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No. 11, 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.

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## BUILDING A CITY WORTHY OF BEARING THE NAME OF THE GREAT PRESIDENT HO

BK190521 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100, 0400 GMT 17, 18 Oct 80

[Address by comrade Le Duan at the second congress of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization on 15 October 1980, published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 1-12; Hanoi Domestic Service version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 206, 22 Oct 80, pp K4-K14]

[Text] Dear comrades delegates: On behalf of the party Central Committee, I cordially extend the most heartfelt greetings of the party Central Committee to the second Ho Chi Minh City party organization congress, and through the comrade delegates, to all party members and compatriots of all strata in the city.

Our congress is being held 5 years after the total liberation of Saigon and the South. The date 30 April 1975 has entered the history of our country forever as a golden landmark, marking the absolute end of colonialist rule and the opening up of a new era in our fatherland--an era in which Vietnam has achieved total independence and unification and is advancing along the socialist path.

Looking back from this landmark over the road we have travelled, we feel very proud of the great contributions made by Saigon-Gia Dinh to our nation's extremely heroic revolutionary struggle which was full of hardships and sacrifices. Over the past 100 years, Saigon-Gia Dinh has always stood at the forefront of the national liberation struggle. It was known for the armed uprisings of Truong Dinh and Nguyen Trung Truc's forces, the uprising of the 18 betel planting hamlets in the late 19th Century and then the many national democratic movements early this century.

When the party was founded, Saigon-Gia Dinh had the honor of being the first headquarters of the party Central Committee. Led by the party, the revolutionary flame flared up, rising up ever higher and spreading more widely.

During the period of the Indochinese Democratic Front, a congress was held in Saigon, and word of this congress quickly spread throughout the country. The autumn of 1945 witnessed the 25 August Saigon uprising which erupted with earthshaking clamor and which, in coordination with the uprisings of Hanoi and Hue as well as other localities, completely restored the helm of the administration into the people's hands.

When the French colonialists were back for another war, Saigon, firmly living up to its vow for independence, rose up to fire the first shots, opening up the resistance of the Nam Bo compatriots.

On 19 March 1950, when the U.S. imperialists first interfered in Vietnam, the Saigon compatriots dealt an appropriate pre-emptive blow to them. During the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, Saigon-Gia Dinh fought staunchly. It greatly contributed to the "Year of the Monkey" spring victory and joined with the compatriots nationwide in winning the last battle in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, gloriously winding up the most heroic resistance of the nation.

The heroic Vietnamese people's glowing combat exploits-studded flower garden will be eternally scented with the many velvet colored flowers of Saigon-Gia Dinh, Ba Son, Di An, Khanh Hoi, Nha Be, Hoc Mon, Nha Be, Hoc Mon Ba Diem, Cho Dem, Vuon Thom, Bung Sat, An Phu Dong, "Cu Chi, the steel-like land" and so forth.

The entire country is proud of those exemplary sons of Saigon-Gia Dinh during the two wars of resistance such as (L Van Tam), (Tran Van On), (Thai Van Lung), Nguyen Van Trio, (Tran Van Dang), (Le Thi Rieng), (Tran Van Kieu), (Tran Quang Cu), Thich Quang Duc, Quach Thi Trang, (Pham Van Hai), (Pham Van Coi) and the many other fallen heroes who have burnished the glorious tradition of the fatherland's brass fortress.

The party Central Committee highly appraises the heroic struggle and the outstanding contributions made by the party organization and the compatriots of Saigon-Gia Dinh to the national democratic revolution.

Because of its unswerving loyalty and dauntlessness, despite the fact that it was the center of the colonialists' stronghold, and because all of its battles were fought with the blood and the minds and energy of the soldiers and compatriots from all parts of the fatherland, Saigon-Gia Dinh has won the confidence and love of our people throughout the country. Since liberation, entering the stage of socialist transformation together with the South to build a new life, Saigon-Gia Dinh--now named after venerated and beloved Uncle Ho--has undergone significant changes in the offensive tempo of our people in the new stage.

Because it was a former center of the war and the ruling machine of colonialism, old and new, and its lackey puppet regime, post-war production and the life of the people of various strata in the city were seriously upset. However, thanks to the efforts of the local party organization and people, the city has undergone significant changes during the past 5 years. By carrying out socialist transformation on a large scale, the city has been able to eliminate bourgeois traders, basically transform the bourgeois industrialists and put a large number of artisan industrial and handicraft laborers to work under various forms of cooperativization.

Along with initially transforming the small merchants, the city has established a network of state-operated trade, consumer and marketing cooperatives and formed an economy consisting of five sectors, of which the socialist economic sector is constantly growing. Some progressive enterprises have markedly developed the guiding role of the state-run economy.

In the suburbs, agricultural transformation has achieved initial results in leading peasants onto the road of collective production. On the production front, some industrial and agricultural sectors have restored, developed and reorganized production. Communications and transportation, handicraft and the artisan industry have been strongly promoted. The export goods industry has been given due attention. In the rural area, multicropping, the reclamation of fallow land and the opening of virgin land have been stepped up. The production of grain crops, industrial plants and animal husbandry has begun to develop. This has enabled the city to find employment for a fairly large number of jobless persons.

Education, public health, culture, social welfare, maternity care, child rearing and so forth have developed relatively widely, contributing to meeting the cultural needs of the people and stabilizing their life. Socialist culture has begun to play a guiding role in the spiritual life of the laboring masses, thereby making a notable contribution to cultivating the way of thinking, sentiments and ethics of the new socialist man and to the struggle to abolish the vestiges of the reactionary colonialist culture.

Examples of good people and good deeds typical of the new socialist man and new socialist lifestyle have emerged in ever larger numbers among the people of all strata. Since liberation, many revolutionary movements of the masses have been launched, motivating various localities to fulfill their political tasks. The revolutionary administration at the grassroots level has been built and consolidated and has recently shown notable maturity. Thanks to this, the city as a whole has been able to firmly maintain political security and social order despite its many difficulties and even in tense and complex situations. At the same time, it has actively contributed to consolidating national defense and has joined the southern provinces in satisfactorily playing the role of the great rear area of the entire country and fulfilling the international duty.

These initial achievements were the results of the untiring and ceaseless efforts made by the Ho Chi Minh City party organization in implementing the line and policies of the party Central Committee and government, especially in translating the line and policies of the higher echelons into targets to be attained by the grassroots level and into revolutionary actions by the large masses of people.

Many progressive models have emerged in industry and agriculture and in various enterprises, wards and villages, such as the Caric, Sivico and Simco enterprises; the No 13, Phong Phu, Binh Minh and Thanh Cong textile factories; the fifth ward in Binh Thanh precinct, the 20th ward in the first precinct, the 10th ward in the third precinct, the first ward in Tan Binh precinct, and the third ward in the fifth precinct; Tan Thoi Hiep village in Hoc Mon District, Tam Binh village in Thu Duc District, An Lac village in Binh Chan District, Tan Thong Noi village in Cu Chi District, Binh Khanh village in Duyen Hai District, and so forth.

The achievements recorded by these typical units clearly show that in the present situation where difficulties exist in many fields, if we know how to develop the creative energy of the grassroots level and enhance the right to collective mastery of the masses, it is totally possible to find the correct orientations for organizing labor, developing production and improving technology to increase productivity, production volume and the workers' income; for satisfactorily organizing distribution to gradually improve the workers' life; and at the same time, for satisfactorily ensuring labor safety, political security, social order and national defense.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, I warmly commend the city party organization for the achievements already recorded. I particularly praise the great efforts and outstanding successes of the progressive models in the hope that these good seeds will be multiplied manyfold in all spheres of activity in order to expand and develop the city's revolutionary movement and effectively overcome weaknesses and shortcomings, so that more valuable contributions will be made to the revolutionary cause of the entire country.

Dear comrades, after 30 years of war, our people's only desire now is to fully concentrate on healing the wounds of war, transforming and developing the economy and culture in accordance with the principles of socialism, building a new life and defending the country and, at the same time, to expand our relations of peace, friendship and cooperation with other nations in the world. But the reactionary Beijing clique, in pursuit of its big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, is blatantly carrying out a hostile policy towards Vietnam. They unleashed their henchmen--the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique--in attacks on the southwestern part of Vietnam and later brazenly used 600,000 troops in aggression against the entire northern frontier of our country.

Though suffering bitter setbacks at the hands of our people, the reactionary Chinese ruling circles have not abandoned their aggressive schemes against our country. They are allying themselves with imperialism, especially U.S. and Japanese imperialism, and drawing the worst reactionary forces into opposition to the Vietnamese revolution and the revolutions of our two fraternal neighbors on the Indochinese peninsula. They are bent on undermining our people's efforts for socialist construction by all means--political, military, economic and diplomatic--in the hope of weakening and eventually annexing our country and the rest of Indochina and using it as a springboard for aggression against all of Southeast Asia.

This is why our country, though living in peace, must guard against a possible war. We must be constantly on guard against the evil schemes and brutal nature of the ruling clique at Zhongnanhai. Yet, we believe more strongly than ever before that with the might of our people and army, the Vietnam-Lao-Kampuchea militant alliance, the all-round assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, and the support of all peace and justice-loving peoples, our people are sufficiently strong to firmly defend the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The political task of our country's revolution at present is to successfully carry out the struggle for the victory of socialism over capitalism, abolish the exploitation of man by man and develop our small-scale production into large-scale socialist production. At the same time, we must fulfill our historic mission to resolutely struggle to foil all the schemes of aggression and sabotage by the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership and firmly preserve the revolutionary gains which our people have achieved at the cost of their own blood.

In the immediate future, while intensifying national defense and putting a part of the country in combat readiness, we must mobilize to a high degree the capabilities and efforts of the whole country, in all branches of activities and at all levels, to stabilize and develop the economy, gradually normalize and improve the people's life, and at the same time prepare for a vigorous future advance to successfully build socialism.

While advancing directly from small-scale to large-scale socialist production--a new and difficult historic task--we must firmly grasp the fundamental characteristics of the situation in our country so as to correctly solve a series of problems of strategic significance as expounded in the general line and the economic policy adopted at the fourth party congress. According to this line, our country will in the future have generally three big industrial cities, and a number of industrial complexes will take shape. A number of provinces will be built into industrial-agricultural units with some 400 districts to be made agroindustrial units.

Ho Chi Minh City is one of these three big cities. War and neocolonialism left the city with grave consequences: an economy completely dependent on U.S. aid; an industry--mainly a processing one--dependent on imported materials; a great part of the population dependent on war and aid with a living standard beyond the means of domestic production; and a culture giving rise to many social evils and leaving long-term bad effects.

Yet history has also provided the city with great advantages. The city used to be the industrial heart of the U.S.-puppet regime. Its fixed assets constitute a fifth of that of the whole country, and its industrial output value accounts for a fourth of the gross national industrial output. The capability to produce consumer and export goods is better here than in other places. A number of industrial establishments, especially processing establishments, are relatively well equipped with modern machinery. There is a large number of skilled workers and artisans capable of producing diverse goods, and the professional qualifications of technicians and managers are relatively high.

The city has 120,000 hectares of arable land and many forests and rivers. Close to the sea, it is situated in a fertile region bordering the Mekong River Delta, eastern Nam Bo and the Central Highland. The city is also an important communications junction connecting various areas of the country and many other countries.

With these advantages, Ho Chi Minh City must and does have all the necessary conditions to become a great industrial center with such key industries as ship building, agricultural engineering, fishing and forestry engineering, consumer goods, food processing and so forth. It must also become a cultural, scientific and technical center, and a center for exchanges with foreign countries.



The city's economic tasks in the next 5 years consist of intensively stabilizing the economy and the people's life; stepping up industrial, artisan and handicraft production by firmly controlling production capabilities, bringing into full play the capacities of the existing equipment and work force, paying attention to in-depth investments and gradually further equipping and expanding the necessary production establishments in order to constantly increase labor productivity; pushing agricultural production ahead to achieve the high productivity typical of the southern provinces; and building a stable belt of food and fresh vegetables for the city. It is also necessary to fully tap the capabilities of industry in order to expand the exploitation and processing of maritime products; combine the development of production forces with the establishment and consolidation of the new production relations; and strive to basically finish socialist transformation and rationally reorganize the various economic sectors while improving economic management in order to develop production and constantly increase labor productivity and economic results.

The city must continue to improve distribution and circulation. It must struggle to gain control over the bulk of goods produced by the local industrial, artisan industrial and handicraft sectors; strengthen its control over agricultural products to be used as raw materials for industry; struggle against speculation, smuggling and disruption of the market; intensify the collection of industrial-commercial taxes; increase revenue and reduce expenditures; practice thrift; continue to find employment for the jobless; and ensure a steady supply of staple goods for cadres, workers and civil servants of the state.

The city must bring its industrial strengths into play to support agriculture in the suburbs, the Mekong Delta provinces and other southern provinces. It must promote grain and food production and open industrial crop areas so as to ensure a steady supply of raw materials for industry, artisan industry and handicrafts.

In short, the city must closely link its industry with agriculture in the southern provinces, use industry to promote the development of agriculture and, on the other hand, use agriculture as the basis for the development of industry, especially those industrial sectors which rely on agriculture for raw materials.

Ho Chi Minh City can and must become one of the two largest exporter cities of the country. It must take advantage of all its forces and favorable conditions and bring into play all the initiatives and experience of its skilled workers, craftsmen patriotic businessmen and exporters so as to establish numerous trades producing export goods. It must study production organization and business methods more profoundly so as to create large quantities of major products of high quality that will win the trust of customers. It must fight against shoddy work and forgery. It must strive to use exports and imports to meet an important part of its own demands for technical supplies, raw materials, materials and spare parts for its industry, artisan industry and handicrafts.

The determination of the role of Ho Chi Minh City and the formulation of its immediate tasks as well as its guidelines for long-range economic development are not the exclusive task of the city's party organization and administration, nor are they related only to the role and responsibility of the party organization Executive Committee and the People's Committee of the city. These tasks are an important part of the plan for economic development and labor distribution on the nationwide scale. At the same time, they are closely linked with the policy of international division of labor and cooperation. For this reason, these tasks are also the responsibility of the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers.

All sectors at the central level must clearly realize the objective role of Ho Chi Minh City from the standpoint of common interests so as to join its party and people's committees in devising plans for the maximum exploitation of the city's economic potentials. This is aimed at supporting the cause of socialist industrialization in the country. On the other hand, the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee and People's Committee must also proceed from the national standpoint so as to coordinate the city's economic development efforts with the general plan for economic development throughout the country.

In the task of reorganizing and developing industrial production and improving economic management, we must proceed from the national standpoint and from our common interests in order to correctly handle the relations between Ho Chi Minh City and various production and management sectors at the central level, as well as the city's relations with other provinces, especially with regard to the division of management responsibilities and the division of labor and cooperation in production.

Dear comrades, along with the central task of transforming and developing the economy to build a large-scale socialist production system, we must wage a broad struggle to build a new regime, a new culture and a new type of man; firmly maintain political security; and consolidate the national defense. Our new regime is a socialist regime in which the laboring people have the right to collective mastery--a highly developed regime that will insure that man can master society, nature and his own self, or, in other words, a regime that will insure that man can shift from the realm of inevitability to the realm of freedom and thereby regain his genuine value.

The rhetoric of freedom and human rights as frequently used by the capitalist and imperialists is nothing but empty words; for a capitalist society can never insure the laboring people's mastery in all of the three aforesaid domains. Establishing the laboring people's right to collective mastery in all fields--political, economic, cultural and social--constitutes the final goal of our socialist cause. However, mastery is not only the goal but also the means and the motive of the socialist revolution in the first stage of the transitional period. After completing the national democratic revolution and embarking on the socialist revolution, we must immediately realize the laboring people's right to mastery in the political field at all level, especially at the grassroots level, and bring into play this mastery to effect revolutionary changes in the economic fields so as to reorganize production and improve the people's life.

To realize this right to mastery we must first of all adopt a correct viewpoint toward evaluating the masses in the areas formerly under the enemy's control. As we all know, to oppose and sabotage the revolution the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen corrupted virtually all the people under their control by all kinds of tricky and forcible measures and by all means, including the use of religious teachings. After smashing the enemy's ruling machinery, we must liberate the masses from all forms of ideological and spiritual bondage, draw them toward the light of the revolution and transform them from the enslaved and oppressed into masters and free people.

We must always guard against the schemes of the reactionary forces to oppose and sabotage the revolution. Nevertheless, only by truly insuring the masses' genuine right to mastery will we be able to detect and foil the schemes and acts of counterrevolutionary elements. At present, as our people are faced with heavy tasks and our country is still beset with many difficulties, it is all the more necessary for us to motivate the masses satisfactorily to realize the laboring people's right to collective mastery.

In industrial enterprises, workers must exercise mastery over their factories. As the vanguard class of the revolution and the main force of socialist industrialization, the workers must act as a spearhead in the struggle for the victory of socialism over capitalism, the struggle to do away with poverty and backwardness, and the struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. They must clearly display their revolutionary nature and ability at a time when the country is facing critical challenges. The voice and role of the working class and the trade unions must be truly respected by the party organizations and the administration; and they must be reflected in the plans for production, business and welfare of every enterprise, as well as in the plans for the transformation and construction of the city.

In the countryside, peasants must exercise mastery over production collectives and cooperatives. It is both necessary and more satisfactory to indoctrinate, educate and organize the peasants and actively create conditions for them to develop their patriotic tradition and their confidence in and closeness to the party so that they can make worthy contributions to agricultural cooperativization, socialist industrialization and national defense.

At the grassroots level, the communists must, together with the laboring people, exercise mastery over every city ward and every village so as to find the best measures for developing production and caring for the material and cultural life of the people to ensure that all able-bodied persons are employed, that all unsupported elderly or handicapped persons and orphans are taken care of, and that no one suffers from hunger, cold or privation. At the same time, they must always stand firm in the struggle against the enemy's maneuvers of sabotage in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields.

Our youths serve as the mainstay in socialist construction and the defense of the country and the city. The party organization must pay special attention to leading the youth union. Schools, society and families must closely coordinate with one another to manage and educate the city youths satisfactorily and must encourage them to live, struggle and forge themselves in accordance with the examples set by Ly Tu Trong, Tran Van On and Nguven Van Troi so that they can uphold the glorious tradition of Vietnamese youth in all spheres of activities as called for by the fatherland and the party.

The intellectuals constitute a valuable national asset. Their knowledge and talents must be highly appreciated. It is necessary to give them appropriate assistance in their professional pursuits as well as in their lives and to mobilize them for employment in research on economic plans and scientific and technical subjects, thus creating conditions for them to make better contributions to the scientific and technical revolution and to the building of a new culture and a new type of man.

During the national democratic revolution, the Vietnamese women organized themselves into a massive revolutionary force. In the socialist revolution, women play a very important role. It is necessary to educate, mobilize and organize them for participation in the three revolutions--exercising their right to mastery, achieving equality between man and woman, and carrying out social liberation and the liberation of woman.

For followers of the various faiths, our unswerving policy is to respect the freedom of religion and achieve unity between believers and nonbelievers in order to transform and develop the economy, promote production, organize a new life and firmly defend the fatherland. Our goal to fight for the independence of the nation and the happiness of the people is completely consistent with the profound aspirations of the religious masses, and, therefore, we believe that followers of the various religions will always share the same road with us in striving to achieve this lofty goal.

It is necessary to perfect the institutions of collective mastery at various levels, especially at the grassroots level; consolidate and enhance the quality of leadership of party organizations and party chapters; constantly consolidate and perfect the administrative machinery at all levels, especially at the level of city ward and village administration; and improve the organization and activities of mass organizations. Efforts must be made to improve the form and contents of meetings and other activities so as to make it practical and convenient for the masses to contribute their views about all problems related to their interests and right to mastery.



We must build a new culture and a new type of man. During their rule of more than a century in our country, the imperialists carried out an extremely perfidious cultural policy aimed at dividing and humiliating our nation, eroding our people's patriotism, trampling on the lofty Vietnamese moral values, generating admiration for and fear of imperialism, and giving rise to a class of people who love to adopt foreign ways and forget their own origin, who lead a parasitic and depraved life, who despise labor and who run after the basest and most selfish interests of individualism.

In the protracted struggle for national liberation, our city's compatriots have heightened revolutionary heroism. However, a number of the city's inhabitants have inevitably acquired the bad habits of the enemy's decadent culture. Over the past 5 years Ho Chi Minh City has scored many commendable achievements in its struggle to reform those who were victimized by the former regime, and in its patient efforts to build a new type of man in various strata, thereby creating the fundamental spiritual and cultural bases for a new way of life.

However, complexity still prevails in the city's struggle for cultural and ideological building. Along with the good things, good people and good deeds, which are increasing, bad things, vicious people and vestiges of the decadent culture still prevail in certain groups among the people.

Therefore, party committees and administrative echelons must always firmly grasp the cultural and ideological front, coordinate all forces and facilities to carry out formulated plans which are applicable to each objective and consistent with the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of all circles, age-groups and social classes. This can be done not only by education and propaganda, but also by various forms of mass cultural work and through the mass revolutionary movement in order to, on one hand, build new culture and a new type of man, and on the other continue to wipe out the vestiges of the old culture.

Ho Chi Minh City must develop its strength in terms of material facilities and the forces engaging in cultural work to better meet the needs for literary and artistic entertainment in order to bring culture and art into laboring hamlets, villages and the rural areas. It must create sports and health movements among the people in all remote places and in the city, and provide them with artistic performances, libraries, film shows and so forth. The supervisory task must be strengthened and the quality of mass cultural, literary and artistic movements relentlessly enhanced to create in them the nature of socialism and national characteristics which oppose the vestiges of the decadent and reactionary culture of neocolonialism.

Efforts must be concentrated on making the city bearing the name of President Ho Chi Minh and the capital city of Hanoi the worthy symbolic centers of the new culture of independent and Socialist Vietnam.

Through the implementation of the three revolutions, especially through the cultural revolution and by means of political and ideological activities in the party, in youth unions, teenagers' units and in socialist schools, we educate, invigorate and train new socialist men. The new man must, first of all, be Vietnamese--a man who has derived a clear understanding of our history of heroism and the national origin; who is imbued with patriotism and proud of being the son and nephew of the kings of the Hung Dynasty, the Trung sisters, Kings Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai and Quang Trung; and who is combatant of the Ho Chi Minh era.

We must provide information to all the city's dwellers to enable them to clearly understand our national history, to be proud of the Vietnamese people and nation and to profoundly understand the flesh and blood relations between the life and death of themselves and their families and the existence and nonexistence of the Vietnamese fatherland and the Vietnamese community. It is also necessary for them to know how to combine their patriotism with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, love and respect the revolutionary cause of the fraternal countries, the international working classes and the oppressed people, and strengthen solidarity with the peoples of the world in the struggle for the lofty objectives of our era.

Society is the integration of three elements--man, family and the entire society. Society cannot exist without man; nor can it exist without the procreation of man by the family; and man and the family cannot live without the entire society. These three elements form an integrated whole, and the socialist economy and culture must be designed to support them. The new socialist man is one who leads a beautiful life with his right to collective mastery, who cherishes and feels close to the new regime, who correctly combines his own interest with that of the collective and the whole society, who loves labor and considers it as man's cause for existence and quality and the means with which to master nature, society and himself, and who is rich in compassion and respects the truth.

We must educate, train and foster the new socialist man right from his childhood. Therefore, it is necessary to develop the city's initial results in caring for and educating teenagers and children, organize more satisfactorily their upbringing and education in nurseries and kindergartens, and encourage all mass organizations, branches and echelons as well as the whole society to respond to and make practical contributions to the training of future revolutionary generations. Though we are still poor, utmost efforts must be made to do whatever is possible to ensure that the young ones are brought up, educated, cared for and protected more satisfactorily.

Socialist construction must necessarily be closely linked with the defense of the socialist fatherland and the maintenance of political security and social order against the schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists. In pursuing their hostile policy towards our people and undermining our socialist construction, the Chinese reactionaries as well as the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists and reactionaries consider Ho Chi Minh City a strategically important area. They have co-ordinated their activities in various fields to oppose us--dividing and inflaming us politically while sabotaging our economy by disrupting the market, and employing psychological and espionage warfare tactics. There is a connection between the activities of the reactionaries in the city and the intelligence and espionage command organizations from the outside. The city's party organization and the people must clearly recognize the perfidious schemes of the enemy, constantly hone their spirit of revolutionary vigilance and struggle in all fields--combining the security, armed and mass forces--to smash all acts of political and economic sabotage and all psychological and espionage warfare activities; and at the same time, they must struggle to repel and eliminate the negative phenomena in society, and severely punish and wipe out all the hooligans, remnant reactionaries, dishonest traders and other corrupt and traitorous elements.

Along with the southern provinces, Ho Chi Minh City must continue discharging its glorious obligation to serve as the great rear of the country in the struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

Dear comrades, the great tasks entrusted to the Ho Chi Minh City party organization and the city's important position in the undertaking to build socialism and defend the country require that vigorous changes be made in the building and consolidation of the party organization, especially in the enhancement of its organizational capability and fighting strength from the level of the city party committee down to the various party organizations at the grassroots level and from the leading cadres to all party members.

We must closely combine the effort to develop and consolidate our party with all the political tasks of our revolution in the new stage. It is necessary for the entire party organization as well as for each party organization, cadre and party member to struggle to make themselves strong in order to be able to fulfill their duties. Through this struggle, they must also improve themselves both in their knowledge and organizational skills and in their political quality and revolutionary ethics.

It is necessary to improve the ability and knowledge of the party organization in all aspects, especially in economic and social management and the organization of the people's livelihood. Regardless of position, every cadre and party member must study hard and must bear in mind that learning is a criterion of the party's character. They must devote part of their time to visiting various establishments to learn how to engage in production and trade as well as studying the methods applicable to large-scale industrial production. They must also study hard in order to be able to firmly grasp and correctly implement the party line and the state laws.

It is necessary to make every cadre and party member clearly understand their role in the struggle to switch from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution--a struggle not to defeat the imperialist enemy from outside but to transform an old society into a new society and to improve ourselves in line with the image of that new society. This struggle requires that party members play an exemplary role in implementing the policies on transformation of capitalist trade and industry, on agricultural cooperativization, on land reform and on tax payment and the sale of surplus agricultural and other products to the state in accordance with the party's stand to serve the interests of socialism. They must firmly refuse to be bought by the bourgeoisie.

To carry out the political tasks in the new stage, it is also necessary for cadres and party members to clearly identify the true nature of the new enemy of the Vietnamese revolution--Chinese expansionism and big-nation hegemonism. Confident of our people's ability to defeat the Chinese reactionaries, let us remain always vigilant in order to smash all their schemes and acts aimed at undermining our country.

Over the past 5 years, many members of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization have stood firm on the new revolutionary battlefield. They have proven themselves worthy of the title of communist fighters by their absolute loyalty to the revolutionary cause and their exemplary role in implementing the policy on socialist transformation. They have also won the love and confidence of our compatriots for their correct implementation of all policies to support socialist transformation and their dedication to serving the country and people.

However, it is unfortunate that a number of party members have poorly demonstrated their fighting will. They have relaxed and only concerned themselves with their private life without thinking about the living conditions of the masses. A small number of them have become degenerate and degraded, falling for the enemy's schemes or committing such serious shortcomings as stealing public property, corruption, oppression of the masses, depravity, and so forth. As a result, the party's reputation has been damaged.

In carrying out the present political and ideological tasks, it is necessary for the party organization to clearly distinguish right from wrong in matters of the principal nature of the revolution in the new stage. This is to help the aforementioned cadres and party members overcome their shortcomings and mistakes and firmly follow the path of the struggle for national independence and the success of socialism and communism.

Regardless of their positions, all cadres and party members must improve their ethical quality and always remain sober, strict and committed so as not to become degenerated and corrupt. Efforts must also be made to ensure that all regulations established recently by the party Central Committee concerning the system of self-criticism and criticism among cadres and party members are scrupulously implemented. It is necessary to promptly take action against corrupt elements who refused to improve themselves and resolutely remove them from the party.

Firmly maintaining the close relationship between the party organization and the masses of laboring people is a requirement of the task of building and consolidating the party. It is necessary to struggle against bureaucracy and authoritarianism, which cause inconvenience to the people and infringe upon the laboring people's right to mastery.

In this city, during a meeting with the comrade chairmen of the people's committees in the southern provinces and cities in 1977, I said: Any time a communist party member fails to think about realizing the laboring people's right to collective mastery, he betrays his own ideal and is no longer worthy of his party membership.

It is necessary to make our compatriots in the city clearly understand this concern of the party so they may contribute their ideas to the building of the party and help the party in checking the qualifications of its members. All cadres and party members must severely demand that they themselves rise up to meet the requirements of the revolution. They must serve the people better and must not cite their own difficulties as excuses for causing trouble to the people.

We must resolutely strive to act upon President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that our party must preserve its purity and serve as a worthy leader and absolutely loyal servant of the people.

The party is the staff which decides the success or failure of the revolution. The strength of this staff lies in its unity of views on its line, in the unity of its organizations, and in its unity of will and action. All party organizations, all levels of leadership and all cadres and party members of the Ho Chi Minh City party organizations must always preserve their unity and singlemindedness, the unity between old and new cadres, and the unity among cadres coming from different localities and training schools.

The unity and singlemindedness of the party organization will serve as the nucleus for the unity of the more than 3 million people in the city who, be they non-Catholics or Catholics, Vietnamese or Hoa, share the joy of success and the worry about the difficulties encountered in the process of development, and who are determined to overcome all hardships and trials so as to join with the people in the rest of the country in building and defending the beloved Vietnamese fatherland.

The party Central Committee is confident that the Ho Chi Minh City party organization, with its tradition of steadfast struggle against foreign aggression and of close unity with the masses, will certainly be able to make the best use of the latent potentials of the locality in order to promptly overcome the immediate difficulties and build our city in such a way as to make it worthy of the reputation of the great Vietnamese communist fighter, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, after whom it has the honor to be named.

I wish the second congress of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization fine success.

May the city's party organization and people enter the 6th year of the new era of the nation with confidence and the resolve to score many new successes!

CSO: 4209



## THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC STEADILY ADVANCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 13-18

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On 2 December 1975, the Lao People's Democratic Republic was born. This was the great result of 30 years of arduous and tenacious revolutionary struggle by the peoples of the various Lao ethnic minorities under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.

Objectively and comprehensively analyzing the realities of Lao society and the general trend of our times, the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party held in early 1972 reaffirmed that advancing to socialism is the inevitable trend of the Lao revolution. The congress set forth the basic task of the Lao revolution as: "...preparing every condition needed to advance directly to socialism without following the course of capitalist development."

In late 1975, relying upon this basic task, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, following the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country, set forth the line of "building a Laos of peace, independence, democracy, unity and socialism." The Lao National Congress of People's Delegates unanimously agreed with this line because it is consistent with the deep, fervent aspirations of the peoples of the Lao ethnic minorities.

Over the past 5 years, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the people of the Lao ethnic minorities have overcome tremendous difficulties and challenges, steadfastly followed the course of socialism and stood firm at their forward position, winning brilliant victories in the work of building and protecting the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, Laos is part of the bastion of the socialist community in Southeast Asia. Following the birth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the imperialists, led by the United States, the Beijing expansionists and reactionary powers in and outside Laos collaborated with one another and employed every possible measure to attack and undermine Laos in a vain attempt to weaken it, foment rebellion, topple the new regime, commit aggression against and annex Laos.

Realizing their responsibility and honor as a country manning a forward position and for the sake of the vital interests of protecting the socialist fatherland as well as the sake of their sacred obligation to the world revolution, most immediately the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, the people of the Lao ethnic minorities have always been vigilant against every insidious scheme of their enemies, both old and new, constantly heightened their revolutionary vigilance, strengthened their unity, struggled to defeat every scheme of the imperialists and the lackeys to encircle and attack them and every very insidious scheme of the Beijing expansionists to infiltrate, divide and undermine them, including fomenting rebellion and toppling the regime, thereby maintaining the independence, sovereignty and security of the country. Through the challenges of the new fight, the armed forces and the people's security forces of Laos have constantly grown in both size and quality, always displayed revolutionary heroism and the fine nature of the people's armed forces and overcome every hardship and sacrifice in order to fulfill the mission of the key force of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the front of maintaining security and defending the nation.

Laos is a country that has rich natural resources; however, Laos is advancing to socialism from a small-scale production economy of a very natural, subsistent nature that has been ravaged by 30 consecutive years of war and by continuous natural disasters over the past several years. As a result, the Lao People's Democratic Republic encountered extremely large obstacles in restoring and building the economy and developing the culture. However, over the past 5 years, as a result of adopting a correct line for mobilizing the masses to enthusiastically participate in work and production and together with the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and their friends throughout the world, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has gradually overcome its difficulties and won many important victories on the economic front, thereby stabilizing and gradually improving the standard of living of the people of the ethnic minorities.

In agriculture, the amount of area under cultivation has increased nearly 20 percent compared to liberation day (primarily as a result of restoring fields to production and clearing land), the amount of area under rice cultivation has increased 30 percent compared to 1976, the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops and subsidiary food crops has increased three-fold and total grain output has increased by more than 30 percent. Water conservancy work has received very much attention from the state and become a mass movement throughout the country. Many large and medium size water conservancy projects have been constructed. The amount of area irrigated has increased three-fold compared to the period of time preceding liberation day. The livestock herds that declined seriously during the war have been rapidly restored and developed. The buffalo and cattle herds have increased by more than 30 percent and the hog herd by 70 percent compared to 1976. The amount of area under cultivation and the output of industrial crops, especially coffee and tobacco, have increased by 25 to 30 percent. The socialist transformation of agriculture, which began in mid-1978, has recorded important achievements; at the start of 1980, Laos had more than 2,500 agricultural production cooperatives, which account for 50 percent of the total number of farm families; this does not include the tens of thousands of production solidarity teams that are now operating successfully, thereby creating the conditions for farmers to receive practical training in order to put the earning of a collective living on a regular

basis. Dozens of state farms and agricultural experimental stations and farms have been and are being built.

Forestry is one of the two strengths of the Lao economy. During the past 5 years, more than 1 million hectares of forests have been investigated and surveyed in key areas. Timber output increased nearly 70 percent in 1980 compared to 1977. Timber leads the list of primary exports of Laos at this time.

Prior to liberation day, the industry of Laos was a small, crippled industry heavily characterized by contract production and frequent shutdowns caused by shortages of raw materials and supplies; now, the majority of this industry has been restored. The output of state-operated industry accounts for more than 75 percent of the country's industrial products. Many installations have been enlarged or constructed, such as the Nam Ngum Hydroelectric Power Plant, the capacity of which is four times greater than it was prior to liberation day, livestock feed processing plants, veterinary medicine production plants, machine repair enterprises, enterprises producing farm implements and building materials, enterprises processing grain, food products and so forth. The handicraft trades, which were practically eliminated under the old regime, have gradually been restored and incentive has been provided for their development. Generally speaking, industrial and handicraft production still faces many limitations, but has supported agriculture, forestry, everyday life and export activities.

The communications and transportation sector has also recorded important achievements. The highway system is now more than 30 percent longer than it was prior to liberation day and nearly 500 bridges have been repaired or constructed. The transportation capacity of the state is increasing with each passing day. Domestic and foreign air routes have been restored. The opening of routes to the sea through the east is being promoted.

Socialist commerce has constantly developed. The number and size of state-operated stores have doubled compared to 1975. Marketing cooperatives have been established and broadened their business network to 36 percent of the villages. The acceleration of the transformation of capitalist commerce made an important contribution to managing and stabilizing the market. The foreign trade sector has made numerous efforts. The goods sold by the state to the people in 1980 represented a 2.8-fold increase compared to 1977; exports increased nearly three-fold in 1979 compared to 1976.

Many positive measures are being taken to accelerate the establishment of an independent financial and monetary system. The unjust tax policies of the old regime have been replaced with new, fair and reasonable tax policies designed to provide incentive for production and increase budget revenues. The establishment of one monetary system throughout the country and the issuance of the bank "kip" were victories of important economic and political significance that helped to thwart the schemes of the enemy to monopolize the economy and undermine the political system, especially the schemes of the Beijing reactionaries regarding the Lao People's Democratic Republic.



In keeping with the line of advancing the cultural and ideological revolution and the guideline of building a national, democratic and socialist culture, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has made full use of every capability to accelerate the development of the education, public health and cultural sectors and, in this manner, clearly show the superior nature of the new system. General school education has developed at a rapid rate. In 1980, 26.5 percent of the citizenry attended school (including supplementary education and popular education); general school enrollment increased 157 percent during the 1979-1980 school year compared to the 1975-1976 school year and nearly doubled compared to the 1973-1974 school year; compared to the 1973-1974 school year, level II school enrollment has increased nearly six-fold, level III school enrollment has increased 11-fold and vocational school enrollment has increased 12.9 times; college enrollment increased 73 percent during the 1979-1980 school year compared to the 1977-1978 school year. Thousands of students, cadres and technical workers have been sent overseas to study. Particular attention has been given to wiping out illiteracy and providing supplementary education and many outstanding achievements have been recorded in this effort. As of January 1980, 80 percent of illiterates had been taught to read and write and illiteracy had been wiped out in 86 percent of the hamlets and 94 percent of the villages; by the end of the year, the number of provinces in which illiteracy has been wiped out rose to 10 (of the 13 provinces in the country). Hundreds of thousands of persons are attending supplementary education classes.

The public health sector has made many efforts. The public health network has constantly been expanded. Attention has been given to disease prevention sanitation. Many impressive results have been achieved in researching the coordination of eastern medicine with western medicine and the utilization of folk remedies. The number of hospitals and medical aid stations has increased by 50 percent and the number of hospital beds has nearly doubled compared to 1975; the number of physicians, doctors and pharmacists has increased nearly 2.5 times and the number of public health stations has increased four times compared to the period preceding liberation day.

The party and state of the Lao People's Democratic Republic are very concerned with wiping out the social ills and the decadent, reactionary culture left behind by the old regime and building and developing a new culture of socialist content in order to competently support socialist transformation and socialist construction. In particular, the mass literature and art movement, the effort to restore the human dignity of the victims of the old society, restore good morals and customs, establish the civilized style of life and so forth have been warmly responded to by the masses in both the cities and the countryside and attracted the attention and won the admiration of foreign visitors to Laos. Over the past 3 years, the size of the wired radio system has increased three-fold. The number of movie theaters has increased by 30 percent and the number of mobile movie units has increased by 20 percent compared to 1977; many professional cultural entertainment units have been established.

In foreign affairs, following an independent, autonomous line and displaying the socialist international spirit, the party and state of Laos have always attached importance to strengthening their special relations with Vietnam and Kampuchea and establishing increasingly close relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries while broadening their relations with the nationalist countries and international organizations and constantly developing their role within

the movement of the non-aligned countries. The prestige of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has constantly grown in the world. As a result, over the past 5 years, Laos has received widespread, tremendous sympathy, support and assistance from many countries and organizations in the world, especially the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in its work of building and protecting the country in the new stage of the revolution.

The achievements presented above have made the position and power of the Lao revolution stronger than ever before. The Lao people's Democratic Republic, although still young, has met various challenges and is steadily advancing.

The important, fundamental and comprehensive victories of the Lao People's Democratic Republic over the past 5 years originate in the correct and creative leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, a genuine and experienced Marxist-Leninist party.

Immediately after seizing political power throughout the country, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party clearly established socialism as the immediate goal of the Lao revolution. The party maintains that advancing to socialism is the only correct course to follow; only socialism can insure that Laos is truly independent, that the Lao people are truly free and that the right of collective ownership of the working people is upheld.

As regards its strategy, the party has taken the position of closely coordinating the two tasks of building socialism and protecting socialism because Laos is advancing to socialism at the forward position of the socialist system and because, although it is at peace, it is also facing the threat of sabotage, aggression and annexation by the Beijing expansionists, who are collaborating with the imperialist powers and reactionaries in and outside Laos.

The general line adopted by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party is: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, with the production relations revolution opening the way for development, the scientific-technological revolution being the key revolution and the cultural and ideological revolution being accelerated; reorganizing production, developing industry on the basis of agriculture and forestry, gradually building a system of large-scale socialist production, eventually carrying out socialist industrialization and considering it to be the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism. In order to implement this line, the party has taken the position of closely linking the three areas of security, national defense and construction; strengthening the political base and building and developing the economy and culture; making every effort to develop and reorganize production, especially agricultural production and forestry; developing trade and coordinating the central economy with the local economy; and considering production to be the basic factor, commerce to be the main link and communications to be the spearhead in abolishing the natural economy. This line and position are very consistent with the characteristics of Laos, a country which, although it has rich natural resources, does not have a large population and is advancing to socialism from a small-scale production economy of a very natural, subsistent nature; material-technical bases are still small, practically all labor is manual labor and productivity is low; trade among the various areas and localities is still very limited; the cultural level of the

people, cadres and soldiers is not high and the remnants of the thinking and culture of the old society are still rather widespread.

The tremendous victories won in the work of building and protecting socialism in the Lao People's Democratic Republic over the past 5 years show that the revolutionary heroism and traditions of unyielding struggle and diligent labor of the people of the Lao ethnic minorities have been and are being strongly developed upon in the united national front, the nucleus of which is the strong alliance of workers and farmers that was tempered and challenged in the 30 years of arduous and tenacious revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.

The party, government and people of Laos have also established the fact that the victory of the Lao People's Democratic Republic could not have been won without the support and assistance of the fraternal countries and their friends throughout the world, primarily the countries within the socialist community.

On the road to socialism, the Lao People's Democratic Republic will experience many difficulties and challenges. However, under the wise leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, an experienced Marxist-Leninist party, the people of the fraternal Lao ethnic minorities will surely successfully complete their glorious revolutionary task and successfully build a Laos of peace, independence, democracy, unity and socialism.

At present, the people of Laos are making every effort to carry out the immediate tasks set forth by the party and government of Laos:

--Strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance, maintaining their readiness to prevent and combat aggression, prevent and combat rebellions and subversive activities, prevent and combat every scheme to bring about peaceful change and every psychological warfare scheme of the imperialists and the international reactionaries;

--Making every effort to restore and develop the economy, restore production, stabilize the lives of the ethnic minorities and, on this basis, stabilize the political situation and create the conditions for socialist transformation and socialist construction to be carried out smoothly;

--Making every effort to do everything necessary and possible to prepare for the first 5-year plan (1981-1985).

At the neighbors, as the comrades and brothers of the people of the Lao ethnic minorities, we are very excited and proud of the brilliant achievements recorded by the Lao People's Democratic Republic over the past 5 years. We consider these victories to be our own because the victories of the Lao People's Democratic Republic as well as the victories of the people of Kampuchea and the victories of the Vietnamese are tremendous and important contributions to increasing the strength of the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina against the common enemy, the expansionist and imperialist powers, for the common



goals of national independence and socialism. These victories are the factors insuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia and are a contribution to peace and the revolution throughout the world.

Over the past 5 years, together with the victories and growth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the especially pure, loyal and rare relationship between Laos and Vietnam has constantly been strengthened and developed in a comprehensive manner. The most vivid manifestation of the further strengthening of this relationship is the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the Vietnam-Laos National Border Agreement and other important documents in Vientianne on 18 July 1977. The scrupulous implementation of these treaties by both sides over the past several years has yielded many concrete results, thereby helping to tighten the alliance between the two countries and help each country acquire additional strength with which to build and protect socialism in their country. This reality further confirms the inevitable nature of the special Vietnam-Laos relationship; in the history of the two nations of Vietnam and Laos, this relationship is a precious tradition, an invincible strength, a law of development of the Vietnamese revolution and the Lao revolution.

In the face of the divisive scheme and the insane opposition of the Beijing expansionists in collaboration with the imperialists and reactionary powers in and outside Laos, the purpose of which is to weaken the militant alliance between Vietnam and Laos, the parties, governments and peoples of Vietnam and Laos are determined to protect and further strengthen the special, loyal relationship which the two fraternal nations have shed much sweat and blood to establish and build. This determination has been confirmed by high ranking leaders of the two parties. Kayson Phonvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, stated: "Now, more than ever before, the two parties and the peoples of Laos and Vietnam must closely unite, protect one another and help one another in a close, comprehensive and long-range manner. This is an extremely important factor determining victory in the work of safeguarding the independence, sovereignty and national construction of each of our nations in the new stage of the revolution." (1) Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, has also stated: "The people of Vietnam are determined to work with the people of fraternal Laos to strengthen our militant solidarity, mutual trust, long-range cooperation and mutual assistance in every area so that our two countries, which worked closely together in the cause of national liberation, will always have a close relationship in the work of building socialism and protecting the country for the sake of the prosperity and happiness of the people of each country." (2)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from brief address by Kayson Phonvihan at a large meeting held on 16 July 1977 in Vientianne to welcome the high level delegation from the party and government of Vietnam, led by Le Duan and Pham Van Dong, on a visit of friendship to Laos.
2. Excerpt from speech by Le Duan during the formal reception of the party and government of Laos on 15 July 1977 in Vientianne.

## LITERATURE AND ART, WEAPONS OF THE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 19-26

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] Literature and art do not reflect life in a passive manner. In societies that have classes, literature and art are of a distinct class nature. The classical writers of Marxism-Leninism and the leaders of our party have discussed the party spirit of literature and art and of writers and artists in full detail.

"Culture and art are also a front.

You are soldiers on that front."(1)

Over the past several decades, our literature and art have become increasingly oriented toward the party and the people. They were a weapon of our people in the struggle for independence and socialism and are a weapon in socialist construction. Over the past several decades, our corps of artists and writers, creating and performing works of art on the basis of the ideological stand of the party, of the working class, has been forged in combat and in scrupulously implementing the lines and policies of the party and has gradually built the socialist literature and art of Vietnam. As a result, "in view of the achievements recorded primarily in reflecting the two great wars of resistance of the nation, our country's literature and art are worthy of standing in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art of our times."(2) The principle of the party spirit of our literature and art has long been a shining truth, has long been a matter not open to discussion.

Thus, why do we feel it necessary at this time to repeat that "literature and art are weapons of the revolution"?

Our fatherland has entered a new stage. Under the new conditions that exist, there are tremendous advantages and large difficulties that we do not correctly or deeply understand. Literature and art have encountered a new reality, a new public, new tastes, new conditions surrounding their creative work and performances, new and very much higher demands regarding quality, stature and so forth; in summary, they face the requirement of undergoing extraordinary development. Those engaged in literature and art must re-evaluate what they have done and what they have not achieved in order to know how they will continue to move forward and from which

position they will continue to move forward. They must develop new themes, new standards in order to meet the new needs. More than a few artists and writers have given much thought to and eagerly looked for ways to contribute to the development of our socialist literature and art in the new situation. These are efforts filled with good will that are very welcome. However, in the process of their thinking, their search, a number of cases have arisen in which, due to limitations in one area or another, deviations in opinions have arisen, deviations which conflict with the basic principles in the literature and art line of the party, with the principle of party spirit in literature and art.

How have these deviations arisen?

They began with an incorrect, less than cautious evaluation on the part of some writers and artists of the achievements recorded in literature and art, primarily our literature and art in the recent stage. Some of these persons maintain that the achievements that have been recorded amount to nothing, that literature and art reflect reality and are extremely rich but say nothing of significance. Some only see the limitations of works of art. And others only concern themselves with the inexperience, the simplicity and the brevity, considering them to be the controlling factors, the essence of our literature and art. Thus, "making much ado about nothing," they reach the observation that our literature is an empty literature, a phony literature.

Even with regard to the "achievements recorded primarily in reflecting the two great wars of resistance of the nation" as a result of which "our country's literature and art are worthy of standing in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art of our times" are doubted by some. They maintain that these works of art leaned heavily toward describing "persons who were lucky in war," describing them in a manner half reflecting truth and half reflecting falsehood. Or, they say that these works of art "are similar in form to the heroic epic," describing "not reality as it exists, but reality as everyone hopes and dreams it could be"; then, they ask the question: "When will we truly have novels on war themes?"

And, some persons concisely state: "Generally speaking, in our present literary works, the description of that which must exist infringes upon the description of that which does exist." "This infringement, of course, is an obstacle on the road to realism." They maintain that our literature and art in the recent stage were "popular in nature," a lofty characteristic, that they were a kind of "proper realism," that "they were concerned more with that which is proper than that which is the truth," etc.

These incorrect observations and mistaken generalizations have led to a tendency to deny the achievements recorded by our people in the field of literature and art and reraise the question of truth and socialist realism in our literature and art. We are forced to think here that these incorrect observations and mistaken generalizations reflect a restatement of some of the arguments of Albert Camus, who called the socialist system a dictatorship and attacked socialist realism in art in an insidious manner. In his Address in Sweden, 1957, which was highly praised by bourgeois circles, Albert Camus said: "In the field of culture as well as in other fields, the dictatorial system is very arbitrary; realism is first a need, a need which can then become an achievement, provided that it is socialist in trend..."



In actuality, the dictatorial system sincerely recognizes that it cannot restore reality and, without any selectivity, denies the realist theory proposed in the late 19th Century; it only needs a selective principle around which life will build itself. And, it discovers this principle not in the reality we see today but in the reality that will be, that is, in the future. In order to correctly record that which exists now, it must describe that which will exist. In other words, the true subject of socialist realism is something that has not yet become real...

In the end, this art is only socialist in nature but clearly not socialist in fact...

Art is dragged down until it is nothing. It serves art is a servant, it is enslaved and controlled...

Socialist realism is made to be the twin brother of political realism..."(\*)

What is "proper realism"? Is it another name for the "political realism" of Camus? Are not "the real that exists" and the "real that must exist" the "that which exists now" and the "that which has not yet become real" of Camus? If this is so, it is a search for realism in the wrong direction and the discovery of realism in things not worth discovering.

What is truth? Truth is the accurate reflection of reality. Reality encompasses the natural world, social life and man with all his feelings, desires and problems. Correctly reflecting the truth is not something that involves convenient fabrications or forcing reality to conform with our subjective desires. Nor does it mean copying reality as done in the naturalism of Vu Trong Phung. When talking about realism, Engels pointed out: "In addition to the accuracy of details, it is also necessary to mention accurately reflecting model virtues in model circumstances."(3)

In writing about our two wars of resistance, for example, it is not necessary to describe in detail each battle in order to correctly reflect reality, provided that the persons and events described reflect the profound relationships that exist in reality, reflect the ardent patriotism, the close unity, the determination to fight and win and the revolutionary heroism of our people. Only by reflecting model virtues under model circumstances is it possible to reflect life with its genuine socialist content and in its trend of development. This is clearly related to the level of recognition of reality and the grasp of art of the artist.

It must be said that we have, over the past 30 years and more, recognized reality and have had a positive, reciprocal impact upon reality in the direction of the course of development of history. Under the light of the party's line, our corps of writers and artists has, generally speaking, learned how to correctly perceive the truth, grasped the essence and the trend of development of our society and described it in an intelligent, genuinely moving manner employing rather rich artistic language. The novels, poems, plays, paintings and songs praising and inspiring valiant deeds in combat and construction that are filled with the revolutionary heroism of our people, that have elevated the soul and intelligence of our people and helped to stimulate the advance by our country's revolution to the victories of today, are not they works of socialist realism that try to "describe reality in a true, detailed and historic manner in the process of development of the revolution"?



Why are they frivolously and unfairly called works of "proper realism," works that are not honest, works that "describe that which must exist not that which does exist" and works that are "one-half real, that are fraudulent"?

Our literature on the two wars of resistance of our people, which describes the brave fighting spirit and the sacrifices of our people in these two wars, correctly reflects objective reality, not only "one-half of reality" that must be balanced by another "half of reality" that is missing, is lost, balanced by means of the tragic echoes of individuals fate! In war, it is, of course, necessary to shed blood and make sacrifices in order to win victory. All progressive mankind has praised Vietnam for the way and the reasons why it fought and won victory. The enemy we faced then is still constantly threatening to commit aggression against our country. If necessary, our people will wage the same fight and win the same victory or an even larger victory. This is the reality of Vietnam, the circumstances of Vietnam, the people of Vietnam, the ethics of Vietnam. Therefore, with regard to elevating the realistic nature of our literature on the war, it is not necessary to retrieve the one-half that individualism considers to have been lost, but only necessary to reflect the entirety of that great fight "well, honestly and eloquently," a great fight in which the dominant theme was heroism.

Reality must be recognized, explained and reflected within the entity that it is, in exact accordance with its nature and in its trend of development. Here, the ideal and the real, that which must exist and that which does exist are closely linked to each other; the latter is the foundation of the former and the former is the inevitable trend of development of the latter. That which is real is constantly developing. Reflecting that which is real requires reflecting this development.

We cannot be satisfied with the achievements that have been recorded. Improving the genuine nature and the quality of works of literature and art is always a requirement of our party, our people and every artist. Besides successful works, our literature also includes works that have not been a success, works that are simplistic and shallow. Even among some works that have been a success there are still parts that are not good, parts that are not truly genuine and eloquent. However, this is no reason to conclude that our art is not genuine.

With regard to the weaknesses and shortcomings of our literature in the recent stage, we must fully understand each reason for them. Some reasons are objective. Some are due to shortcomings and weaknesses in our work.

Even in a number of cases in which writers and artists feel restricted or are compelled to revise their work to comply with the requirements of the committee in charge of a newspaper, a theater or a publishing house, for example, thorough analysis of the case is necessary in order to avoid offending the writer or artist; it is as if only a banned painting is a beautiful one, only literature in manuscript form belongs to the author, is realistic while printed literature is not realistic and no longer belongs to the author! Here, there might be unnecessary or rude intervention by a cadre in charge who does not understand or fully understand the special characteristics of literature, the subtle and long-range, broad impact of literature and simply wants every work to have an instant, specific impact in order

to support an immediate political task. Occasionally, this cadre sets forth excessive requirements of an author on the basis of legitimate requirements of a publishing agency. However, it is also possible that the knowledge and cultivation of the author are not comprehensive and deep and that his sense of responsibility might not be as high as it could be. Authors who possess zeal and good motives want to contribute many good works, but zeal and good motives are not enough.

We must be aware of the requirements of the revolution in each stage and task of literature and art, of the writer-soldier and the artist-soldier; we must always heighten the party spirit in our thinking, feelings and creative works. We must "write from our hearts but our hearts must belong to the party" (So-lo-khop [Vietnamese phonetic]). We must carefully consider whether everything we write is beneficial or harmful to the revolution. We must also realize that the agencies of the party that lead literature and art only want and do everything they can to have many good works with which to meet the requirements of the revolution; every publishing house has its own policy and objectives and must have certain requirements of authors so that art is truly a weapon of the revolution, etc. With this in mind, it will be easy to achieve oneness of mind between authors and artists and the persons who manage literature and art. Antagonisms might still develop but when the reasons for them have been thoroughly analyzed in a spirit of comradeship, they can be easily resolved in a satisfactory manner.

In summary, it is necessary to correctly evaluate our socialist realism in literature and art in the recent stage: its strength as well as its shortcomings and weaknesses. We are proud to have works of art that mark a stage of development of our literature and art and are worthy of our nation, our people. Let us treasure the values we and our brothers have created through the shedding of much sweat and even blood. Let us be fair with ourselves and everyone else. Because, an unfair evaluation that reduces or denies the achievements that we struggled so hard and made so many sacrifices to record might easily cause discouragement and doubt and even lead to the re-examination of fundamentals, of matters of principle.

Another basic question that is also starting to be raised again against the background of the wavering opinions and confused attitude of some persons is the question of the function of our socialist literature and art.

Some persons maintain that our literature and art are art and literature for education and training based on the desires of the leadership. They say that, in our literature and art, "awareness of reason overpowers awareness of sentiment, intellect overpowers sentiment, essence overpowers phenomenon, content overpowers form." They want our literature to only give attention to ideology, not to art. They maintain that our literature is rudimentary and simplistic because of a "superficial concept of the function of literature," etc. They maintain that our literature has, for a long time, only attached importance to the function of teaching ideology. Here, ideology is understood as pre-established formulas and frameworks within which the artist must fit himself in order to be "proper."

Some persons say that the thinking in works of art is only the thinking of the party and that these works reflect virtually none of the thinking of the author. In the beginning, such words might only be designed to criticize dry works of art that lack

creativity, that is, lack uniqueness on the part of the author in his method of viewing and generalizing the phenomena of life. However, on this basis, against the background mentioned above, odd arguments are formed that divide the writer in two: the writer as a person following the thinking of the party and the writer as a person following his own thinking; that divide literature in two: literature as an ideological weapon of the party and literature as a mirror reflecting reality through creative art.

Such divisions are clearly absurd. There are not two separate and distinct authors within the socialist author. There are not two such literatures within a socialist system of literature. The author is a person who propagandizes the thinking of the party in his own words. When it is a mirror reflecting reality through artistic creativity, literature must continue to be an ideological weapon of the party; literature can only play the role as an effective and sharp ideological weapon of the party when it is a mirror reflecting reality by means of artistic creativity.

We consider literature and art to be weapons of the revolution. However, to play this role, literature and art must simultaneously and fully perform each of their functions.

When we call a work a work of art, we do so from the point of view of the work as a whole. Only in theoretical thinking can we analyze content, form, ideological nature, artistic nature, dialectical relationships, reciprocal impacts and so forth. Artistic works have an impact upon us as a unified entity and have an impact upon all of our human "instincts." Only in theory can we analyze the different modes and forms of this impact.

When the performance of a play satisfies us by giving us aesthetic pleasure, it is because of the entire performance, because of the beautiful symbols of theatrical art created by the entire performance from the time the curtain first opens. These artistic symbols move us, bring to us a new understanding of life, elevate our thinking, feelings and ethics and arouse in our consciousness and imagination many-sided associations that give these artistic symbols increasing richness and completeness and cause us to cry, to smile, to believe in the things that the performance wants to transmit to us. How can we separate the fabric of life reflected in the artistic form of this theatrical performance from the thinking and viewpoints it touches upon and calls to mind? How can we mechanically say that the faithful pictures of the life of man reflected on the stage fulfill the function of recognition; that concepts, ideas, ideals and so forth serve the function of teaching ideology; that the style, artistic method and creativity of the director and performers serve the aesthetic function?

No! A work of art serves all of these functions by means of its being a complete entity. When we analyze the content, form, ideological nature and artistic nature of a work of art, when we discuss the functions of recognition, education, aesthetics and so forth of a work of art with a view toward stimulating the development of our literature and art, we see that these things are not truly in harmony with one another in all cases, that one aspect might need to be improved; however, we do



know that they are closely related to and founded upon one another. Therefore, we are not permitted to separate and isolate these things nor set them into opposition against one another. Our literature and art must simultaneously and fully fulfill its primary functions of recognition, education and aesthetics in order for them to be effective weapons of the revolution and they must be weapons of the revolution in every function. They cannot be the ideological weapon of the party by merely serving the function of education nor must they only serve the function of education in order to be the ideological weapon of the party and not serve the functions of recognition and aesthetics. Nor is it unnecessary for them to be the ideological weapon of the party when fulfilling their aesthetic function. If someone should say that they should also fulfill the function of entertainment, even when fulfilling this function, our literature and art must still be weapons of the revolution, must bring pure, wholesome aesthetic pleasures because we do not need empty or licentious, harmful entertainment.

Considering literature and art to only be a tool in the teaching of ideology like the other tools in the teaching of ideology and not giving attention to their special characteristics, artistic nature and special strengths is incorrect. Such would be childish. It is a simple and rudimentary concept--even a crude concept--of the functions of literature and art. Within a certain scope, among a number of comrades, even in creative work, not merely in critical theory and the guidance of literature and art, within some localities and at certain points in time, this concept has harmed the development of literature and art to some extent. This childishness must be corrected; political cadres who lead literature and art must deepen their knowledge of literature and art in order for this effective weapon in the hands of the party to have a greater impact. However, it would clearly be incorrect to maintain that this shallow concept has permeated, dragged down and controlled our literature throughout the recent stage to the point where it eroded the aesthetic capabilities of the public, caused artistic creativity to dry up and caused the proper sense of social responsibility of writers to wither, thereby creating an obstacle outside them, around them and within them, that is, it would be incorrect to consider this the only or principal cause of the so called "sluggishness in literature."

It would be an even greater mistake to maintain, on this basis, that we have long placed too much emphasis on the educational function of literature and art and that it is now no longer necessary to talk about it, but to emphasize the aesthetic function and even the entertainment function of literature and art.

It is regrettable that, in actuality, this trend has begun to emerge: there is little discussion of the educational function, of the ideological nature of works of art but much attention to interesting forms in literature and art, a bias toward the form of performances, artistic style, artistic method, sentences, words, composition and so forth; "any content will do as long as it is not incorrect" (the truth is that there have been mistakes in ideological content).

Our party never condones the maladies of rudimentary formulas and naturalism in literature and art. Our party always requires that works be of a highly artistic nature. A good work must be of a highly ideological and highly artistic nature, must create profound and strong feelings, must create intense aesthetic pleasure and bring the soul and sentiments of man to a new height. Of course, we do not demand

that a work of art immediately have a concrete ideological impact in order to resolve a specific, immediate problem in life. Art has an impact upon man in a comprehensive and long-range manner. However, we also cannot tolerate a work of art that does not speak at all about the pressing problems of life, of the tasks of the revolution.

Works of art must be interesting, must bring to the public a pleasure, a delight. Therefore, full attention must be given to distinguishing legitimate, lofty tastes and needs from mundane, backward tastes and needs, even reactionary tastes and needs among the public. It is not that every work which is "accepted by the public" is a good or interesting work. Literature and art, as creative fields, also have the task of creating their own genuine audience. And, once this genuine audience has been established, the audience becomes a creator and works together with writers and artists to create a genuine and noble literature and art.

We need works of literature and art that are not only correct, but also good, diverse, interesting and moving, works that cause persons who have not seen or read them to want to see or read them and, once they have, to want to see or read them time and time again; we do not need works of literature and art that are dry and insipid. However, artistic attraction is primarily the result of the structural content of the work, of the matters raised within it having a profound philosophical significance upon the audience, of the beautiful concepts arising from deep within the dialogue which burst forth like flashes of lightning and affect the private thoughts and feelings of everyone...not merely the result of the form of the performance. Searching for factors that embody interesting forms, pursuing base tastes, trying to be interesting merely for the purpose of being interesting, being new solely for the sake of being new and creating "violent" and absurd personalities, none of these measures create genuine artistic interests. Clearly, only attaching importance to the form of a performance, to style and artistic method while giving light attention to the ideological content of the work of art is not enough to heighten the works artistic nature so that art can fulfill its aesthetic function well.

All of the points presented above prove: literature and art, in view of their inherent special characteristics, have many effects upon man on the basis of their own separate standards, simultaneously fulfill all of their primary functions, the functions of recognition, education and aesthetics, and, for this reason, are effective weapons of the revolution.

Life is always raising new problems. Literature and art are always raising new questions. We must think, conduct research and be creative if we want to continue to move forward. However, this not only demands zeal, but also correct recognition, correct methods.

Scattered opinion has caused us to observe that a trend is beginning to re-examine the fundamental principles of our literature and art. This phenomenon, which has its own historic background, is primarily the result of a limited and superficial understanding of the situation of our country and a metaphysical, unscientific method of thinking. These persons who, whether consciously or unconsciously, follow

this trend do so on the basis of a desire that our literature and art fulfill their role as weapons of the revolution. No one doubts their good intentions; however, it might be because they have too much self-confidence in their good intentions that they have not carefully considered their attitude and, as a result, do not know that they have made a mistake.

We encourage thought, research and creativity for the sake of the fatherland and socialism, for the sake of the stronger development of our revolutionary literature and art. We cannot demand that this thinking, this research, this creativity always be absolutely free of deviations and mistakes. However, there is a line that cannot be crossed and we must keep our eye on that line in order to always inspect ourselves, in order to recognize: this is party spirit in literature and art, these are matters of principle in the literature and art line of our party. The mistaken opinions mentioned above, although only very few in number and widely scattered, are, in substance, serious mistakes because they truly conflict with matters of principle and must be promptly rectified.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "On Cultural, Literary and Art Work," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 19.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.
- \* Excerpts from Albert Camus from the translation by Tran Phuong Giao published in Saigon, second printing, July 1974, An Tien Publishing House.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels: "On Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 331.

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## THE MOBILIZATION OF YOUTHS IN THE NEW SITUATION

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 27-32 and 42

[Article by Nguyen Mai]

[Text] Under the leadership and guidance of the party, forged in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the nation and challenged in the vast emulation movements of the masses, the young generation of Vietnam has rapidly matured in many areas: youths are able to clearly distinguish between friends and enemies; possess the spirit of fighting in a selfless manner for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism; possess ardent patriotism and a deep love of the people; possess pure international feelings; are willing to endure hardships and overcome difficulties; their cultural level, their knowledge of science and technology, their economic management skills and their knowledge of military affairs are constantly being raised; they have a desire to contribute and are determined to improve themselves.

The important role and position of the young generation are clearly evident in the development of our country's revolution. At present, youths constitute a very high percentage of the persons working in the economic, technical and national defense sectors: 65 percent of the workforce of the industrial sectors, in general (80 percent of the modern industrial sectors), 52 percent of the workforce in agriculture, 60 percent of the corps of middle level technical cadres, 40 percent of the corps of high level scientific and technical cadres and more than 80 percent of the national defense forces.

On the basis of this reality, our party has asserted: our country's young generation possesses fine revolutionary qualities, tremendous potentials and a strong desire to make progress and is worthy of being the powerful revolutionary shock unit of the working class and the nation.

However, in the face of the large requirements of the revolutionary task of the new stage, the young generation has displayed shortcomings and weaknesses deserving of concern. They are:

Their spirit of socialist collective ownership is still low, a passive attitude is still rather prevalent among youths and their sense of responsibility to society is still weak. The psychology and habits of the small-scale producer are widespread. Their sense of organization and discipline, especially discipline in work, is poor.



Their ability to exercise collective ownership is still very limited. Their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of the lines and policies of the party, of the revolutionary situation and tasks in the new stage and so forth is, generally speaking, still low; their occupational qualifications and their ability to apply science and technology in production and in experiments are weak. In addition, some youths are backward, have forsaken their obligations, are living an unwholesome style of life and have become decadent and violated the law.

These shortcomings and weaknesses are due to the aftereffects of the long war, the influences of neo-colonialism and the influences of the small-scale production economy. On the other hand, the Chinese reactionaries in collaboration with the imperialists and other reactionary powers are frantically looking for every possible way to undermine our country's revolution and scheming to corrupt our youths. These are the objective causes. However, subjectively, these shortcomings and weaknesses are due to our loose economic and social management and to the failure on the part of the various echelons of the party, government and mass organizations (among which the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union plays a very important role) to educate and mobilize youths well.

Building the system of collective ownership and carrying out socialist industrialization are the major, long-range revolutionary tasks of our entire party and all our people, tasks in which the young generation plays a vital role and occupies a vital position. For this reason, our party considers the mobilization of youths in the present stage of the revolution to be work of strategic significance and special importance.

The great success of the mobilization of youths during the past half century has been that our party has educated, organized and mobilized one generation of youths after another to wholeheartedly follow the party, fight tenaciously, bravely give their lives, make worthy contributions along with the rest of the nation to the resounding victories that have been won, to rewinning the independence and freedom of the country and reunifying the country and contributing the zeal and creative talents of the young to socialist construction. A new and powerful stratum of youths who are politically enlightened, are educated in culture, science and technology and possess abundant energies is playing the assault role on the fronts of building and protecting the fatherland; this is the direct result of the correct and creative line of the party regarding the mobilization of youths.

However, our party, possessing a full sense of responsibility, is not satisfied with these results and achievements. Our party has observed that there have been and still are a number of noteworthy shortcomings in the party's leadership of the mobilization of youths. At many places, the party committee echelon, government and mass organizations do not have a full understanding of the significance and strategic position of the mobilization of youths in the work of building and protecting the fatherland. When our country's revolution entered the new stage, we did not promptly research the situation and analyze the various laws in order to establish suitable guidelines, goals, requirements and measures regarding the mobilization of youths. Some party committee echelons have not led the government or mass organizations in establishing systems and regulations governing the mobilization of youths with a view toward insuring a division of labor and cooperation among the

various sectors, state agencies, mass organizations and society as a whole in this work. The various organizations of the party have not kept abreast of the mobilization of youths, consequently, they do not understand the changes and new requirements in the mobilization of youths, in the utilization of youths or in the training of the young generation under the conditions of socialist construction. Many state agencies do not consider the mobilization of youths to be important work of their sector or agency. The state has not established an organization specializing in the mobilization of youths and the research of matters related to the young generation. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the organization that directly mobilizes youths, only mobilizes youths for the purpose of performing immediate tasks but has not adopted plans and measures for preparing the young generation for the future with a view toward achieving the objective of gradually molding the new, socialist collective master. The Youth Union has not fulfilled its function as the school of communism well nor its function of representing the interests and right of collective ownership of the young; it does not clearly see the tremendous requirements involved in reorganizing the entire young generation in order to adopt positive policies and measures for rallying all youths within suitable forms of organization. The education of backward youths also has not undergone significant change.

This situation demands that the mobilization of youths in the present stage of the revolution be considered work of a strategic nature; youth issues must be given the full concern of the party, the state, the mass organizations and all of society. In particular, the various organizations of the party must directly control the mobilization of youths because controlling youths is the same as controlling the "fuse"; only by controlling youths can the revolution have the power to attack, only by controlling youths can the revolution tightly control the future. Conversely, if the revolution does not control youths, the enemy will find ways to utilize this young force and turn it into an assault force opposing the revolution.

The mobilization of youths must still be considered an issue of importance to all of society. The concept has long been held that the mobilization of youths is the sole work of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and that every issue related to youths is only resolved through the Youth Union. This concept is incorrect, is inconsistent with the viewpoint of the party and inconsistent with practice. The training of the young generation is the great undertaking of the entire party, of all the people and of all of society; the desired results could not be achieved if this work were only carried out by the Youth Union. Facts have shown that only by establishing a division of labor and cooperation on a society-wide scale is it possible to resolve matters related to youths well. The Youth Union can in no way take the place of the state, the other mass organizations, the family, the school or society. These organizations must work with the Youth Union in order to have a well coordinated impact upon the young generation in order to achieve high results. Under the leadership of the party, the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, in which the state plays a particularly important role, and all of society are directly responsible for training as well as mobilizing and utilizing the young generation. Only in this way is it possible to achieve the strength of organization, incorporate the thinking of the working class in the education of youths and carry out the mobilization of youths well. This is a viewpoint of utmost importance in the mobilization of youths when the party is in political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat state is managing every activity of society.

The mobilization of youths is scientific work. Youths are persons who have special characteristics and requirements. Researching the characteristics of youths is not simple work; researching the requirements of the young is even more complicated.

Marx and Engels proved the need to understand and correctly calculate the characteristics of the young, the physiological and social characteristics of youths. While highly evaluating the abilities, desires and zeal of youths, Marx and Engels pointed out that these unparalleled qualities do not, of themselves, lead to the creation of a correct course to follow or firm confidence. Moreover, a lack of maturity, a lack of experience and mistakes can turn the fine qualities of youths into harmful habits that are the very antitheses of these qualities.

In the young, physiological maturity generally occurs earlier than social and political maturity; the instinctive man develops before the social man. Therefore, in the process of organizing and educating the young generation, it is absolutely necessary to give attention to the gap between these two aspects of maturity. At the age of maturity, youths develop needs of an instinctive nature. Persons who act on the basis of instincts easily find themselves committing crimes. According to calculations made by educators and psychologists, 75 percent of the crimes occurring in the capitalist countries are committed by youths 14 to 18 years of age. Capitalism has very thoroughly researched this shortcoming of youths. It uses every available form and measure to provoke base, instinctive needs in order to paralyze the revolutionary capabilities of youths. We have long failed to research the characteristics that pertain to the age of youths well. We must conduct much more research, must firmly grasp the physiological and psychological characteristics and the needs of the young in order to adopt policies, guidelines and measures for educating and mobilizing youths that yield the highest possible results.

Another characteristic and, at the same time, another drawback of youths is their lack of experience in life. In the face of certain things and phenomena, youths usually only give their attention to their external appearance and spend little time delving into their essence. If not promptly and thoroughly guided, the observations and thinking of youths might very easily become one-sided and mistaken, even to the point of considering something illogical to be the truth.

The needs of youths, such as their aesthetic needs, their need for friendship, their need for entertainment and so forth are also special in nature. It is necessary to research these needs of youths in a very detailed and truly scientific manner in order to guide their development along wholesome lines. The scientific-technological revolution that is developing rapidly and strongly throughout the world has had more than a small impact upon the tastes, preferences and lifestyle of man, especially youths. Youths everywhere quickly adopt the new and want to rapidly incorporate it in life. If attention is not given to the wholesome needs of the young and if everything is forbidden to youths, youths will be forced to live like their elders and will not tolerate such a situation.

Youths are not a separate class and do not have a particular consciousness of their own. Youths cannot be considered a totally independent stratum within society



because they are an integral part of the various classes and strata of society. Therefore, the investigation and research of matters related to youths must give attention to social issues on a broad scope, both at home and abroad; at the same time, we must analyze the situation and role of youths in each specific stage of the revolution. It must be understood that youths have distinctly different traits, depending upon their living conditions, their class and society, the environment in which they live and even their sex.

In order to do a good job of mobilizing youths, we must establish objectives that must be achieved and specific tasks that must be performed. Our party has set forth the objectives of the mobilization of youths in the new stage of the revolution as: upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the young generation and insuring that the young generation maintains its role as the revolutionary shock unit in order to successfully complete its glorious historic mission while educating and training the young generation to be new, well developed persons who carry on the heroic tradition of the nation and are the loyal, outstanding inheritors of the glorious cause of the party.

Of importance in the mobilization of youths is the need to implement and uphold the right of ownership and insure that youths play the role of revolutionary shock unit. At present, the right of ownership of youths is not being respected at many places and, at some places, it is even being seriously violated. Youths are still bound by old prejudices of society; in the newly liberated areas, youths are subject to prejudice because of their personal backgrounds and political affiliations. In labor, the role and position of youths have not been appropriately established, especially in management, even though youths are a large force engaged in positive activities in important jobs. Full attention has not been given to providing jobs for youths and some youths of work age still lack jobs. Little attention is being given to the training of youths; for the most part, emphasis is only placed upon utilizing youths, not on caring for and helping them make progress. The effort to insure fairness in education and the development of the talents of youths is not being carried out well. In everyday life, spiritual activities, such as culture, literature, art, physical education, sports, recreation and entertainment, designed to meet the requirements of the young and support the effort to provide them with a well balanced education in order to gradually mold the new socialist man have not been given attention or prompt guidance.

The requirements involved in guaranteeing and upholding the right of collective ownership of the young generation also include intensifying the education and training of the young generation so that it becomes a stratum of workers who exercise ownership, possess patriotism and the pure socialist international spirit, think correctly, feel beautiful feelings, have great dreams and ambitions, are willing to fight and die for their ideals, have the knowledge and ability to perform practical work, are in good physical condition, live lives based on the truth and love and have the ability to make the best possible contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and firmly protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In order to meet these objectives, it is first of all necessary to intensify the teaching of communism and forge youths to become the new, well developed stratum of



persons exercising collective ownership. At the 3rd Congress of the All-Russian Communist Youth Union, Lenin stated that one of the extremely important tasks of the party is to teach communism to the young generation. To us at this time, this task involves cultivating within the young generation the scientific world view of Marxism-Leninism in order to help youths grasp the laws of development of society so that they can act in accordance with these laws and take initiative in struggling against every thought and action that is hostile to socialism. We must arm the young generation with the correct understanding of the revolutionary line and the viewpoints of the party regarding all of the matters faced in life. We must mold within youths the ability to chart a correct course for themselves and handle every matter faced in life in accordance with the viewpoints of the party. We must help youths acquire necessary knowledge, beginning with knowledge of the history of our nation, working class, party, Youth Union and army so that youths can, through our history, confirm who they are and verify on their own the laws of development of society.

Together with teaching communism to the young generation, we must rapidly reorganize the entire young generation into a strong and solid force of collective ownership. Over the past half-century, our country's young generation has been organized in a manner consistent with the tasks of the revolutionary struggle in each stage of history. At present, the majority of our country's youths belong to no organization. The percentage of youths in the North who are Youth Union members is rather high compared to the percentage in the South, but they still only constitute slightly more than 30 percent of the total number of youths, thus, more than 60 percent of youths belong to no organization. Some youths are not participating in the various youth movements. At its height, the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement only attracted about three-fifths of our youths. Rapidly reorganizing the entire young generation, this is a pressing demand of the revolution in the present stage. In order to thoroughly develop the tremendous potentials of the young generation and constantly create new strength at the same time, it is absolutely necessary that we reorganize the entire young generation. Because, in the course of achieving their revolutionary ideals, youths not only rely upon the strength of the correct revolutionary line of the party, but also upon the strength of organization in practical activities. Only on the basis of firmly adhering to the revolutionary line of the party and by means of their organized practical activities can the young generation acquire tremendous strength. Only by being reorganized can our youths, teenagers and children acquire the conditions needed to accept the teaching of communism. Only by being tightly and widely organized can the young generation send its troops into battle in a large formation, take action in a large system and appear before society with the strength of millions of persons united as one. Rapidly, widely and strongly organizing the entire young generation will be the highest form of respect for the right of socialist collective ownership of the young masses; will create the conditions for every member of the young generation to make contributions and grow in accordance with the requirements of the party; and will gradually reduce and eventually eliminate negative phenomena and non-socialist factors that might have an impact upon and control the young generation. Under present conditions, rapidly reorganizing the entire young generation and placing it under the direct and constant leadership of the party are a positive way to create the conditions for the young generation to form its powerful revolutionary forces in order to participate in the process of building the forces of

the modern Vietnamese working class and the stratum of socialist intellectuals in a manner consistent with the requirements of the industrialization of the country. Rapidly organizing the entire young generation will also have the practical effect of intensifying the building of the party, the building of the government and the building of the mass organizations on the various levels, thereby contributing to the struggle to overcome negative phenomena in economic management and social life.

To perform this important task well, we must rapidly organize the youths, teenagers and children of the entire country within a system of political organizations of the young generation consisting of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnam Federation of Youths, the Association of College Students, the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit, the Ho Chi Minh Children's Unit and other forms of organization. We must gain the participation of youths in the national economic system, in the educational, cultural, scientific and technical systems; at the same time, we must insure that youths fulfill their obligation to protect the fatherland.

Another important task is that of launching a socialist emulation movement and a revolutionary action movement among the young generation. Our party requires that there be a socialist emulation movement and revolutionary action movement wherever there are youths. The education and organizing of the young generation can only be tested and yield returns in the realities of the revolutionary struggle, in the vast emulation movement of the masses. The party and state have the responsibility of leading and helping youths launch an intense, widespread emulation movement designed to gain the participation of a large social force in building and developing the economy, culture, science, technology, national defense system and so forth, thereby creating a strong moving force stimulating the advance of society as a whole. The socialist emulation movement and revolutionary action movement must be oriented toward mobilizing the young generation to display a high spirit of overcoming difficulties and dare to think, act and be creative in order to contribute as much as possible to building and protecting the fatherland.

In order to establish a widespread emulation movement among youths, the organizations of the party and state must give youths specific tasks during each period of time, must trust and boldly assign tasks to youths and must, at the same time, create the conditions needed for youths to carry out their activities, be concerned with the legitimate interests of youths and so forth.

Together with caring for youths, every effort must be made to care for and teach teenagers and children. They are valuable assets of the nation, are the future youths who will hold the destiny and future of the country in their hands. It is with this in mind that our party places work among teenagers and children with the scope of the mobilization of youths.

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## CONCERNING THE QUALITY OF GENERAL SCHOOL EDUCATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 33-37

[Article by Hoang Ngoc Di]

[Text] Over the past 35 years, no country has waged the savage struggle, waged a continuous war of liberation, continuously fought to protect the country and had to contend with natural disasters and small-scale production as our country has. However, despite these circumstances, general school education has undergone a qualitative change from the tool of colonialism to the tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat; our country, whose population was once 95 percent illiterate, now has a developed system of education.

In the North, these advances were most evident between 1955 and 1975. They could have only occurred under the socialist system. By 1958, the people in the lowlands and midlands had wiped out illiteracy; now, the populations of many villages now have a level I education. In the mountains, the effort to wipe out illiteracy was carried out on the basis of two languages, the universal language and the tribal language. In 1955, only 20 percent of the total number of children attended school; by 1975, this figure has risen to more than 90 percent. Each year, hundreds of thousands of level II and level III school graduates joined the workforce and the army. The educational program was reformed on the basis of scientific advances and was constantly supplemented. The methods of teaching were constantly improved along the lines of closely linking learning with practice, closely linking education with productive labor.

The schools in the North popularized level I general school education among the working people and level II general school education among youths, cadres and troops; these are the levels of education needed for the masses to work and fight under the conditions of a system of manual production that is gradually advancing to machine production. The schools taught to youths ardent patriotism and a deep hatred of the enemy aggressor, taught them love of socialism, the proletarian international spirit, the new viewpoint toward work and the concept of respecting the working people. They supplied cultural forces to meet the need to train scientific and technical cadres. Generally speaking, the cultural scene in the North was completely changed, primarily because of general school education.

Since the time the entire country was liberated, we have built a unified socialist educational system and continued the strong momentum of development of this system of education on a nationwide scale. Of course, we must still wage a difficult struggle



in society as well as within the school against the influences of U.S. neo-colonialism, influences which are capable of causing a decline in the thinking and ethics of some students if they are not promptly blocked. However, we did rapidly occupy the educational front, abolishing the U.S.-puppet educational system, eliminating intervention by religions and immediately incorporating with the schools the new program of education and building a contingent of core cadres and revolutionary mass organizations.

One question that is frequently raised regarding general school education is: if we continue to develop education on a large-scale and at a rapid rate as we are doing now, will we not reduce the quality of education? This is called the "quantity-quality antagonism" by some in education. This question must be seriously examined rather than quickly reaching the conclusion that we should slow down the development of education in order to maintain its quality.

It is true that general school education in our country has developed at a rate rarely seen in the history of the development of education in any country of the world. North Vietnam wiped out illiteracy in only 3 years at a time when many developed capitalist countries still have tens of millions of illiterates. It took the North only 10 years, from 1955 to 1965, to increase the percentage of children attending general school from 20 to more than 80 percent. It took the developed capitalist countries more than 1 century to accomplish this; even the capitalist country that achieved this goal most quickly, Japan, took 70 years to do so. In the developing countries, even though they have recently made many efforts and invested much more in education than our country has, the percentage of children attending school was still relatively low in 1970. In 1970, according to data compiled by the Lagos Conference, the percentage of children between the ages of 6 and 11 attending schools in Africa was 41.1 percent and the percentage of children between the ages of 12 and 17 attending school was 23.9 percent (in a familiar country that has a rather well developed economy, Algeria, the corresponding percentages are 58.4 and 29.9 percent).

At the same time, as the resolution on educational reform of the Political Bureau observed, it is true that "our socialist education system has developed rapidly in size but is still weak in overall quality." Thus, how can we continue to develop education at a high rate in conjunction with steadily maintaining the quality of education? The need to accelerate the popularization of education among teenagers and children, the need to prepare educated persons for training cadres, wiping out illiteracy, disseminate general knowledge of science and so forth are legitimate, objective needs. If, in this initial stage of the revolution, our society does not meet these broad and pressing requirements, will it not experience immeasurable, severe consequences?

At present, the guideline for resolving this problem is: developing upon the experiences gained in stimulating the rapid development of the system of education while looking for ways to overcome the negative factors that cause the quality of education to decline.

We developed the system of education in a strong manner even though the economy was underdeveloped and we were at war because we knew how to turn the development



of education into the work of the people. The people opened schools and supported teachers. It was also the people who moved tens of thousands of classrooms into tunnels during the summer of 1965 in order to contend with the war of destruction of the U.S. pirates. The need of the people for their children to have an education forced the educational sector to train many teachers, develop many forms of education and establish a suitable system of education on the basis of taking the circumstances of the majority of the children of the working people into consideration.

However, there are two major problems that we have not resolved well, problems that have caused the quality of education to decline, especially with regard to scientific knowledge:

--The first is that the plans for the training of teachers and the building of the corps of teachers have not been effective, have not anticipated the requirements of the development of each class. Depending upon the annual budget and supply of grain, the normal school system has at times become too large and at other times shrunk, even been disbanded at some places. The corps has been constantly changing; skilled persons on the lower level have been promoted to teach on the upper level; many localities do not have local persons as teachers; and, in some years, many teachers have joined the army.

--The second is that the quality of education has not truly been consistent with each stage of development of society. We are in the initial stage of industrialization but the educational program is patterned after countries that have a developed industry. Our country has many areas in which the economy and society have developed in very different ways, in ways very widely separated; however, we have implemented but one program of education. The needs of the division of labor demand the preparation of a reserve labor force encompassing many different levels of development, but we only have one training objective. Actually, we should skillfully coordinate the popularization of education and the improvement of the contents of the educational program, distinguish between the majority of students who are being trained as ordinary laborers and the few who have the talents needed to be trained for the various fields of science and the complex professions and establish a suitable quality of education based on the learning conditions of the young in each area. Generally speaking, because our level of economic development is low, it is necessary to popularize education rapidly by having the majority of students learn less but learn what they are taught better and make what they are taught part of their character before advancing. Clearly, this would be better than to have them study very hard but not have a firm grasp of any knowledge.

In addition, within the education sector as well as in society, the maladies of ostentatiousness and attaching more importance to form than substance are very serious. These maladies have given rise to cramming, to dry examinations and to a lack of faithfulness in evaluations and emulation, thereby creating many negative phenomena within the school.

Another problem that is frequently faced in universal education is: how can we improve the quality of education in accordance with the goals of training that have been established? Here, we shall not discuss specific measures, only discuss the methods of teaching the new man under the actual circumstances of our country as it

shifts from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. This question usually is raised under the form of looking for a new mode of education or applying the principles of education to the educational work of the school. Here, method is understood as: "awareness of the form of the internal movement of content itself"(Hegel)(1), not specific measures.

While looking for a new method of education, we have, on the one hand, discussed both concepts and theories; on the other hand, we have attached importance to summarizing progressive experiences. However, these two efforts have not been linked together; in other words, we do not have a theoretical viewpoint concerning the formation of the new, socialist man under the conditions of small-scale, handicraft production.

As regards theory, we have made efforts to determine the principal factors in the process of educating man; these factors are related to and supplement one another and, at the same time, can infringe upon one another; the problem is finding a way to correctly coordinate them. This coordination is the coordination between learning and practice, between education and productive labor, between politics and science, between the school and society and so forth. This is a correct way of thinking, is a way that permits us to avoid deviations, avoid giving light attention to one area while placing heavy emphasis upon another. However, why have we at times placed heavy emphasis upon productive labor and, at other times, heavily emphasized book learning? These two inclinations sometimes conflict with one another like two opposite trends. The specific reasons for this are:

--There is confusion between the principles of education as the laws controlling educational work, the laws controlling the coordination of the various factors of education (with factors being understood as a separate category) and the relationship among the various educational activities.

Therefore, some persons explain the principles of education as the coordination of the three basic educational activities without realizing that the principles of education themselves play a role in every educational activity. The resolution of the Political Bureau provided a correct explanation of the process of education, explaining it as a process of unifying man's comprehension and applying the cultural values of mankind and the nation.

--There is an over-evaluation of the role played by "externally manifested" activities, such as productive labor and social activities, in the formation of the socialist character of the student. This concept gives light attention to the role played by the comprehension of the cultural values that have been cultivated. Here, there is confusion between a practical activity of adults, the activity of creating new value, and the practical activity of students, which is inherently an educational measure and designed to gain a thorough comprehension of the knowledge that has been studied. This concept gives rise to pragmatism in education, a tendency which the resolution on educational reform criticized.

We have not delved into the matter of establishing a viewpoint to be followed in practical educational work, especially into the matter of resolving the contradiction

between the contents of modern subjects of learning and the fact that the conditions for applying this knowledge are still backward and handicraft in nature. To resolve this contradiction, we once (1966-1967) proposed the slogan: "Combining advance science with the creative experience of the masses and the traditional knowledge of the nation." Because we did not establish a proper viewpoint, we developed a tendency to eliminate practical application for the reason that practical application does nothing to assist the learning of modern scientific knowledge. We must re-examine the contents of the educational program; we might find that certain scientific knowledge needed in the production of our country is lacking, such as knowledge of biology and chemistry needed in agriculture.

As regards practice, we have reviewed many valuable experiences. It is regrettable, however, that not many of these experiences have been promptly incorporated in regulations binding upon the schools. Moreover, some educational research cadres have shown little regard for these experiences, maintaining that it is only necessary to apply the modern methods of the world in order to provide a good education.

As regards achieving the educational goals of the general school, especially with regard to preparing within students the consciousness and ability to participate in productive labor or study a trade, these goals cannot be achieved through the general school alone. The educational system is an open system; the various types of schools are related to one another and there is a relationship between the school and society. We shall make an effort to provide an integrated education in labor and technology and provide occupational counselling within the general school; at the same time, however, society must be ready to utilize students and the various vocational schools must be ready to accept general school graduates. At present, this is not being done; each year, as many as 600,000 youths graduating from level II and level III schools do not go on to regular schools or even vocational training classes. Some youths become despondent over the fact that they must temporarily participate in labor.

In the recent past, we have given attention to the quality of education in order to achieve our two main objectives: first, preparing the young generation for actively participating in the war to liberate the country and, secondly, preparing them to learn scientific knowledge. We have not done a good job of preparing them for the system of large-scale socialist production or the new socialist life, as observed by the Political Bureau. Today, we clearly realize the adverse impact that these two shortcomings have had upon the development of the character of our youths. The first shortcoming can be quickly rectified once we establish a good system for training and utilizing youths; however, such is not the case with the second one. Youths who are not well trained in terms of their world view, politics, ethics, aesthetics and the new style of life are still victims of the influence of bourgeois culture. This influence did not end and withdraw along with the last colonialist aggressors; it is still capable of developing along with the development of cultural exchanges with countries that have different social systems through the various mass media.

The preparation of students in the field of the humanities is still weak. The programs and lessons in the social sciences, the extracurricular activities in literature and art, the relationships within the school and even the system of



examinations are not enough to encourage students to delve deeply into the ideological and emotional relationships among persons, mold within themselves a feeling of trust in and love for others and, on this basis, become involved in the humanities and philosophy.

General school education in our country has travelled a course filled with difficulties and, amidst these difficulties, "the most beautiful flower of the new social system" has blossomed. One very important favorable condition for the development of general school education is that there is now a torch guiding its way, namely, the resolution of the Political Bureau on educational reform, which details the line on the socialist revolution on education set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party. This resolution summarizes the course that has been travelled and our thinking concerning the future. We must study the experiences of the world, especially of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, regarding the education of the new man. However, we must also engage in serious thought and research here in our own country, a country that has consciously given birth to heroic generations and will surely give birth to strata of new, beautiful persons.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: "Philosophical Notes" of V.I. Lenin, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 103.

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## RAW MATERIALS FOR INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 38-42

[Article by Truong Son ]

[Text] Raw materials are a very important factor in maintaining continuous industrial production. In particular, raw materials are of decisive significance in consumer goods production because they generally account for 70 to 80 percent of the product's production cost.

In the recent past, in order to create sources of raw materials for industry, we developed the cultivation of industrial crops, livestock production, the harvesting of forestry and marine products, the mining of minerals and have begun to develop industrial raw materials; at the same time, we have imported necessary raw materials, although the amount being imported does not meet requirements. The amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops has increased slowly, crop yields are low and the yield of product from them is also low. Livestock herds and poultry flocks are small and the quantity of hides being purchased is very small (about 30 percent of buffalo and cattle hides and 3 percent of hog hides); forestry raw materials, such as timber, tre bamboo and nua bamboo, only meet 40 to 50 percent of needs; the output of marine product raw materials, primarily fish and shrimp, has been gradually declining each year. The supply of imported raw materials has been constantly declining. Discarded materials and defective products are not being fully collected and utilized.

The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum pointed out that raw materials are a matter of survival to industry, but our failure to provide a good supply of raw materials has been the main reason why industry has developed slowly. The resolution stressed that we must accelerate the domestic production of raw materials, increase our exports in order to earn foreign currency with which to import the raw materials we need but do not produce yet, make efficient and economical use of the various sources of raw materials and fully collect and utilize discarded materials and defective products.

In the 1 year that this resolution has been in effect, a number of initial results have been achieved. The government has promulgated several policies designed to provide incentive for the development of the production of agricultural raw materials. The food sector, together with Ha Son Binh and Vinh Phu Provinces, has replanned the

sugarcane growing areas for the Van Dien and Viet Tri Sugarcane Processing Plants and constructed four sugarcane state farms in the southern provinces; it has taken over the state tea farms of the agricultural sector and organized industrial-agricultural federated tea enterprises. The building sector and light industry have concentrated on accelerating the construction of spinning mills. The amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops increased 12 percent this year compared to last year. The output of coffee increased 70 percent and the output of dried latex increased 4 percent. Many localities have made full use of their arable land and set aside an appropriate percentage of this land to create local sources of raw materials. Hanoi has planned the expansion of the agricultural raw material areas; the districts in the outskirts of the city have accelerated the excavation of peat and kaolin. Ho Chi Minh City has planned the expansion of the rush and coconut growing areas and accelerated the planting of mulberries for sericulture. Vinh Phu has accelerated the planting of new sugarcane, tea, lacquer and other crops. Ha Nam Ninh and Thanh Hoa Provinces have opened hundreds of thousands of hectares of rushes. Quang Ninh Province has planted additional rushes and mangoes. Tien Giang Province has constructed areas specializing in the cultivation of pineapples, sugarcane, terminalia and cageput. Son La Province has repaired and developed the plantings of *Mallotus philippinensis*, tea and so forth.

A number of localities and installations have cooperated in harvesting and exchanging raw materials. Ho Chi Minh City is cooperating in the harvesting of reeds with Dong Thap Province, the harvesting of timber and rubber with Dong Nai Province, the harvesting of pine pitch with Lam Dong Province and the harvesting of buong leaves with Thuan Hai Province. Hanoi has cooperated with many provinces in the harvesting of raw materials, such as timber and the tops and branches of trees (Nghe Tinh Province), lacquer (Vinh Phu Province), rattan, tre bamboo and nua bamboo (Hoang Lien Son Province) and so forth. The cooperatives in Ha Nam Ninh Province have sent labor to cooperate with the Song Hieu State Farm in the felling of timber. The Sundries Corporation of the Ministry of Light Industry has cooperated with Thanh Hoa and Quang Ninh Provinces in the production of tannin.

Many enterprises have conducted research in technological improvements in order to make use of local raw materials and substitute raw materials. Textile shop number 13 of the Ho Chi Minh City Wool Rug and Jute Federated Enterprise has frequently improved its machinery and equipment in order to utilize nine different types of local raw materials, including a new type, wild jute, consequently, it was able to complete its plan for the first 6 months of the year ahead of schedule. The enterprise has been exchanging one new gunnysack for 2 kilograms of jute fiber; this enables it to acquire 700 to 800 tons of raw materials per year and has been welcomed by the people. The enterprises in Quang Nam-Da Nang have used Xuan Thieu sand in place of Non Nuoc pumice to produce floral bricks, used the skin of silkworm chrysalis as a raw material in the production of sauce, used paper mulberry as a raw material in paper production and used *Diospyros kaki* wood as weaving shuttles.

Some corporations and enterprises have applied flexible modes of supply and contract purchasing in order to create additional sources of raw materials for production. The Haiphong Enamelled Iron Works lets work out under contract to agencies and enterprises and has received 250 tons of raw materials. The Thuy Khe Tannery, as a result of organizing many leather purchasing stations in the provinces,

has so far purchased 20 percent more leather this year than during the same period of time last year. As a result of contracts and purchasing at negotiated prices, the various sugar refineries have acquired hundreds of thousands of additional tons of sugarcane. The soap factory, as a result of purchasing additional coconut oil at negotiated prices, has additional raw materials with which to produce soap cakes and toothpaste. The provinces of Cao Bang, Lang Son and Phu Khanh have intensified the purchasing of tobacco; as of September, Phu Khanh Province had exceeded its purchasing plan for the year and purchased 20 times more tobacco than in 1979. The Ha Bac Technical Supply Corporation, concerning itself with supplies for production just as much as producers do, has intensified its activities, directly provided supplies to 40 percent of its enterprises, improved its procedures and reduced shipping and receiving time from 7 days to 2 or 3 days; it routinely inspects its inventories, shifts supplies from places that have a surplus to places experiencing a shortage and has significantly helped enterprises within the province complete their plans. Some places have begun employing the mode of creating sources of raw materials through exports and imports; for example, the Haiphong Enamelled Iron Works has borrowed foreign currency to import raw materials from the capitalist market and produce products for exportation to Cuba and imported raw Cuban sugar for refining and then exported it to the capitalist market in order to earn foreign currency with which to continue importing additional raw materials.

The utilization of supplies that are circulated slowly and the reclamation and full use of discarded materials and defective products in order to organize subsidiary production have been carried out in a widespread manner within many sectors, localities and installations. Hanoi has opened an exchange center at which it buys and sells supplies and commodities outside the plan and has achieved good results at this center, marketing millions of dong worth of stagnated supplies and signing many contracts to buy and sell goods.

In 1979, the state-operated enterprises in Hanoi produced 3 million dong worth of products from discarded materials; in 1980 this figure might be as high as 5 million dong. The handicraft sector has also produced tens of millions of dong worth of products outside the plan. The Buoi Association of Interbranch Paper Cooperatives, in addition to sending persons to purchase scrap paper and old magazines and books, has been exchanging finished paper products for discarded paper to use as a raw material in production. In 1979 and 1980, the cooperatives and state-operated enterprises in Haiphong used tens of thousands of tons of metal, rubber, plastic, wood, cotton fiber and so forth worth a total of 20 million to 30 million dong. Ho Chi Minh City is using discarded materials to produce hundreds of new products. In Ha Nam Ninh Province, the supply station of the handicraft sector has supplied 1,300 tons of old iron and steel, 2,000 cubic meters of lumber, 50 tons of cotton fiber and hundreds of tons of other supplies and raw materials, thereby helping to overcome the difficulties of production installations. The metallurgy, electric power, coal, chemical, light industry, building and other sectors have also made full use of discarded materials to produce subsidiary products worth tens of millions of dong. The mechanical engineering sector has produced more than 200 products from discarded materials, products worth more than 20 million dong. Hoang Lien Son, Ha Son Binh, Thanh Hoa, Ha Bac and other provinces have sent laborers to mine 30,000 tons of local coal in order to bake bricks and tiles, bake pottery and process agricultural products.



Besides the positive efforts mentioned above, there are some negative phenomena that must be criticized; for example, many localities retain their raw materials (tobacco, sugarcane, coconut oil and so forth) in order to use them in local production instead of delivering them to central enterprises in accordance with their plan. In some enterprises, primary raw materials are mixed among discarded materials, goods produced under the plan are mixed among goods produced outside the plan and primary raw materials are used to produce "subsidiary products outside the plan" for direct trade without going through the state-operated commerce sector.

Although we have recorded a number of initial results, the raw material problem of industry still has not been fundamentally resolved. Therefore, in order to continue to implement the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and create stable sources of raw materials for industrial production, we should soon implement the following policies and measures:

1. We must make every effort to develop the production of agricultural raw materials by increasing the amount of area under cultivation, but very much importance must be attached to intensive cultivation. In view of the fact that difficulties are still being encountered with grain, there are two steps that can be taken in order to develop agricultural raw materials for factories. The most common practice is for the central level to "establish" a plan for the province, the province to "establish" a plan for the district and the district to "establish" a plan for cooperatives which requires that the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops, industrial crop yield and industrial crop output be increased by a certain percentage compared to the previous year; at the same time, the central level also assigns to the localities norms on the supply of grain for industrial crop areas and the purchasing of raw materials for central enterprises. Under this method, "non-intensive cultivation" does not yield the desired results.

We should select the other method of operating, specifically, in the next 4 to 5 years, we should increase the amount of area under the cultivation of a number of necessary crops for which the necessary conditions exist, such as rubber, coffee, tea, pineapples, tobacco, soybeans and so forth. It is necessary to zone production within centralized areas (increasing the number of centralized areas and decreasing decentralization) and practice intensive cultivation in order to raise crop yields and output; for example, with regard to sugarcane in the specialized growing areas, we will endeavor to produce 4 to 5 tons of sugarcane per hectare as we once did. With regard to tobacco, the average yield of which now stands at 5-6 quintals per hectare with a 50 percent commodity output, we will endeavor to raise yields to 1 ton per hectare and purchase 90 percent of output. The advantages of this method are that it will increase the supply of raw materials so that we can make full use of plant capacity and will take land away from grain cultivation.

As regards grain, in view of the fact that capabilities are limited, we should, instead of providing a small supply of grain to each place as we have long been doing, concentrate on supplying grain to a certain number of places so that we can purchase raw materials. For example, as regards soybeans, the state must supply grain to the people producing 10,000 to 20,000 hectares of soybeans in Dong Nai in order to purchase 10,000 to 20,000 tons. At other places, the state must purchase whatever is grown, considering these products to be supplementary products outside the plan.



Every possible form of organization must be used to mobilize many agricultural raw materials for industry, such as collecting agricultural taxes, making purchases under two-way economic contracts, making purchases at negotiated prices, having produced under contract and so forth.

2. At present, we do not have many discarded materials or defective products; however, on the momentum of development of production and everyday life, discarded materials and defective products will be a constant and important source of raw materials for industry. As a result, we must develop every possible way to fully collect and utilize discarded materials, especially those discarded by the people. We suggest that the enterprise directors be given the responsibility and authority to handle, in the manner that yields the highest possible economic returns, the various types of discarded materials and defective products arising in the process of production; however, there must be clear regulations and tight controls in order to avoid turning primary raw materials into "discarded materials" and primary products into "subsidiary products" (this does not include the case in which it is necessary to have some primary raw materials in order to make use of discarded materials and defective products). The provincial and municipal peoples committees must be given the responsibility and authority to organize the reclamation and good utilization of each source of discarded materials in the process of consumption, sources that are still scattered among families, agencies and schools. Many flexible forms of organization must be employed to accomplish this, for example, networks should be organized to purchase the discarded materials needed by the artisan and handicraft cooperatives; many stores should be organized to buy or trade discarded materials for products in the various wards; a Saturday of labor to collect discarded materials should be organized, etc.

3. In addition to developing and purchasing agricultural raw materials, which are of primary importance, it is necessary to adopt plans, policies and measures for gradually developing other sources of raw materials for industry, such as the following:

We must strongly develop afforestation and the reasonable harvesting of forestry resources in order to supply raw materials to the cellulous industry, the furniture industry, the pharmaceuticals industry and the industry processing special products for exportation. Of pressing, immediate importance is the need to protect and tightly manage all existing forests while endeavoring to cover barren hills with vegetation in the next 15 to 20 years. We must open additional forestry roads so that we can harvest trees in old forests at high, remote places and must limit the harvesting of highland forests and depleted forests. Attention must be given to coordinating harvesting with the preservation and regrowth forests and to coordinating the harvesting of forests with the transportation of forestry products with a view toward maintaining our natural resources. We must eventually organize a number of specialized forestry sites to support certain factories, such as nua bamboo forestry sites to support the paper plants, timber forestry sites to support the man-made fiber plants and so forth.

We must restore and properly operate the marine trades, which include the cultivation, preservation and harvesting of the various types of marine products in order to supply raw materials to the industries processing fish, salted fish, agar-agar,

fish meal for livestock, marine products for exportation and so forth. The basic and long-range guideline is to organize marine product federated enterprises encompassing harvesting, processing and well-balanced rear services that are suitable in size and employ modern technology so that we can annually harvest millions of tons of fish at sea each year. In the immediate future, it is necessary to develop the potentials of the cooperatives in the North, carry out socialist transformation through various forms of organization of the fishing industry in the South and make full use of existing state-operated forces in the harvesting of fish. We must quickly carry out an investigation of resources and promulgate a marine products resources protection law in order to lay the basis for developing the ocean fishing industry.

We must intensify basic investigations and the exploration for and development of mineral resources in order to supply raw materials to industry, especially heavy industry. In the immediate future, we must continue the search for the various types of raw materials that support fertilizer production, the production of building materials, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries and the glass, porcelain and pottery production industries. We must intensify the search for petroleum and natural gas and prepare to develop the petro-chemical industry in order to supply many types of raw materials to industry, such as plastics, chemical fibers, rubber, detergents, dyes, paint, etc.

At present, the majority of our raw materials for industry, especially light industry, must still be imported. For the foreseeable future, as long as we continue to make every effort to create domestic sources of raw materials but cannot fully meet needs, broadening our foreign trade is the most important way to supplement the raw materials of industry. We must adopt many policies that provide incentive for exportation in order to earn foreign currency with which to import raw materials, such as a policy that establishes an export obligation for each worker and farmer each year to produce export goods worth a certain amount; a policy on practicing economy in order to export goods, that is, of being determined to limit domestic consumption of goods that can be exported; a policy giving preferred status to exports which insures that units earn a greater profit for producing exports than producing domestically consumed goods; a foreign currency loan policy in order to import raw materials for the manufacture of export goods; and gradually implementing a policy of using exports to pay for imports, a policy under which every unit requiring imports must export goods in order to import the goods that it needs and can import many goods if it exports many but only import a few goods if it only exports a few goods (except in special cases in which imports are needed but exports cannot be arranged by the unit and, as a result, must be arranged by the state).

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REVIEWING THE ARTISAN AND HANDICRAFT SECTOR OF HO CHI MINH CITY IN THE RECENT PAST

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 43-45

[Article by Le Chi Tiet]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City has 182 artisan and handicraft cooperatives with 30,046 members, 2,234 production teams with 72,054 members, 398 small, private enterprises with 7,500 employees and 8,556 private producers with 35,934 laborers. The total number of artisans and handicraftsmen now under the management of the federation is 145,524, 70.1 percent of whom are cooperativized laborers and 29.9 percent of whom are workers of private enterprises and self-employed persons. The total output value of the sector in 1979 was 932 million dong, 20 percent of which was produced by cooperatives, 36 percent by collective production teams, more than 20 percent by private enterprises and over 23 percent by individuals. Thus, within the sector, private enterprises and self-employed individuals constitute less than 30 percent of the labor force but produce 43.1 percent of the total output value.

Recently, artisan and handicraft production developed strongly, thereby supplying goods to the market and meeting the needs of society. However, production has developed primarily at the private production installations and among self-employed persons. Some trade sectors have not been planned, organized or closely guided, consequently, they have developed rather strongly on their own, especially the sectors that use domestic raw materials and supplies or local discarded materials, such as the plastic, aluminum, soap, tobacco, wine and other sectors. Many private production installations and self-employed persons are competing with the state-operated and collective economy to control the sources of raw materials. The Federation of Cooperatives and the economic-financial management sectors have placed heavy emphasis upon managing collective installations that have stable production, plans and contracts but have been lax in the management of private production installations and the individuals that produce and market their own products. As a result, the supply of artisan and handicraft goods has increased but the quantity sold to the state has declined significantly. Meanwhile, the merchant and service trades of small merchants have "exploded" and cannot be restricted, thereby causing the "free" market to develop in a random fashion, causing an increase in speculation, disrupting the market more, pushing prices upward and adversely affecting the daily lives of law abiding citizens and the other strata of laborers.



While the production of the private production installations and private individuals has "exploded" in a spontaneous manner, the majority of the cooperatives, which are producing products under contracts with the state, have been encountering difficulties. Due to the shortage of raw materials, contract production plans have been reduced, consequently, during the first 6 months of 1980, many cooperatives (producing farm implements, glassware, cloth, ready-made clothing, leather goods, processed wheat and so forth) have had to reduce the scope of their production, thereby losing a total of 21 million dong. In the face of this situation, the increase in the production of the private enterprises and individuals is only compensating for the decline in the production of cooperatives. Compared to the first 6 months of 1979, output value within the cooperative and production team sector declined 20 percent; however, the production of the private production installations and self-employed individuals has increased 67.5 percent, thereby raising their percentage of the total output value of the artisan and handicraft sector from 43 to 54 percent.

Of course, there is spontaneity, is a pilfering of raw materials provided under contracts with the state and artisan and handicraft cooperatives are marketing some of the products they produce; however, it is clear that our administrative, supply, bureaucratic style of management embodied in current policies and regulations is restricting collective production (in planning, the management of cash, the management of prices and so forth). Production has developed strongly but policies have not been promptly amended or revised; one area of management continues to be restrictive while another area is lax, consequently, collective production cannot develop strongly and the private sector has "exploded" together with the development of the "free market," thereby creating many negative phenomena.

The situation presented above shows:

In order for artisan and handicraft production to truly develop strongly and in the correct direction, it is necessary to clearly realize the role and position of the artisan and handicraft industry. In the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, we must attach importance to building and managing state-operated industrial installations and attach importance to building and managing artisan and handicraft installations. It is necessary to establish reasonable relations among central state-operated industry, local state-operated industry and the artisan and handicraft industry in order to create the conditions for the artisan and handicraft industry to develop widely and in the correct direction and in order to make full use of its capabilities.

Under the conditions of small-scale production, the present decentralization within artisan and handicraft production is objective in nature. We cannot reorganize this production solely on the basis of our subjective desires but must know how to reorganize it in a manner consistent with the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. We must cause the artisan and handicraft industry to develop in two directions through many forms of development: serving as contracting satellites and cooperating in production with central and local state-operated enterprises under a suitable planning project and plan so that this sector achieves an independent position and grows alongside state-operated industry with the competent support of state-operated industry. This is a correct guideline for reorganizing and developing production.



However, the artisan and handicraft economy in our country at this time is both a collective and private economy. For this reason, if we do not have a unified management system consistent with this characteristic, it will be impossible to avoid the tendency of allowing basic units to develop spontaneously.

The following concept must be clearly understood: the cooperatives are socialist, collective economic units that belong to the socialist economy that exists along with the state-operated economy within socialism.

We cannot hastily abolish the private economy at will nor can we deny its impact. The state-operated economy and the collective economy are superior in nature but, at present, the private economy still serves the interests of the national economy. The problem we face is how to manage the private economy well.

The private individual economy has a dual nature: positive and negative. However, if they are reorganized so that these installations, their labor and their production tools serve as contracting satellites for the state and only receive the money legitimately due them for contracting work, with the goods they produce belonging to the state, these private installations will have been brought into the orb of the organization of production and the production planning of the state.

However, avoiding obligations to the state, wanting to charge high prices and pay little tax, wanting to buy at low prices and sell at high prices, pilfering supplies and raw materials of the state, engaging in speculation and hoarding, disrupting market prices, practicing tax fraud and tax evasion, operating in a deceitful manner, stealing supplies and raw materials belonging to the state and so forth, these are negative phenomena that must be eradicated and dealt with harshly. Therefore, the utilization of the positive aspects of these installations must go hand in hand with limiting their negative aspects.

We must set aside our prejudices and make every effort to teach the youths at private enterprises and the persons who are self-employed methods of management that are better, that are better suited to their method of operation; in this way, we will surely be able to develop upon their positive aspects.

In order for artisan and handicraft production to develop in the correct direction, it is necessary to perform the following jobs well in the immediate future:

--Continuing to carry out transformation, reorganizing production and better planning the artisan and handicraft sector so that it is closely and efficiently linked to state-operated industry; accelerating production from supplies and raw materials of the state while taking positive steps to mobilize every capability, including imports, the broadening of two-way contracts among localities, the expanded creation of local sources of raw materials and economizing on supplies and raw materials in order to produce goods of high quality in a manner that yields high economic returns; closely coordinating the acceleration of production with the strengthening of the management of circulation and distribution so that both production and the market develop well;

--Creatively applying and boldly revising policies and regulations so that they are suited to each different economic segment; more smoothly coordinating planning with the utilization of market relations and economic levers; applying a flexible

planning method and adopting both legal plans and directed plans so that production develops in a non-restricted manner, develops without negative phenomena, with full attention to the requirements and characteristics of an economy advancing from small-scale production to large-scale production, an economy in which different economic segments still exist;

-- Boldly strengthening the organizational structure and management apparatus of the artisan and handicraft sector on the various levels; strengthening the leadership provided by the various party committee echelons and the guidance provided by the various levels of government; attaching importance to the management provided by the ward and village levels of the private economy; accelerating cadre training and improving the economic, financial and technical management qualifications of cadres; and assigning additional competent management cadres to the federations of cooperatives on the various levels and related sectors.

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## RESEARCH: THOUGHTS ON THE IMPACT OF THE LAW OF VALUE IN THE ECONOMY AT THIS TIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 46-51

[Article by Tran Ho]

[Text] When talking about the law of value, everyone realizes that its existence within the socialist economy is an objective necessity; however, opinions must be exchanged concerning the impact of this law and how it should be applied in order to clarify these matters. Below are some thoughts offered in the hope of helping to clarify these matters.

### Part I

The law of value is the economic law of commodity production. The law of value demands that the production and trade of goods be carried out on the basis of how much social labor need be expended. The existence of the law of value in every system of commodity production is always closely linked to a specific mode of production. As a result, we must research the law of value against the economic circumstances and conditions of our country.

To begin with, our country is in the initial stage of the transition to socialism and, at present, the law of value is having an impact within an economy consisting of many different segments. Attention must be given to the fact that, in the various stages of development of socialist society, the impact of the law of value differs in degree. In the initial stage of socialism, when socialist production relations are being established, the scope of impact of the law of value, although subject to certain limitations, is still broad. As socialist production relations are strengthened and developed, the law of value is increasingly limited. We are in the initial stage of transition to socialism in which there is a state-operated economy, a collective economy and, at the same time, a private economy. In the South, in addition to these three economic segments, there are also the joint public-private economy and the private capitalist economy. Due to the birth of the socialist economy and its dominant position within the state-operated economy and due to the impact of the economic laws of socialism, especially the basic economic law and the law of planned development, the impact of the law of value has been limited.

Under the capitalist system, the law of value rules man and has the impact of a spontaneous force. Conversely, under socialism, we recognize and apply it in the

planned management of the national economy. One objective impact of the law of value under socialism to which we must give our attention to fully utilizing is the incentive it provides for higher labor productivity and the development of production if we know how to use commodity-money relations well in economic management. However, the impact of the law of value differs in degree within each specific field. Its impact is stronger in circulation than in production and stronger in consumer goods production than in the production of the instruments of production; its impact is stronger in the artisan and handicraft industry than in modern industry; and its impact is broader and stronger in the South than in the North at this time.

Within the state-operated economy, the law of value does not regulate production but it does have an important impact. There is product trade among the various sectors of the state-operated economy and this trade of products is based on calculating the expenditure of social labor. Within a sector of the state-operated economy, it is also necessary to calculate the expenditure of live labor and materialized labor in order to raise productivity and lower production costs so that enterprises can produce at a profit. Therefore, within the state-operated economy, in addition to applying the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned development, we must know how to apply the law of value in production, distribution and circulation. Some enterprises that do not know how to apply the law of value produce products at any price, incur losses and harm the state. The law of value does, to a certain degree, regulate the production of products that are produced and circulated outside the plans of state-operated enterprises. If, in their production and business operations, state-operated enterprises do not take the law of value into consideration, it will pose an obstacle to the implementation of measures designed to develop production and will have more than a small influence upon the process of reproduction of the enterprise. If we only know how to bolster the morale and will of laborers but do not give attention to the production costs, value and prices of the goods that are produced or to whether the enterprise is earning a profit or incurring a loss, enterprises will ultimately encounter difficulties in production and in improving the lives of their workers. At present, the state must still compensate more than a few production and business installations that are incurring losses; we must improve our management and gradually put an end to this situation.

In the collective economy, which consists of agricultural cooperatives and handicraft cooperatives, the law of value still regulates production to some extent. Although they receive guidance from the state plan in the form of norms governing their various products, prices and profits are still very "attractive" to cooperatives. In the past, the purchasing of agricultural products has fallen short of projected plan quotas because of many reasons, including inappropriate prices. Farmers generally calculate their profit very closely when selling agricultural products to the state.

As regards the private economy, the law of value, although its impact is limited to some extent, still rapidly and strongly regulates production and circulation. Within this sector, prices rise and fall abnormally and are dependent upon supply and demand on the market.

Secondly, the law of value is having an impact in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, a process in which labor



productivity is still very low but the value of goods is high. Commodity production in our country at this time is still based upon underdeveloped production forces and a low level of division of social labor.

Low labor productivity causes the amount of social work time required to be high and also results in the value of products being high because "the common law of commodity production is that labor productivity is directly proportionate to the percentage of the value it creates." (1) Due to low productivity, the surplus product is still small and commodity output is also small, especially in agriculture, where the commodity ratio is still low. This situation has led to a very sharp antagonism between production and consumption; the national economy is seriously unbalanced.

## Part II

Recognizing and correctly applying the law of value is a very important matter in making good use of the various economic levers for the purpose of supporting socialist transformation and socialist construction in our country. In order to intensify socialist construction, we have attached importance to implementing the principle of providing incentives through material interests while giving our attention to teaching ideology, but not in the manner of idealists who only know how to mobilize the thinking of laborers while denying the objective laws that exist within the economy itself. Some persons engaged in economic work are very frustrated by the "stubbornness" of the law of value because it has "created" many very complex and hard problems that must be studied and resolved.

We must apply the law of value in a conscious manner; we must study Lenin, must "know how to use all of the existing forms of transitional economies...in order to immediately revive the national economy within a ravaged and weakened country." (2) In addition to teaching socialist patriotism to laborers so that they make every effort to build the socialist fatherland, we must know how to use the existing levers of commodity production and use intermediary links to stimulate the birth of large-scale socialist production in our country. One fact very deserving of attention is that when we apply it correctly, the law of value operates within the economy in a manner as quiet as a gentle autumn rain, as if no one even knows it is being applied; however, if an economic agency makes a mistake and violates the law of value, it will be beaten by it; then, it will arise like a roaring wave and clearly reveal itself to everyone; as Marx said, "It is as if it takes a house collapsing upon their heads to show everyone the law of gravity." (3)

When talking about value and the law of value, we must clearly realize that the basic quantity in the value of a commodity is the amount of social work time needed to produce it and it is this amount of time that is the basis for the impact of the law of value. If we do not clearly realize this fact, we cannot, in practice, establish the value and prices of commodities because the amount of social work time needed to produce a commodity is the essence of its value and the monetary form of expression of value is price. At present, we only research and determine production costs, a primary component of the value of a commodity, but do not truly compute the entire value of a commodity. We also do not calculate the value of the surplus product in order to, on this basis, establish a reasonable level of profit for production installations. The labor productivity of persons producing a

commodity determines the amount of social work time to produce the commodity in question; this amount of time changes depending upon changes in labor productivity. When the amount of social work time needed to produce a commodity changes, the value of the commodity changes as does its price. Changes in value demand changes in prices because prices "revolve around value." It is an abnormal phenomenon and contrary to the law if a price does not change at a time when value has undergone significant change. Such a price policy would pose obstacles to production, distribution and circulation.

The law of value does not directly show itself on the market, but takes the form of prices. Actually, without prices, the law of value cannot be expressed.

We cannot give light attention to the relationship between supply and demand; even though it does not determine the formation of prices in socialism, it does have a very important effect upon prices. It is through the relationship between supply and demand that prices rise or fall on the basis of value; only in these increases and decreases in prices is the law of value implemented and are we able to set prices above or below value in order to support the development of the socialist economy. "Thus, there can be a separation, a gap between the price and value of a commodity and this possibility is realized through price structure itself. This vague concept, which appears to be a shortcoming, is actually one of the beauties of this structure."(4)

When applying the law of value, we must place it in a close relationship with the economic laws of socialism. These laws are organically linked to one another and combine with the law of value to form a system of objective laws in which the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned development are the laws that occupy the dominant position while the law of value plays a secondary role subordinate to the system of economic laws of socialism. As a result, we cannot research or apply the law of value in an isolated, metaphysical manner, but must place it within its close relationship with the economic laws of socialism. Only as a result of the birth of socialist production relations and the laws that govern them can we apply the law of value for the sake of the interests of socialism. As the socialist production relations are strengthened and perfected, we will be better able to apply the law of value to serve the interests of socialism. As a result, we must give very much attention to building, strengthening and developing the state-operated and cooperative economies while creating the conditions for applying the law of value well.

To apply the law of value well, we must employ a correct methodology, must clearly recognize the inevitable existence of this law within our country's economy. However, recognizing and correctly applying objective laws involves an entire process. Some persons always say that they recognize the existence of the law of value but, in actuality, they give it no attention whatsoever, consequently, they commit serious shortcomings in economic management. They tend to make too much use of administrative measures instead of correctly employing the various economic relations; they think that this is the best and easiest course to follow but do not suspect that this objective law is having a reverse effect, forcing them to go around in circles and, as a result, waste much of society's wealth.

Correctly establishing the position of the law of value, the resolution of the 4th Party Congress pointed out: "In economic management, we must attach importance to use value and, at the same time, to the law of value; we must implement the system of cost accounting and make good use of the market and the various economic levers: prices, credit, wages, profits, etc."(5) We must overcome the idealist viewpoint of using subjective desires in place of researching and applying the various objective economic laws. On the other hand, we must also combat the tendency toward strengthening the role played by the law of value to the point that we worship it and do not see its negative aspects.

The law of value is not only applied to provide incentive for small-scale producers to work in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan, but also applied within the socialist economy. We apply the law of value in many areas of economic management, the principal ones being the following:

First, in planning, in addition to establishing material resources norms, we use value as a tool in the formulation of norms and the ratios among the various products within the national economy; at the same time, value is used to inspect and stimulate the implementation of the plans of the economic sectors, the localities and the production installations. After analyzing the basic position and impact of the use value of commodities in our system, Le Duan pointed out: "...During the period of transition to socialism and throughout the stage of socialism, value and the law of value exist in an objective manner and play an important role in building and managing the economy. They are measurements, are tools of inspection and are effective levers."(6)

We must coordinate planning with the utilization of market relations; this also means coordinating the application of the law of planned development with the application of the law of value, using the plan as the primary tool and the market as a supplementary tool. This is an activity in economic management which insures balance and provides a good deal of flexibility and diversity under the conditions of the economy in our country, which is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. At present, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition, its material bases are still underdeveloped and decentralized and the state cannot control each and every capability and need in production and everyday life, consequently, coordinating the application of the law of planned development with the law of value assumes very important significance in stimulating the development of production.

Applying value and the law of value in planning in coordination with utilizing market relations will cause production to "explode" in accordance with the line of the party and the guidelines of the state plan, first and primarily within the state-operated economy and the collective economy so that each installation and each worker displays initiative and creativity in order to contribute to implementing the state plan well.

In the relationship between planning and the use of market relations, it is necessary to combat the tendency at some places to give light attention to planning, wanting instead to develop the production of products outside the plan more than the production of products under the plan, even use supplies provided by the state to



develop the production of products outside the plan. Our plans still have the shortcoming of being bureaucratic and restrictive; both the contents and methods of planning must be improved. However, this is no reason to narrow the scope of planning and place market relations above it.

Secondly, the law of value is applied in cost accounting by means of using value as the measurement of each production cost in order to, on this basis, determine production costs and enterprise wholesale prices for the purpose of insuring that enterprises earn a profit. At present, the implementation of cost accounting at enterprises is not good; one important reason for this situation is the failure to correctly determine production costs and enterprise wholesale prices by applying the law of value. Enterprise wholesale prices are not based on a reasonable system of standards and quotas, consequently, they have little effect in strengthening enterprise management.

The prolonged use of sweeping subsidies in economic management has caused production and business installations to rely totally upon the state and give no attention to using the law of value in order to produce and do business at a profit, instead, they merely rely upon the state to compensate the enterprise for its losses.

Thirdly, in pricing activities, we determine the value of a commodity on the basis of the amount of social work time needed to produce it together with applying the policies of the party and state and the economic laws of socialism; at the same time, supply and demand are taken into consideration in order to establish, in a planned manner, price systems designed to stimulate the development of production and help to improve the standard of living of the people, such as the system of agricultural product purchasing prices, the system of retail prices on consumer goods, the system of industrial product wholesale prices, etc. These price systems are closely related to and have an impact upon one another within a unified structure.

In recent years, we have begun to establish a number of price systems; at present, however, these systems are no longer suitable and do not meet the requirements of national economic development. These systems were adjusted in a piecemeal fashion and this served to make the relationship between agricultural products and industrial goods even more unreasonable; as a result, prices have not fulfilled their inherent function well and have not served as an effective tool in struggling against prices on the "free" market and speculators.

Fourthly, in the implementation of distribution in accordance with labor, the law of value is applied to improve the wage system. We must improve the various wage scales in a reasonable manner with a view toward fully implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and helping to redistribute labor within the economic sectors in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan. It is necessary to widely apply in the various sectors and localities the system of piecework wages and contract wages. In addition, it is necessary to correctly implement the system of bonuses for increased labor productivity and production over and above the plan in order to provide incentive for workers and enterprises to accelerate production.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book II, Volume I, p 195.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Volume II, p 565.
3. K. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book I, Volume I, pp 1-9.
4. K. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Book II, Volume II, p 146.
5. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing Hanoi, 1977, p 62.
6. Le Duan: "Several Matters Concerning the Local Economy," COMUNIST REVIEW, No 10-1979, p 19.

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## THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY AGAIN FACES MANY ACUTE PROBLEMS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 56-60 and 70

[Article by Nguyen Van Tho]

[Text] At the start of this year, before the capitalist countries could overcome the serious consequences of the 1973-1975 economic crisis, they again had to contend with many new, acute problems.

In April 1980, the United States, the country with the greatest economic might in the capitalist world, faced another crisis of surplus production. In particular, this crisis has spread very rapidly and deeply. According to a statement by the U.S. Commerce Department on 19 August 1980, the GNP declined 9 percent during the 2nd quarter of 1980. This was an unprecedented quarterly decline. In July 1980, production declined 9.3 percent compared to the same period of time last year. All important production sectors have become entangled in this crisis. The automobile industry is only using 50 percent of its capacity; by June 1980, its output had declined by 23 percent, the lowest level in 20 years. In May 1980, the number of new houses constructed amounted to only 920,000 units, one-half the number built in May 1979. The metallurgy industry is also being severely affected by the crisis, using only 56 percent of its capacity. The United States has 16 large steel mills with 106 blast furnaces, but 43 of these furnaces are not in operation. During the first 6 months of 1980 steel output declined 15.8 percent compared to the first 6 months of last year, amounting to only 59 million tons.

Business activities have stagnated. The profits of U.S. corporations have strongly declined, declining 18.2 percent after taxes during the 2nd quarter of 1980 alone. The three largest automobile producers in the United States lost 1.5 billion dollars during this period of time. Many plants have had to close and there have been mass layoffs. In April and May of 1980, there were 1.7 million unemployed persons in the United States; the total number of unemployed workers has thus risen to more than 8 million, 7.8 percent of the workforce.

This serious crisis has inevitably led to a rapid drop in consumer demand on the U.S. market. The real wages of workers have declined continuously for 12 months and had dropped by 9 percent as of May 1980. An opinion poll conducted by the U.S. television network CBS recently showed: "The present economic crisis is causing Americans to be more concerned than ever before."

In western Europe, the economic crisis broke out first in Great Britain. During the first 6 months of this year, industrial production in Great Britain declined 3.5 percent compared to the same period of time last year. The Birmingham industrial region in central Great Britain has experienced a serious decline, dropping 25 percent in the space of the last 3 months; of the total number of corporations doing business in this region, only 9 percent are operating normally. According to estimates by economic research organizations in Great Britain, the gross social product has declined 2.5 percent this year, thus equalling the level during the 1973-1975 crisis.

Industrial production in France began to stagnate in April 1980 and had declined 2.2 percent by May 1980. During the first 6 months of the year, industrial production declined 6 percent, automobile exports declined 2 percent and steel production declined 16.7 percent. The domestic purchasing power has seriously declined and inventories have soared. In May 1980, France had 6,800 bankrupt corporations, a 7.5 percent increase over May 1979. Even West Germany, the country with the most highly developed economy in western Europe in 1979, encountered many difficulties as this year began; the rate of economic growth slowed markedly and, in some sectors, production had completely stagnated. During the first 8 months of the year, West Germany only produced 30.3 million tons of steel, a 1.2 percent decline compared to the same period of time last year. This year, GNP has only grown at one-half, sometimes only one-third the rate of last year.

In Japan, the 1979-1980 financial year ended with 16,535 cases of bankruptcy, an increase of 7.3 percent compared to the 1978-1979 financial year. Total unpaid debt stood at roughly 2.358 trillion yen (about 9.43 billion dollars), a 15.2 percent increase compared to the 1978-1979 financial year. According to estimates by Japanese banks, the rate of increase in investments in industry will not increase during the 1980-1981 financial year. For example, investments in machinery and equipment in 1980-1981 will increase 14.1 percent compared to a 16.5 percent increase in 1979-1980; the investment of private capital in the processing industries will only increase 8.7 percent in 1980-1981 compared to 21 percent in 1979-1980. During the first 8 months of this year, the Mitsubishi Economic Institute observed that the Japanese economy is showing signs of entering a decline. The rate of increase of GNP might decline from 6.1 percent during the 1979-1980 financial year to 4.5 percent in the 1980-1981 financial year. Consumer demand on the domestic market is declining.

In summary, economic activities are clearly stagnating throughout the capitalist world and a serious crisis exists in the United States and Great Britain. According to a report by the European Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the rate of economic growth of the 24 capitalist countries belonging to this organization in 1980 was about 1 percent (1979: 3 percent), inflation was 13.3 percent (1979: 10.1 percent) and unemployment stood at 20 million persons (1979: 16.5 million persons).

The economic crisis, although it only broke out recently, has revealed many of the acute problems with which the capitalist countries must deal.



First, this crisis has occurred at a time when the capitalist countries have not overcome the serious consequences of the economic crisis during the years from 1973 to 1975. Never before has the capitalist world experienced a stage of restoration as unstable and long as the stage following the 1973-1975 crisis. This stage lasted 14 months in the United States, 15 months in West Germany, 30 months in France, 35 months in Japan and 37 months in Great Britain. In 1978 and 1979, the capitalist countries entered a very brief and weak period of prosperity. During this stage, the industrial production of these countries only increased 4 percent each year, less than one-half the increase in 1973. Moreover, the production of many industrial sectors, such as shipbuilding, ocean transport, synthetic fiber production, textiles, ready-made clothing production, shoe production and so forth, continues to be in a state of crisis or stagnation.

The direct cause of this tragic situation is the serious difficulties encountered in many areas of the world capitalist economy, difficulties that have caused the various factors that stimulate the restoration and development of the economy to not have the impact they had in previous economic cycles. Following the 1973-1975 crisis, the capitalist countries did not see a surge in investments in fixed capital, a primary material base in economic restoration and development. It was not until 1978 that the capitalist countries, with the exception of the United States and France, returned to the investment levels of 1973, the year of highest investments. The main obstacles to this recovery were that economic prospects were not bright, consumer demand on the domestic and foreign markets had not increased and there was still a serious surplus of plant capacity. This situation had the unavoidable consequence of universally reducing labor productivity. During the period from 1975 to 1979, labor productivity in the United States only increased by 0.1 percent each year compared to 1.9 percent during the previous 10 years (1963-1973). Also during this period of time, labor productivity in Japan increased 3.4 percent compared to 8.7 percent, labor productivity in West Germany increased 3.2 percent compared to 4.6 percent, labor productivity in France increased 2.7 percent compared to 4.6 percent, labor productivity in Great Britain increased 0.3 percent compared to 3 percent and labor productivity in Italy increased 1.6 percent compared to 5.4 percent.

Economic recovery and development are also dependent, to a large degree, upon personal spending because personal spending accounts for 60 percent of national income in the capitalist countries. Serious inflation, the failure of wages to keep pace with rising prices and the constant increase in the number of unemployed, all of these factors have caused the annual rate of increase of personal spending to decline since 1973 to less than one-half the 4.8 percent average during the period from 1963 to 1973. This is not to mention the heavy tax burden and mounting consumer debt.

These difficulties on the domestic market have naturally affected demand on the world market, in general. Moreover, in recent years, international trade has encountered many new obstacles. Protective measures have become increasingly numerous and widespread. There have been continuous trade wars among North America, western Europe and Japan, such as the automobile war, the iron and steel war, the synthetic fiber war, the fertilizer war, etc. Tensions on the world market have also been increased by the embargo and economic retaliation of the U.S. imperialists

and their allies against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries as well as the developing countries in which the anti-imperialist movement is strong, such as Iran and so forth, thereby causing consumer demand on the world market to shrink correspondingly.

The situation presented above very clearly reflects the increasingly deep antagonism between production and the market and explains why the capitalist countries became entangled in the present crisis before they could overcome the serious consequences of the 1973-1975 crisis.

Secondly, a new symptom in the present stage of recovery and prosperity is that inflation and unemployment, instead of declining, have strongly increased in practically all of the capitalist countries. The prices of consumer goods increased 8.5 percent in 1978 and 10.5 percent in 1979 compared to 5.9 percent in 1972 and 9.5 percent in 1973. In 1980, the economic crisis broke out in the United States and Great Britain; inflation in these two countries has also increased strongly (13.2 percent in the United States and 18.5 percent in Great Britain). Of concern to the capitalist countries is that both inflation and unemployment are rising; this malady, once acute, has now become chronic and is an unprecedented danger in the history of capitalism. The underlying cause of the present inflation is the policy of the capitalist state of regulating the economy by means of the budget. The budget deficit has been increasing strongly. In the United States, the annual average budget deficit has increased from 13.8 billion dollars during the years from 1970 to 1974 to 48.6 billion dollars during the years from 1975 to 1979. In western Europe, it has increased from 8.6 billion marks to 44.7 billion marks; in Great Britain, it has increased from 1.3 billion British sterling to 7.58 billion British sterling. During the years from 1975 to 1979, the annual average budget deficit in Japan was 17.16 billion dollars and, in France, 8.9 billion dollars.

This trend has been closely linked to increases in expenditures for non-production purposes, especially increases in military spending, spending on the arms race and spending to serve the interests of the monopolistic capitalist groups. According to calculations by UN specialists, the military expenditures of the capitalist countries increased from 209 billion dollars in 1970 to 450 billion dollars in 1980. Clearly, inflation has increased as the budget deficit has increased.

In addition to this underlying cause of inflation, the consequences of inflation under the present conditions of capitalism have created new factors that are having the reciprocal effect of causing inflation and unemployment to rise.

Thirdly, this economic crisis has broken out at a time when the various structural crises are becoming more serious. In late 1978, the energy crisis broke out. Compared to the 1974 energy crisis, in which petroleum prices increased by 9 dollars (from 2.59 dollars to 11.65 dollars per barrel), this crisis has increased prices by more than 200 percent, that is, an increase of 19.3 dollars (from 12.7 to 32 dollars per barrel).

The capitalist countries, on the one hand, have had to take stern measures to control energy consumption but without affecting the production of many sectors;

on the other hand, they have had to increase their spending in order to import petroleum. U.S. spending on oil imports increased from 8.1 billion dollars in 1973 to 45 billion dollars in 1977 and about 60 billion dollars in 1979. During this same period of time, Japanese spending on oil imports increased from 6.7 billion dollars to 25.5 billion dollars and nearly 40 billion dollars. Spending on oil imports has increased in a similar fashion within the European Common Market countries.

The immediate consequence of this situation is the serious trade deficit of the capitalist countries. In 1970, these countries only had a trade deficit of 6.24 billion dollars; the trade deficit increased to 28.4 billion dollars in 1975, soared to 64.7 billion dollars in 1979 and will increase even more strongly in 1980. During the 3rd quarter of 1980, the trade deficit stood at 40.4 billion dollars, for a projected annual deficit of more than 100 billion dollars. Clearly, the trade deficit of the capitalist countries is part of the serious crisis they are experiencing and has been and is creating many new difficulties and antagonisms in the other fields of the economy, especially the financial and monetary fields.

Rising oil prices have also created new factors that are causing inflation to worsen. On the one hand, the oil monopolies, seizing the opportunity for higher profits, raised the price of the petroleum they sell and of petroleum products by a rate higher than the rate of price increases of the countries in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). On the other hand, the increases in oil prices have an effect upon the prices of all other goods, especially those who manufacture requires the use of much energy or much petroleum, natural gas and so forth as a raw material. As regards the causes of this situation, all bourgeois theorists blame the petroleum exporting countries. In fact, the increases in oil prices are the result of the economic crisis and the inflation in the capitalist world. At the start of 1979, the countries of OPEC revealed: inflation in the capitalist countries had caused their real earnings from the exportation of petroleum to decline by 17 billion dollars in 1977 and 20 billion dollars in 1978. Moreover, as of March 1979, the price of exported oil had only increased by 48 percent while the prices of industrial goods imported from the capitalist countries had risen by 56 percent. In the face of this situation, the OPEC countries had to increase the price of their oil to protect their interests; therefore, the present oil crisis has its origins within the capitalist system and it is the monopolistic capitalists themselves who have made this crisis worse with each passing day.

Due to the increasingly serious inflation, the capitalist currencies have rapidly lost value. In this general trend, the U.S. dollar has been weakened more rapidly than the other currencies and has dragged the entire monetary system of the capitalist world into a greater state of chaos. As of 21 January 1980, the price of gold has risen to 838 dollars per ounce, the highest price in history, a price 21 times higher than the price of gold at the start of the 1970's. This is eroding confidence in the western currencies and proves that every effort of the capitalist countries to achieve monetary stability is nothing more than an illusion.

The new difficulties and antagonisms in the capitalist economic cycle, the phenomenon of stagflation, which has become chronic and the deep structural crisis have caused



the mechanical crisis to flare up. In recent years, facts have shown that the various measures taken by state monopolistic capitalism to intervene in economic life have not only failed to have an impact but have, in many sectors, also become the causes of new difficulties and antagonisms, the most obvious ones being inflation and its consequence, the malady of stagflation. Thus, state monopolistic capitalism truly finds itself in a state of crisis. The capitalist world economy is in an increasingly frustrated and inescapable situation.

On the basis of the serious difficulties mentioned above, all of the capitalist countries have made very pessimistic predictions concerning economic prospects in the 1980's. They consider the 1980's to be 10 gloomy years spent dealing with many extremely difficult problems.

Energy is the number one problem that all capitalist countries will face in the next 10 years. According to estimates by the International Energy Organization, the shortage of oil in the capitalist countries will constantly increase until the end of this decade. The U.S. Department of Energy has admitted that the price of oil in 1985 might be twice as high and that the oil consuming countries might have to spend an additional 140 billion dollars to import oil.

The second difficulty which no capitalist country can avoid is the parallel increases in inflation and unemployment, thereby creating two obstacles to capitalist reproduction.

The capitalist countries have placed many hopes on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in order to resolve the acute economic problems being faced now. However, the process of improving the economic structure and upgrading the old technological base to a new one suited to the new economic conditions in the capitalist countries are proceeding very slowly. Moreover, due to capitalist production relations, every step taken to rationalize production and make technological improvements is a step that increases the socialized nature of production forces and a step that results in mass layoffs. This will serve to exacerbate the political-social antagonism.

Against this background, the monopolistic capitalist state can only take halfhearted economic measures and policies, cannot thoroughly resolve the problems it faces.

Thus, in the 1980's, there is little chance in the capitalist countries for the emergence of true economic prosperity; rather, it is highly possible that these countries will experience economic crises that are at least as serious as the 1973-1975 crisis. The United States has been and is gradually entering the vortex of the economic crisis. Due to its economic and political position, the decline of this giant will surely drag down a host of other capitalist countries. In the "post-Vietnam" period, the capitalist world will surely experience more profound and larger changes.

## A FEW ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRIES WITHIN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORGANIZATION (ASEAN)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 61-64

[Article by Nguyen Khac Vien]

[Text] Indonesia and Brunei annually produce nearly 100 million tons of petroleum.

Malaysia exports 60,000 tons of tin and 1.5 million tons of rubber each year.

The Philippines produce more than 12 million coconuts each year.

Thailand exports 6 million tons of cassava flour each year.

This is not to mention the other types of agricultural products: palm leaves, corn, tobacco, tea and so forth; not to mention the various types of ore besides tin; not to mention the deposits of petroleum and natural gas under the sea or lying elsewhere to be tapped; and not to mention the precious wood in the rich tropical forests.

However, the majority of this wealth is being exported to the United States, Japan and western Europe.

We were not surprised when U.S. President Eisenhower, in 1953, met with the French governor to explain why the United States was paying 80 percent of the costs of France's war in Indochina: Southeast Asia is a tremendous source of raw materials for the countries of the "free" world.

In 1970, as the fuel problem became an acute problem in the developed capitalist countries, exploration for petroleum and gas in Southeast Asia increased dramatically. The entire ocean region here was divided into grids for exploration and preparations for development. Between 1968 and 1980, the daily oil need of the world increased from 40 million barrels to 80 millions barrels. It has been estimated that, by 1985, the United States will be importing 13 million barrels per day and Japan will be consuming 12 million barrels per day.

Controlling the tremendous sources of raw materials in Southeast Asia is a matter of survival to the economies of the developed capitalist countries: the United States, Japan and western Europe.

The raw materials mentioned above, before being exported to the large capitalist countries, are processed to some extent; industries processing coconut oil, palm leaf oil, rubber and fruit have been constructed. Along with them, a number of automobile assembly plants and, in particular, electronic plants producing radios, televisions, recorders, telephones and so forth have been constructed. The components, which are produced in Japan and the United States, are sent to Southeast Asia to be assembled by workers in the countries of this region; the production of these components, which requires a high level of scientific and technological development, is carried out in the large capitalist countries; their assembly, which requires much painstaking labor, is done by workers in Southeast Asia. The goods, which are sold on the international market, still bear the labels of the United States, Japan or western Europe; the profit earned from their sale is primarily returned to the multinational corporations of the large capitalist countries in the United States, Japan and western Europe. The wages of the workers in Southeast Asia often only equal one-fifth the wage of a worker in Japan and one-tenth of a worker in the United States. When they are sick, they must leave their job without receiving the sick pay received by workers in the countries of Europe and the United States. In the competition among capitalists, finding the cheapest labor is a matter of survival.

Looking at the countries in the Southeast Asian Organization (ASEAN), we see another field that is apparently undergoing intense development: the tourism and service sector. In the cities of Bangkok, Manila and Singapore, one sees huge hotels and bustling recreational and entertainment areas; statistics show that the annual revenue from "tourism" is several hundred million dollars. The streets are bustling with tourists from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France and Japan; each day, planes land in these cities bringing tens of thousands of tourists from the West and Japan. Throughout Japan, the United States and western Europe, one sees billboards inviting tourists to travel to Southeast Asia, billboards promising very exotic, very "eastern" pleasures.

Who are the guests that pour into the cities of Bangkok, Singapore, Manila and Hong Kong? They are the owners of large companies, specialists, engineers, experts in economics, banking and trade and, for the most part, "tourists." They come from Japan, the United States and western Europe, countries in which fun and enjoyment are very expensive, to Southeast Asia to live in spacious hotels or rent villas complete with kitchens at inexpensive rates; they travel extensively by airplane, taking only 12 to 13 hours to reach Southeast Asia. Once here, they are taken to see the sights of "Asia" and, in particular, enjoy its prostitutes at will. Thai girls from the poor lowlands, where farmers have gone bankrupt and been forced to sell their children to avoid starvation, have come to the cities to be prostitutes. To tourists, a few dollars is not much, but to an impoverished girl in Bangkok, it is a large sum of money. And, in such cities as Bangkok, for example, prostitution for Japanese and western tourists has become an important industry. These girls earn twice as much as a college graduate. The French newspaper LE MONDE reports that the number of prostitutes in Thailand is estimated as 600,000.

Thus, the economies of these countries encompass three "developed" fields: the exportation of raw materials; the assembly and processing industries; and the tourist and service businesses. Recently, U.S. capitalists and business leaders in



Southeast Asia reached agreement concerning a host of measures that will enable the United States to invest much more heavily in this region. According to USIS, the direct investments by the United States in the five countries of Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore) in 1966 amounted to more than 5 percent of total U.S. investments in the developing countries; by 1978, this percentage had increased to 9 percent and, by the end of that year, stood at 3.640 trillion dollars. It has been estimated that this investment now stands at 5 trillion dollars. These countries of Southeast Asia are the fourth largest trading partners of the United States and U.S.-Southeast Asian trade relations have increased ten-fold compared to 1965; the total value of goods has reached 16.8 trillion dollars. During the first half of 1980, two-way trade increased by 46 percent. With such close economic ties, it is easy to understand their political closeness!

Another important characteristic of the economies of these countries is the primary role played by the bourgeoisie of Chinese extraction.

The workers at the assembly plants are citizens of the various countries within the Southeast Asian Organization (ASEAN), the companies that control the majority of the profit are from Japan, the United States and western Europe and the management intermediaries are overseas Chinese bourgeoisie.

The farmers of Thailand raise cassava and cassava flour is exported to the large capitalist countries, with the buyers being overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. In the tourist sector, the young girls are Thai, their clients are from Japan or West Germany and the hotel owners are overseas Chinese bourgeoisie.

Within agriculture, the production of some agricultural products and commodities has increased but all of these products are exported to the large capitalist countries; only landowners have enough capital to purchase machinery, chemical fertilizer and new seeds with which to produce these products; the profits are used to buy machinery and luxuries from the imperialist countries. Due to the introduction of machinery, the majority of farmers have lost their jobs; before the introduction of machinery, they had a few agricultural products or handicraft goods to sell in order to earn a small amount of money, which they must now do without. The population is constantly growing and the number of bankrupt persons in the countryside is increasing with each day.

As a result, crop yields have failed to increase over a large area. The average rice yield in Thailand is only about 2 tons per year; the majority of fields are only used to raise one crop per year. Thailand can export rice because it has a large amount of land under cultivation (17 million hectares, three times as much as Vietnam, but its population is nearly the same as Vietnam's). The divisions between the wealthy and the poor in the countryside of these countries are becoming increasingly sharp; tens of millions of bankrupt farmers have left their villages for the cities.

The populations of the cities, especially the capitals, such as Bangkok, have swollen to 5 million to 6 million; on the one side are huge palaces, skyscrapers,

hotels and stores, an abundance of goods to serve foreign tourists, large businessmen, landowners and high ranking officers and officials; on the other side are the slums of the poor working people who hold unstable jobs. A small number of them have been employed at the assembly plants of the multinational corporations; their wages are not high but, compared to the wages of laborers who wander the streets and the income of bankrupt farmers, their income is much higher. Many persons who have had to use microscopes to assemble sophisticated electronic components for 5 to 7 years have had their vision impaired and been fired. The majority of the merchants, both large and small, and managers are Chinese.

Finally, besides a number of merchants and high ranking officials and officers who eat and dress very well and some manual workers and civil servants who temporarily have adequate food to eat, the vast majority of the people and laborers live unstable, easily bankrupted lives. The cinema, radio stations, television, books and newspapers overflow with things that stimulate violence and licentiousness, thereby dragging society into a decadent, pleasure-seeking lifestyle. National cultures have been crushed by waves of so called cultural products imported from the United States and the other large capitalist countries.

According to a report by the Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations on Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), in Thailand, a country that seems prosperous from the outside and is famous for the smile on the faces of its people, 11 million of the more than 40 million people do not have enough money to maintain a minimum standard of living. This has also been recognized by the Bangkok government; another report states that more than 4 million of the 7 million children of kindergarten age regularly lack the necessary nutrition (in 1974, 54,000 children died of starvation). Millions of children in the impoverished northeast region of the country have been sold by their parents and must work at hard labor in factories with extremely wretched conditions; they work in the factories all week long and are prohibited from leaving it for any reason. (The approximately 8,000 factories of this type have contributed to the "prosperity" of Bangkok). In a report made public in 1978, the World Bank calculated that the number of children under 14 years of age in Thailand who must work is nearly 2 million (10 percent of the children of this age group). After being denounced by the Anti-Slavery Committee of the UN, the Thai government declared the launching of a campaign against "factories that use slaves" in the capital and the "flesh dealers" in the railroad stations of Bangkok; however, no concrete results have been achieved in this campaign.

In the countries within the Southeast Asian Organization (ASEAN), the majority of the working people are impoverished, the national culture faces the threat of being abolished and society has become decadent. This plight cannot help but generate strong reactions among the patriots, the manual workers, farmers, students and intellectuals of these countries.

In order to carry out their scheme of expansion, the Beijing reactionary authorities have pursued many plans in the countries within the Southeast Asian Organization (ASEAN). For example, they are using overseas Chinese to control key positions within the economy, assume positions within the government and bribe officials and high ranking officers; they are using the small Maoist parties to create disruptions and bring pressure to bear upon the local governments.

We are not surprised by the fact that, in the face of the pressure and enticements of the imperialists and the Beijing reactionary authorities, reactionary forces in some of the countries within the Southeast Asian Organization have sided with the United States, Japan and Beijing in a vain attempt to consolidate their positions. In addition to the way they make their living each day and to sharing the profits of the colonialist economies, a number of them also desire to make money through wars launched by the imperialists and international reactionary forces. In 1940, Thailand drove off Japan and took occupation of all of Battambang Province and a portion of Kompong Thom Province in Kampuchea; during the years of the U.S. attacks in Southeast Asia, Thailand supplied mercenaries and allowed the United States to use Thai soil for air and naval bases. The majority of the B-52's that committed countless crimes in the countries of Southeast Asia departed from Thai soil.

The people of the countries in the Southeast Asian Organization (ASEAN) share with the people of the three countries of Indochina a common environment and a past marked by struggle against old-style colonialism. Today, in order to safeguard their national independence, prevent their natural resources from being exploited to the point of depletion, prevent their national cultural from being destroyed and, in particular, maintain peace in the entire region and not be drawn into a savage war to die in place of forces commanded by reactionaries in Washington, Tokyo and Beijing, the people of all countries in Southeast Asia must resist the scheme of the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists. In this struggle for peace and independence, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea stand ready with the other countries in Southeast Asia to discuss and reach solutions, build permanent peace and, on this basis cooperate with one another to build and develop their economies and cultures. The destiny of Southeast Asia, of which Indochina is an integral part, must be decided by the people of Southeast Asia and cannot be delivered into the hands of the rulers in Washington, Tokyo and Beijing!

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## THE STRATEGIC AMBITION OF BEIJING REGARDING THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Hanoi JAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 65-68

[Article Nhuan Vu]

[Text] A Key Strategic Area

Measuring 2.14 million square kilometers, the South China Sea is one of the largest seas in the world. To the north, the South China Sea meets with the Hoa Dong Sea through the Strait of Taiwan and with the Pacific Ocean through the Bashi Strait (between Taiwan and the northern Philippines). To the southeast, the South China sea adjoins the southern Pacific through the Sulu and Celebes Seas (between the Philippines and Indonesia). To the west, the South China Sea connects with the Indian Ocean through the Strait of Malacca. Therefore, the South China Sea is in a key position between Asia and Europe, in a key position vis-a-vis many regions in Asia and is an important maritime and naval communications hub. The South China Sea plays an important role in the economic life not only of the countries along its shores but also in Northeast Asia, especially Japan, a country that is heavily dependent upon the petroleum sources in the Middle East and raw material sources in Southeast Asia. The South China Sea is also an important strategic military region to all of the countries in Southeast Asia that are peninsula and island countries. It is also a strategic military area that links two oceans, the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and, as a result, it can serve the role as a springboard for deploying military forces from the Pacific into the Indian subcontinent, South Asia, the Middle East and East Africa.

The old imperialist, colonialist powers of the West quickly saw the importance of the South China Sea, consequently, as early as the 14th and 15th Centuries, Portuguese and Spanish merchants arrived in the Philippines and Indonesia and, in the 17th Century, warships of the French, Dutch and British colonialists appeared in the South China Sea, anxious to invade and occupy their colonies.

In a process of long struggle, the countries that were once colonies of the imperialists won their national independence. However, neo-colonialism took the place of old-style colonialism. The imperialist countries, primarily the United States and Japan, and the international reactionary powers are trying to control this region. This is a region of countries that have a warm climate, much manpower

(approximately 300 million people), rich agricultural products and minerals and is a region considered to be a storehouse of many valuable, strategic raw materials in the world. For example, in 1970, the countries of Southeast Asia produced 2.4 million of the 2.9 million tons of natural rubber produced by the entire world and 115,000 tons of the roughly 200,000 tons of tin produced by the entire world.

Today, the position of the South China Sea has become even more important now that large petroleum reserves are being developed in many regions along its continental shelf.

#### Beijing's Ambitions Regarding its "Home Waters"

Throughout history, the effort by imperialist and expansionist powers to conquer others has been in the hands of powerful armies but the operations of these armies have been limited to the mainland regions. For this reason, in order to become global powers, the imperialist powers had to have a powerful navy to complement their powerful army. To accomplish this, they first had to have favorable "home waters" to use as springboards for thrusts into the various oceans. The "home waters" of the imperialist Roman navy of ancient times were the Mediterranean; the "home waters" of the Japanese navy when it was first being built in the early 20th Century were the Sea of Japan; and the "home waters" of the German Nazi navy were the North Sea.

China has never had a modern, powerful navy or secure "home waters" in the several thousand years of its history. As the navies of the Tong and Nguyen Dynasties were on the momentum of being built and developed and moved into the South China Sea in order to prepare for ventures far away, some of their ships were sunk in the mouth of the Bach Dang River and the river itself by the Dai Viet navy. Today, Beijing should not forget this fact. Since 1950, the Chinese navy has been expanded, its troop strength exceeds 300,000 and it is equipped with a large number of warships that are 20 to 30 years old. With the exception of 73 submarines and 23 destroyers of various types, the other warships in the Bac Hai, Dong Hai and Nam Hai fleets of the Chinese army consist primarily of escort vessels, anti-submarine vessels, battleships and fast torpedo boats.

The Hoa Dong Sea, which is the "home waters" of China and measures 1.24 million square kilometers, is now controlled by the U.S. and Japanese navies.

Looking from their "home waters" toward the ocean, Beijing sees through its binoculars warships of the U.S. Navy and the Japanese navy immediately before their eyes and the Strait of Taiwan, the Strait of Korea, the Ryukyu Islands and the Kyushu Island of Japan look like a screen preventing the winds from the Pacific from blowing into the Hoa Dong Sea and the several thousand kilometer coastline of China.

To the pragmatic eyes of Beijing expansionist and hegemonist circles, the South China Sea appears as a broad springboard which the Chinese navy, whose strength is limited, can use to have an impact, especially when operating within the framework of collaborating with the U.S. Navy. This is something that Washington desires

because the United States wants to use the Chinese navy as a force temporarily helping it to achieve their sinister scheme in the South China Sea.

Within the framework of the mutual beneficial relationship between Washington and Beijing in the South China Sea, Beijing is dreaming of and making every effort to turn the South China Sea, which encompasses the offshore waters of many countries in Southeast Asia, into the "home waters" of the Chinese navy.

#### The New Long March to the South

Blocked toward the north, northwest and southwest and facing the open sea and the islands of Japan, a country called the "land of the rising sun" that has the ambition of becoming no less than the "country of the setting sun" as well, the Chinese expansionists have frequently directed their efforts toward the South, both from the mainland and the sea.

In World War II, as a result of controlling the South China Sea, the Japanese fascist army attacked and occupied practically all of Southeast Asia within a few months after the war broke out in the Pacific.

From 1955 to 1975, the U.S. imperialists tried to take control of South Vietnam, considering it to be their northern bridge to the Asian continent. The systems of U.S. military bases established in South Vietnam and the Philippines were considered by the Pentagon to be two pincers tightly controlling the South China Sea from its eastern and western shores for the purpose of turning this sea into the private lake of the U.S. Navy, into a springboard for U.S. military forces to control all of Southeast Asia and expand into the Indian Ocean.

Totally defeated in the war of aggression in Vietnam, U.S. warships and aircraft were forced to withdraw and began using the Subic and Clark military bases in the Philippines as their primary bases.

After 30 April 1975, the peoples of the countries along the shore of the South China Sea applauded the glorious victory of the Vietnamese and hoped that the South China Sea would be "calm" from then on. However, before the shadows of the old pirate ships had disappeared, the new pirate ships of the Beijing expansionists appeared on the horizon and began their operations in a most brazen fashion with the event on 19 January 1974: openly collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in 1972. Nixon paid the first price to Beijing in his gamble of "playing the China card" by negotiating with and permitting Beijing to attack and occupy all of the Paracel Islands of Vietnam, which, at that time, were occupied by the Saigon puppet army.

This despicable trade was exposed when U.S. State Department spokesman John King declared: "The Chinese side does not appear to oppose the presence of Captain Colson on the island" and "the United States maintains its neutral stand in the Paracel Islands sovereignty dispute." Then, Colson, a "prisoner," a U.S. Army captain captured in the Paracel Islands, was sent with great fanfare by the Chinese authorities from the Beijing airport back to the United States.



That which the U.S. State Department spokesman called the "neutral stand of the United States in the dispute over sovereignty over the Paracel Islands" was, in substance, a manifestation of the strategic collaboration between Beijing and Washington.

Since conspiring with the U.S. imperialists, Beijing has made every effort to create trouble in the South China Sea. They have changed white into black concerning sovereignty over the archipelagos in the South China Sea. They have set one side against another in relations among the countries around the South China Sea. Their insidious scheme is to keep the waters turbid. We still remember when, in 1954, in a textbook, Beijing presented a map in which it showed as part of its territory millions of square kilometers of ocean waters and the islands of surrounding countries. This action was exposed. In 1978, Beijing fabricated another map, in which it claimed as its own territory practically all of the South China Sea to a distance of thousands of kilometers to the south of China's territorial waters. On this map, the "territorial waters" claimed by the Beijing expansionists were like a knife stuck into the stomach--the underbelly--of all Southeast Asia.

To the Beijing reactionary authorities, once they lost all of their influence in Vietnam and Laos, Kampuchea assumed a geographical position of special strategic importance in their South China Sea strategy. From Kampuchea, they could expand into surrounding countries, especially to the south, through the Gulf of Thailand to Singapore, whose population is 90 percent overseas Vietnamese, thereby blocking the strategic Strait of Malacca. Moreover, the Gulf of Thailand is linked to the strategic road running from Van Nam through Phong Sali and Luang Prabang to Pakse and through Phnom Penh all the way to the port of Kompong Som.

Thus, to the Beijing reactionaries, all of the Indochina peninsula, the mainland springboard, and the South China Sea, the springboard at sea, create the first rung in their ladder strategy for expanding into Southeast Asia and, from there, into the Indian Ocean and the countries lying along its shores. However, the countries of Indochina, having won their independence and uniting closely with one another, thwarted this strategic scheme of Beijing. This explains why Beijing has tried to cling to the corpse of Pol Pot, which was spat upon by millions of persons in the world! This reveals the inner meaning of what Beijing has said to its allies that the Kampuchean situation must be evaluated from the standpoint of global strategy. What is this global strategy if not the most reactionary global strategy of trampling upon independence won through the sacrifice of much blood by the peoples of the countries of Indochina and scheming to impose the rule of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists upon the countries of Indochina and all the countries of Southeast Asia.

Under its "South China Sea strategy," Beijing is making every effort to turn the South China Sea into its "home waters" in the hope of biting the tails of the United States and Japan, extend their reach and create troubles in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. However, Chinese expansionism is coming up against the wall of the peoples of the countries of Southeast Asia, primarily the peoples of the countries of Indochina. Moreover, the U.S. and Japanese imperialists are making every effort to secure a foothold in Southeast Asia; they will not readily allow Beijing to expand in this region, thereby harming their interests. However, the peoples of the countries of Southeast Asia will not allow the expansionists and imperialists to have their will in this region.

## CHINA: FACTS AND FIGURES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 80 pp 69-70

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] According to official data for 1979, China has a population of 970 million, one-fifth the world's population. The territory of China measures 9,760,000 square kilometers. Its farmland measures 96 million hectares. There are nearly 1,000 square meters per capita. Industrial output value is 459 billion RMB, 3 percent of the industrial output value of the world. Its agricultural output value is 158.4 billion RMB; national income is 337 billion RMB; national income per capita is 347 RMB, 125th in the world.

The 1976-1985 ten year economic plan of China calls for the production by the end of 1985 of 60 million tons of steel, 500 million tons of crude oil, 1 billion tons of coal, 400 million tons of grain and so forth. And, when three more 5-year plans are added to this, China will become the leading superpower in the world! In September 1980, Hua Quofeng admitted that this plan had met with bankruptcy and said that the new plan will have to be extended to 1990. Generally speaking, the norms of this new plan are about 30 percent lower than the old plan. According to reliable sources of information, China's new plan calls for the production by 1990 of 40 to 50 million tons of steel, 200 million tons of crude oil, 600 million tons of coal, 400 million tons of grain and so forth. As regards the rate of development, the old plan called for industrial growth exceeding 10 percent per year; according to present projections, industry has only grown by 6 percent in 1980 and total industrial-agricultural output value has only increased by 6 percent. In agriculture, the old plan called for the completion of mechanization by 1980; this is no longer a goal due to a shortage of money. The rate of growth of agriculture has also been reduced.

Why were such serious revisions to the plan necessary? They were made necessary by the reactionary political line of the authorities, who want China to "leap" into the position of a leading superpower at a time when the Chinese economy barely escaped collapse following the cultural revolution and is a backward, weak and chaotic economy. In February 1978, Hua Quofeng admitted that the cultural revolution had caused serious harm to the Chinese economy; between 1974 and 1976, the damage to the economy amounted to 100 billion RMB. In August 1980, Deng Xiaoping said that 10 million persons were killed and 200 million persons were suppressed and

terrorized in the cultural revolution. In May 1980, the Central Statistics Department of China published a document stating that "the economy is seriously unbalanced," "agriculture is the weakest sector," "light industry is not meeting the requirements of the people" and the heavy industrial sectors are experiencing "a very serious shortage of fuel and electricity"; meanwhile, "production costs are very high, product quality is low and there is very much waste but profits are small." In capital construction, the country "is carrying out 1,187 projects, but only 9.7 percent of them have been completed." According to the Chinese finance minister, the 1979 budget showed a deficit of 17.6 billion RMB; of this amount, military expenditures exceeded 2 billion RMB. This has been confirmed as being caused by the war of aggression against Vietnam. Inflation stands at 5.8 percent and foreign debt is 3.4 billion dollars. As a result, prices have risen quickly and the lives of the people, which were miserable in the cultural revolution, are now still submerged in difficulties. According to official figures, the average income of the farmer is less than 7 RMB per month, which is far below the average standard of living. Last year, Li Xiannian said that 100 million persons are starving; 20 million persons are unemployed, 26 percent of the total number of manual workers and civil servants. In June 1980, Xue Muqiao, a high ranking official in charge of the economy, said that 80 percent of the people now live in poverty and that one-third of the 600 million youths and teenagers are not attending school. In October 1980, the Chinese authorities officially made mention of an investigation conducted in the major cities: among one-fourth the total number of manual workers and civil servants, 8.2 percent are illiterate. In society, millions of youths and teenagers violate the law; within the agencies of the state, there were more than 10,000 violations of the law in the past year and one-half that were prosecuted in court or required disciplinary action.

In this situation, the Chinese reactionary authorities still maintain a huge military apparatus costing from 40 billion to 50 billion dollars per year (according to the journal *POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE*, Paris, summer issue, 1980), which is four to five times the total spent on agriculture in 1979. This line will surely not help the Chinese economy.

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