the course of carrying out socialist transformation, establish and implement an economic structure consisting of many different segments, a form consistent with the various types of large and small scales and the different levels of technological development, a form which permits us to make full use of every production factor of society. Each economic segment has a different mode of operation, but all segments are closely related to one another within the structure of the unified national economy, within the economic structures of the sectors and localities, within which the national economy plays the central and leading role; all economic segments must serve the interests of socialism.

Because we have not firmly adhered to this viewpoint and have expressed the objectives of socialist transformation in the simplistic terms of abolishing private ownership, "the faster, the better," there has been a tendency in many localities to carry out transformation in an impetuous, hasty manner, carry it out through the use of pressure and orders without flexibly applying the various forms of transformation, thereby causing production to decline and, as a result, not firmly establishing the new production relations. This is a mistaken viewpoint that tends to be "leftist" and is not consistent with the line of the party; it is a viewpoint that must be promptly rectified in order to carry out socialist transformation well.

On the other hand, we must combat the attitude of hesitating and wavering, combat the desire to postpone socialist transformation, to loosely manage the private and individual economy, to restrict state-operated enterprises so that the individual and private economy "explodes" in an anarchistic manner, thus leading to the weakening of the position of socialism. This is a mistaken and dangerous viewpoint, one that manifests rightist thinking, is contrary to the line of the party and must be harshly criticized and quickly rectified.

Coordinating transformation with construction and establishing and correctly implementing an economic structure consisting of many segments is a basic part of the economic line of the party. Thoroughly implementing this viewpoint in our economic work is a pressing demand at this time.

3. Expanding our foreign economic relations, primarily with the Soviet Union and CEMA, is an extremely correct position of our party and state. This is an indispensable prerequisite to successfully building socialism in underdeveloped countries such as ours. As V. Lenin confirmed: with the help of the proletariat in the advanced countries, the backward countries can advance to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. For this reason, expanding our foreign economic relations and establishing economic cooperation, primarily with the Soviet Union and CEMA, are an integral part of the economic line of the party, are an extremely important and effective base for accelerating industrialization and building a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure.

Socialist international cooperation within CEMA, which is based on the principle of insuring the independence and sovereignty of the member countries and benefiting all sides, causes the levels of economic development of the various countries to be brought closer together. Socialist international cooperation is completely foreign to narrowminded nationalism.

We must irrevocably state that independence and sovereignty and socialist international cooperation are two closely related aspects of present international conditions. Each step forward in the course of building an independent, autonomous economy creates the conditions for increasing the returns from international cooperation and, the deeper and more extensive international cooperation becomes, the more we create the conditions for building an independent, autonomous economy.

To make full use of the favorable conditions resulting from international cooperation, we must adopt a new way of thinking concerning our responsibilities and obligations within the community, must not rely upon or solely depend upon others, rather, we must cooperate in the spirit of equality; we must establish an efficient structure for our economy in each stage of development in order to make full use of international conditions and fully develop each of our potentials in the manner that best benefits our country and best benefits the development of the entire community.

Thoroughly understanding the party's viewpoints concerning evaluating the situation and the basic problems regarding the economic line of the party is the basis for performing economic work and carrying out the task of improving economic management. We must first of all gain a thorough understanding of these viewpoints in order to concretize the economic line of the party in the work of building the new economic structure, improving the mode of management and revamping the management organization.

II. Several Basic Viewpoints Concerning Improving Economic Management at This Time

1. Insuring the unity of politics and economics and strengthening the economic management role of the state;

As pointed out by V. Lenin, the most basic principle concerning the economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat is: "Politics cannot have a position higher than that of the economy." Because, the transformation and building of the socialist economy do not take place in a spontaneous manner, rather, they must be placed under the planned management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state. On the other hand, the main function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, to transform and build the economy, directly reflects the interests of the working class and laboring people. For this reason, V. Lenin said: "Politics is the most vivid manifestation of the economy."

The failure to firmly grasp the relationship between politics and the economy will lead to the mistake of either falling into purely economic thinking and ignoring the dictatorship of the proletariat or stopping at general political leadership and suffering the malady of bureaucratic administrativism in economic management. Both of these tendencies lead to spontaneity in the transformation and construction of the economy and, in essence, reflect the failure to firmly uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, the failure to uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people.

The relationship between politics and the economy reflects the relationship and reciprocal impact between the economy and the superstructure. In accordance with the historical materialism viewpoint of Marx, the resolution of economic problems must be placed within the entire socio-economic structure, within the overall situation of the revolution, within the relationship of the economy to politics, the law, the national defense system, the security system, culture, society and so forth. Only in this way is it possible to avoid shortsightedness when examining and resolving economic problems. On the other hand, because the economy is the foundation, the resolution of problems pertaining to politics, the law, national defense, security, the culture, society and so forth must be based on the economy, must be closely linked to the economy and have a reciprocal effect upon it.

The unity between politics and the economy demands that we strengthen the economic management role of the dictatorship of the proletariat state by means of closely coordinating three types of measures: economic, administrative and educational. The reciprocal impact among these three types of measures, with economic measures being the foundation, coordinates economic interests with ideological awareness and legal and organizational compulsion, thereby creating a combined strength for providing effective management.

At a time when economic and social activities are marked by many negative phenomena, it is even more necessary to make combined use of these three types of measures in order to wage the struggle between the two ways of life, strongly develop upon positive, revolutionary factors and take determined steps to repulse and eliminate negative, backward factors. We must forthrightly suppress hostile elements and lackeys of the imperialists and Beijing reactionaries who are undermining us economically and intensifying the psychological war. We must harshly punish exploiters and those who resist transformation as well as speculators, smugglers, thieves, and hoodlums. It must be recognised that the spontaneous development of negative phenomena primarily originates in the spontaneity of small-scale production and in lax management on our part, thereby creating loopholes for the enemy and decadent elements to oppose us. Therefore, we must strengthen the management of the state and launch a revolutionary movement of the masses to stand up and manage the economy, manage society and struggle to overcome negative phenomena.

2. Closely linking production with distribution, circulation and consumption and insuring the unified nature of the reproduction process:

Production-distribution-circulation-consumption are the parts, the stages of the reproduction process. According to Marx, production determines distribution, circulation and consumption; on the other hand, distribution, circulation and consumption have a reciprocal impact upon production and create conditions for developing or restraining production. This is the dialectical unity of the reproduction process.

In socialist transformation and the work of advancing the economy to large-scale socialist production, changes occur in the entire reproduction process, from production to distribution, circulation and consumption, along with changes in the system of ownership.

For this reason, we must coordinate the transformation of the system of ownership with the reorganization of production, including the reorganization of distribution, circulation and consumption. If we separate these elements and set them against one another, we cannot establish and perfect the new production relations and will, in addition, cause the reproduction process to be disrupted and cause factors of spontaneity and anarchy to arise.

At present, the economic situation is one of many difficulties, especially in the field of distribution and circulation; however, in the final analysis, the largest difficulties originate in the low level of development of production. Therefore, we must firmly adhere to the production viewpoint. When we say "explode" we basically mean that production must explode, primarily by accelerating the production of grain, food products, consumer goods and exports. Firmly adhering to the production viewpoint does not mean producing products by any method whatsoever.

rather, we must firmly adhere to the viewpoint of large-scale socialist production, must clearly differentiate it from small-scale, private production and capitalist production.

Management based on the viewpoint of large-scale socialist production in our country at this time means firmly adhering to socialist industrialization as expressed in an economic structure and stages of development consistent with the law of advancing from an economy in which small-scale production predominates to large-scale socialist production and achieving high labor productivity, high quality and high economic returns. We must overcome the thinking and habits of the small-scale producer, such as decentralization, a lack of organization, partialism and localism as well as placing emphasis upon form for form's sake, being ostentatious and so forth; we must also prevent the spontaneous development of capitalism.

The term large-scale production does not only encompass production, but also encompasses distribution, circulation and consumption. As a result, the large-scale production viewpoint must be thoroughly implemented in the entire reproduction process. Distribution and circulation are an expression of economic and social relations and are closely related to the life of the working people. This is a most difficult field and many of our cadres have very little knowledge of it. Work in the field of distribution and circulation has been marked by many shortcomings and mistakes, has not been consistent with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, has not attached appropriate importance to the law of value and has not reflected a thorough understanding of the line of the party, consequently, this work has impeded production and created many negative phenomena. Improving distribution and circulation in such a way as to support production, stimulate the development of production and stabilize and improve the life of the people is a pressing job.

3. Implementing the socialist mode of business management, using the plan as the main tool and correctly utilizing commodity-monetary relations.

The plan is the principal tool for managing the national economy. However, under the conditions of socialism, when the level of socialization of production on a society-wide scale is not high, commodity production relations still exist. Utilizing commodity-monetary relations has become essential in managing the socialist economy. However, under socialism, commodity-monetary relations change in content and are dependent upon the fundamental economic law and the law of the planned development of the economy. Under the circumstances of advancing from a system in which small-scale production predominates to a system of large-scale socialist production, the management and planning of the national economy must widely and correctly apply commodity-monetary relations.

We must know how to closely link centralized planning from the central level concerning the principal objectives and balances with the planning initiative

of the localities and the financial independence of the basic economic units, both within the plan and outside the plan. We must unify the product plan and the value plan, including using the various economic levers and insuring both quality and economic returns in the formulation of plans as well as in the process of their implementation. As regards the individual and private economy, it is necessary to guide these persons in producing and doing business in accordance with the requirements of the state plan and utilize commodity-monetary relations, the laws of the state and educational activities to manage them.

The administrative-bureaucratic style of management and planning, a style characterized by sweeping subsidies and in which there is little regard for applying commodity-monetary relations, has caused much serious harm to the work of transforming and developing the economy, has reduced the effectiveness of state management and has very significantly limited the initiative and creativity of the economic organizations and working people. It has come time to take determined steps to abolish this style of management and truly shift to the mode of socialist business management. On the other hand, we must combat the desire to reduce the role played by the plan and even eliminate some necessary elements of the state plan in order to expand production outside the plan, inflate the market, emphasize the free market and evade control by the state. This is a manifestation of anarchistic thinking, is a mistaken and dangerous tendency that must be abolished.

4. Redistributing national income in accordance with the requirements of the three strategic tasks and correctly coordinating the three interests.

We face an extremely sharp contradiction between the low level of development of production and the requirement of carrying out distribution in accordance with the three strategic tasks in order to support the life of the people, strengthen national defense forces and insure the accumulation of capital in order to build the material-technical bases of socialism. On the other hand, distribution is marked by many shortcomings and the failure to establish the correct relationship between the interests of the entire society and the interests of the collective and the working person. For this reason, redistributing national income in a way that meets the requirements of these three strategic tasks and coordinates these three interests is a pressing problem at this time.

Of basic importance in resolving the contradiction mentioned above is the need to make every effort to accelerate production by making full use of our labor, natural resources, the capabilities of existing material-technical bases and the technological advances that have been made, rapidly raising social labor productivity, shifting from simple reproduction to expanded reproduction and creating sources of national income capable of meeting the requirements of the three strategic tasks.

At the same time, we must successfully resolve the problem of redistributing national income on a society-wide scale, rebalancing capabilities and needs and establishing a policy for distributing the various sources of capital in an economical and effective manner that meets the needs of life and the national defense system while creating sources of accumulated capital in order to carry out expanded reproduction. In the present situation, in order to create the conditions for expanded reproduction, we must develop domestic sources of capital, practice international cooperation, primarily with the USSR and CEMA, make effective use of invested capital and rapidly increase the rate of development of production.

In the immediate future, stabilizing and gradually improving the life of the people, especially of the state workers and personnel living in the cities and the compatriots in a number of rural areas that are encountering difficulties, are a very pressing task. Until we have the ability to immediately improve the standard of living, we must look for every way to reduce difficulties, stabilize life and create the conditions for accelerating production.

To accomplish this, we must redistribute the income of the various strata of the population along lines that meet the legitimate interests of the working people in the cities and the countryside and support the life of manual workers and cadres; we must protect the interests of legitimate workers and regulate the income of persons whose earnings are unreasonably high and illegal.

The distribution of the consumer fund must thoroughly reflect the principle of distribution in accordance with labor; at the same time, we must, depending upon the level of development of production, increase the social welfare fund and insure close coordination between the interests of all of society and the interests of the collective as well as the individual interests of the worker. Only in this way can we provide incentive for the worker to produce with enthusiasm. As long as the consumer fund remains limited, expenditures on welfare must be very reasonable and efficient; on the other hand, we must eliminate the practice of supplying goods on a sweeping basis, reduce administrative management costs and implement a reasonable consumption policy.

In order to improve distribution in accordance with the requirements mentioned above, it is necessary to establish state inventory and control of every production and business activity of all economic segments, mobilize and utilize every source of capital in society, wage a determined struggle against theft, bribery, conspiracy and the abuse of authority for the purpose of undermining the distribution policy and wage a determined struggle to eradicate speculation, hoarding and smuggling.

5. Stabilizing the flow of goods and becoming the master of the market.

The production of commodities requires the circulation of commodities and money and requires market activities. The low level of development of production, our inefficient distribution and the poor organization of the circulation of goods have caused very large disruptions in the field of circulation and had an adverse effect upon production, distribution and everyday life.

The pressing matter we face is that we must rapidly stabilize the flow of goods and become the master of the market, to accomplish this, the state must intensify the various measures employed to control the sources of goods, control money and prices and tightly manage labor.

In our economy at this time, the circulation of commodities occurs within two different market structures: the organized and the unorganized market (or the free market).

Each market has its own role and effect. We cannot adopt a simple or crude attitude regarding the market. As long as there is a subsidiary household economy, subsidiary trades in the countryside and private production, the free market will exist alongside the organized market. To consider everything produced outside the state plan to be illegal is to deny the necessity of the free market. Concerning the necessity of the free market in the period of transition, Lenin wrote: "Let us suppose that we were to look for every way to prohibit and block every development of private trade, of non-state trade, that is, of commerce, of capitalism, development which is unavoidable when there are millions of small-scale producers. This policy would be stupid and suicidal to any party that implemented it. It would be stupid because, in economic terms, such a policy cannot be implemented; it would be suicidal because any party that implemented such a policy would surely meet with bankruptcy." (1) The problem here lies in managing the free market well and successfully eliminating speculators and smugglers.

The utilization of market relations is a conscious activity based on recognizing and taking the initiative in applying the various economic laws within a structure that has the correct impact; we cannot allow the market to control production, circulation and life in a spontaneous manner, rather, we must manage the market and become the master of it.

To become the master of the circulation of commodities, the master of the market, the state must manage the entire market, must expand socialist commerce in conjunction with intensifying tax activities.

Socialist commerce must operate in both markets, the organized and the unorganized markets, must operate in both modes of business, supplying products in accordance with the plan and doing business in and outside the plan, and must use both types of prices, directed prices and negotiated prices (business support prices). We must improve the mode of purchasing

and selling goods in conjunction with taking determined steps to eradicate illegal trade.

Tax activities must be appropriately intensified in order to tax delinquencies, insure a balanced state budget, regulate the income of the various strata of the population and effectively manage the market.

III. Strengthening the Management Apparatus and Properly Assigning, Providing Advanced Training to and Making Good Use of Cadres in Accordance with the Requirements of the New Mode of Management

The implementation of the economic line of the party, the plan of the state and the mode of economic management as expressed in the policies and regulations on planning, cost accounting and the various economic levers is organized and undertaken by the management apparatus and the corps of cadres. As a result, we must simultaneously resolve two types of problems that have a close cause and effect relationship:

First, we must thoroughly understand the line of the party, formulate correct plans and improve planning and the various policies regarding economic levers, that is, we must determine a correct solution in terms of management.

Secondly, we must insure the implementation of this correct solution by means of a management apparatus that is efficiently organized and highly effective and by means of a corps of cadres who are correctly selected, correctly assigned and properly trained.

A correct solution in terms of management will permit the strengthening of the management apparatus and create a force stimulating the corps of cadres to develop upon their strengths while causing new talents to blossom. Conversely, if there are shortcomings and deviations in the management solution, they will spread to the apparatus and cause shortcomings in the work organization and procedures, thereby providing fertile ground for the negative aspects of the corps of cadres to continue to exist and even grow.

However, the management organization is not simply the passive subject of the mode of management but has an independence of its own and a very large reciprocal effect upon the mode of management. The management organization and the corps of cadres are the forces that research the mode of management, that determine the mode of management and bring it to life. From this point of view, the quality of the management organization is the factor determining the quality of the mode of management and insuring the implementation of this mode.

We must concern ourselves with gaining a thorough understanding of the line of the party and fully grasping the various viewpoints concerning economic

management in order to adopt a correct mode of management; at the same time, we must concern ourselves with strengthening the management apparatus, revamping work procedures and correctly assigning and properly training the corps of cadres. Equal importance must be attached to both of these matters. At places where the organizational apparatus, work procedures and the corps of cadres exhibit numerous shortcomings and are very weak, are far too weak to perform their tasks, the effort to strengthen the organization and resolve the cadre problem has become the foremost and most decisive element in achieving success under the new mode of management.

The strengthening of the management apparatus is based on the needs to build the new economic structure and build the new mode of management. In the building of this organization, importance must be attached to quality, to insuring the effectiveness of the apparatus, to insuring returns from production and business; the organization and deployment of cadres must be based on work, on economic-technical requirements and we must overcome bureaucracy, a cumbersome organization, isolation from the installation and the practice of bringing pressure to bear upon the installation as well as decentralization and lax discipline.

Every apparatus that is very necessary and is a weakness must rapidly be strengthened. Every apparatus that does not now face pressing requirements must be strengthened and prepared for future development. Apparatus that duplicate one another must be merged. It is necessary to eliminate unnecessary sections and unnecessary intermediary elements.

We must assign production tasks and authorities in a very clear manner among the various ministries and not allow a situation to develop wherein there are jobs of which no agency is in charge or jobs which many different agencies are performing at the same time.

It is necessary to clearly distinguish the administrative-economic management function of the ministry from the production-business management function of the economic organizations subordinate to the ministry.

Echelons must be very clearly and specifically delineated for each province and each district; the independence of the provinces, districts and installations must be broadened and disputes must not be allowed to drag on.

In the work of strengthening the organization of the party and the state, it is necessary to thoroughly carry out the improvement of work procedures and the strengthening of the discipline of the party and state. We must properly organize the process of collecting and integrating information, promptly and accurately learn information needed to act upon the situation and scientifically organize leadership work. We must gain the participation of the mass of economic cadres and scientific-technical cadres in the work of

preparing and formulating economic-technical plans. In the process of implementing resolutions, we must define the responsibility of each person regarding each job; the inspection of the implementation of policies and regulations must be well organized and the present laxity and inefficiency cannot be allowed to continue.

There must be specific, strict regulations governing all duties, regulations that must be implemented in every situation; work cannot be allowed to drag on nor can we take an indifferent attitude toward anyone who violates socialist property. We must uphold the system of discipline and the system of responsibility, both collective responsibility and personal responsibility, and must insure strict discipline in the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the party and the plans of the state. We must strengthen the socialist system of law and thoroughly prosecute every violation on every level and combat the thinking and manifestations of "special rights and privileges," of placing oneself above the law, above the resolutions of the party.

We must formulate and thoroughly fulfill the function of each organization and person and establish authorities and responsibilities that are balanced with one another, thereby insuring accurate decisions and the rapid, thorough organization of implementation.

On the basis of clearly defined, specific functions, we must reduce the administrative staff and assign more cadres and personnel to the production and business apparatus, to the district and installation levels.

In conjunction with strengthening the management apparatus, we must also concern ourselves with strengthening the basic economic units and both create every possible favorable condition for and demand that they work with high productivity, high quality and high efficiency. All industrial and agricultural state-operated economic installations, cooperatives, joint public-private corporations and so forth are places where the working masses exercise their right of collective ownership, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions and produce material wealth. Every installation is a place where the struggle between socialism and capitalism takes place each hour of each day. For this reason, the leadership and management apparatus must strongly support the installation, must make the installation the object of its thorough, rapid, direct support, must maintain close contact with and strengthen installations, must promptly resolve the problems raised by them. At present, production installations, especially state-operated installations and cooperatives, are encountering many difficulties in their production and business; it is necessary to create well coordinated conditions for installations to be able to take the initiative in formulating and implementing plans, thereby avoiding disrupting production conditions and posing a bother to installations. It is necessary to organize an inventory of the equipment, labor, supplies and raw materials at each enterprise in order to use every production capacity well.

It is necessary to intensify the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level, focusing our efforts on doing a good job in the approximately 60 districts that have a relatively high output of agricultural products and are capable of rapidly creating commodity funds for the socialist state by intensifying selected investments, carrying out planning, reorganizing production, assigning more cadres and improving management.

The element of decisive significance is cadre work. Concerning the cadre issue, the party has adopted many correct resolutions, but they have not been implemented well.

The immediate problem we face is that of selecting and training cadres, of using and evaluating cadres correctly.

It is necessary to redeploy the corps of management cadres in a manner consistent with the socialist mode of business management, which includes assigning the most suitable persons to each position, persons capable of bringing about strong development in the work at hand.

Determined steps must be taken to replace a number of cadres who, instead of performing their jobs, pose serious obstacles to the operation of the entire apparatus. They must be replaced with cadres who are skilled in organizational work, cadres who are not only loyal and devoted, but also have the ability to grasp and creatively implement the lines, policies and tasks set forth by the party and state, cadres who are capable of bringing about a change within the entire apparatus.

The corps of management cadres must be deployed within a well-coordinated structure in which they supplement one another; these cadres must be politically strong, proficient in the profession, skilled in economic and technical management, reliable, bold, creative and sensitive; they must consist of the most outstanding persons among all age groups and must meet all standards. Within this structure, it is necessary to uphold the role and responsibility of the commander.

One very important requirement is the need to standardize cadres by function and, on this basis, to select and correctly assign cadres.

We must regularly and closely inspect the work being performed; cadres who perform good work must be promptly and appropriately praised while cadres who show themselves to be incapable of performing their task must be replaced. Let us follow the teaching of Lenin: "The key to all work will lie in the selection of persons and the inspection of the work performed. If, in this respect, we learn how to perform every job in a practical manner...we will also overcome each and every difficulty."(2)

In organizational work, we have been unable to avoid cases in which we do not have cadres suited to the needs of work, consequently, many comrades have been assigned economic management tasks who have not received training

in economics. Our party is quickly training management cadres and demands that every cadre make every effort to study and improve his management ability; the present situation surrounding the utilization of cadres cannot be allowed to continue.

We must expand the training school and class system so that each cadre gradually receives systematic training; every 3 to 5 years, each cadre must receive a few weeks or a few months of training in the lines and policies of the party, work methods and the advances made in science, technology and management. In the immediate future, importance must be attached to providing advanced training in economic management to the various types of management cadres from the installation level upward. We must intensify the advanced training of cadres now on the job in politics, economics and technology and eventually provide training in the necessary knowledge to candidate cadres in each function before promoting them.

We must concern ourselves with building a corps of specialists, create the conditions for them to display their creativity, skillfully coordinate the various generations, young and old cadres, veteran and new cadres and political and specialized cadres and make good use of the specialists left behind by the old system.

It is necessary to give permanent assignments to and to specialize scientific and technical cadres. Cadres must be closely linked to specific jobs, to production installations. Cadres must be sent into centralized areas of specialized and intensive cultivation, to key projects and to newly constructed state farms. We must adopt a policy that provides appropriate material incentives and must, under penalty of disciplinary action, send many cadres, including cadres in charge, from upper level administrative agencies to installations in order to redistribute the corps of cadres, stimulate the development of production and create the conditions for cadres to rapidly mature.

In the present situation, finding correct solutions is a difficult matter; organizing implementation in practice is even more difficult. For this reason, we must, on the basis of thoroughly understanding the basic viewpoints of the party, quickly strengthen the management apparatus and strengthen the corps of cadres to insure high returns from practical organizational work.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin: "On the Grain Tax," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Book II, Part II, p 502.
2. V. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Book II, Part II, p 626.

STRUGGLING TO OVERCOME NEGATIVE PHENOMENA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7 Jul 80
pp 29-36

[Article by Do Muoi]

[Text] Since the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, we have carried out the restoration, transformation and development of the economy to maintain and stabilize the life of the people while defeating two wars of aggression launched by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles. These are basic and tremendous achievements of our party, state and people in the recent years filled with difficulties.

However, besides the tremendous achievements mentioned above, the economic situation and everyday life since the war have involved many difficulties and economic and social management have been marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses, consequently, negative phenomena within society are developing, especially theft, bribery and intimidation of the masses. This situation has caused a significant loss of socialist property, adversely affected production, exacerbated the economic and financial difficulties of the state, created more difficulties in the lives of the people, especially the lives of troops, cadres, manual workers and civil servants, posed major obstacles to the management of social order and security and so forth.

Therefore, in order to develop upon the above mentioned tremendous victories that have been recorded in every area, develop the tremendous economic capabilities and potentials of the country, quickly overcome the difficulties in the economy and everyday life and build an independent, autonomous socialist economy, we must make every effort to implement a pressing task set forth in the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, that is, the task of struggling to overcome negative phenomena within society, especially theft, bribery and intimidation of the masses, and must coordinate this task with the tasks of accelerating production, stabilizing the life of the people, strengthening the national defense and security systems and maintaining our readiness to fight aggression and protect the fatherland.

The attitude of each of us, especially revolutionary cadres and communist party members, must be to wage a determined struggle against these negative phenomena and eventually eradicate them from our social life because they are contrary to the fine nature of our system, because they harm the interests of the working people, because they weaken the structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the organization of the dictatorship to the organization of the party and the mass organizations, and because they have caused a weak segment of the corps of cadres and party members to degenerate and become deviant. We must wage a determined struggle against these negative phenomena in the spirit of bravery of the communist. For the sake of the interests of the people, we must be determined to advance the struggle against negative phenomena to victory.

Struggling to overcome negative phenomena is a revolutionary task. However, many places have not waged this struggle well; some have waged it in a perfunctory, general manner lacking in continuity and thoroughness; some cadres and party members talk but do not act and maintain a pessimistic, irresponsible attitude, consequently, the results of the struggle against negative phenomena within society are low.

Since the adoption of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and directive 81 of the Secretariat on the struggle against negative phenomena, the various sectors and levels have intensified their activities against negative phenomena with a number of places doing a good job and stopping some negative phenomena. However, these changes have not been strong, have not become a mass movement.

The main reason for this situation is that the leadership and guidance provided by the party and state, by the various sectors and levels concerning this issue have been marked by many shortcomings:

Our major shortcoming is that we have not fully shown cadres and party members the extensive and dangerous harm caused by these negative phenomena. Because our cadres are not clearly aware of the dangerous nature of these phenomena, they are complacent, give little regard to the situation and are lax in the struggle to overcome negative phenomena. At present, following the adoption of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and directive 81 of the Secretariat on the struggle against negative phenomena, the cadres of the various sectors and levels still do not have a clear understanding of this matter. This is evidenced by the fact that the various sectors and levels are not displaying a full sense of responsibility nor high determination with regard to the task of combating negative phenomena. The practice of waging this struggle in a perfunctory, form for form's sake manner is still rather widespread; there is even the practice of looking for every way to avoid waging this struggle. The organization of implementation is still based on the old method of doing nothing more than issuing directives and disseminating policy.

As regards state management, one of our significant shortcomings is the failure to use the effective tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat state in order to wage this struggle.

We know that the dictatorship of the proletariat has two functions: to build the new society and suppress enemies. Examined from the point of view of its function of building the new society, the economic management and social management of our state are still marked by many loopholes. Numerous policies and laws of the state are not being scrupulously implemented. Regulations and principles governing economic management and society are loose and responsibilities are not clearly defined. Many regulations are no longer pertinent but they still have not been revised. Control, inspection and inventory work is not carried out on a routine basis and is only slightly effective.

From the point of view of the function of suppressing enemies, our state has won very glorious victories over foreign enemies and their lackeys. However, as regards the negative phenomena within society, especially theft, bribery and intimidation of the masses, which constitute a very dangerous enemy among us, we have not been determined to suppress these ills, struggle to prevent them and eventually eradicate them at their source.

We have carried out a revolution for the sake of the interests of the people. Today, we have political power and must concern ourselves with protecting the immediate and long range interests of the people. If we allow theft, bribery and the intimidation of the masses to spread and harm the life of the people, our state will fail to fulfill its responsibility toward the people, will fail to uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people.

In essence, the present struggle against negative phenomena within society is a part of the struggle to resolve the question of who wins victory over whom which exists between socialism and capitalism and which is a pressing and long range revolutionary struggle. In this struggle, the revolutionary state must triumph over saboteurs, parasites and the dregs of society. If it does not, there can be no socialism in the true meaning of the word.

This struggle is of a pressing nature because, at present, negative phenomena are causing harm in many areas of social activity, from the economic field to the political field, the psychology of society and so forth and are weakening our revolutionary organizations. We must view this as a very important issue facing our dictatorship of the proletariat state. If we do not wage a resolute and urgent struggle to stop and eliminate these negative phenomena, the situation will only become more serious and more complex.

However, the struggle against these negative phenomena is also a long range struggle, a struggle that cannot be waged but only once, a struggle that cannot be completed in a short period of time. Although these phenomena

might be eradicated at one place or another, they will reappear if we do not continue the struggle. Therefore, we must wage a persistent and continuous struggle and employ proper methods in order to win total victory over these negative phenomena.

This struggle against negative phenomena is a struggle that takes place in many areas, that is, every negative phenomena within social life must be combated. However, of the various negative phenomena that exist, efforts must be focused on combating theft, bribery and the intimidation of the masses because theft, bribery and the intimidation of the masses are posing many major obstacles in social activities; in essence, they are acts of exploiting and oppressing the masses, acts that are contrary to the nature of our socialist system.

The pressing requirements at this time are that the various sectors and levels must successfully overcome theft, bribery and the intimidation of the masses, especially in communications-transportation, distribution-circulation, commerce, the supply of materials and grain, the management of housing and land, census management and the recruitment of students; efforts must be focused on conducting inventories and inspections, on strengthening management and on combating the theft of strategic materials and essential goods in production and consumption, especially grain, petroleum products, supplies supporting agricultural production, spare parts for equipment and machinery, cloth and medicine.

In keeping with the requirements mentioned above, all sectors, localities and basic units must wage a struggle against negative phenomena. However, when supervising and guiding the general movement, it is necessary to focus on key, central jobs that must be performed very well. In the effort to combat theft, efforts must be concentrated on combating major thefts and the abuse of authority for the purpose of committing a theft and on successfully eliminating the theft of strategic supplies and goods supporting production, combat and the essential needs of the people. In the struggle against bribery, efforts must be focused on combating bribery in the allocation of housing, census registration, employment, admittance to schools, business licenses, etc. In the struggle against intimidation, efforts must be focused on combating the abuse of authority and the misuse of the organization by cadres to oppress and retaliate against persons who uncover and denounce their mistakes.

To achieve the objectives, meet the requirements and fulfill the guidelines of this struggle against negative phenomena, it is necessary to take correct measures.

1. We must do a good job of propagandizing and educating the masses and launching a mass movement to struggle against negative phenomena. This is a very important job, but it is a job that we have long failed to perform

well. This phase of propaganda and education must delve deeply into what exactly is involved in combating negative phenomena, must generate widespread public opinion denouncing these ills and must guide the masses in taking steps to eventually eradicate these social ills and deprive these bad habits and practices, deprive these cancers lingering from the old society of fertile soil within our society.

The launching of a movement of the masses to struggle against negative phenomena within society must be carried out in conjunction with teaching and molding for each person the lifestyle of the socialist man, a lifestyle in which working, producing, building and protecting the fatherland are the *raison d'être*, a lifestyle marked by the spirit of responsibility to protect public property, the sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of serving the people and respecting the right of socialist collective ownership of everyone, a lifestyle free of theft, bribery, intimidation of the masses, fraud and speculation. It is necessary to widely publicize the various laws and decrees on protecting socialist property, on the "four systems"⁽¹⁾, on the punishment for acts of economic sabotage, for the violation of socialist property, for violations of the right of collective ownership of the masses as well as for violating the property and the democratic rights of the citizen. Good persons and good deeds must be used as examples in order to establish advanced models and launch an intense revolutionary movement among the people and within basic units to follow the example set by these socialist models with a view toward fully displaying the fine nature of the new system, developing upon the positive aspects of society, overwhelming negative aspects and creating the strength of confidence in our system, party and state.

In order to launch a mass movement, it is necessary to employ a mode of mobilization and organization of the masses that is truly consistent with the situation and the aspirations of each objective with a view toward creating the conditions for the masses to stand up and exercise their right of collective ownership within each of their basic units.

In the state sector, it is necessary to closely guide the implementation of Council of Ministers' decree 182-CP on the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants and respecting and protecting their collective ownership rights in productive labor, in the formulation of the state plan, in the protection of the fatherland, the protection of socialist property, in distribution and everyday life, especially their rights to make proposals, file complaints, file denunciations, supervise and inspect. In the countryside, practical forms must be employed to uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses in production as well as in distribution at agricultural cooperatives. The experience of Tien Hai District and a number of other localities in the "five public reports movement" must be utilized to mobilize the masses to find ways to combat negative phenomena, protect socialist property, accelerate production and strengthen management within agricultural cooperatives.

2. Immediately rectifying the weaknesses of a pressing nature in management: in order to promptly stop negative phenomena, the sectors and levels must immediately improve those areas of management in which there are many weaknesses and loopholes that are causing many negative actions and should not wait to take this step until the entire management organization has been revamped. They must meet the requirements set forth in the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum: "The leader of each sector, level and unit must be responsible for thoroughly protecting the state property put under his management, must immediately reorganize the management of property, warehouses, stores..., must conduct routine inspections, must conduct unscheduled inspections in cases involving the violation of socialist property and must be fair and prompt with regard to both awards and penalties." To accomplish this:

a) The commander of each sector, level and unit must have a full inventory of the state property put under his management; must have a full roster of the cadres and personnel under his management; must have a firm grasp of the regulations, policies, principles and rules governing management; and must closely supervise and inspect implementation.

b) It is necessary to scrupulously implement the regulations on inventories, control work and cost accounting regarding state property; reorganize the various means and methods for weighing, counting and measuring while improving warehouses, wharves, storage yards and the various equipment used to protect property; must closely guide the formulation and implementation of economic-technical quotas, especially quotas on man-days, man-hours, the use of raw materials and supplies, the contract ordering of goods and so forth; and must intensify the control work performed by the people.

c) It is necessary to correctly implement the management regulations and rules set forth by the state in order to restore and strengthen orderly procedures and discipline in labor, manage the economy, organize life and overcome the state of disorganization and lack of discipline in management. Within the state sector, it is necessary to implement Council of Ministers' decree 217-CP on establishing the four systems (the system of responsibility, the system of discipline, the system for protecting public property and the system for serving the people) and heighten the responsibility of the commander. In the countryside, it is necessary to implement the policy on reorganizing production, revamping and strengthening the cooperative management organization and improving the new production relations.

3. Caring for the life and the economic and cultural interests of the people.

The struggle against negative phenomena cannot be separated from caring for the life of the people. For this reason, every sector, locality and basic unit must fully assess the situation surrounding the daily lives of the masses within the scope of their management in order to take specific and prompt steps to resolve problems. Attention must be given to persons who are

unemployed, students who are between two levels of schooling and the manual workers, civil servants and intellectuals in the newly liberated areas of the South; concern must be given to resolving the welfare and subsidy problems of manual workers, trying to fully pay cadres, manual workers and civil servants on time and improving the organization and mode of distribution so that grain, food products and essential consumer goods reach the hands of the people in a fair and efficient manner. In summary, while mobilizing the masses to struggle against negative phenomena, we must concern ourselves with meeting the daily needs of the people well.

4. Combating the enemy sabotaging the economy and combating speculation, smuggling, hoodlums and gangsters in society.

The struggle against negative phenomena within the state sector and the collective sector cannot be divorced from combating the enemy attempting to sabotage the economy and combating speculation, smuggling, hoodlums and gangsters in society. It is necessary to heighten the vigilance of the people through education so that they combat the schemes and acts of sabotaging economic construction and creating difficulties in the lives of the people. However, when court cases are being tried, it is necessary to clearly distinguish between acts of sabotage and actions involving personal gain so that such cases are prosecuted with the proper attitude. It is necessary to compel persons who earn their living illegally and evade labor to work, necessary to coordinate this campaign with the movement to establish the new, wholesome and simple lifestyle, necessary to carry out the transformation of hoodlums and professional gangsters and necessary to resolutely punish those who violate criminal law in order to maintain social order and security.

5. Prosecuting violations of the law.

Together with the measures mentioned above, the various sectors and levels must guide the prosecution of violations in a truly determined manner. Prosecution must be prompt, resolute and strict. This is an important measure in the struggle against negative phenomena because only by means of prompt, determined and strict prosecution is it possible to uphold the socialist system of law, maintain the discipline of the party and state and strengthen the confidence of the masses. Over the past several years, the reason why the movement against negative phenomena has not achieved good results has primarily been because we have not done a good job of prosecuting violations of the law. The prosecution of violations of the law proceeds too slowly and many sentences are too light, thereby preventing the people's court from having an impact. V.I. Lenin frequently discussed this matter. He considered it a disgrace for judges to give light sentences to persons convicted of bribery, persons who should have been executed by firing squad, and he proposed that these party member judges be prosecuted in court and expelled from the party.

In the coming period, it is necessary to select a number of serious violations of the law to be prosecuted publicly and appropriately punished. As regards matters that must be prosecuted under the law, while awaiting for procedures to be completed, it is necessary to take immediate administrative, internal steps to promptly stop negative phenomena; in particular, with regard to cadres who abuse their authority in order to steal, accept bribes or intimidate the masses, it is necessary to immediately remove them from their position of authority, prosecute them in a clear and strict manner, not adopt an attitude of tolerance concerning those who commit crimes and harshly punish persons who retaliate against others who denounce them. Property taken from the state must be reclaimed, especially strategic supplies, spare parts for equipment and machinery, essential consumer goods and goods managed by the state.

In order to implement the measures mentioned above, it is necessary to heighten the responsibility of the various organizations of the party and of cadres and party members in the struggle against negative phenomena. All party committee echelons in the sectors, localities and units are responsible for teaching and leading their party organization in not allowing party members to commit the crimes of theft, bribery and intimidation of the masses and not allowing persons known to have committed these crimes to be ignored; determined steps must be taken to expel from the party elements who degenerate and become deviant and to lead the masses in strongly participating in the struggle against negative phenomena.

Combating negative phenomena is a revolutionary struggle. This struggle must be waged in the revolutionary-offensive spirit, waged in an effective and persistent manner. Every sector, unit and organization must wage this struggle on its own without waiting for another sector or unit to initiate this struggle; wherever a negative phenomena is found, it must be combated without hesitation or wavering. We must firmly adhere to the relationship between "building" and "combating"; in this relationship, "building" must be the primary measure employed and emphasis must be placed upon prevention; however, once negative phenomena have been discovered, they must be "combated." Only by "combating" negative phenomena well is it possible to "build" positive aspects well. These two factors must be closely coordinated with each other, they cannot be mechanically separated.

When talking about revolutionary struggle, it is essential that we mention the leadership of the party and the role played by the masses. When talking about the leadership of the party, we must talk about the collective leadership provided by the various party committee echelons and the positive role played by the secretaries, the heads of the coordination and operations sections and the comrades in charge of the government. If these persons do not wage this struggle, how can there be a revolutionary movement, a mass movement?

To guide the movement of the masses in successfully struggling against negative phenomena, it is necessary to build strong forces for the struggle.

To do this, we must fully utilize the organizational structure of our system: the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages. We have only achieved minimum success in our effort to combat negative phenomena primarily because we have waged this struggle primarily by the purely administrative method without concerning ourselves with building forces for this struggle.

The matter of foremost importance is the need to build and strengthen the organizations of the party so that they are truly pure and solid. We must heighten the militant nature and the leading role of the party organization and party members, especially the various party committee echelons, and insure that the corps of key leadership cadres of the party truly consists of pure cadres who are enthusiastic about struggling against negative phenomena, truly consist of persons who are the loyal servants of the people.

It is necessary to immediately expel from the party elements who have lost their good qualities; at the same time, we must revamp the state apparatus so that it, too, is truly pure and solid, so that it achieves its full effectiveness, so that the law is scrupulously obeyed from the top to the bottom. Only in this way can the struggle by the masses against negative phenomena develop strongly. For this reason, in 1980, the various sectors and levels must closely link the struggle against negative phenomena within the party to the issuance of party membership cards, party building, the building of the government organization, the public security force, the army and so forth with a view toward purifying the organizations, the corps of key cadres and the corps of members of the party and not allowing decadent, hostile elements or persons who commit the crimes of theft, bribery and intimidation of the masses to infiltrate the ranks of the party.

Once they have clearly established the important role of the masses in this revolutionary struggle, the various leadership levels of the party and state must fully uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people so that they stand up and participate in this struggle. Under the leadership of the party, the masses are the masters of this struggle. The party must truly be the base of the masses exercising their right of collective ownership. Through this struggle against negative phenomena, we must uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people in a specific, practical way and, through this work, revamp the organization and mold the habit of scrupulously complying with the management policies and regulations of the state. Recently, Vinh Bao and Tien Hai Districts, as a result of educating the masses correctly and upholding their right of collective ownership, led a successful struggle against negative phenomena. To date, the Vinh Bao District Party Committee has replaced some of the party committee members on the village level and 200 party chapter committee members in the party chapters of production units, thereby making the party organization pure and strong; as a result, every aspect of work has been changed for the better and Vinh Bao, once a deficient, weak district, has become a strong district in every respect. This is a good model that we must emulate in order to make the

struggle against negative phenomena a strong mass movement from the countryside to the cities, from state-operated economic installations to collective economic units.

The struggle against negative phenomena is of a scientific and mass nature. In order to "combat" negative phenomena well, we must employ all subjects of science in order to "build" well, especially mold the new man, build the economic management and social management systems, etc.

The working masses must learn the science of management. This is a requirement of this struggle. However, this cannot be achieved through revolutionary zeal alone. V.I. Lenin very clearly stated: "This can only be achieved by means of self-imposed discipline, by means of organizing the labor of manual workers and peasants, by means of the system of inventory and control... We have yet to learn how to do this, but we must learn how. This is the path to socialism, the only course, the course of training workers to perform the practical work of managing huge enterprises, organizing production on a large scale and carrying out distribution on an extremely large scale."(2)

Therefore, it is necessary to teach the mass of manual workers and farmers the regulations of economic management and the regulations and laws of the state so that they supervise and uncover the improper acts of agencies and cadres in a full spirit of socialist collective ownership. Once the mass of manual workers and farmers are aware of their right of collective ownership and learn the science of economic management, they will consciously keep an inventory of and inspect production and the distribution of products and not allow 1 kilogram of grain or one product to slip into the hands of thieves, the hands of persons abusing their authority to be used for corrupt purposes, for purposes not in keeping with policy. Only then can the masses fulfill their function of effectively participating in the management of the economy, the management of the state and the management of society. And, at that time, no thief, no act of bribery, no act of intimidation of the masses will avoid prosecution under state law.

The struggle against negative phenomena is a part of the comprehensive revolutionary campaign at the basic units, consequently, this struggle demands that we make well-coordinated use of many different measures; closely coordinate educational, organizational, administrative and economic measures; closely coordinate "building" and "combating"; coordinate the fight against negative phenomena within state agencies with the fight against negative phenomena in society; abolish the phenomena of speculation and smuggling on the market; coordinate the fight against negative phenomena with improving management, revamping the organization of the party, government and the mass organizations and creating the conditions for the masses to actively participate in management and be the true masters within the basic units.

FOOTNOTES

1. The "four systems," the system of responsibility, the system of discipline, the system for protecting public property and the system for serving the people, were promulgated by the Council of Ministers.
2. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 380 and 381.

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REFLECTIONS ON OUR LITERATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 37-41

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] To begin with, it must be emphasized that our literature has recorded tremendous achievements over the past 35 years. This is a very clear fact. We must adopt the correct viewpoint in order to correctly evaluate our literature. Of course, within each genre, each work, we still see certain weaknesses. On the whole, however, we have established a new, strong, socialist literature, one which embodies a large number of works of high quality, embodies all genre as well as a large corps of writers and was consistent with the requirements of the revolution in the recent stage. Through the achievements recorded primarily in reflecting the nation's two great wars of resistance, our literature showed itself to be "worthy of joining the front ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art in our age" (the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress of the Party).

This means that our literature fulfilled its noble destiny of reflecting the aspirations of our people for independence and freedom, reflecting the revolutionary heroism of our army and people.

It also means that our literature is of a rather profound national nature and has made valuable contributions to and had a rather profound effect upon the spiritual and emotional lives of our people.

And, our literature has been able to record these achievements because, in the recent stage in our country, the tasks of the revolution were also the tasks of literature, the goals of the revolution were also the goals of literature, the realities of the revolution were the subjects described by literature. These are the principles as well as the practical experiences of our country's literature, principles and experiences that guide our perception and thinking in the present stage.

At present, in creative works as well as in theoretical and critical works, our literature is in a stage of strong development, a stage that is raising numerous questions. However, the most basic matter continues to be recognizing reality, that is, the stand that must be taken and the method of thinking that must be employed in order to recognize reality.

Recognizing reality does not merely involve learning and repeating several sentences concerning the general situation, rather, it is necessary to clearly recognize the enemy and be fully aware of their schemes against our country, our nation, be fully aware of the struggle to achieve socialism in all fields and the advantages and difficulties in every area of our people's revolutionary undertaking at this time in order for ardent patriotism and the love of socialism to permeate every chapter and line of our works.

Actually, our country has only been building socialism for 5 years. We are living in a period of tremendous revolutionary changes, the initial period of "a process of comprehensive, continuous, extremely deep and thorough revolutionary change." This was pointed out by the 4th Congress of the Party (1976).

Over the past 5 years, the realities of the revolution have truly been extremely intense and sharp.

We are determined to advance the entire country to socialism. We promptly and rapidly reunified the country, established the dictatorship of the proletariat government throughout the country, carried out socialist transformation in the South and virtually abolished the class of exploiters. However, the aftereffects of the 30 years of the war of aggression are very large, so large that we could not fully measure them at first. Due to the betrayal by the rulers in Beijing and the lackeys, the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea, we were forced to deal with a situation in which our friends became our enemy, forced to wage a war to protect the fatherland on the southwestern border. Then, we had to help the people of Kampuchea restore and maintain the achievements of the revolution in Kampuchea, help Kampuchea come back to life in order to build the country. We re-established the special revolutionary solidarity among the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, thereby creating a new situation in Indochina and Southeast Asia. We then had to wage a victorious war to defend the fatherland on the northern border, which was a large-scale war, and continue to strengthen our national defense system and restore production and life to normal in the areas ravaged by the enemy; today, we are still fighting the enemy, still taking casualties, still continuing to deal with a very insidious secret war being waged by the enemy.

The imperialists have collaborated with the Beijing reactionaries to find every way to pose difficulties to us, discredit Vietnam and reduce Vietnam's prestige in a vain attempt to weaken Vietnam so that they can easily annex it. They have publicly attacked Vietnam for comprehensively cooperating with the

Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. They have undermined the special solidarity of the three countries in Indochina, etc. They have focused the thrust of their assault on Vietnam because Vietnam has become the banner symbolizing independence and freedom and they have also attacked and opposed the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union is the banner symbolizing socialism, is the citadel of the revolution and peace in the world.

The difficulties in the economy and everyday life that we have not quickly resolved, the continued existence of negative phenomena among cadres and party members and within state agencies and the tendency of these phenomena to spread, the lack of good order and security, the negative phenomena in the lifestyles of some youths and teenagers...all of these social phenomena have deep and widespread causes in the special characteristics of our society's situation at this time, in the process of revolutionary change and in the insidious schemes of our enemies of every type. Of course, we, too, have committed a shortcoming by not being fully prepared for such tremendous revolutionary changes. Our correct revolutionary line has not been concretized in the form of practical plans and effective policies. Our level of economic management and social management is still very low. However, these shortcomings also have an objective side: it is difficult to fully measure each and every difficult and complex situation and we have not had enough time to train a corps of cadres to meet the new requirements and carry out the new revolutionary tasks, that is, cadres who possess the necessary economic and social management qualifications. (Even with regard to fighting the enemy, it has taken us at least 30 years to achieve the high level of warfare that we have achieved today).

In the full scope of its complex development, reality in our country today demands, more than ever before, that we possess the scientific, comprehensive and vigilant perspective and thinking of the revolutionary. Correctly recognizing reality is the first prerequisite to our discussing the issues of our literature at this time, discussing the realistic nature of our literature.

In the recent stage, our literature was a revolutionary force in the struggle for independence and freedom; it nurtured the will to fight and hatred of the enemy, fanned the flames of patriotism and the revolutionary heroism of our people in the long and arduous but extremely glorious revolutionary struggle.

Thus, today, our literature must also play the role of a revolutionary force in the sharp struggle to build socialism and protect the fatherland.

We desire peace, but our enemies still make it necessary for us to be ready to fight and annihilate them when they violate our country. In the present situation, is it an objective requirement of the revolution that we continue to protect the fatherland against the schemes of both foreign and domestic

enemies, enemies from the North and the South, and continue to more highly mobilize the patriotism of our people?

Must we be determined to maintain the goal of building socialism, repulsing poverty and increasing our economic and national defense potentials by firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people while accelerating the three revolutions with a view toward building the system of large-scale socialist production, building the system of socialist collective ownership, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man?

Now, more than ever before, it is necessary to repeat Lenin's argument that "literature must become a part of the entire undertaking of the proletariat," "must become an integral part of the organized, planned and unified work of the social-democratic party."⁽¹⁾ It is necessary to prevent and avoid the tendency to separate literature from the revolutionary undertaking, in general. In the face of a complex, difficult situation, a psychological state of confusion and tendencies toward pessimism and doubt can occur; we might incorrectly evaluate the situation surrounding our literature; we might use shortcomings in one part of literature to describe our literature as a whole, entertaining the thought that this literature has such shortcomings because it is a literature governed by pressure, a literature that is not free, a literature that must bend to the will of leadership, etc.

On the other hand, if we do not persevere in our goals, in our line, we can easily fall victim to the schemes of the enemy, drift without guidelines, become bait in the psychological war of the enemy and fall into a dangerous state of skepticism.

Is socialism real or not? Should we follow the socialist path? (What other path is there?)

We stand before the enemy but are still vague, still do not see the true face of the enemy.

In the face of fraternal countries and needing help from them, we worry about losing our independence and, when we must help them, we worry about the effect on our capital and our lives.

We want to rapidly advance to socialism, but fear that the socialist mode of production and socialist relations will not develop production, consequently, we want to maintain and support the old production relations and so forth.

These are the kinds of confusion that can occur at this time and actually have within some persons. The enemy is taking advantage of our difficulties to sow seeds of doubt, to generate and deepen this psychology of panic and confusion.

Thus, as a weapon of the revolution, what must literature do? If it does not expose the face of the enemy and mobilize the revolutionary-offensive will and the revolutionary heroism of our people to overcome every difficulty and adhere to the line of the party with a view toward achieving the goals of the revolution, building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland, literature cannot fulfill its task.

In past years, the entire country endured terrible sacrifices and extreme hardships but was still "confident in the future." Today, why can we not endure arduous hardships in order to protect our independence and freedom, to build socialism? In the past, we waged a struggle for several decades; the present struggle has only been underway for 5 years. Every writer must clearly realize his position in this battle, firmly grasp his weapon, maintain and heighten his revolutionary zeal and have firm confidence in the cause, in the victory of the revolution. Our people are awaiting new works about how they have continued to uphold the traditions of the revolution, overcome difficulties, abolished negative phenomena in society and set new records in the work of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

Of course, we also must further improve the quality of our literature so that it is highly ideological in nature, filled with creativity and reflects a high level of art.

It must be stated that this is a genuine requirement of the present stage of the revolution as well as a requirement that the party has always raised of literature and art.

Some say that literature must be more "fierce," must be more profound and diverse. The realities of our revolution themselves demand such a literature. However, we face the question of what is fierce, what is profound. Is the present struggle to protect our independence and freedom fierce? Is the struggle to maintain our will and adhere to the line on the socialist revolution and combat the numerous schemes of the enemy to distort, discredit and undermine us fierce? Can literature be fierce and not involve itself in these struggles? There are some who would have you think that it is some sort of impediment for literature to want to be fierce and profound. This, they feel, is something that literature must avoid! Such is not the case at all! The party requires that literature charge to the fronts where fierce and profound events are occurring: fighting the enemy of the fatherland and socialism, fighting speculators and saboteurs, fighting opportunists of all shades who want to use revolutionary talk to conceal their sinister personal schemes, to divide the party and the masses, divide cadres, sow division within the party, divide Vietnam and the fraternal countries and so forth, sow the seeds of doubt, sow the seeds of negative thoughts, etc.

In literature as well as art, many persons talk about the new, the creative. The problem lies in defining what is new, what is creative. Let us recall

the words of Lenin, words known by everyone: "We must maintain the beautiful, must use it as a model, as the starting point even if it is 'old.' Why should we turn our backs on true beauty, ignore it and not consider it the starting point for continued development simply because it is 'old'? Why must we bow before the new as if it were some god, must yield to it simply because it is 'the new'? This is stupid, utterly stupid! Here, we find much that is phony and, of course, the unconscious worship of the art that is prevailing in the West. We are good revolutionaries, but why do we feel it necessary to show that we, too, are 'standing at the pinnacle of modern culture'? I would rather call myself a 'barbarian.' I do not have it in me to consider works of impressionism, futurism, cubism and the other 'isms' to be lofty expressions of artistic genius"(Lenin speaking to Clara Zetkin, excerpt from Clara's memoirs).

When talking about the new and the creative, some appeal that we accept even the unreasonable.

We have defined what is reasonable, what our reason is. We have our own reason, thus, why do we need something unreasonable to oppose what is reasonable to us? We must guard against two things:

- a) Using reason to find something new and unreasonable to deny our reasoning, and this is something that our enemy wants to do.
- b) Trying to find something new and unreasonable in order to build "fierce" traits that are completely different from the traditional traits and the soul of the Vietnamese, raise very many phony contradictions and create odd (not new) characters in literary works. This leads to a perverse kind of formalism.

On the basis of the achievements recorded by our literature in the recent stage, we are continuing to move strongly forward along our revolutionary path, clarifying matters that are being raised in the present stage of development of our literature and creating increasingly fine, real and eloquent works of art so that our literature constantly heightens the quality of patriotism and beautiful socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "On Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 73.

7809

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THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE CLASS, THE NATION AND THE WORLD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
PP 49-54, 75

[Article by Do Tu]

[Text] In the present age, the proletariat is the only class that genuinely represents the nation; only the proletariat is capable of insuring that the nation enjoys true independence and freedom, insuring that all nations on the planet have the conditions to live in equality, peace and friendship.

For this reason, the class and national questions and the question of international relations are inseparable. Marxist-Leninist parties have the task of correctly establishing these relationships in the process of the revolution within each country and through the performance of their international tasks.

Over the past 50 years, taking the firm stand of the working class, the stand of Marxism-Leninism, our party has deeply understood and correctly established these relationships. Coordinating the struggle to liberate the working class with the struggle to liberate the nation, coordinating the winning of national independence with the socialist revolution, coordinating genuine patriotism with noble proletarian internationalism and so forth, these are the basic thoughts running throughout the course of the Vietnamese revolution led by our party.

Marxism-Leninism points out that the common source of the oppression and exploitation of the class and the nation is capitalism, imperialism. If the class opposition within each nation is abolished, the hostile relations among nations are also abolished. Therefore, the proletariat in each country must first abolish the bourgeoisie within its own country. The proletariat of each country, in addition to having a relationship to the proletariat of other countries, is always closely linked to its nation. Therefore, victory by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie within the scope

of each country is also victory in the effort to liberate the nation from slavery and a practical contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat.

Vietnam is a former colonial-semi-feudal country. To the Vietnamese working class, imperialism was two enemies: the enemy that exploited the class and the enemy that exploited the nation. In contrast to the working class in the independent capitalist countries, who must make the liberation of themselves the basis for liberating society, the Vietnamese working class had to coordinate the struggle to gradually liberate itself with the struggle to liberate the nation. For this reason, as soon as it was established, our party, in its political platform, clearly stated that the Vietnamese revolution had to consist of two strategic stages: the first stage consisted of carrying out the people's national democratic revolution, resisting imperialism, resisting feudalism, winning national independence, gradually implementing the rights of freedom and democracy of the people and returning land to farmers; the second stage consisted of carrying out the socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and totally liberating the working class and laboring people. Thus, from the very outset, our party knew how to skillfully coordinate national independence with socialism. This correct line of coordinating national interests with the interests of the working class correctly reflected the realities of Vietnam in their existence and development and, at the same time, is a line consistent with the laws of development of history.

In the first stage of the revolution, when the enemy was still strong, our forces were young, a revolutionary situation had not yet emerged and the conditions needed to seize political power had not yet ripened, struggling against imperialism and feudalism for the rights of freedom and democracy and an improved standard of living was very necessary. However, once the necessary objective and subjective conditions fully developed, the revolutionary movement developed and the opportunity arose, the need to win national independence assumed foremost importance.

During the period that directly led to the August Revolution, the party plenums held in November 1939 and May 1941 set forth the party's thinking of making national liberation the primary and pressing task. Heightening the spirit of patriotism and concentrating the forces of all the people on achieving national liberation in this way did not mean reducing the importance of the class struggle or not paying attention to the interests of the class. To the contrary, in essence, this was the coordination of the class struggle with the struggle for national liberation, the coordination of the interests of the class with the interests of the nation in a manner consistent with the specific historical circumstances of our country at that time. In the national liberation revolution led by our party, the destruction of the feudal system was also coordinated with the task of driving off the imperialists and the fascists. To a certain extent,

the national liberation revolution was democratic in content. Although the requirement of toppling the entire landowner class and giving farmers ownership of their cropland was not immediately realized, this did not mean that the revolution did not pay attention to this task. In fact, this was nothing more than the policy of "taking one short step in order to have the strength to take a longer step." Temporarily, the rights of workers and farmers could not be completely implemented because, in the initial stage of the revolution, "the rights of the part, of the class had to be placed below the survival, the existence of the country, of the nation...otherwise, we would have been unable to achieve national liberation, unable to demand independence and freedom for the entire nation and not only would the entire country, the entire nation forever be bound in slavery, but the rights of the part, of the class could not be won in 10,000 years." (1)

In keeping with this correct policy, our party rallied large patriotic forces around the working class, established a broad, united national front on the basis of the strong alliance of workers and farmers and won brilliant victory in the August Revolution, thereby ushering in a new era in our country: the era of independence and freedom and the advance to socialism. The Declaration of Independence read by President Ho at Ba Dinh Square on 2 September 1945 stated that our country was independent and free and that "all Vietnamese are determined to devote their spirit and forces, their life and property to maintaining this freedom and independence." (2)

With the victory of the August Revolution, the historic circumstances of our country underwent a fundamental change. Our party and our state had the conditions needed to continue to meet the requirements of the working people concerning freedom and democracy. However, the imperialists still did not abandon their colonialist ambitions. The French imperialists and the U.S. imperialists, together with other international reactionary powers, forced our people to wage two wars of resistance filled with hardship and sacrifice, wars that lasted for 30 continuous years. Our people refused to accept the loss of their country, refused to be enslaved and were determined to win and maintain their independence and freedom even if it meant great destruction and sacrifice. This will of our people, of our party was unshakeable.

The stages of the revolution that were filled with blood and fire concluded with earth-shattering feats of arms by our people and bitter defeats for the imperialist clique. Whereas the victory of Dien Bien Phu "shook the planet" and marked the final hour of old style colonialism, the great victory of the spring of 1975 signalled the start of the unavoidable bankruptcy of neo-colonialism throughout the world. Under the leadership of our party, our people fulfilled the words in the sacred Testament of President Ho of giving Vietnam the honor of "being a small but heroic country that defeats two imperialist powers--France and the United States, and making worthy contributions to the national liberation movement." (3)

Was history in any way mistaken when it selected Vietnam as the place to embody a simple but extremely great truth: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom?" Independence, this is the basic and legitimate right of each nation. Freedom, this is the basic and legitimate right of the working people. For the independence of the nation and their own genuine freedom, generation after generation of our people have fought every enemy aggressor, from the tyrant Tan Thuy Hoang in the 3rd Century B.C. to the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of imperialism in our age. Since the founding of the party and for the sake of independence, freedom and socialism, the Vietnamese working class, the vanguard unit of the nation, has fought bravely for its own interests, the interests of the nation and also the interests of other nations in the world. The realities of our country's revolution led by our party show: "The more correct the sense of nationhood is, the more correct is the class viewpoint. Conversely, the more correct the proletarian stand is, the more the national question is understood."(4)

The proletariat is always closely linked to its nation; at the same time, common interests and goals give it a relationship with the proletariat of other countries. Therefore, if the class and the nation cannot be separated, genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism cannot be separated either. Lenin pointed out: "There is but one true internationalism: working in a selfless manner for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and supporting (by means of propaganda, sympathy and material assistance) this struggle, this line, and only this line, in all countries, excluding none."(5) In the present age, this line, in terms of its content, is the line of struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Marxist-Leninist theory as well as the historic realities of the international communist and worker movement show that proletarian internationalism originates in the nature, in the world historic mission of the proletariat, in the recognition of the existence over a long period of history of the nations of the world as an objective necessity. The struggle of the proletariat to win victory over the bourgeoisie must first occur within the scope of each nation and the struggle of the proletariat in every country cannot win complete victory without the support and assistance of the proletariat in other countries. United action based on a common line and for the sake of the common goals of the proletariat throughout the world is the factor of victory of the proletarian movement; the victory of the proletarian movement is the prerequisite of decisive significance to ending the state of hostility and the conflicts among nations. Mutual support and assistance between the proletariat that have seized political power and those that have not in our age is a foremost obligation of the international communist and worker movement.

Our party maintains: strengthening international solidarity is not only a sacred task of our party, of our people, but also a firm guarantee of the

victory of the Vietnamese revolution." (6) For this reason, our party always attaches importance to teaching proletarian internationalism to our cadres, party members and people, combating the viewpoints of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism and combating all arguments of the imperialists and their lackeys to distort our policies, divide and undermine us. The party always gives attention to teaching our cadres, party members and people that the victory of the Vietnamese revolution is closely linked to the development of the world revolution, to the support and assistance of the working class and laboring people of the entire world, primarily the working class and people of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. At the same time, we have an obligation to make positive contributions to strengthening the world socialist system and strengthening our solidarity with the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism while wholeheartedly supporting the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Together with concerning itself with teaching our cadres, party members and people, our party has done its very best to fulfill its responsibility to the nation and fulfill its international obligation. The special characteristic of our party is that it has used the realities of the revolution, used the victories won in the revolution to make practical contributions along with the international working class and the revolutionary people of the world in the struggle to maintain world peace, strengthen the world socialist system, support the national liberation movement and the democratic movement and bankrupt the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the imperialists and the international reactionary powers.

The proletarian international stand of our party has its origins deep in history, is manifested in unique ways and has been thoroughly implemented in every aspect of the thinking, line and practical actions of the party.

In the 1920's, President Ho established the need to closely link the national liberation movement in the colonies with the proletarian movement in the capitalist countries. He actively and steadfastly worked for the formation of organizations of an international nature, such as the "Inter-Colonial League," "the League of Oppressed Asian Nations" and so forth. In his book "The Revolutionary Road," he pointed out: "The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution. Anyone who carried out a revolution in the world is a comrade of the Vietnamese." (7) In the 1930 Political Platform of our party, proletarian internationalism was established as the political stand of the party. Since then, our party has always been conscious of linking the tasks of the nation to its international obligation, linking our country's revolution to the world revolution.

The practical work of guiding the revolutionary war through the two wars of resistance against the French and the United States, especially in the

war of resistance against the United States, further develop our party's political skills and art of correctly coordinating national tasks and international obligation. Our party carried out the war and concluded it at the proper time, thereby completely guaranteeing the interests of the nation, maintaining world peace and stimulating the development of the world revolutionary movement. In the face of an enemy many times larger, the party still created the conditions needed to pursue an offensive strategy. Although our strategy was an offensive one, the party also knew how to gradually bring about de-escalation on the part of the enemy in order to gradually win victory over them, determined to accelerate the revolution but, at the same time, maintain peace for the world. It was not at all a simple matter to meet these requirements.

At present, trends of opportunism, revisionism and bourgeois or petty bourgeois nationalism still exist within the international communist and worker movement; therefore, brandishing the banner of proletarian internationalism has become an even more important task and is also an extremely complex task of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in order to struggle against these erroneous tendencies.

On the other hand, there is a new and dangerous enemy in the world today, Maoism and the reactionary gang of Maoists within ruling circles in China. While pinning the "Marxist-Leninist label" on themselves, hiding behind revolutionary slogans and impersonating communists, they are actually insanely opposing Marxism-Leninism, opposing communism, undermining the three revolutionary currents of our times and undermining world peace. This situation faces the Marxist-Leninist parties, primarily the working class and laboring people of the entire world, with the new task of exposing the reactionary nature of Maoism and the reactionary gang of Maoists and thwarting their sinister schemes and hostile actions.

Our party and our nation, loyal to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and proletarian internationalism, once again stood ready to accept the new fight against the Beijing reactionaries and won a very important initial victory in the struggle against their schemes of expansionism and aggression against our country.

In summary, the entire course of the Vietnamese revolution led by our party clearly reflects the inseparable relationship between the interests of the class and the interests of the nation, between genuine patriotism and noble proletarian internationalism, between the national liberation struggle and the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism on a worldwide scale.

Today, as a result of the schemes of expansionism and aggression of the reactionary gang of Maoists, our country is still in a situation in which it is at peace but faces the threat of war. Before our people could devote their forces to building socialism, they had to allocate an important part of their

forces to meet the requirement of protecting the socialist fatherland and carry out their sacred international tasks.

However, regardless of how difficult and complex the situation is, all our people, under the firm and wise leadership of our party, will continue to valiantly follow the course they have chosen. National independence and the unification of the fatherland are the extremely important preconditions that open the way for our country's transition to socialism. Socialism is the objective that must be reached by the Vietnamese revolution. Only socialism can insure our country of true, strong independence and insure our fatherland of the highest and fully unification possible. Only socialism can achieve the long-held dream of the working people to be forever free from oppression and exploitation, from poverty and backwardness. Only socialism can bring back to the working people of our country the true, comprehensive and full right of ownership.

Whereas, in the previous stage, correctly resolving the relationship among the class, the nation and the world was an important requirement in insuring the victory of the people's national democratic revolution and socialist construction in the North, in the present stage, correctly establishing this relationship is of even greater importance in the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country as well as the work of firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland while fulfilling our international obligation to the revolutionary people of the world, especially the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, these are the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the present stage. Socialism in our country will be the result of the process of continuing to coordinate the strength of communist ideals with the strength of the will to maintain national independence, of the process of developing upon every inherent strength of the country and every creative ability of our people, of the process of coordinating the pinnacle of development of every fine attribute of our nation's traditions with the selective acceptance of the latest achievements of the world's civilization and of the process of coordinating the self-reliance of our people with the extremely important assistance of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries and all revolutionary and progressive forces of the world.

Today, our nation is an independent, socialist nation, our fatherland is a united, socialist fatherland. The patriotism of our people today is love of socialism. Building and protecting the country means building and protecting the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It is even more important that socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism not be separated in the consciousness and the actions of our working class and people, primarily Vietnamese communists.

By maintaining its will regarding national independence and being absolutely loyal to communist ideals, the Vietnamese working class will forever be worthy of being the vanguard unit leading all the people steadily into their brilliant future. No reactionary power can stop the Vietnamese revolution from advancing under the banner of truth and the just cause of the glorious Vietnam Communist Party.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nhung su kien lich su Dang [Events in Party History], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume 1, p 310.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 55.
3. Ibid., p 330.
4. Le Duang: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume 1, p 424.
5. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part I, p 36.
6. Le Duang: "Ve xay dang Dang" [Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 19.
7. "Cac to chuc tien than cua Dang" [The Organizations That Were the Forerunners of the Party], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 63.

7809

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THOROUGHLY IMPLEMENTING THE PRINCIPLE OF FRUGALITY IN EVERY ACTIVITY OF
THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

Hanoi TAI CHI CONG HAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 55-60

[Article by Nguyen Duc Nhan]

[Text] Our people face a task of important and profound significance in the development of our nation. It is the task of building socialism in a country that is advancing from small-scale production and has been ravaged by 30 years of war. Meanwhile, the hostile policy of the big country expansionists and hegemonists of Beijing, in collaboration with imperialism, are constantly threatening war, thereby making it necessary for our people to constantly strengthen their national defense. This extremely special situation of the revolution demands:

On the one hand, the performance of economic tasks must be carried out in exact accordance with the line of coordinating the economy with the national defense system so that every achievement recorded in economic work simultaneously meets needs of production, everyday life and the defense of the nation. On the other hand, the strengthening of the national defense system must be based on the requirements of combat and combat readiness and must scrupulously comply with the principle of utilizing the forces of the country in the most frugal and efficient manner possible. Lenin wrote: "A pressing demand in the defense of the Soviet republic is that we utilize our forces in a very frugal manner and make use of the labor of the people in the most efficient manner possible." (1)

Under socialism, social expenditures for the army and the national defense system are roughly divided into the material funds of the national defense system, the social labor force and labor time that must be mobilized for the army to carry out its military tasks and a portion of the budget in money.

The material fund allocated for the army and national defense system is the material foundation of military strength. It is usually established using

a very important portion of the gross social product, namely, national income. Its size depends upon the size and increase of national income, of social labor productivity. Mobilizing material forces to create the national defense fund also means using a portion of national income that should be used in production and the improvement of the standard of living.

The labor force that must be mobilized for the national defense system is a part of the young, healthy labor force, a force that has a trade structure of increasingly high quality. Mobilizing this force for military tasks means withdrawing some forces from basic production. Moreover, it is also necessary to mobilize a portion of existing national income to support their activities.

The portion of the state budget that is allocated to the national defense system represents, in terms of value, the portion of the national income that will be mobilized. The utilization of this money is closely linked to the market situation, to the maintenance and implementation of the planned balances within the socialist national economy.

From the above analysis of the structure of social expenditures allocated to the army and national defense system, we can reach a number of conclusions that serve to guide our practical actions:

First, every social expenditure on labor and materials for the army and military activities must be diverted from the field of production and are the fruits of the creative labors of all the people. These forces are very necessary material foundations in creating the military strength with which to protect the country. However, because they are not forces that directly participate in the process of creating national income, they can exert a negative influence upon the scale, structure and rate of development of production as well as the extent to which the standard of living of the people is improved.

Secondly, making frugal and highly efficient use of the social forces allocated to the national defense system is a very important prerequisite to insuring that the armed forces complete each of their tasks well; at the same time, it is an objective and very stringent requirement of social development, of the economic laws of socialism in every military activity as well as every other social activity.

Thirdly, the practice of economy in every military activity is not merely restricted to the field of consumption, rather, the essence of this principle is: completing every military task with the highest possible level of combat readiness and the greatest possible fighting strength with the lowest possible social costs; while each military task is being carried out, it is necessary to achieve a higher level of combat readiness and accumulate greater military strength, which consists of both economic and military strength.

Thus, practicing economy in every military activity is an important matter pertaining to our line that is related to both tasks of building the country and protecting the country; at the same time, it is a principle guiding every military activity, a principle expressed in the military line, military art, in every tactic and combat operation of the armed forces as well as of every citizen when performing military tasks. Our nation's long history of building and defending the country shows: one of the most unique characteristics of our nation's line of defending the country is making economical and efficient use of the forces of the country for both tasks of building and protecting the fatherland under the guideline of coordinating the economy with the national defense system, thereby making the people prosperous and the country strong. In military strategy and military art, our Army and people always use quality to triumph over size, use few forces to create a large combined strength, fight the enemy and win victory over the enemy from the position of strength of the people's national defense system and the people's war. In its military activities, the army fights while supporting, training and building its forces and participates in production while always endeavoring to create the conditions needed to fight and win victory over the enemy; the army has adopted very many resourceful and creative ways to fight using few forces but achieving high combat efficiency.

In view of the many difficulties still being encountered by our country's economy, more than few units on the southwestern border and the northern border have made tremendous efforts to excellently complete every combat and combat readiness task with the lowest possible social expenditures under the guideline of endeavoring to raise the quality of their combat operations, improving the life of troops, actively participating in production and intensifying research in order to learn more about the war to protect the socialist fatherland from the realities of combat.

The above mentioned facts show that practicing economy in every military activity is a matter of importance concerning our line, is a principle guiding every military activity, is a matter pertaining to military science and art.

The sacred task of utmost importance of our armed forces is to fight and maintain their readiness to fight in defense of the fatherland. Under the conditions of building the country in a manner closely linked to struggling to protect the socialist fatherland, our armed forces must constantly raise their level of combat readiness, must always seize the initiative, must promptly bring down thundering blows upon the head of the aggressors from the very start of the fight, on the frontline of the fatherland.

In combat, our armed forces must be determined to achieve the military objectives of the war with the highest possible combat efficiency. Combat efficiency in the war to protect the fatherland is not only measured in terms of the comparison of casualties between ourselves and the enemy, as

it was in the past, but must also be expressed in many other ways: the complete destruction of many enemy units, the destruction of many of their means of war, holding the losses of manpower and materiel of our armed forces and people to the lowest possible level, firmly protecting every battle position and not allowing the enemy to massacre our people or destroy our economic installations.

We fight to protect the complete right of ownership of our people throughout the country as well as within each locality; therefore, when we talk about practicing economy in combat, we are talking about protecting and making economical use of every force of the country, both the forces of the state and the people. Our armed forces must fully comply with every policy and law of the state, maintain the strict discipline of the army and not use the need to annihilate the enemy as an excuse for making haphazard use of the labor and wealth of the state and people. This is not only something that is in the nature, in the tradition of the people's armed forces, but it is also a very important matter related to the buildup and accumulation of combat forces in the immediate future as well as over the long range.

When there is no combat task to perform, every activity of the armed forces has the objective of raising the level of combat readiness. Firmly adhering to this objective and thoroughly implementing the principle of economy everywhere and on every job, every member of the armed forces must make every effort to raise the level of combat readiness and the quality of combat operations as much as possible at the lowest possible social cost.

In keeping with this guideline, we must attach full importance to military training, must know how to make the most effective use possible of time for military training. We must attach importance to the training of new soldiers to insure that they can achieve the highest possible proficiency in work and military skills in the shortest possible amount of time.

As regards weapons and equipment, the highest requirement of the principle of practicing economy is insuring that their use value is not eroded so that when a combat task becomes necessary, they can be fully utilized in exact accordance with technical standards. To accomplish this, we must, on the one hand, provide cadres and soldiers with the training needed to be the masters of technical equipment, needed to proficiently use each weapon in accordance with our method of fighting. On the other hand, we must attach full importance to management and maintenance so that cadres and soldiers consider maintaining and using, in a manner that yields the highest returns, the weapons and technical equipment given them by the people the same as supporting and employing their human resources. Anyone who loses or damages a round of ammunition or a weapon reduces the unit's fighting ability, gives up his right to be the master of combat equipment and increases the burden borne by the state and the people.

Some of the social wealth allocated to the armed forces is used to support the everyday lives of cadres and soldiers. This portion of society's wealth must be used in accordance with the standards set forth by the state, must be used in a scientific manner so that we can achieve the highest possible results with a specific amount of this wealth in improving the standard of living, thereby helping to increase the fighting strength of each person and unit. Using this wealth in a wasteful, haphazard manner not in the interest of improving the standard of living of troops, in a manner that does not show appropriate concern for organizing the life of the unit well, in a manner that violates the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers as regards each of the results of their labor weakens the fighting strength of troops, can lead to unnecessary casualties and losses on the battlefield and is a crime against the people and the fatherland.

Under socialism, every social activity has the task of serving the interests of building the economy and improving the life of the people and thoroughly implementing the principle of practicing economy in every military activity, the people's army must, while successfully performing every combat readiness and combat task, which are the most important, the most sacred tasks, must also perform its economic construction task well. Le Duan pointed out: "Working, producing and building the economy are an extremely important task, one that reflects the fine nature and tradition of the people's armed forces. They are also objective requirements of the present revolutionary situation and task."(2)

To the standing army, the task of economic construction means making the most efficient use possible of the forces of the army to increase the strength of the national defense system and help to reduce the volume of supplies that must be provided by the state. For this reason, we must know how to establish very good coordination between the tasks of maintaining combat readiness and carrying out military training and the productive labor task. Many suitable measures and forms of organization must be adopted so that we can mobilize and utilize the forces of the unit for the purposes of fully meeting every requirement of combat readiness and military training, participating in productive labor, developing and making full use of each potential of the unit, insuring an increasingly high level of self-sufficiency in troop support and contributing along with the people to intensifying production, developing the economy and increasing the combined strength of the national defense system on the local level. The production installations that are managed by the army must, in addition to carrying out production in support of the army, make full use of equipment capacity, technical forces and discarded and rejected products in order to support the economy and everyday life.

Our economy is a planned economy under the centralized, unified guidance of the state. The army's economic work cannot be carried out by the old method of self-sufficiency, rather, it must be carried out in exact

accordance with the state plan; every product produced by the army is under the ownership of the state and cannot be used in any manner seen fit, cannot be traded. The army must set the example of scrupulously complying with the policy and laws of the state.

When talking about practicing frugality, we must talk about improving the work skills of the laborer. Through its two tasks of fighting and maintaining combat readiness and working and producing to build the economy, the army makes a positive contribution to training the young generation to be skilled soldiers and new workers. Thus, it also makes a practical and direct contribution to the reproduction of the basic production force of society. Therefore, the people's army must make every effort to "truly be a large school attracting the young generation, forging youths to be new persons who fight well and produce well, who possess lofty ideals, robust health, the spirit of discipline, an urgent style and the ability to organize and perform work, who know how to establish good relations among persons and are trained to be good workers and good cadres for socialist construction."(3)

Economizing on social labor costs in order to achieve high labor productivity is a matter that involves practical organizational work.

The practice of economy with the social labor force mobilized for the army demands a scientific and efficient distribution and division of social labor among the different sectors of social activity and on the basis of the most suitable balance among these sectors. To the standing army, the matter of foremost importance is to fully comply with the stipulated organizational structure. On the basis of this organizational structure, it is necessary to train cadres and soldiers so that everyone fulfills his duties. If this organizational structure is haphazardly changed, when combat and combat readiness tasks become necessary, there will be a shortage of forces, the combat organization will be disorganized and an emergency mobilization will become necessary, thereby posing major obstacles to the normal development of society.

To insure that cadres and soldiers truly concern themselves with making economical and highly efficient use of the forces allocated to the national defense system by the country, we must teach everyone the significance of serving the interest of the people as well as one's own interest in each military activity. It is necessary to insure that cadres and soldiers fully implement their right of collective ownership in every military activity, in managing and using work time, the labor force and material forces, in inspecting, supervising and evaluating the results of the use of labor and material means within the army. In military activities, the right of collective ownership of each person does not lie outside command orders and regulations, but is an internal factor of compliance with orders. For this reason, every order of the commander must express the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers. The commander must create the conditions

needed for each person to complete his task well. By means of thorough educational and organizational measures, determined steps must be taken to correct the use of labor within the army in a haphazard manner based on the very harmful viewpoint of "attaching no importance to the work performed by soldiers."

Military activities are of a highly planned nature. To carry out any task, it is necessary to establish precise coordination among numerous components, units and specialized technical sectors. Therefore, we cannot talk about practicing economy if troops do not possess strict discipline, if military activities are not carried out in accordance with a unified plan and if military planning is not constantly improved.

Under socialism, emulation is a strong moving force that gives rise to the beautiful factors of socialist labor and creates high labor productivity. Within the field of armed struggle, emulation holds a very important position because, in this field, persons who possess revolutionary awareness and the ability to exercise ownership well are the factor directly determining victory on the battlefield. To thoroughly implement the principle of practicing economy in every military activity, we must, in the present emulation movement, give attention to one important factor involved in raising the quality of combat operations, namely, emulating to make innovations and constantly improve military training, the management of material-technical bases, troop management and the scientific organization of military labor.

One very important reason why socialism leads to increasingly high labor productivity is that the socialist worker possesses the sense of ownership and has the ability to recognize and act in accordance with objective laws. Economic activities are the foundation, economic relations are the basis of every social relationship. In socialist society, economic laws have an objective impact upon all fields of production and life. In armed struggle, economic laws interact with the laws of armed struggle; therefore, we must teach cadres and soldiers economic knowledge, the economic line and the economic policy and laws of the state as well as the economic laws of socialism and must give them a full grasp of the economic viewpoints and line of the party and the ability to correctly apply them in practical work.

Military activities, regardless of their form, always involve the use of live labor and embodied labor. Every military order and directive leads to the use of labor and wealth. This means that the command and management of troops at this time truly reflects the unity of politics, military affairs, economics and administration. This unity demands that the commander be responsible to the state for the use of the forces of the country in military tasks. In the command and management of troops, the commander must take many effective steps designed to make economical and highly efficient use of the manpower of the army in improving living conditions and training,

thereby insuring that troops achieve high quality and efficiency in combat. One of these measures is standardizing the amount of time, material expenditures and financial expenditures for jobs that can be standardized, that is, organizing the performance of these jobs in a way that strictly and thoroughly complies with each regulation and order of the army in everyday life, combat training and productive labor. If command cadres do not put every activity of the army on a regular force basis, do not maintain strict discipline and do not fully comply with responsibility regulations, they cannot achieve even the smallest amount of economy. As a result, to cadres, thoroughly understanding and properly implementing the principle of practicing economy is a matter of conscience and, at the same time, reflects their qualifications and abilities; it is a manifestation of the oneness between ethics and talent. In the present stage of the revolution, teaching cadres and soldiers the sense of frugality, improving their ability to exercise collective ownership with regard to every force of the state entrusted to the armed forces, making economical and highly effective use of these forces and firmly protecting the socialist fatherland are an important requirement in raising the sense of socialist awareness and improving the quality of our people's armed forces.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 28, p 493.
2. Le Duan: "Xây dựng quân đội nhân dân cách mạng hùng mạnh, kiên quyết chiến thắng mọi kẻ thù," [Building a Powerful Revolutionary People's Army and Being Determined To Win Victory over Every Enemy], TAI CHI CONG SAN, No 1, 1980, p 21.
3. Ibid.

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INVESTIGATION: SUBSIDIARY FOOD CROP CONTRACTS IN VINH PHU

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 61-64, 88

[Article by Huu Manh]

[Text] Over the past several years, the production of subsidiary food crops in Vinh Phu has developed rather well. The production of subsidiary food crops has rapidly increased in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, yield and output. In 1978, there were 61,000 hectares of subsidiary food crops (a 22 percent increase over 1977) and subsidiary food crop output, in paddy equivalent, approached 100,000 tons. During the 1979 winter subsidiary food crop season, production increased 2.5 times in terms of the amount of area under cultivation and output increased by 10,000 tons compared to 1978. At present, subsidiary food crop output (in paddy equivalent) in Vinh Phu constitutes more than 25 percent of the province's grain output. As a result, despite major natural disasters during the past 2 years that caused significant losses to the rice crop of Vinh Phu, the standard of living of farmers has been maintained and livestock production has continued to develop.

One of the reasons why the amount of area under cultivation, the yield and the output of subsidiary food crops (especially winter subsidiary food crops) here have increased rapidly is the application of a system of contracts suited to the special characteristics of subsidiary food crop production (especially tuberous crops).

The Method of Contracting and Its Effect

After 2 years of providing guidance and gaining experience, the Vinh Phu Provincial Party Committee adopted an official resolution on organizing the production of and managing subsidiary food crops within the agricultural production cooperations. The organizing of production and the contracting for the planting of subsidiary food crops within the agricultural production cooperatives in Vinh Phu are carried out in two ways:

First, the cooperative contracts with the production units, the production units accept contracts and organize centralized production by the entire unit or production by groups within the unit, groups which turn their final product over to the cooperative. Awards and penalties for units are in the form of products.

Secondly, the cooperative contracts with its units, the units organize centralized production and then assign tasks and contracts to cooperative members of the same family for such jobs as planting, cultivation, harvesting and the delivery of the final product (including companion crops, if any). The unit has the responsibility for guiding the implementation of production regulations, technical measures, the collection of products and the delivery of products to the cooperative; it implements a system of a 100 percent bonus, in product, for exceeding quotas and a 100 percent fine equal to the value of products on the free market for each person who fails to meet his contract quota.

The implementation of product contracts for cooperative members of the same family absolutely must comply with the following principles: first, the cooperative must plan and organize production by area and insure that production regulations and subsidiary food crop contracts do not affect the two rice crops or the preceding or following crops. Secondly, the cooperative must tightly manage the instruments of production, control the final product and carry out unified distribution within the scope of the entire cooperative on the basis of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor while insuring the accumulation of capital by the cooperative and the sale of products and commodities to the state. Thirdly, it is necessary to heighten the responsibility of the cooperative, the production unit and each laborer and coordinate the interests of the cooperative, the production unit and the laborer well in the production and distribution process.

Below are specific examples of the method of contracting and the system of bonuses and penalties implemented in the cooperatives of the province:

[See chart on following page]

This method of contracting and these bonuses and penalties closely link the daily work of cooperative members to the results of their labor as manifested in the final product. The cooperative member, who is assigned work by the production unit and accepts a contract to perform a number of jobs that are closely linked to the final product, the entirety of which must be turned over to the cooperative, uses all the labor he has (overtime work and subsidiary labor within the family) and capital (additional fertilizer and seed), diligently cultivates his fields and harvests all products (both primary and subsidiary products) allowing none to be damaged or lost in order to exceed the contract quota of the cooperative and realize for himself 100 percent of the product exceeding the contract quota. This has

NAME

UNIT

FLOODING
WATER CONSERVATION
INSECTICIDES
FERTILIZERS
SEED
PLANTING
CULTIVATION
HARVESTING

BONUS, PENALTY

+ 100 percent of the product over contract
- 100 percent of shortfall, amount equal to free market price

Same as Above

Same as Above

Same as Above

+ 100 percent of output over contract, amount equal to directed price
- 100 percent of shortfall, double the directed price

- work done by cooperative
- work done by production unit
- work contracted to laborers

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the effect of encouraging the cooperative member to work hard in production, achieve high crop yields and provide many more agricultural products to the cooperative. Here, the coordination of the interests of the laborer and the interests of the cooperative (which are closely linked to the interests of the state) is expressed in a clear manner and yields practical results.

One question raised here is: does this method of organizing contracts and implementing the system of bonuses and penalties have any effect upon the new production relations in the countryside?

On the basis of the contract model presented above and the realities of production in the fields of Vinh Phu at this time, we see that the cooperatives (collectives) manage and control the instruments of production (cropland, machinery, draft buffalo and cattle, plows, harrows and the other important implements) to be used by the cooperative or assigned to the production units for use. The cooperative and the production units control and carry out the following jobs: the preparation of fields, the irrigation and drainage of fields, supplying fertilizer (inorganic and organic) and insecticide, distributing seed and so forth; these constitute a system of jobs of decisive importance in the process of carrying out production by area and in accordance with technical regulations. The cooperative controls and manages the final product in accordance with the plan and carries out unified distribution within the scope of the cooperative.

The cooperative member who accepts a contract has the obligation of delivering to the cooperative the stipulated quantity and quality of livestock manure on schedule (as determined by his quota), working the full number of mandays (in accordance with the stipulation for each type laborer) and complying with the work schedule of the cooperative. The cooperative harshly penalizes persons who violate the regulations mentioned above by deducting from the amount of food distributed to them during the year. The result is that the fertilizer plans and labor plans for the entire year and each production season of the cooperative insure that production is fully carried out in accordance with the overall plan.

Thus, the new production relations in the countryside are maintained, production is developed in depth, the level of intensive cultivation is raised, crop yields are raised, output is high and business operates at a profit: [See chart following page]

The Problems That Must Be Resolved

At present, our agricultural production is primarily manual production. The supplies provided by the state to agriculture are limited and few possibilities exist for increasing these supplies in accordance with the requirements of production at installations. The capital of cooperatives is

		<u>ECONOMIC RETURNS</u>		<u>OUTPUT OVER CONTRACT</u>		<u>INITIAL RETURNS</u>	
		<u>YIELD PER UNIT</u>		<u>YIELD UNDER CONTRACTS TO COOPERATIVE MEMBERS (FOR CO-OP MEMBERS)</u>		<u>VALUE OF MANDAY</u>	
		<u>kg/ha</u>	<u>ha</u>	<u>kg/ha</u>	<u>Increase(%)</u>	<u>Estimated kg/ha</u>	<u>Revenue Expenditures Profit</u>
						(d)	(d) (d)
Long Tan Cooperative	West. potatoes	4040	100	7000	173.8	+ 1400 to + 2100	1610 549 +761
Long Tan Cooperative	Western potatoes	5380	100	7000	119	+ 2100	3500 3142 +358
Long Tan Cooperative	Winter corn	1160	100	1660	143	+ 320	1190 675 +515
Long Tan Cooperative	Fall peanuts	504	100	940	166.6	+ 240	2850 1703 +1147
Long Tan Cooperative	Spring peanuts	672		1120	166.6	+330	3780 1703 +2077
Long Tan Cooperative	Sugar cane companion bear crop	1000	100	44000	300	Some byproducts Companion subsidiary food crop	4368 1940 +2428
Long Tan Cooperative	Sugar cane companion bear crop	1000		44000	300		4771 2021 +2750

also limited. Under such conditions, how to develop the potentials of cropland (yields are still low) and labor in the countryside (which now has much idle time) in order to achieve high crop yields and large outputs is a pressing question regarding our agricultural development at this time.

The experience of Vinh Phu in contracting the production of subsidiary food crops (that is, after it was expanded to the trial production of a number of industrial crops) opens new possibilities for developing the potential of land and labor in accordance with the production plan and production regulations, thereby raising agricultural output and coordinating all three interests well (the interests of the state, the cooperative and the laborer). The factor encouraging cooperative members to produce with enthusiasm is the close link between labor and the final product.

However, Vinh Phu also has places that have not implemented contracts in exact accordance with the stipulations of the province. Some production units only fulfill the function of accepting contract quotas from the cooperative and then assign land to cooperative member families without establishing specific contract quotas for them. The contract quotas that are assigned are usually low because crop yield (which is low) is used in a fast and impetuous style of collective work as the basis for contracting with cooperative members. There are even some production units that are lax in their management and leave everything up to cooperative member families, thereby adversely affecting the collective production of the unit and the cooperative.

These deviations usually occur at weak, deficient cooperatives and production units. This offers further proof that, in order to successfully implement contracts and the bonus and penalty system for laborers until the final step of the production process, the management of the cooperative must be strengthened and improved and production units must truly be strong.

The implementation of the system of bonuses and penalties is also unreasonable in certain ways. The production unit is the organization that directly accepts the contract and is responsible for organizing and guiding the daily work of cooperative members in order to fulfill the contract plan of the cooperative. However, the system of bonuses and penalties is not implemented for production units. The production unit should receive some of the output that exceeds the contract quota and must be subject to penalties if production falls short of the quota. Only in this way is it possible to encourage production units, in general, and unit cadres, in particular, to heighten their responsibility to the collective, endeavor to exceed the contract plan quotas of the cooperative, implement the initial cost accounting system well within the unit and straightforwardly deliver the final product to the cooperative.

ABOLISHING SWEEPING SUBSIDIES AND CORRECTLY IMPLEMENTING THE PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH LABOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80 pp 65-68

[Article by Tran Ngoc Vinh]

[Text] In past years, the implementation of supplying commodities under ration quotas, a policy which was formulated under war time conditions, helped to stabilize prices and guarantee the real income of manual workers, civil servants and other laborers. In conjunction with supplying goods under ration quotas, the supplying of a number of essential goods to meet the minimum needs of the various strata of the people had the effect of stabilizing the life of the people and providing incentive for everyone to enthusiastically participate in the war of resistance for national salvation. However, the ration supply system, having been in effect for a long period of time, gradually grew to encompass many other consumer goods and even persons who do not have economic relations with the state and became the system of sweeping subsidies. This system has led to difficulties for the state, posed obstacles in commerce, caused distribution to be inefficient and created much waste and many losses of state goods.

Clearly, the system of sweeping subsidies in distribution has led to stagnation in production and circulation and created many negative phenomena in social life, the clearest manifestations of which are the thinking of relying upon the state, the desire to receive much but do little, violations of the right of collective ownership of the working masses, misappropriation, conspiracy, authoritarianism and bureaucracy.

Therefore, it is necessary to abolish the system of sweeping subsidies in distribution and correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

Under the socialist system, commodity production and the circulation of commodities still exist as do commodity-monetary relations, consequently, in the field of distribution for personal consumption, the working person

receives a portion of the social product in the form of value, the form of money. To have products to consume, the working person must spend this money to buy necessary goods. Therefore, in order to provide incentive for the worker to work with high productivity, the socialist state must adopt a correct wage policy in conjunction with a reasonable price policy, commodity supply policy and consumption policy.

The present wage policy has been in effect for nearly 20 years. Basically, it is a semi-supply system, even though many improvements have been made to it. During the period of the war and in the face of loose economic management, this policy became even more of a subsidy policy and revealed many more inefficiencies. This wage system is not closely linked to labor productivity by means of specific tasks that every worker must complete and is heavily characterized by averaging. The wage scale, salary system, technical grade standards and wages are inconsistent in many ways with the present actual situation. The implementation of the various forms of wages as well as the management and the organization of the guidance of wages are not good, thereby causing their effect as a lever to be limited.

On the other hand, due to the rising needs for grain, food products and consumer goods and the limited supply capabilities of the state, the prices of some commodities on the unorganized market have risen very high compared to the directed prices of the state, thereby causing persons to live "a hand to mouth" existence, causing them to encounter numerous difficulties and causing real wages to drop.

This situation demands the improvement of the wage system. In the immediate future, however, in view of the many difficulties posed by the economic and financial situation and the unstable supply of commodities and money, the problem we face is how to guarantee the real wage in coordination with applying progressive forms of wages (piecework wages, contract wages and so forth) and bonuses in order to provide incentive for production and for higher labor productivity while increasing the income of the worker in conjunction with making the greatest effort possible to supply manual workers and civil servants with essential goods at stable prices and subsidizing persons with low incomes with a view toward maintaining their real wages and stabilizing their standard of living.

In past years, in order to maintain the real wages of manual workers and cadres and provide the various strata of people with a reasonable income, the state implemented a semi-supply wage policy and the system of supplying goods under ration quotas at stable prices. This stability of prices is necessary. However, prolonged price stability over a period of many years is in contradiction with the conditions of an unstable economy that has experienced frequent disruption in war and with the very high prices on the "free" market. As a result, this price system has manifested unreasonable aspects and many shortcomings, especially the system of agricultural product

prices and the prices of industrial consumer goods. The improvement of the price system has become a necessity.

However, improving the price system is a very complicated matter; therefore, it is necessary to conduct careful, thorough research and take appropriate steps.

In the immediate future, it is necessary to maintain the stability of the retail prices of the essential goods that are "supplied under ration standards" to manual workers, cadres and persons who have direct economic ties with the state. We must steadily expand the implementation of the two-price policy for products supplied and sold outside ration standards, provided that ration standards are maintained and adequate commodities are available. At the same time, it is necessary to adjust the prices of some consumer goods, some services and some instruments of production that have become unreasonable, including the prices of both domestic goods and imports.

In conjunction with improving the way wages are paid and adjusting the prices of some products that no longer seem reasonable, efforts must be focused on doing a good job of controlling the sources of goods through purchases, managing the market well and improving the distribution of commodities.

In order to put the vast majority of the sources of grain, agricultural products and food products into the hands of the state through purchasing activities, we must, on the one hand, improve the purchasing policy and regulations, the mode of purchasing and the organization of purchasing; on the other hand, utmost importance must be attached to managing the market.

In recent years, partially due to objective difficulties, such as the slow development of production, continuous war, serious natural disasters, a serious imbalance between supply and demand and so forth and partially because of our loose management of the market, the free market has developed in a random, unorganized manner, thereby creating disruptions and sluggishness in production and social life; meanwhile, the activities of state-operated commerce have been constricted. With an administrative-subsidy mode of business, such as the present one, even more difficulties are encountered in putting the sources of grain, agricultural products and food products into the hands of the state through purchasing activities and major obstacles are posed to the implementation of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. As a result, revamping and improving the management of the market are one of our most pressing jobs at this time in order to restore relative order to economic life, accelerate socialist transformation and strengthen the socialist economy. It is necessary to expand and strengthen the state-operated commerce system and the cooperative commerce system to insure that these business organizations expand their business activities in products outside the state plan and outside state

control, expand their service networks, gradually assume the dominant position on the market and eventually become the master of the market. We must promptly stop and appropriately punish acts of speculation and smuggling; in particular, it is necessary to close the routes used by smugglers to cross the border and enter the country from the sea.

As long as the management of the market is given light attention by and loosely carried out by local leadership agencies and commercial organizations, the negative aspects of the "free" market will continue to develop, prices will continue to be unstable, the income of those persons who "live from hand to mouth" will continue to be limited and real wages will continue to be eroded.

With the commodities they have in hand, commerce organizations must improve the mode of distribution in such a way as to facilitate customers, facilitate management, combat the turnaround of ration coupons, economize on the commodity forces of the state and insure that these commodities reach the hands of consumers in exact accordance with policies and standards, thereby helping to implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. It is necessary to overcome the thinking of providing sweeping subsidies and the thinking of averaging in the distribution of commodities, necessary to revise which products will be supplied and who the recipients of products under ration standards should be. In the commodity distribution plan, it is necessary to meet the minimum needs of everyone; on the other hand, it is necessary to be fully conscious of distribution in accordance with labor and reduce the subsidies to persons who do not have direct economic relations with the state.

The correct implementation of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor at this time is designed to provide incentive for workers to concern themselves, for the sake of their own material interests, with the results of their labor and insure that progressive workers who achieve high productivity, are highly skilled and make many contributions to society enjoy a better standard of living than ordinary workers.

The above mentioned requirements regarding the principle of distribution in accordance with labor are related to the implementation of a reasonable consumption policy. Because many difficulties are still being encountered in production, the state is not able to satisfy every consumer need of the various strata of the people and the commerce sector, unable to maintain normal activities, must continue to maintain the ration system for some time to come. There must be a full supply of the products governed by ration standards and state-operated commerce cannot take it upon itself to reduce this supply. Every effort must be made to meet established ration standards. This is a matter of tremendous economic and political significance. A reasonable consumption policy demands that the state insure the distribution of a number of essential goods in the daily lives of each type worker, such as allocating grain and food products for distribution to

manual workers, civil servants and non-agricultural production workers and providing industrial consumer goods for distribution to farmers.

In actuality, the money spent by manual workers and civil servants to buy grain and food products constitutes more than 70 percent of the money spent by them on goods. Thus, the primary consumer needs of manual workers and civil servants at this time are the needs for grain and food products. The state must make an effort to guarantee them of a full supply of grain and food products under ration standards and at stable prices; this is an important prerequisite to maintaining their real wages. However, in order to have grain and food products to supply to manual workers and civil servants, it is first of all necessary to accelerate agricultural production. To do this, it is first necessary to cause farmers to engage in production with enthusiasm, cause them to concern themselves with the results of production. One of the important measures for providing incentive to farmers to accelerate production is to determinedly allocate necessary industrial consumer goods and give priority in their distribution to farmers in order to trade for grain and food products.

Until production is able to satisfy the needs of the various strata of the people, the implementation of a consumption policy such as the one mentioned above is reasonable and will help to implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, thereby insuring that goods are distributed to the correct persons, insuring that manual workers, civil servants and farmers produce with enthusiasm.

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ON IMPROVING THE DIET OF THE VIETNAMESE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 69-75

[Article Hoang Dinh Cau]

[Text] In caring for the life of the people, it is first of all necessary to concern ourselves with the food, shelter and clothing of the people.

As soon as it was born, our party adopted the slogan "food, clothing and farmland"; when he was alive, Uncle Ho frequently reminded cadres and party members to always be concerned with "the soysauce, fish, fish sauce and salt needed for the daily lives of the people."

In researching the matter of improving the diet of the people, we must resolve the questions of both the amount and quality of food in the diet in a manner consistent with our country's economy.

What Do We Eat?

What we eat in our daily diets controls the production of grain and food products, especially agricultural production to supply the bodies of the Vietnamese with a source of energy.

The diet of a person must reflect balance among three primary components:

- Starch (glucosides);
- Protein (in the western countries, protein is primarily obtained from animal sources);
- Starch (lipids); etc.

Our country is a tropical country; our needs for protein and fat differ from those of persons in frigid zone countries. Living in an underdeveloped agricultural country, our people have long had the habit of consuming starch, their most important source of energy (more than 80 percent). Our sources of protein are primarily vegetables (90 percent).

As a result, in improving the diet, we must make an effort to increase the amount of animal protein in the diet by a small amount. Because our agricultural capabilities are still limited and it is difficult to provide the feed needed for livestock production, the main source of protein in our diet must continue to be vegetables. According to calculations, to produce 1 kilogram of animal protein, it is necessary to supply for livestock production 5 kilograms of vegetable protein or 5 kilograms of fish meal. The guideline for improving our diet should be to supply primarily vegetable proteins and lipids for the diet.

1. The starches:

If we use rice consumed in the traditional manner as our main source of calories, we see that we can, in no way, produce enough rice to eat. Attention must be given to the fact that the protein content of rice is lower than that of many other cereal grains. Rice should only constitute from one-third to no more than one-half of the starch consumed by the Vietnamese.

Thus, from one-half to two-thirds of the rice now consumed should be replaced by other types of starch, such as:

- Corn, potatoes, cassava and wheat;
- Millet, kaoliang and galingale;
- Western potatoes and other types of tubers.

We have yet to correctly evaluate and still give very light attention to the value of these grain crops. This is one reason why we are encountering so many difficulties and confusion in resolving the problems encountered in the daily lives of our people. If we reached the clearcut conclusion that we should primarily consume subsidiary food crops and eat rice as a secondary food, we would be able to improve the diet much more rapidly.

As regards these various types of grain, it is necessary to change our methods of processing, with the first requirement being grinding them into flour; from the flour, various products can be made, such as bread, noodles, vermicelli and so forth, which can be consumed immediately or cooked to completion within the household.

Changing the source of starches actually involves a revolution in food, a revolution that demands tremendous efforts on the part of agriculture, the grain and food sectors, light industry, etc.

2. The proteins:

--Pork: at present, we do not have an ample supply of pork; the amount of lean meat in pork is limited while the amount of fat is high. Moreover, the effort to supply pork to the people has long been one involving numerous

difficulties due to unstable hog production and the failure to widely develop hog production.

--Beef from buffalo and cattle is, generally speaking, still scarce in the normal diet.

If we develop our buffalo and cattle herds, we should direct our efforts toward raising dairy buffalo and cattle. Milk and products from milk must be incorporated in the diet, at least for children, for patients at hospitals and recuperation centers and for production workers. If the production workers in the various sectors and trades consume 1 cup of milk along with their coffee at lunch, it will have a good impact upon their labor productivity. A significant improvement can be made to lunches by including 1 bowl of rice gruel or wheat gruel to which has been added a small amount of milk and butter. The construction of the dairy industry in a manner closely linked to the state farms that raise the species of large livestock or the construction of milk production lines at small-scale livestock production installations do not require large investments, can be rapidly carried out and will help us reduce the need to import milk.

Because the development of the raising of the species of large livestock is still limited and difficulties are still being encountered in supplying beef, our guideline should be to intensify the raising of small livestock and poultry in order to supply meat to the people; this guideline would require few investments but would have a rapid impact and make it easier for the people to participate in this production.

Goat meat is a good type of meat, one that is also efficacious in treating diseases. Goat milk is very good and goat skins can be tanned to provide raw materials for industry. The development of goat production can proceed along with the development of the meat industry, the dairy industry and the leather industry. Goats can be raised in rocky, mountainous areas, on the offshore islands and so forth on a large-scale or the scale of a cooperative. Initial investments are not large, but the economic returns are high.

--Rabbit meat is good tasting meat that can be easily processed and is frequently found in the diets of Europeans. Rabbits are easy to raise, reproduce rapidly and provide meat, leather and fur. The raising of rabbits can become a part of the subsidiary production at households and agricultural cooperatives, thereby raising the income of the local people.

--Chicken meat and eggs are major sources of protein. In addition to the large-scale farms of the state, we should encourage the development of household chicken production not only in the countryside, but in the cities and towns as well. It is better to raise chickens in pens than to let them roam about, as is the practice now. Every household can raise two to three

chickens by feeding them scraps of food in order to provide themselves with eggs and some meat and improve their diet. In addition, it is also possible to use chicken manure for subsidiary agricultural production or to meet other requirements. The main problem is that we must provide feed for chickens. We should establish in the various localities plants that make full use of the byproducts of marine products, bones, the various types of subsidiary food crops, vegetables and so forth to process feed for chickens and sell this feed to households raising chickens. With ample feed for chickens, we can raise millions of chickens in cages in the cities and towns and meet some of the animal protein needs of the people.

If we resolve the problem of feed for chickens in the manner described above, we can more widely develop the raising of the other species of poultry, such as ducks, geese and so forth.

Eels also supply a good type of meat. The raising of eels can be developed within the cities and their outskirts.

Fish and the other types of marine products are the main source of protein of our people (constituting at least 70 percent of the animal protein in the diet). Our party advocates the cultivation, planting and harvesting of salt water fish, fresh water fish, brackish water fish and the other types of marine and aquatic products, including seaweed, algae, etc. Attention should be given to the production of fish liver oil in the centralized marine product areas (such as Kien Giang Province, Thanh Hai Province and so forth); these places do not have the technology needed to use and process this source of raw materials.

Animal protein will not be the main source of protein in the diet of our people for a long time to come, consequently, we must intensify the effort to supply vegetable protein for meat.

We must boldly and rapidly begin producing the following:

Legumes, especially soybeans, dragon beans and so forth, in addition to being used as a food product, can also be used as fertilizer. These various types of beans are a valuable source of export goods. From beans, we can process a number of food products high in protein, such as soybean sauce, bean curd, fried bean cakes, fermented bean curd, bean sprouts and so forth. On a summer day, spinach in soybean sauce is a delicious and nutritious dish. The production of soybean sauce can become a subsidiary trade at agricultural cooperatives.

Our country has the capabilities needed to develop the production of the various types of beans. An increasingly large amount of land should be allocated for their cultivation.

--Peanuts and sesame must also be reintroduced in the meals of our people.

Beans, peanuts and sesame are the primary ingredients of meatless meals, meals in which our people have become very skilled in preparing.

A look at the nutrient content of beans and peanuts shows how high their nutritional value is:

Soybeans: glucosides 16.2 percent
protein 38.8 percent
lipids 18.6 percent
cellulose 4.9 percent
minerals 4.6 percent
vitamin A 710 international units
B1 300 international units
B2 90 international units
C 11 international units

Heat value: 387 calories per 100 grams

Peanuts: glucosides 15.5 percent
protein 27.5 percent
lipids 44.5 percent
vitamin B1 0.44 milligrams per 100 grams

Heat value: 590 calories per 100 grams

Fish sauce contains a significant percentage of amino acids and is a familiar sauce to our people. We should increase the supply of fish sauce (in addition to shrimp, squid and dried fish) not only to the people in the lowlands, but also to the people in the mountains in order to help reduce the incidence of goiter. To facilitate transportation, we should research the processing of condensed fish sauce, fish sauce tablets, etc.

At present, mushrooms are still considered a high quality food product and are liked very much by our people. They are rather high in protein. Actually, mushrooms are easy to raise and their production can be easily developed, even in the cities and towns. The development of mushroom cultivation will create an additional protein producing sector for the people in the countryside and the cities.

3. Fats:

In the immediate future and for a relatively long period of time, our position is and will continue to be to obtain fats primarily from vegetation.

In addition to animal fats, (primarily from hogs), it is necessary to intensify the use of the various types of vegetable fats, such as:

- Jojoba oil,
- Peanut oil,
- Coconut oil,
- Citronella oil.

These plants are very familiar to our people, all that is needed is a policy to expand their cultivation.

We can also raise sunflowers in order to process an edible oil from the seeds of this plant. Sunflowers are very easily grown in our country, grown in every area. From time to time, some places have raised sunflowers as an ornamental plant. Every piece of unused soil can be used to raise sunflowers in the "a bit of soil is a bit of gold" movement at this time and, in particular, over the long range, sunflowers are a short-term crop that are harvested rapidly, unlike a number of other oil bearing crops (black walnut, persian walnut and so forth). By producing much sunflower oil so that the people can fry vegetables, fish and other foods, we can partially improve the diet of the people.

4. The other types of food products:

Everyone knows that there are many vegetables and fruits in our country and that these are indispensable food products in the daily lives of our people. However, how to supply fresh or salted vegetables and fruit (salted melons, salted tomatoes and so forth) to our people on a daily basis or canned vegetables and fruit and processed vegetables and fruit of many different styles (such as thin, fried banana slices) for use around the year is a very large problem in the field of national economic planning.

Beverages not only relieve thirst, they also supply additional nutrients and needed mineral salts to the body. In addition to the various types of beverages used by our people (fruit juices, lemonade, beer, and so forth), we should develop the production of a number of other types:

Bottled mineral water should be sold at low prices to the people for use in their daily meals or for use as drinking water. Carbonated mineral water has the effect of preventing and curing illness. Our country has many very good types of mineral water: Vinh Hao, Kanh Ca, Mo Da, My Lan, Ky Que, etc. Mineral streams can be the basis for developing the mineral water industry for supply to our people and for exportation. Mineral water can replace beer and fruit juices, which we are still having difficulty producing. The mineral water industry does not require much labor. It only demands technically skilled labor, the training of which is not very difficult. The equipment required does not demand high investments. Of course, the production of mineral water must be accompanied by the production of bottles, caps and so forth and it is necessary to organize transportation well.

--We should widely cultivate a number of medicinal plants (Sophora japonica, Eleutherine subaphylla, Senna and so forth) to replace tea, quench thirst in the summertime or be used on a daily basis. These plants are very easily grown everywhere.

How Much Should We Eat?

In other words, how many calories are needed in our diet to provide a full supply of energy to the body?

We have temporarily standardized a meal on the basis of the energy supplied by calories. All countries have caloric need charts for each type of worker. We have yet to fully and accurately calculate these needs. However, on the basis of the experience of other countries and preliminary calculations by Vietnam, we can temporarily establish the following minimum energy levels in an effort to achieve them in the next 10 years:

As regards children, we must calculate the energy needed to replace the energy lost in daily activities and the energy needed for growth and development:

- Less than 1 year of age: 800 to 900 calories per day
- One to 2 years of age: 1100 calories per day
- Four to 6 years of age: 1400 calories per day
- Seven to 9 years of age: 1800 calories per day
- Ten to 12 years of age: 2200 calories per day
- Thirteen-15 years of age: 2600 calories per day
- Sixteen-18 years of age: 2800 calories per day

Attention must be given to pregnant women. They require an additional 350 calories per day, at least during the final 3 months of pregnancy (at present, there is no regulation concerning this).

Nursing mothers require an additional 350 calories per day during the first 6 months. (At present, we do have a regulation that provides them with 4 additional kilograms of meat during each of the first 2 months; in addition to the ration standard for children, mothers are supplied 2 kilograms of sugar and 2 kilograms of meat).

As regards workers, the standard set by us is the energy needed to replace the energy expended at work each day.

- Light labor (desk work): 2400 calories per day;
- Medium heavy labor (light industry): 2800-3000 calories per day;
- Heavy labor (heavy industry): 3400-3600 calories per day;
- Especially heavy labor: 3800-4000 calories per day.

The energy levels mentioned above are calculated for an 8 hour workday. Attention must be given to the fact that, under our living conditions, the conveniences supporting our daily lives are very crude, consequently, the energy consumed in daily activities frequently far exceeds the energy consumed in work and production; this might be one of the reasons for low labor productivity, that is, not having the strength to work a full 8 hour day.

Changing the way grain and food products are processed and the system of distribution to suit present working conditions (working 8 hours, working in shifts) is very necessary and pressing.

As regards the calorie balance in the diet, an effort must be made to gradually achieve the following average percentages:

--Protein calories: 12-13 percent
Of which: animal protein = roughly 10 percent;
 general protein

--Lipid calories: 12-13 percent
--Carbohydrate calories: 72-76 percent.

One category of persons to which attention must be given is persons who are ill and persons who are suffering from poor health as a result of working too hard and who must receive care at convalescent centers.

The amount of food for each worker in society is dependent upon many factors, of which attention must be given to two primary factors:

- a) The quantity of grain and food products produced, which is related to agricultural production (including livestock production, marine product production and so forth) and to motivating farmers to enthusiastically and actively produce much grain and many food products.
- b) The number of persons that must be supplied with grain and food products, or, in common terms, the population of society.

In our country at this time, production, especially agricultural production, is encountering numerous difficulties. According to economic calculations, if the population increases by 1 percent, it is necessary to increase the gross national product by 4 percent in order to keep the standard of living of the people from declining. We are not surprised, when looking at the birthrate of our people, that their daily lives are ones of toil, difficulty and shortages. One important need in improving the standard of living, in general, and the diet, in particular, is to reduce the rate of growth of our population, which is too high, one of the highest in the world. We must

take positive steps to accelerate the planned parenthood campaign in order to reduce the growth of the population to 2 percent or slightly higher (roughly 2.1-2.2 percent) throughout the country by the end of 1980, as stated in the resolution of the 4th Party Congress. Thus, in the next 10 years, we must bring each Vietnamese family within the framework of the following averages:

90 percent of the families having two children,
10 percent of the families having three children.

It is impossible to talk about improving the diet of the worker, in particular, or the people, in general, if we do not take positive steps to accelerate the planned parenthood campaign.

How Should We Eat?

While waiting for the various institutes that research nutrition to calculate the specific quantity of grain and food products that must be produced, the detailed structure of a model diet for each category of persons, the best and most scientific ways to cook food for the various types of kitchens, and so forth, we must give our attention to one point: on the basis of the theoretical full supply of grain and food products required to meet needs, how can we insure that the body absorbs nutrients as efficiently as possible? We must eliminate the misconception that we must eat until we are more than full in order to have the strength needed to work. If the quantity of food consumed in one day is eaten in two meals (lunch and the evening meal), the absorption of nutrients by the body is poor (75 percent); if the same amount of food is eaten in three nearly equal meals (possibly 45 percent, 25 percent and 30 percent), the absorption of nutrients by the body can be increased to 85 percent. This second method of eating can increase the benefit derived from meals by 10 percent.

It is probably not necessary to mention the need to eat food slowly and chew it carefully, the benefit of which everyone knows.

It is necessary to increase the consumption of subsidiary food crops because they supplement the diet with a number of amino acids that are lacking, such as lysine, methionine and so forth.

Under the climatic conditions of Vietnam, grains and food products easily become mildewed, rot, spoil and so forth, which make storage requirements very much more stringent than they are in the western countries. It is necessary to preserve the quality of the grain and food products supplied to the people and avoid allowing grain and food products to spoil or lose their good quality due to improper storage. The rapid improvement of means of storage, warehouses, refrigeration units, bags and packaging is very necessary. In this area, we must make many very large efforts; in particular, we must do a better job of training the cadre and personnel who perform this work.

-It is necessary to reinforce the possibility of assigning the veterinary sector the job of thoroughly inspecting the quality of meat at slaughter houses; inspecting the transportation of meat on roads and avoiding the contamination of meat, especially in the summer time, are a pressing requirement.

-The means of transportation used to transport grain and food products must be improved and minimum food sanitation regulations must be respected. At present, there are many serious violations in transportation and distribution (transporting food on motorcycles without packages, allowing food to lie exposed to the sun and so forth). For many years, there has been very good collaboration among the public health sector, the grain sector, the food products sector and the home trade sector in inspecting the cleanliness of food, inspecting restaurants, training cadres, manual workers, civil servants and so forth; however, the progress made in these areas has been very slow. One area in which this slowness has caused harm is that the number of persons afflicted by ailments of the intestinal tract has not declined much.

In addition, many cases of food poisoning and diarrhea still occur at collectives, especially at the dining halls of vocational schools, because students must eat spoiled, rancid food in the summertime.

While we are unable to provide a full supply of grain and food products, a number of fraternal and friendly countries have provided our people with grain and food products in aid. This aid consists of many types of food, especially milk, and is designed to meet the needs of several primary categories of persons, especially children and hospital patients. To reduce the difficulties we face and help to increase the health of these persons, we must give our attention to not allowing this food to spoil once it has been received and to distributing it in a timely fashion and to the right persons.

Improving the diet of our people is a very important, very large matter. In fact, it is a revolution in food, a social revolution. The improvement of the diet must be placed within the scope of the three revolutions and must be carried out at the same rate as the three revolutions. The improvement of the diet will require tremendous efforts on the part of all sectors of the national economy and the participation of all our people.

Our party considers this matter to be a pressing one; our country and climate afford many favorable conditions for producing grain and food products; the traditional eating habits of our people are very good and diverse. We must know how to combine modern scientific and technical knowledge with the experience embodied in the traditional eating habits of the Vietnamese; in the not too distant future, we will surely basically resolve the problem of improving the diet of our people.

NICARAGUA, A REVOLUTION ON THE MARCH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
pp 78-79

[Article by Nguyen Khac Thin]

[Text] One year ago, on 19 July 1979, with the liberation of the capital Managua, the Nicaraguan revolution won total victory. With this victory, the struggle of the heroic Nicaraguan people ended nearly 50 years of tyrannical rule by the dictatorial Somoza family, one of the most competent lackeys of the United States in Latin America. Together with the Cuban revolution, the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution helped to create a new situation in the struggle of the people of Latin America and, in particular, the peoples of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean against the U.S. imperialists to win their independence for the second time.

Nicaragua, the largest of the six Central American countries, encompassing 150,000 square kilometers, has the smallest population (roughly 2.5 million) and was the weakest link of imperialism in this half of the western hemisphere.

This is the place where the armed struggle of the peoples of Latin America directly against U.S. intervention broke out the earliest and lasted the longest. Actually, the history of Nicaragua from the middle of the last century to the end of the 1970's was the history of armed intervention by the United States and the history of the struggle of the Nicaraguans against this intervention. Between 1936 and 17 July 1979, when the tyrant Somoza fled overseas in the face of the threat of being swept away by the revolutionary tide, the Somoza Debayle family turned this beautiful and simple country, a country called the Switzerland of Central America, into their private property and the private property of U.S. capitalist corporations. For nearly one-half century, in order to protect the family's ruling position, the Somozas received extensive economic, financial and military assistance from the U.S. imperialists in order to submerge the struggle of the people in a sea of blood.

Times, in Nicaragua, the national antagonism became the sharpest of all antagonisms. Practically all of the struggles waged by the people developed from this antagonism. During the 1930's, there were 30 armed struggles against the United States. Most noteworthy was the determined war of resistance led by the great patriot Augusto César Sandino. This armed struggle lasted for 7 years, from 1927 to 1933, forced the U.S. interventionists to withdraw from Nicaragua. However, before they withdrew, the Americans set up a lackey military regime headed by Anastasio Somoza (the father of the present day Somoza).

In January 1934, Somoza ordered the assassination of Sandino. However, this heinous act did not extinguish the struggle of the people. Nicaraguan patriots continued the undertaking of Sandino in a variety of ways. In early 1939, the success of the Cuban revolution strongly inspired the struggle of the Nicaraguans. In 1961, the Sandino National Liberation Front was born and raised the banner of national independence. The front attracted every strata of patriots to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. In 1969, the front set forth a platform, a platform to carry out a national, democratic revolution under the leadership of the vanguard unit, the Sandino National Liberation Front. This platform stated that "the Sandino National Liberation Front is a political and military organization based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism" and that the "objectives of the struggle are to seize political power, oppose imperialism, liberate the nation and build socialism."

Immediately after the revolution won victory, the Provisional Government to Rebuild the Country (which was established on 15 June 1979), under the leadership of the Sandino National Liberation Front, began leading the people of Nicaragua in the work of restoring their country, which was nearly totally destroyed by war and natural disasters. (1)

In the space of only 1 year, Nicaragua has, compared to the entirety of its history, taken very large strides forward. To begin with, in order to protect the fruits of the revolution and maintain the country's independence and sovereignty, the Sandino front gave its attention to strengthening the system of the revolutionary dictatorship. This was manifested in the abolition of the Somoza constitution, the proclamation of a new constitution, the dismantling of the counter-revolutionary governmental apparatus and the establishment of the revolutionary governmental system from the central to the basic levels. The unification of the various armed forces through the establishment of the High Command with Humberto Ortega serving as commander-in-chief was a victory. At the same time, the system of public security agencies has been firmly consolidated. Organizations to protect the revolution have been established. Mass organizations, such as the Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Teachers' Union and so forth have gone into existence. As a result of strengthening the dictatorship system, very encouraging victories have been won during the past year in the effort to suppress counter-revolutionaries, protect the people's government and combat infiltration and sabotage from the inside and the outside." (2)

Economically, Nicaragua is a backward agricultural country, with 24 percent of its citizens working in agriculture; agriculture constitutes 53 percent of the total output value of the national economy. Nicaragua has many types of natural resources but is not rich. Due to the aftereffects of the war and natural disasters, the Nicaraguan revolutionary state has taken a series of emergency measures designed to stabilize the life of the people and restore production to the level achieved in 1978, the year preceding the victory of the revolution. The general line at this time is to strengthen the state economic sector on the basis of the economic sectors that have been nationalized (they have nationalized the assets of the Somoza family, worth 2 billion dollars, the assets of Somoza himself, worth 500 million dollars, the assets of U.S. monopolistic capitalists, which constitute 83 percent of the total capital invested by foreign countries, and the assets of other lackey reactionaries) while encouraging the development of the private economic sector and accelerating production in order to export products with a view toward beginning to meet the needs of the people. Besides attaching importance to restoring industrial production, especially agricultural production, the Nicaraguan revolutionary state is determined to allocate a rather large amount of capital to restoring the public health, cultural and educational sectors. For this reason, 1980 is considered the year during which illiteracy will be wiped out. This campaign is projected to conclude in July 1980 with the liberation of some 850,000 persons 10 years of age and older from illiteracy.

The past year was also a year during which the international position and prestige of revolutionary Nicaragua were rapidly heightened. As regards its main enemy, the U.S. imperialists, Nicaragua is always vigilant and ready to thwart each of their schemes to infiltrate and sabotage the country. Immediately after the victory of the revolution, Nicaragua voluntarily joined the ranks of the non-aligned countries, determined to oppose imperialism, racism, zionism and the pro-U.S. dictatorships in South America. Nicaragua has determinedly supported the struggle for the liberation of the nations in the Caribbean, Central American and Latin America against the intervention by U.S. imperialism and for independence and social progress. Nicaragua has also taken the side of the nations struggling against the threats and intervention by Beijing expansionism.

Nicaragua has attached importance to strengthening its friendship with neighboring countries and tightening its relations with the socialist countries, with Cuba, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the spirit of firmly protecting its national independence and firmly maintaining the state government, Nicaragua is pursuing a foreign policy based on principle and flexibility with a view toward limiting the factors impeding the development of the revolution to the lowest possible level and achieving the most favorable conditions possible for protecting and rebuilding the country. Toward this end, Nicaragua has developed economic cooperation with many countries, including the capitalist countries of western Europe and North America, and world economic organizations.

Nicaragua is the first country on the South American continent in which the revolution has won victory following a process of long struggle, of armed struggle coordinated with political struggle, of struggle in the cities, in the countryside and the mountains culminating in a general uprising throughout the country and the seizure of political power for the people. The Sandino National Liberation Front has brandished the banner of anti-imperialist patriotism and put together an extremely broad front encompassing even bourgeois elements, religious elements and patriotic figures of every political tendency, a front based on the forces of manual workers, farmers and students. The leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution, seizing the opportunity for revolution, an opportunity that arose when the enemy was most isolated and weakest, mobilized all the people to stage an uprising and win political power. The Nicaraguan revolution broke out amidst the tremendous influence being exerted by the world socialist system and the Cuban revolution upon Central America and the Caribbean and, in particular, in a situation in which the U.S. imperialists are confused, on the defensive and weakening following their defeat in Vietnam. As a result, the Nicaraguan revolution has received broad international support.

These are the basic factors that helped to create the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Nicaragua is a small country with a small population, but its revolutionary stature truly goes beyond the framework of one country. By means of its brilliant victory, Nicaragua has helped to enrich the revolutionary experience of the world, especially in Latin America, a place where the line and methods of the revolution are being given more and more attention by many persons.

The Nicaraguan revolution once again verifies the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents, even though it is a country that was once considered the backyard of the U.S. imperialists. Following the Cuban revolution, the Nicaraguan revolution proves the greatest truth of our times, that national independence is always closely linked to socialism. The heroic struggle by the people of Nicaragua proves that no reactionary power can impede the historic march of this truth, be it the U.S. imperialists or the great nation expansionism of China. We still remember what the U.S. president 21 years ago, Eisenhower, said when the Cuban revolution achieved success: because we were taken by surprise, the United States did not have time to intervene in order to prevent it. He said that, following Cuba, the United States would not permit communism (meaning revolutionary movements) to achieve success anywhere else on the American continent. However, today, in Latin America, not only is the Cuban revolution becoming increasingly strong and exerting a tremendous influence, but two other countries have carried out successful revolutions as well. They are Grenada and Nicaragua. In particular, Nicaragua waged a long and arduous struggle and the United States, which resorted to every possible maneuver, was unable to prevent the total victory of Nicaragua. Clearly, the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution is consistent with the trend of our times.

Nicaragua is now continuing to complete the democratic revolution. The leaders of Nicaragua have often stated that they will make the Sandino National Liberation Front the political party of the working class and advance the country to socialism. Of course, as it travels the course it has selected, Nicaragua will have to contend with many difficulties caused by enemies at home and abroad, including the political and ideological difficulties of a society long dominated by neo-colonialism.

The Vietnamese have sympathized with and supported the Nicaraguan revolution since its inception. Our Nicaraguan friends greatly value the experience of the Vietnamese revolution. This is the foundation for establishing friendship and revolutionary solidarity between the peoples of the two countries. This closeness was clearly manifested in the historic visit by Premier Pham Van Dong to Nicaragua only 55 days after the revolution won victory. The Vietnamese are extremely happy over the great victory of the Nicaraguan people and have confidence in the bright future of the Nicaraguan revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the war of liberation, nearly 50,000 persons died, more than 100,000 persons were wounded, 50,000 children were orphaned and 230,000 homes were destroyed; all industrial and agricultural production installations were heavily damaged; debt to foreign countries stood at 1.1 billion dollars while foreign currency reserves amounted to only 3.5 million dollars; unemployment and inflation were serious. In December 1972, an earthquake killed 14,000 persons and left some 200,000 persons homeless; 60 percent of the capital Managua was destroyed.
2. The Sandino National Liberation Front is considered the party in political power. The leadership committee of the front consists of nine members. As regards political power, there is the council leading the government in rebuilding the country, which originally consisted of five members. This is the highest executive body. Besides it, there is a cabinet consisting of 18 ministers. Recently, the State Council was enlarged to include 47 members and is now a legislative body in nature. In addition, a United Patriotic Front has been established to widely unite every strata of the people for the purpose of rebuilding the country.

THE REACTIONARY, ANTI-MARXIST VIEWPOINT OF MAOISM ON PARTY BUILDING

Hanoi TAP CHI LONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 80
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[Article by Le Xuan Dam]

[Text] Whereas, as everyone knows, Maoism itself is not a perfect, consistent system governed by strict logic, the same holds true with regard to Maoist theory on the party.

The entire "theory" and practical work in party building of Mao were designed only to achieve the objectives of building a party based on his ideology, establishing his absolute rule over the party and making the party a tool supporting his scheme to rule Chinese society and carry out the scheme of expansionism and big country hegemony of Mao and his gang of supporters.

Mao distorted and denied every principle on party building, every standard regarding organization, every principle of the life of a new style party of the working class.

We know that the nature of the party is a basic principle in the Marxist-Leninist theory on the party of the working class. To establishing the working class nature of the party, it is first of all necessary to correctly and fully establish the historic role of the working class. This is the most important foundation of the revolution, it determines, above everything else, the correctness of the line and methods of the revolution.

Confirming the role of the working class as the leader, confirming the stand of the party as the stand of the working class and clearly distinguishing between the stand of the party and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois stand are very important matters to a party whose members primarily come from farmer and petty bourgeois backgrounds. It is regarding this basic matter that the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism totally differ.

In history, a class only becomes the class leading a revolution when it represents the new, most progressive mode of production consistent with the objective laws of development of the society of man. Closely linked to heavy industry and itself a product of heavy industry, the working class,

which represents the new mode of production, is not only capable of "digging the grave of capitalism," but is also the social force capable of transforming the old society, building the new society, civilized communist society. It is this that determines the historic mission of the working class and its role in leading the revolution in our times.

A genuine Marxist-Leninist party must first correctly establish the work class nature of the party.

Pretending to be Marxist-Leninist, Maoism, although it talks about the leadership role of the working class, actually denies the working class nature of the party because, in reality, it denies the historic mission, the role of leading the revolution of the working class and absolutizes the role of farmers.

Maoism analyzes the classes not on the basis of examining the social system that gave birth to the classes, analyzing the position of one class in the socio-economic system and analyzing the position of every class with regard to the objective development of history, but divides the classes and establishes their roles on the basis of which are rich and which are poor. On this basis, Maoism considers the proletariat to consist of the poor and maintains that farmers are the poorest and, therefore, the most revolutionary of classes; poor farmers were made the class basis in building the party and building the corps of cadres.

Of course, in a society such as China's, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, farmers are a large force of the revolution. However, only the working class, through its vanguard party which is armed with Marxism-Leninism and which brandishes the banner of national independence and socialism, can tap the strength of the large force of farmers and establish the alliance of workers and farmers as the pillar of the revolution. And, the class of farmers can only display its revolutionary capabilities under the leadership of the working class.

Absolutizing the role played by farmers is not only a mistake in theory, but is also the intention, a need of Maoism. Maoism is based upon farmers and has farmers as the social base of the party, of the system not because it is based on the interest of farmers, but because it sees in farmers, especially poor farmers, a large force that would readily accept the demagogic policy of Mao; Mao could create blind confidence on the part of this force and provoke anarchy in order to struggle for power.

The model persons required by Mao were persons loyal to the thinking of Mao Zedong, loyal to him personally and to his line, persons who blindly followed his orders and thoroughly executed them whether they understood them or not, persons who needed no knowledge because, according to Mao, much knowledge easily gives rise to "dogmatism" or "revisionism." He only required a corps

of party members consisting of "devout followers," he selected this party from among farmers.

After Mao died, the Maoist clique within Beijing ruling circles turned in an extremely reactionary, pragmatic direction in their organizational line: "a black cat is as good as a white cat as long as it catches rats." Anyone who sympathizes with this reactionary line and supports the "four modernizations," regardless of their class and personal history, is considered good by them and recruited into their organization.

It is over the fundamental matter of the nature of the party that Maoism revealed the true nature of the party being built by it.

The political party of the working class is the product of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement. A genuine Marxist-Leninist party always has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation and the compass of its actions. Marxism-Leninism is the ideological weapon, the theory of the working class, is a vivid manifestation of the stand and viewpoint of the working class. The political party of the working class can only fulfill its role as the vanguard unit of the working class in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism if the activities of the party are guided by a single revolutionary and scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism. Lenin pointed out: "Only a party that has a vanguard theory to guide it can fulfill the role of the vanguard soldier." (1)

Being loyal to Marxism-Leninism and correctly and creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the revolution in each country are the standards of foremost importance in establishing the working class nature of a party.

The party of Maoism is not a Marxist-Leninist party because it has the ideology of Mao Zedong, an anti-Marxist-Leninist ideology, as its ideological foundation.

Whether a party takes Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation or not is primarily reflected in the line, policy, strategy and tactics of the party. What kind of party is the political party of the working class? This, as Lenin pointed out, "depends not only upon the party consisting of workers, but also upon who leads it and upon the nature of the actions and the political strategy of the party. Only the last factors show us whether or not this party is a true political party of the proletariat." (2)

In their line, Mao Zedong and the followers of Mao revised all the principles of Marxism-Leninism on scientific socialism. They established a social model of "socialism" and a path to "communism" different from Marx and Lenin, the path of the people's commune. Considering the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with labor to be a part of "bourgeois" jurisprudence

and in order to "restore capitalism," they implemented a system of solidarity based on averages within the masses, a system that gives no regard to the quantity and quality of labor.

With no regard for the objective laws of the development of society, they relied upon a number of available domestic natural resources and their large population, employed super economic compulsion camouflaged under the slogan "three hard years and then happiness forever," reduced every material and cultural need of the people and exploited the surplus labor of several hundred million citizens in order to bring about a "great leap forward" in a vain attempt to catch up to and surpass a number of capitalist countries and advance to communism before the Soviet Union!

Mao's style of socialism is similar in many ways to a number of socialist ideological trends that preceded Marx, such as "feudal and petty bourgeois socialism"; at the same time, it is very similar to the anarchistic viewpoints called "barracks communism" by Marx.

It is clear that, to Mao, the principal value of socialism was not in transforming the old society in a fundamental manner or building the new society on the basis of the universal laws revealed by Marx and Lenin in order to bring an increasingly beautiful life to the working people, but in the fact that Mao could use the special attraction of socialism upon the masses to carry out his schemes of great nation expansionism and big country hegemony.

Today, the successors of Mao, giving no regard whatsoever to the basic interests of the people of China, are relying upon imperialism to promote the "four modernizations," the center of which is the modernization of the military in a vain attempt to make China the number one super power in the world by the end of this century.

In foreign policy, Mao Zedong and his followers have pursued a counter-revolutionary global strategy and aligned with imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, and every other reactionary power to insanely oppose Marxism-Leninism, oppose peace, national independence and socialism, provoke war and scheme to become the rulers of the world.

Clearly, the party of Maoism bears the name communist, but its domestic and foreign lines are completely contrary to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and go against the interests of the working people of China and the interests of the world revolutionary movement.

A genuine Marxist-Leninist party is always a tightly structured organization built upon the system of democratic centralism. This is the fundamental organizational principle of the party. The system of democratic centralism is the source of the party's strength. It causes the entire party to unite in will and action, to be strictly disciplined and to have a tightly structured organization; at the same time, it still allows each party

member to display a high degree of initiative and creativity. In broadening democracy and strengthening centralism, one important point is the need to comply with the principle of collective leadership. Collective leadership insures that each decision of the party is based on the opinions and experiences of the entire party and the masses, taps the initiative and creativity of the party and strengthens the unanimity within the party.

Marxism has employed this principle in a pragmatic and opportunistic manner, making it a tool for achieving personal political ambitions. Whenever someone wants to overthrow the leadership and seize power within the party, he denies the need for centralism, adopts the theory of "conditional" support and uses democracy to practice demagoguery and draw cadres and party members into struggles not based on principles. Conversely, when it is necessary to consolidate their ruling position, they emphasize the need for centralism, demand blind obedience regardless of whether what they are doing is right or wrong and take away every democratic right of party members and the party organization.

The party of Maoism has replaced the principle of collective leadership with worship of the individual, with emphasizing the power of the individual; moreover, it has established a relationship between the party and the leader that is totally contrary to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Mao Zedong placed himself above the party. He considered the position of the leader to be the position of a king, which included having heirs to the throne.

Within the party, worship of the individual was elevated to the position of a cult. Mao was considered a living god and was placed above the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau, above the entire party. Mao was considered a person who never made a mistake, a person whose every word was considered to be a truth, a directive to be carried out by the entire party.

Directly linked to this worship of the individual was dictatorship by the individual within the Chinese Communist Party, which is a violation of the most elementary standards of party life. All power was held by Mao and his faction. Every line, position and policy and even cadre organizational work were decided by him. The delegates attending party congresses were secretly appointed by Mao and his faction, not elected by secret ballot by the entire party. He totally eliminated democracy within the party. Once, however, he did implement broad "democracy" for the "masses." On the pretext that the masses should be allowed to make their voices heard, he used the Red Guard to exert the pressure needed to bring down those who opposed him, thereby destroying the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. After Mao's death, those who were in power within the party restored the guideline "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred voices be heard" and the "four greats" guideline (great openness, great freedom, great self-expression and great debate). They did this with a

particular scheme in mind: to practice demagoguery and use the voices of others to attack their opponents.

However, when cadres and party members as well as the masses spoke their minds concerning the party, the system and so forth, they immediately and forthrightly suppressed them and began looking for ways to abandon the "four greats" recorded in the Constitution.

It is clear that democracy within the Mao style party is nothing more than a means by which those in power can achieve personal objectives, and imposing their absolute power upon the party, upon society is the nature of those who adhere to the expansionism and big power hegemony of Beijing.

Solidarity is the source of strength of a Marxist-Leninist party. The solidarity of the party is a basic prerequisite to uniting all the people. The party must always maintain its solidarity as though it were the apple of its eye.

This solidarity is solidarity based on principle. The foundation of this solidarity is a high degree of unanimity concerning ideology and strong organizational unity. As Lenin taught: "We cannot forget that without a common ideological basis, there can be no unity."⁽³⁾ The solidarity within the party must be based on a correct party platform. "Marx frequently said that no theoretician or other person engaged in practical work of the social democratic party can deny the tremendous importance of a platform in the united and continuous activities of a political party."⁽⁴⁾

The party of Maoism has never done this. Mao Zedong put forth the theories of "one divided into two" and "a political party is a political society" in order to lay the basis for his arguments that "outside the party, there is a party, within the party, there are factions" and "the bourgeoisie is in the party itself" and then pin the label of "continuing to wage the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat" on factional activities and struggles to eliminate opponents and seize power within the party.

He abolished the line of distinction between the party and society, between the vanguard unit and the remaining component of the class.

Although the party is a part of society, life in society has an impact within the party, including a negative impact sometimes; however, only weak, abnormal party members are affected by the impact of these negative phenomena. If the party was affected by every negative impact of society, it would no longer be the vanguard unit of the working class, no longer be the organization that firmly grasps the objective laws of the development of society, no longer be the force leading every field of social life, leading society forward.

It is even more necessary that the party not be the purest mirror of everything in society, as Mao said it should be, maintaining that as long as the bourgeoisie remains in society, it will also remain within the party, that the antagonism within the party is the same as the antagonism in society, namely, the antagonism between capitalism and the proletariat.

This is nothing more than a distortion for a specific purpose.

The antagonism within a genuine revolutionary party of the working class is the antagonism between the old and the new, the progressive and the backward, the primary origin of which is the forging and enlightenment of cadres and party members. The basic method for resolving this antagonism is practicing self-criticism and criticism in conjunction with constantly raising the qualifications of cadres and party members.

The "theories" of "one divided into two," "a political party is a political society" and so forth of Maoism are designed to defend the struggles among the various camps and suppressing the opponents of Mao by means of denunciation, persecution and trampling upon the spirit and body of persons, including imprisonment and execution.

As a result of these theories, the people of China have, over the past decade and more, seen many "bourgeois headquarters" within the party. Mao Zedong and Lin Biao pinned the label "bourgeois" on Liu Shaoqi; in turn, Lin Biao was considered bourgeois and toppled. Deng Xiaoping, who was called "a vicious dog, a lackey of the bourgeoisie," has now suddenly become the most powerful person in Trung Nam Hai Palace. And, since they were toppled, the "gang of four" has been considered bourgeois.

The present leadership clique, ambitious to quickly make China a world super power in order to carry out expansionism and big country hegemony and finding it necessary to win the confidence of the imperialists in order to rely upon them and to deceive the people of China who have lived for decades in chaos as a result of the pervasive struggles among the various factions within ruling circles, has loudly appealed for "stability," "solidarity" and "unity" in order to carry out the "four modernizations."

However, they cannot achieve "stability," "solidarity" and "unity" because struggling for power and eliminating one another are the essence of the backbone of Maoism, namely, expansionism and big power hegemony. This is proven by the fact that mutual eliminations from the central to the local levels, from within the party to the state apparatus and the army have occurred and are continuing to occur.

The viewpoint concerning the role played by the masses in history is an integral part of Marxist-Leninist historical materialism. This viewpoint holds that the masses create history and that the revolution is the under-

taking of the masses, not the undertaking of any one heroic individual. In particular, it is even more necessary that the socialist revolution, which is a totally new undertaking, be the undertaking of the masses. Lenin frequently taught us: "The initiative and creativity of the masses, these are the basic factors of the new society... Socialism cannot be the result of orders handed down from above... Living, creative socialism is the undertaking of the masses themselves."(5)

The political party of the working class must consider maintaining close relations with the masses, relying upon the masses, to be a basic principle in building the new style party of the working class.

The relationship between the party and the masses is manifested first in the lines, positions and policies of the party. The party has no other objective than to serve the class, serve the people. The party is the organization that voluntarily struggles for the liberation of the nation, the liberation of the working class and laboring people; therefore, the party must be close to the masses and must rally the masses around itself. And, the masses can only support and be close to the party when the party has a correct line and truly serves the interests of the nation, the interests of the working class.

The party of Maoism can never do this because the line of the party is not based on the interests of the working class and laboring people of China, but only designed to achieve the goals of expansionism and big country hegemony of the reactionary clique within Beijing ruling circles.

On the other hand, the relationship between the party and the masses must be manifested in upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the management of every field of social life, because this reflects the nature of the new system, the system which the party is leading the masses in building. In the socialist system and under the leadership of the party, the working class and laboring people, for the first time in history, play the role of the persons who consciously create history and begin to follow the broad path to the pinnacle of intelligence and culture and the full development of their dignity.

In contrast to the viewpoint mentioned above, Mao Zedong absolutized the role of the individual in history. He always considered himself to be "the Red sun," the "saviour of the people." The masses were only considered a crowd of one color who blindly and unconditionally obeyed their "great leader." "A hundred heroes have but one face." The theoretical model here in the age of Mao Zedong was a person who was loyal to Mao, who only knew how to sing the praises of Mao, who followed the directives of Mao and volunteered to "serve as a nail that never rusts, as a soldier (pawn) of Maoism." Such persons do not have the natural individuality and feelings of normal persons. Maoism denied the dignity of man. And, in the barracks style socialist system of Mao Zedong, there is no room for man as the creator of history, as the master of the country, as the master of his own life.

Through this line totally contrary to the interests of the working class and laboring people of China and this concept of an attitude toward war together with the bureaucratic, militaristic apparatus built by Maoism in China and the tens of millions of persons massacred in the "proletarian cultural revolution," the essence of the "relationship between the party and the masses" of Maoism has been clearly revealed.

Maoism only establishes "relations with the masses" and turns its hand to mobilizing the masses when it is necessary to use the masses as the base, as the tool for struggling to overthrow opponents of Mao, even overthrow leaders of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat apparatus to protect the position of Mao and his followers. Aside from this objective, Maoism maintains no other relations with the masses that are in the spirit of the relations that a revolutionary party must have.

Self-criticism and criticism are laws of the development of the party, are a basic way to strengthen the solidarity and oneness of mind within the party.

The party is a bloc that is united politically, ideologically and organizationally; however, this does not mean that there are no antagonisms within the party. In fact, antagonisms appear regularly within the party and must be resolved on a regular basis. As mentioned above, there are the antagonisms between the old and the new, the progressive and the backward, between proletarian thinking and the influences of non-proletarian thinking, which arise as a result of the lack of uniformity in the qualifications of cadres and party members and in the different amounts of time it takes to recognize changes in the situation and task and recognize problems raised by the realities of the revolution that must be resolved by the party.

The basic method for resolving these antagonisms within the party is to practice self-criticism and criticism in conjunction with constantly improving the qualifications of cadres and party members. Self-criticism and criticism not only have the purpose to discover strengths and weaknesses, but also to raise the level of understanding and develop intelligence so that the thinking of cadres and party members keeps pace with the objective development of the revolution.

On this basis, Lenin stated: "The attitude of a political party toward its mistakes is one of the most important and surest standards for determining whether or not the party is serious and is truly fulfilling its obligation toward its class and toward the working masses." (6)

Self-criticism and criticism are laws governing the development of a Marxist-Leninist party. They are extremely revolutionary and scientific in content. Self-criticism and criticism within the party must be based on

the principles, viewpoints, lines and policies of the party. Only in this way can the lines and policies of the party be deeply understood, correctly implemented and constantly supplemented through practice.

This has never been the case with the so called "criticism and self-criticism" of Maoism.

The "criticism of Maoism does not have the purpose of distinguishing right from wrong, developing upon strengths, overcoming weaknesses, deepening understanding and causing both man and his work to improve. Through such styles of "criticism" as "if you know nothing, say nothing; once you have begun to speak, say everything; the person who speaks commits no crime, the person who listens should take his words as a warning...", Mao Zedong intended to create disharmony within the party, divide factions and cause chaos within the party so that he could, in the end, easily set one group against another for the purpose of carrying out purges and toppling leaders. He did this under a compassionate label: "Treat the illness and save the person's life."

According to the style of self-criticism practiced by Maoism, everyone must use the thinking of Mao Zedong as the standard of comparison. In the end, everyone sees that he has made a mistake, committed a crime, with the greatest crime being not adhering to the thinking of Mao Zedong, not following Mao's teachings; in the end, a person denies himself, has no trust in himself and trusts no one other than Mao. This is because Maoism is a reactionary ideology oriented toward everything that is backward, an ideology that can only use anti-scientific methods to create blind confidence and turn party members, cadres and the people into tools for achieving the political ambitions of Mao.

Within the Maoist party, self-criticism is binding upon everyone; Mao, however, had a special privilege and did not practice self-criticism. Within that party, cadres and party members frequently had to "practice self-examination" and "repent" while the leader was allowed to stand "outside the rules."

After Mao's death, the new leadership committee of China took a number of steps, such as commuting the prison sentences of persons convicted because of revenge, false evidence or mistakes, restoring veteran cadres and assigning a number of veteran cadres to the Political Bureau and the agencies of the party and state.

They are re-explaining a number of the arguments of Maoism, such as the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the relationship between politics and the economy, between politics and technology and restoring the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the Women's Union. They have even re-evaluated Mao's "cultural revolution" and so forth.

Thus, have the disciples of Mao in Beijing begun to practice self-criticism and criticism in exact accordance with the viewpoint of a Marxist-Leninist and "de-Maoized" party? No!

Their "self-criticism and criticism" are only designed to serve their sinister intentions. They have not severed themselves from the ideology of Mao, have not abandoned the strategic objective of Maoism, but are only looking for more effective tactics and tricks for achieving the essence of Maoism, that is, expansionism and big country hegemony, in a pragmatic and more reactionary manner.

The realities of the situation have forced them to "revise" Maoism to be consistent with their positions and measures at this time. In addition to their common scheme of seeking "stability" in order to carry out the "four modernizations," there are also the individual schemes of the persons within the reactionary clique in Beijing of assembling the forces to create a faction, generating trust and confidence in the individual and, at the same time, reducing the prestige of their opponents.

All of the facts presented above show that the viewpoints and theory concerning the party as well as the practical activities in building the party of Maoism are totally reactionary and anti-Marxist.

For this reason, Maoism has caused the Chinese Communist Party--a party that led the Chinese people in victoriously struggling for the goals of democracy and making the transition to socialism with initial successes--to become deviant.

In the face of the painful realities of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the Maoist party ever since the so called "great proletarian cultural revolution," the cadres and party members as well as the people of China have been and are re-evaluating the thinking of Mao Zedong, Mao's brand of socialism, Mao's brand of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Mao's brand of party.

This a good sign because it shows that the thinkings that are anti-Marxist-Leninist and against the interests of the people cannot forever deceive the people of China, a people who have a long history of struggle.

The bankruptcy of the entirety of Maoism as well as its reactionary and anti-Marxist viewpoints and theory concerning the party is unavoidable.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 5, p 436.

2. Ibid., 1969, Volume 31, p 312.
3. Ibid., 1962, Volume 5, p 268.
4. Ibid., Volume 4, p 287.
5. Ibid., 1963, Volume 26, p 327.
6. Ibid., 1969, Volume 31, p 63.

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