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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 12, 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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COLLECTIVE MASTERY, THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT, 15, 16 & 17 Dec 80 and Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Le Duan at the closing session of the 4-10 September 1980 VCP Central Committee Plenum in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 1-12--translation of the speech as done from Hanoi Domestic Service and NHAN DAN was previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 008, 13 Jan 81, pp K5-K16]

[1430 GMT 15 Dec 80]

[Text] The VCP Central Committee held a plenary session from 4 to 10 September 1980 to examine the new draft Constitution of our country and decide on measures to ensure its strict implementation after its adoption by the National Assembly. At the concluding meeting of the session, Comrade Le Duan, party general secretary, delivered a speech comprising four parts:

1. A Constitution Building Socialism and Defending the Socialist Fatherland;
2. Collective Mastery Is the Fundamental Content of the New Constitution;
3. Perfecting the Mechanism: The Party Leads, the People Are the Masters and the State Governs; and
4. The Conclusion.

In today's and subsequent newscasts, we will bring you this speech by the comrade general secretary. You will now hear Part I: A Constitution Building Socialism and Defending the Socialist Fatherland.

Dear comrades, our Central Committee session has discussed the Political Bureau's report presented by Comrade Truong Chinh and has contributed many important ideas for the new draft Constitution to be presented to the National Assembly for adoption as well as measures to be carried out to insure its strict implementation after being adopted by the National Assembly. Today, at this concluding session, I wish to present some views.

Our people have an extremely glorious history. In 4,000 years, we have had more than 20 centuries of resolute and undaunted struggle for independence and sovereignty with many marvelous and glorious feats of arms. However, toward the middle of the last century, our people had to endure the disaster of losing their country resulting from colonialist aggression. Untold blood was sacrificed to save the country and the family, but the case of national liberation remained unsuccessful. In 1930, our party was born. It inherited the national tradition of struggle against foreign aggression and received the light of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of the present era.

The party established the Vietnamese working class's leadership over the revolution, firmly basing itself on the great strength of the people, introducing into our national liberation movement a new content and quality--independence and freedom for the nation linked to the abolition of class oppression and the elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man, leading the country along the path of socialism. It was national liberation revolution, linked to the world proletarian revolution and turned toward the vanguard banner raised by the Soviet Union since the October Revolution.

The strategic line of upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, charted by President Ho Chi Minh and consolidated in the party's first platform, mapped out a new path for the Vietnamese revolution and pushed the revolutionary struggle forward with marvelous strength, insuring our people's remarkable victory in the 1945 August revolution and in the anti-French and anti-U.S. wars of resistance, bringing about a basic turning point in the present history of our country.

The new constitution of the SRV will be the outcome of our people's prolonged, heroic struggle for national and social liberation under the party's leadership. It is also a sharp weapon for our entire people to continue the struggle to firmly defend and consolidate national independence and to win a decisive victory for socialism in our homeland.

Our country is in a period of peace now. However, we must always be prepared to deal with the Beijing reactionaries aggressive war. Working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, the Chinese rulers are feverishly conducting a policy of sabotage against Vietnam in political, military, economic and diplomatic fields, preventing us from building socialism in the hope of weakening and then annexing our country and eventually making their dream of expansion and hegemony come true in Southeast Asia.

In this context, we must heighten our vigilance, strengthen national defense, put part of the country in the state of combat readiness, and at the same time make the highest efforts to advance the country to socialism, and build the SRV into a peaceful country in all respects--political, economic, cultural and in national defense--with modern agriculture, advanced culture and science and technology with a civilized and happy life.

The historic duty of our state and people is to successfully build socialism and to firmly defend the socialist homeland. These two fundamental tasks remain the guidelines of the new constitution. There are also the highest obligations and rights of every Vietnamese citizen. To implement the new Constitution, in general, is to implement this noble duty.

At present, our people are facing a difficult and complex situation, but our country and nation are stronger than ever in all respects. Closely uniting under the invincible banner of the VCP and implementing the resolutions of the fourth party congress, our people will certainly obtain still greater achievements in socialist construction and in the defense of our socialist homeland.

Close coordination between socialism and national independence is the greatest truth of the present era. Mankind as a whole is engaged in a fierce struggle to determine who will win between imperialism and other international reactionary forces on one side and the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy on the other. Although imperialism and Beijing expansionism are intensifying their collusion, thus creating a great danger to international political life, the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism continues to advance firmly with a more vigorous and winning posture.

Our people have won great victories because Vietnam's revolution has unswervingly upheld the banner of national independence and socialism and constantly fought alongside the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and with other revolutionary forces in the world, centered around the socialist community with the Soviet Union as its bastion.

At the present juncture, we must uphold the banner of the fatherland and socialism, and thoroughly grasp the general line laid down by the fourth party congress, the line which correctly reflects the laws of development of our nation in the present era.

This is the only way that can ensure our country the strength to firmly maintain national independence and provide our people with a plentiful and happy life. It is more necessary than ever for us to closely link patriotism with proletarian internationalism, strengthen the special relations between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and enhance the solidarity, friendship and all-sided cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and the socialist community in general. That is a necessary condition for guaranteeing a lasting victory for independence, freedom and socialism in our country.

[1430 GMT 16 Dec 80]

[Text] As a fundamental law of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the new Constitution defines the political, economic, cultural and social system, the citizen's rights and obligations and the organizational structure and the activities of state agencies. From the preamble through all the chapters, the new Constitution institutionalizes the people's right to collective mastery in various aspects of social life from the forces of production to the relations of production, from the economic infrastructure to the superstructure, from the national construction undertaking to the mission of national defense, and from the relations of each citizen to the homeland and collectives and from the position of each family in the social community to the system of leadership by the party, mastery of society by the people and management by the state.

The new Constitution expresses the degree of attainment, and points out the orientation for the building, of the system of socialist collective mastery. It firmly establishes the basic laws and the type of discipline and organization governing the life and work of the people in line with the people's interests and aspirations and in conformity with the demands of a civilized and modern society that we are developing step by step.

The concept of collective mastery is the quintessence of the new Constitution, since collective mastery is a real objective of national independence and socialism, an extremely important motive for our people's revolutionary undertaking. That is why, to implement the Constitution, it is necessary to firmly grasp the party's ideological position on collective mastery.

The concept of collective mastery was raised previously by ideologists. Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin clearly describe socialism as a system in which man begins to exert mastership over society, nature and himself, a system characterized by community and collectivity, the highest form of development in mankind's evolution. Collective mastery is construed not merely as a concept of feeling but above all as a system of political, economic, cultural and social relations in which the laboring people are the collective masters of the homeland. This system of relations itself defines the nature and characteristics of the new society--the socialist society--and makes it qualitatively different from all former societies in our nation's history.

This system of relations brings out the superiority of the new regime and generates a great strength to transform and build the economy, develop the culture, and build a new life and new-type men. Advancing directly from small-scale production to socialism under conditions in which our material and technical bases are still inadequate, our biggest advantage is the strength of collective mastery. That is why, to effect immediately the system of collective mastery, in the domains of land and labor, first of all, and in building the initial bases for the system of collective mastery, is a principled matter in our country's advance toward socialism.

In this connection, I would like to emphasize a crucial point in the new draft Constitution, which provides for the ownership of all land by the entire people. This point conforms with the law of advance to socialism, with the actual land situation in our country, with the interest of the entire society, and also with the interests of the peasants themselves. Indeed, one of the principles of socialism is the common ownership of all major means of production. The socialist state must coordinate planning and work out proper policies to ensure a rational exploitation of the lands, proper investments in them and their preservation on a national as well as local scale so that all lands produce enough food for the more than 500 million people and so that agricultural production will be gradually advanced to large-scale socialist production in service of national industrialization. This can be achieved only with the ownership of all land by the entire people. Although the land is owned by the entire people, an important part is allotted to cooperatives and to individual peasants so they can use them and enjoy the fruits of their labor in accordance with law. Those families which are using land, of course, are allowed to continue using them. Both the collectives or individuals using lands must consider it their duty to preserve, foster and exploit them in accordance with state policies and plans.

Only with the system of socialist collective mastery can we properly settle the relationship between society and the individual. Here we establish the system of collective mastery by the entire community of the Vietnamese society while fully promoting the legitimate liberties of the individual, boosting his creative talents and harmonizing his interests with those of society. It is incorrect to ignore and refuse to rely on the strength of collective mastery of the whole community, and it is equally erroneous to ignore the legitimacy and the important, essential role of the individual. Combining the interests of society, the collective and the individual and fully using the strength of the collective as well as of each individual's ability is the right way to fully exploit our country's potential, especially in the organization, utilization and management of labor.

A basic aspect of the system of socialist collective mastery is the organic combination of rights and obligations and vice versa. Every citizen has equal obligations and rights and must fulfill such obligations as defending the homeland and working to develop the country. Meanwhile, every citizen enjoys definite rights in the political, economic, cultural and social fields. Those who are fit to work have the right and the duty to work as well as the right to benefits according to their labor contributions. To separate obligations from rights and vice versa is contrary to the nature of collective mastery. In this spirit we must resolutely criticize shortcomings in our economic management such as underestimating the importance of economic measures while carelessly applying administrative measures, preferring the use of authority while failing to give due concern to organizing the people's material and cultural life and to provide the masses with suitable working conditions that help increase incomes and produce more wealth for society. In that spirit, it is also necessary to persistently educate the citizens [coong daan] to adopt a new labor attitude, to have a sense of responsibility with regard to national construction and defense.

To implement the collective mastery system requires first of all the correct implementation of all constitutional provisions on the citizen's obligations and rights. Under the collective mastery system, the interests of the whole society and those of each collective and each worker are harmonious. The concordance of these three interests--a basic characteristic of the socialist collective mastery system--is a very important motive for building a new society, developing the economy, and boosting production. Like the other provisions of the new Constitution, concrete policies on economic and social management must clearly manifest this basic characteristic.

Failure to give due concern to achieving the concordance of these three interests is a shortcoming that will have a prolonged effect on economic and social management. This shortcoming creates many negative aspects in labor productivity. Not only does it fail to promote the system of collective mastery but it also marks its splendid nature and great strength.

To fully ensure the interests of the masses and to bring into full play the strength of collective mastery, the system of collective mastery must be simultaneously carried out on three fundamental scales: national, regional and at the grassroots level. That is an objective and logical truth about the existence of society. To combine mastery in the whole country with mastery in each locality and mastery at each grassroots level is to combine unity and centralism with broadening democracy while avoiding the state of dispersion and division, opposing bureaucratic centralism and conforming to the process of production and meeting the requirements of socialist distribution. This is to combine the common strength of the whole country with the concrete strength of each locality and each unit.

The constitutional provisions dealing with the role and tasks of administrations at all levels must be concretized and supplemented by policies on the organization of production and economic and social management, on ensuring a decent life for people and satisfactorily building the material and technical bases of socialism in order to fully apply the system of collective mastery in the three basic aspects and to overcome the existing problems involving the central, regional and grassroots levels.

The system of collective mastery must form the basis of the new socialist economy. If there is no large-scale socialist production as the material basis, there are no adequate conditions for carrying out collective mastery, because, as Lenin said, the level of democracy cannot surpass that of economic development. Therefore, it is the foremost task of our people and of the administration at all levels to strenuously build a new economy. In addition to economic construction, our proletarian state is responsible for gradually building a new culture and new-type socialist man and must consider these tasks as important motives for speeding up the socialist revolution.

[1430 GMT 17 Dec 80]

[Text] The socialist collective mastery system is manifested through a mechanism in which the party is the leader, the people are masters and the state is the manager. These three elements, which are distinctly different as regards their substance, functions and responsibilities, are organically correlated and form a unified structure.

The party's leadership provides the fullest guarantee for the socialist collective mastery system, because the party's objective is to build socialism and communism and to gain collective mastery for the working people. That is specified in the new draft constitution and is natural.

After struggling for more than a half century to liberate themselves and become masters of their own lives, our people understand and firmly believe that their great undertaking will never be successful without party leadership. This view and feeling of our people deeply originates in the objective rules of history. In fact, in the present era, only the working class can take the lead in liberating the society from national oppression and class oppression.

Only the working class can typify the socialist collective mastery system because it is connected with modern large industry, because only this powerful advanced production force can fully change the old society and establish steady material foundations for the new regime and because it has a militant vanguard team equipped with Marxism-Leninism--the only revolutionary and scientific theory able to illuminate the objective law of social development. Without this theory, our people will always remain in the dark and see no way out. Our party, the vanguard team of the Vietnamese working class, is equipped with this theory. Therefore, the party's leadership is absolutely not a subjective imposition but is objectively originated from historical necessity, from the interests of national liberation and class emancipation and from the imperative need to struggle for independence and freedom and build a new life.

In the present stage, our party's leadership covers a very vast domain of all aspects of our nation's activities and life and reaches the increasingly complicated and difficult new spheres of socialist construction. Our party now needs to advance to more firmly grasp the Marxist-Leninist theory governing the law of social development, especially when we must advance from a small-scale production to socialist large-scale production, master modern science and technology and creatively apply our knowledge to the specific conditions of our country in order to materialize and further promote the socialist revolutionary line.

Our party must look back at the situation in our country since the fourth party congress to accurately assess the past achievements and see what has not been done and to elaborately review the experiences regarding successes as well as failures, especially in the organizational sphere which is presently the most important link in our party's leadership. And on this basis, our party will lay down, in a scientific manner, the specific trend and policy for the coming stage of the revolution.

Along with increasing its leadership capacity regarding its line and policy, our party must concentrate on increasing its capacity for struggle, keep its ranks always clean and close to the masses, build local party organizations, resolutely exclude all those persons unqualified for party membership and constantly strengthen and heighten the capabilities and qualities of cadres and party members. It is a particularly pressing task for the party to improve its organizational capacity, properly carry out control work and strive to overcome weaknesses and errors in organizing the socialist construction. When we deal with this organizational work, we mean management of state, economic and social affairs and ways of vigorously developing the role and efficiency of the state. The proletarian dictatorial state is the concentrated manifestation of the party's leadership and the working people's collective mastery. The ruling party must know how to use the state and regard it as a powerful and sharp tool to achieve true collective mastery of the people and the party's leadership over the entire society.

After seizing administrative power and establishing the proletarian state, the most important revolutionary task is to reform and develop economy and culture and build the country in line with socialism. Along with this task, we must organize the protection of the fatherland and revolutionary gains, oppose foreign aggression and smash all opponent forces in the country. For this reason, the proletarian dictatorial state must deem it its primary task to motivate, unite and organize the people to build the economy and culture and manage social life in every aspect.

Speaking of this task, Lenin stressed that it is the most difficult one because the question is to organize in a new way the most profound bases--the economic bases for the life of tens of millions of people. It is also the noblest task because only after achieving this task with all its fundamental features can one say that Russia has become not only a Soviet but also socialist republic. If the spontaneous capitalist society, the socialist modes of production were actively created by the proletarian dictatorial state. This fact has proved to be more correct with our country advancing to socialism by bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

If bourgeois dictatorship is substantially characterized by the use of government and repression as a moving force, the main character of proletarian dictatorship is to organize and build. This fact is popular in all socialist countries and has proved to absolutely correct in our country.

To speak of organization and building is to speak of organizing and building economy and culture on the basis of higher technology and of the full collective mastery of the people, with a view to meeting the increasing material and cultural needs of the people. This great task cannot be completed without a state that fully manifests the party's leadership and the people's collective mastery, a state that holds within its hands the society's main production forces, manpower and national resources, a state that grasps and masters managerial science and can effectively organize and manage all economic and cultural activities and the people's life. Socialism cannot be achieved without this state and without its organizational and managerial role. If there is a steady and strong state within the people's hands and under the party's leadership, we will have everything.

[Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Dec 80 pp 1, 2; passages in capitals denote bold-face as published.]

(Text) Over the past scores of years, our proletarian dictatorial state has proved to be not only a sharp weapon in defending the fatherland and suppressing hostile forces, but also a very important instrument in the building of a new society. However, in our cause of socialist construction which has developed in scale, depth and complexity throughout the country, our state is showing weaknesses which serve to seriously reduce its effectiveness. This has caused the economic situation and life, already difficult because of objective factors, to be even more difficult because of subjective shortcomings in applying the party's line, organizing production, planning, applying market relations and setting forth and implementing policies and systems on economic and social management.

Our state must quickly overcome these shortcomings. Meanwhile, our party must scrupulously review past experiences and constantly study in order to be adept at leading the state and to be worthy as a responsible ruling party. To implement the new Constitution in general, and to perform well the tasks of organizing and building the economy in particular, **THE MOST IMPORTANT THING NOW IS TO URGENTLY PERFECT STATE ORGANS**, from the central echelons to localities and grassroots levels and from legislative to executive organs and the cultural and economic managerial apparatus. The political bureau's report clearly dealt with this matter with regard to administrative organs, I would like to stress here the need to urgently improve and strengthen the economic managerial apparatus, because if economic organization and management, especially at the central, provincial and city levels, is not improved, no economic policy can be carried out thoroughly and to the end, and no economic plan can be satisfactorily implemented.

In the central-level economic apparatus, we must first of all perfect the **ORGANS CONCERNED**, such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the State Price Commission, the State Bank, the Supply Ministry, the Labor Ministry, the State Science and Technology Commission and the Statistics General Department. These organs have an extremely important effect on the building of a planned economy. Their perfection is very necessary because in the recent past our party and state have committed the greatest shortcomings and mistakes primarily in economic planning and in the domain of distribution and circulation of goods.

It is necessary to improve the function of considering plans and policies, the function of unifying the management of each domain of various sectors, and the function of conducting inspections by combined agencies aimed at enabling all sectors, localities and establishments to advance in the right orbit and to carry out their activities under favorable conditions. Starting from the plan for the next 5 years, we must seek appropriate forms for our organizational and leadership tasks to ensure that forces can be rallied and coordination can be achieved in a harmonious manner among numerous sectors and localities under the unified management of the government. This is aimed at achieving a number of important programs and objectives for the country, such as: grain, oil and natural gas, electricity and coal, communications and transportation, and so forth.

It is necessary to streamline THE MANAGERIAL ORGANS of each sector so as to enable them to effectively manage, build and expand various economic and technical sectors and major organizations for large-scale socialist production. As the top man in charge of an entire sector, a minister must satisfactorily perform his managerial function, the main objective of which is to formulate plans for the development of his sector as well as to decide on guidelines for scientific and technical work. He must constantly improve the managerial policy and system while building a contingent of cadres and workers for his sector. It is necessary for him to intensively reorganize his sector's production nationwide as well as to create a new structure for his sector. He must depend on the actual conditions to set up associations on interbranch enterprises, corporations, combined enterprises and goods manufacturing groups, and must ensure that these organizations are true economic accountability units capable of performing production management and trade transactions with good results. In view of this, it is necessary for him to vigorously rearrange his ministry's organizational structure by gradually abolishing unnecessary intermediary organs, reducing its staff, and transferring an important part of its cadres from desk work to production.

It is necessary to classify management for LOCALITIES in a clear-cut and specific manner aimed at expanding their power and responsibility over planning work, the distribution of goods and organization of the people's lives, the control of budgets, manpower and materials, and the organization of the managerial apparatus and the deployment of cadres. It is also necessary to give localities the right to engage in import and export activities in accordance with state policies. We must help all provinces, cities and districts to carry out agricultural and industrial development in their localities, and entrust the local administration with directly controlling all medium and small food processing establishments, all artisan industrial and handicraft professions and occupations, all retail stores and service installations as well as all cultural, educational and medical establishments.

The local administration (province, city and district) represents both the central administration and the local people. These two aspects of representation must be unified. This unity can be manifested through the local administration's active role in satisfactorily solving all problems concerning the economy, national defense and the people's livelihood in its localities without depending on the higher levels. At the same time, the local administration must strive to satisfactorily fulfill its obligation to the entire country without selfishness.

It is necessary to build each district into an agro-industrial economic unit, an establishment of large-scale socialist production, and a firm and solid fortress for national defense. It is also necessary to urgently strengthen the number of cadres to make it possible for the district-level apparatus to satisfactorily lead the cooperatives and manage the economy on a district scale and, first of all, to accelerate agricultural production, create more professions and occupations, and redistribute manpower. This is aimed at satisfying the needs arising in the lives of the people in the district while helping to accelerate agricultural development throughout the country to meet the urgent needs in the immediate future as well as to support national economic development on a long-term basis.

All the establishments of the national economy are production and trade cells where the three revolutions are taking place and where the laboring people's collective mastery is being exercised. These establishments are the place where the party, the state and the masses are working in close coordination to fulfill all economic, national defense, cultural and social tasks. It is necessary to grant various establishments the right to self-control in finance so that they can exercise the system of economic auditing and doing business for profits, satisfactorily fulfill their obligations toward the state, guarantee the interests of the masses and improve the income of each laboring person.

Not only must all central-level organs satisfactorily manage their own sectors; they must also be responsible for helping build up localities and for joining with the local administrations in providing increased guidance for various establishments, perfecting the managerial machinery of various enterprises and turning out directors for state enterprises as well as executive officers, senior accountants and technical cadres for cooperatives. It is necessary to reorganize all relations between the higher echelons and the grassroots level and among the higher echelons themselves in order to facilitate the activities of grassroots-level organizations.

A basic guideline for strengthening the state is to bring into full play the people's collective mastery in the management of the state as well as in economic and social management. As Lenin put it, speaking about the proletarian dictatorial state: "...for the first time in the history of civilized societies, the masses have risen up and have voluntarily participated not only in elections and voting but also in the management of everyday life..." This means that the question is not confined to democracy, but also deals with the exercise of the right to be masters. And that is the real meaning of the following observation by Lenin about proletarian democracy: "It is a million times better than any capitalist democracy." However, it is regrettable that due to our shortcomings there continue to exist many problems which have caused the masses to feel displeased, despite the superior nature of the proletarian democratic regime and the good demonstration of this nature. In order to overcome this situation, it is necessary to strive to discern and establish appropriate systems and formalities so that the masses will be able to directly and actually participate in the activities of the party and the state as well as in social and economic activities at all levels and in all sectors.

The most important and urgent thing is to achieve at ALL COSTS COLLECTIVE MASTERY AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL. This is because only at the grassroots level can we create a direct impact on the people's interests, livelihood and mastery. Through the internal efforts of various grassroots-level party organizations as well as through the mass movement to make suggestions and criticism of grassroots-level party chapters, party organizations and cadres and party members, we must eradicate all manifestations of haughty bureaucratism and all violations of citizens' rights and the laboring people's right to collective mastery. We must eliminate all those degenerating and deviating elements who have abused their positions and power to oppress the masses, misappropriate public funds, demand bribes and make illicit contacts for seeking favors as well as those who are speculators and profit seekers. In the recent past, many localities have obtained good experiences in ensuring the exercising the right to be masters at the grassroots level. These experiences must be drawn out, fostered and disseminated. This is the duty not only of the grassroots-level but also of both the central and local levels. This is because if the people cannot exercise their real control over the grassroots level, how can they do so at higher levels. And it is meaningless to claim that a collective mastery system has been established at higher levels at a time when the masses are still unable to exercise their collective mastery over the grassroots level.

In order to avoid the phenomena of the party encroaching upon state affairs or inflexibly disassociating the state management from the party leadership, we must comprehensively reexamine, from the organizational structure to the authority, the specific functions and working methods of each party committee and administrative level.

It is necessary to improve the working methods of the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels in order to make them become true people's organs of power which will truly take responsibility before the people.

We must strive to improve the qualities and bring into play the roles of various MASS ORGANIZATIONS and we must build trade unions, youth unions, collective peasants' organizations and women's associations into strong organizations in the mechanism of socialist collective mastery.

Mass organizations must organize revolutionary movements for the masses in a constant and widespread manner and send active Youth Union members and Women's Association members to participate in the cause of economic and cultural development. Through these activities, mass organizations must turn themselves into militant organizations of the laboring people and schools for the training of new socialist men.

There is another very important guideline for consolidating the state and developing its efficiency, which is to enhance socialist legislation. This task should be emphasized, as our state has drawn up and promulgated the new Constitution. The state, exercising its control through the enforcement of law, enacts laws and regulations, publishes and elaborates law, strictly controls the execution of law, forces the observance of law by those not self-motivated to do so, and duly punishes anyone found violating the law. With a determination to enforce socialist legislation, the state must develop its power and managerial effectiveness, ensure the people's collective mastery system, build up a disciplined and orderly community life and forestall all misuses, all negative phenomena and all bad practices and social vices.

On the basis of the new Constitution, it is necessary to establish a perfect legal system with its most important part being laws, regulations and an economic system. Our present legal system is not advanced. Many fields of activities have not yet been legalized. Many points in the existing laws and regulations fail to faithfully reflect the laboring people's collective mastery. Others are backward and lack synchronization, especially in the economic field. It is necessary for our state to quickly enact and put into force amendments to and modifications of laws governing social activities and life in order to ensure that all fields of activities are carried out in an organized and orderly manner. In the economic field, it is necessary to supplement laws and regulations pertinent to planning, economic auditing, manpower, materials, financial work, economic contracts, arbitration councils, and the duties and rights of each citizen, grassroots-level unit, sector and echelon.

The socialist legal system must be consistent, be it state laws or regulations formulated by the administrative organs of various echelons. The working people's right to collective mastery should not be confined to the citizen's political rights, but must be fully systematized in production, distribution, circulation and consumption in the economic, political and cultural fields at grassroots and provincial levels throughout the country. Inadequate, unclear, unspecific and nonconcrete regulations will create arbitrary practices among managerial organs and authorized officials in solving their problems. Shortcomings in laws and laws management are important causes of violations of the socialist legal system. It discredits and to some extent and in many cases detracts from the effectiveness of party and state lines and policies.

The state must encourage the participation of the masses in discussing the draft laws, providing them an opportunity to contribute their ideas. In this way they will clearly understand the laws and deeply sympathize with and strictly implement the laws when promulgated. Thus, we are in effect making the socialist laws a state management apparatus and at the same time a tool of the people's mastery in the tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Along with explaining to and educating the people, we must vigorously implement the laws, check strictly and duly punish all illegal acts. All organs with direct responsibility in these matters, such as the people's procuratorate, state inspection organs, the public security forces and the court, must strengthen their activities to effectively protect the socialist legal system and maintain justice and order.

Abiding by the law and carrying out tasks according to the law are common requirements for all of our people. This is an obligation and a foremost duty of the cadres and state civil servants. Those who implement the laws are given great power. If they abuse all, do not abide by the law, but abuse their power, then their illegal acts will create great losses to the society and the people. We must enable all cadres and state civil servants to grasp, correctly implement and represent the laws. Those who hold higher positions are charged with higher authority. Thus they must exemplarily implement the laws, and they will be punished severely when they violate the laws.

As in other domains, the implementation of the new Constitution and the strengthening of the socialist legal system decisively depend on the leadership of the party, especially the work of the party's cadres and members. Party chapters must ensure the people's right to collective mastery and see to it that the socialist laws are correctly implemented. This is an important yardstick in determining the leadership quality of the party chapters. Party members must exemplarily and correctly carry out their duties according to the law. They must regard this as their compatriotic obligation and their communist party membership discipline. Those who violate the people's right to collective mastery and do not respect the socialist legal system lack the party membership quality and must be expelled from the party.

DEAR COMRADES: designed for the entire period of transition to socialism, the new Constitution must be carried out in conjunction with all the activities of our party and state in order to turn the resolution of the fourth party congress and the resolutions of the party Central Committee plenums into reality.

In the immediate future, we must satisfactorily carry out the work related to cadres, consolidate the machinery at an early date, improve the organization and methods for economic management, further perfect the socialist legal system and develop the laboring people's right to collective mastery in order to bring the nation's potential into full play, stabilize the economic situation and the people's life and create a new economic balance for advancement. It is important that we struggle to achieve success and progress every year and every month and bring about practical results and specific achievements in order to build the masses' enthusiasm and confidence and create further momentum for even greater development.

Immediately after the holding of this party Central Committee plenum, we must launch a vigorous movement to produce grain, vegetables, food crops and foodstuffs in order to prepare for the coming off-season period and for advancement in 1981. We must strive by every means to supply enterprises with raw material and fuel, increase the use of labor and machinery capacity and produce more goods. We must concentrate forces on finishing the construction of major projects and improve operations at ports and on the north-south rail line.

Concerning the distribution and circulation of goods, we must adopt at an early date specific plans for collection and purchase activities, prices, marketing management, the people's life and so forth in order to implement Resolution No 26 of the Political Bureau. We must promptly reach a conclusion on the new models that are boldly improving the organization of production, labor management, the contractual system and the distribution of goods in order to popularize their good experiences.

Along with implementing these pressing tasks, we must step up political and ideological work in a sharp and timely manner. At this particular time, all party and mass organizations as well as every party cadre and member must calmly and clearly control the political and ideological situation of society and of their own units; must never slacken their vigilance on the ideological front; and must resolutely stir up a mass movement to gain mastery, create a revolutionary spirit and rely on the masses to smash the psychological war and all other schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy, overcome manifestations of negativism and constantly advance the entire revolutionary undertaking forward.

At present, we are faced with difficulties regarding the economy and life. Nevertheless, this situation does not change the general situation in which the revolution in our country is continuing its steady upsurge. In the coming months, with all our party and people resolutely concentrating efforts on satisfactorily carrying out the above-mentioned pressing tasks on the economic, social, political, ideological and organizational fronts, we will be fully able to overcome these difficulties.

We believe that the advent of the new Constitution will mark an important step toward consolidating social order, building and perfecting the new regime and providing our people with more strength to struggle for new successes in our undertaking to build socialism and defend the fatherland and in our effort to carry out President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament in order to build a truly peaceful, independent unified and socialist Vietnam and to make our nation's worthy contribution to the common revolutionary cause of the peoples the world over.

CSO: 4209

OUR STATE AND SOCIO-POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 13-19

[Article by Do Tu]

[Text] When it was born, our state, headed by President Ho, considered the management of society to be an important responsibility closely linked to building and defending the country.

Today, social management in our country is, in essence, the management of a socialist society; however, it is not the management of a perfect socialist society, but of a society that is in the initial stage of transition to socialism.

Social management consists of economic management, socio-political management and cultural-ideological management. These three fields of management, which cannot be separated from one another, have an impact upon one another and comprise an entity. For this reason, there is not, in practice, any economic or cultural activity that is completely divorced from politics and which does not have a certain socio-political consequence. Conversely, socio-political management has the task of meeting established political requirements; however, in very many cases, it is necessary to use economic and cultural activities to meet these political requirements. At the same time, socio-political management has the task of helping to stimulate and protect the processes of economic and cultural development.

In this article, we shall only analyze one field of management: socio-political management.

A) According to Lenin, politics denotes the "field of relationships between all classes and strata and the state."⁽¹⁾ Our state, a dictatorship of the proletariat state, is the center of all socio-political relationships, is the embodiment of the power of the working people, led by our party. Therefore, the matter of key importance in socio-political management is building, adjusting and perfecting the socio-political organization on the basis of recognizing the laws governing the formation and development of socio-political relationships and the factors that have an impact upon their formation and development.

The relationships that are managed by socio-political management are socio-political relationships, the most important ones being class relationships. In our country at this time, these relationships are: the relationships between the working class

and the other classes (primarily the relationships between workers and farmers), the relationships between the family and society, the relationships among the various fraternal nationalities, the relationships between the army and the people, the relationships among the various mass organizations, social organizations and cultural organizations, the relationships between the state and all of the mass organizations and cultural and social organizations, etc.

Socio-political management requires a plan just as economic management and cultural management require plans. The application of the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism concerning the management of socialist society, a thorough understanding of the lines, viewpoints and policies of the party and the correct analysis and evaluation of the actual situation surrounding social life are the bases for planning socio-political management. The requirements in planning socio-political management are clearly determining the class situation and the structure of the classes, the structure of society, the characteristics of the system of socio-political relationships, the special nature of each socio-political relationship and their general trend of development and establishing goals, guidelines, programs and measures designed to meet socio-political requirements within a given period of time. As an element of the planning of social management, the planning of socio-political management cannot be separated from the planning of economic and cultural management. As a result, in the face of certain requirements and in certain cases, coordination between the national defense forces, the security forces and the other agencies within the internal policy bloc and the economic and cultural agencies is very necessary in order to help establish goals and guidelines within socio-political management planning that are suited to the general revolutionary tasks of each period.

As is the case with the economy, politics is a matter related to "the real destiny of millions of persons"(2); therefore, socio-political management can have no other objective than to serve the political interests of the millions of working persons who are the masters of society.

In essence, every type of management involves a conscious impact under guidelines, plans and goals upon that which is being managed on the basis of recognizing and applying the objective laws of development of society and utilizing the progressive trends, the positive factors and the inherent conditions, capabilities and strong-points of socialism to develop society in the best possible manner. However, the methods of applying social laws, the contents and forms of information and the methods and mode of impact of managers upon those who are being managed within the field of socio-political management are similar in some ways to those in the other fields of management and also completely different in some ways. For example, in the field of economic and cultural management, the use of force is not a factor of decisive significance. However, in socio-political management, force is an indispensable method in many cases. Due to the characteristics of the relationships being managed, the planning of socio-political management has special characteristics of its own. In practice, there are times when we should not and cannot require the establishment of quantitative norms. For example, we cannot and should not establish quotas on how many hoodlums and gangsters should be prosecuted, how many gangs of robbers should be discovered, how many cases of corruption and bribery should be uncovered and so forth. Rather, it is important to establish goals of strategic significance, pressing, immediate requirements that are consistent with the actual

situation and correct programs and guidelines, create favorable conditions and suitable forms of organization and take positive measures to effectively resolve the socio-political problems that are faced.

The planning of socio-political management must also be based on the strength and the creativity of the masses, with importance attached to discovering capabilities and positive factors and creating the conditions for them to become universal. In the realities of the socialist revolution in our country, many new factors that are consistent with the laws of development of the new society have been and are emerging. The "five public reports" movement of Tien Hai District in Thai Binh Province and the form of symposiums held by Tool Works Number One in Hanoi are not only of economic significance, but of distinct political significance as well. These movements are forms of democracy that not only play a practical role in implementing and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working masses at production and business installations, but also have the effect of heightening their awareness with regard to participating in economic management and the organization of life. The action of providing jobs to persons able to work in the Chieu Subward in Hanoi has not only had the effect of stabilizing the standard of living of the masses, but has also made a positive contribution to maintaining political security and social order in urban residential areas.

B) In the face of the basic and pressing tasks of our country's revolution in the present stage, such as accelerating production, stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people, strengthening the national defense forces, maintaining our readiness to fight and smash each scheme and act of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, maintaining political security and social order, struggling to overcome the negative phenomena in social life and so forth, the responsibility of socio-political management is very large.

Following decades of fighting filled with hardships and sacrifices to win our national independence and reunify the country, our people should have been able by now to concentrate their energies and talents on building the country in peace and advancing to socialism. However, the reactionary authorities in China and the imperialist clique have looked for every way to check the development of our nation in a vain attempt to weaken our country so that they can easily carry out their intentions regarding expansionism and hegemony. Our country is at peace but also faces the threat of war. Therefore, the task of foremost importance in socio-political management is to take determined, positive steps to make all the preparations necessary to defeat every scheme and act of aggression of the reactionaries within the ruling circles in Beijing. This is both a pressing and long-range task. As long as their aggressive intentions are not repulsed and bankrupted, as long as the independence and sovereignty of our country are threatened, the task of protecting the fatherland will continue to be a pressing task.

The imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, and the reactionary authorities in China have inserted into our country many lackeys and many counter-revolutionary groups in a vain attempt to carry out their long-range scheme of sabotage. At present, together with acts of armed provocation in the northern border areas of our country, they are making every effort to use psychological warfare and spy warfare

to undermine the national security and social safety of our country. They are frantically taking advantage of our economic difficulties in a vain attempt to create an attitude of panic, vacillation, pessimism and skepticism among our people. For this reason, combating the psychological war and the spy war and promptly exposing and thwarting every trick of the enemy to affect our morale and every act of espionage and sabotage of the enemy are a constant task in socio-political management, a task which has the purpose of maintaining national security and the safety of society.

The war of aggression unleashed by the U.S. imperialists in our country had countless tragic consequences, consequences which it will take our people and state many years to overcome. On the one hand, the state must concern itself with caring for the families of war dead and war invalids, persons who made tremendous contributions to the effort to win our national independence and protect the socialist fatherland. On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands of unskilled persons in the South who once lived as parasites on the war machine and ruling apparatus of the enemy and who must now be given jobs so that they can become ordinary citizens. There are tens of thousands of young men and women who were pushed by neo-colonialism in the South into the vicious cycle of decadence, aimlessness and disease and who must now be rescued and transformed so that they can regain their human dignity. These are tasks that cannot be ignored in socio-political management.

Our country presently has more than 50 fraternal nationalities that have been living closely together for thousands of years within a united national community. The tasks of socio-political management are to maintain and strengthen the fine tradition of solidarity among the nationalities that has been enhanced by our party over the past half century, insure the equality of nationalities and insure that all nationalities are the masters of the country, advance together toward socialism and resolutely combat every scheme of the enemy to divide the various nationalities.

In our country, some religious organisations still influence the spiritual lives of millions of persons. The tasks of socio-political management are to insure that the various religious organisations fulfill their function of caring for the religious affairs of their followers in a manner that complies with the policies of the party and the laws of the state and creating the conditions for the various religious organisations to implement each economic, cultural and social program and policy of the state in order to help accelerate production, organize the life of the people well, build and protect the fatherland and combat each scheme of the imperialists and the international reactionaries to sow divisions and take advantage of them.

Socio-political management encompasses many requirements and many specific guidelines that are carried out by many management agencies. However, the key issues of overriding importance are to strengthen the relationship between the state and the working people and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people on the basis of correctly establishing the relationship between rights and obligations in accordance with the line and policies of the party and the laws of the state.

Socio-political management is designed to establish the various socio-political relationships well; among these relationships, class relationships are the ones most deserving of attention. In our country at this time, class relationships

primarily involve the relationships between the working class and the class of farmers. The important objective of our socio-political management at this time is to strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers. Strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers is the basis for successfully establishing many other social relationships, because the alliance of workers and farmers is the firm social foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire system of social management; all of the organizational and management work of the state, from the top to the bottom, must be based on this alliance.

Under the leadership of our party, the alliance of workers and farmers, which was established one-half century ago and is in the nature of a fine tradition, has been challenged in the long revolutionary struggle, has been constantly consolidated and is the invincible strength determining the victory of the revolution. In the present stage of the revolution, no relationship reflects the constant, reciprocal impact among the economy, politics and ideology as much as the relationship between workers and farmers does. Our party attaches very much importance to strengthening its leadership of the alliance of workers and farmers.

The bases for strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers are developing industrial and agricultural production, establishing commodity trade between the cities and the countryside, between the business sectors of the state and the collective production and private production sectors of farmers and satisfying all three interests, the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual worker in industrial and agricultural production. Correctly establishing this relationship among these three interests is not merely an economic matter, but is a political issue as well. In this issue, the role of the state is truly important.

Our state has made many efforts to create every condition needed for workers and farmers to truly exercise their right of ownership in politics, economics, the culture and society. Many economic guidelines have been established with a view toward developing industrial and agricultural production. The state has invested a rather large amount of capital in agriculture. Recently, many policies and positions have been re-examined, supplemented and revised in order to provide incentive for production and improve the relationship between the rights and obligations of workers and the collectives of workers within industry and agriculture.

However, in the present relationship between workers and farmers, there are many new problems that must be resolved well in order to strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers.

The socialist revolution is the most comprehensive and thorough revolution in history; therefore, it involves many difficulties and complex problems and demands voluntary sacrifices on the part of the working class, especially in the first stage of this revolution. In the Soviet Union, for example, the working class endured shortages for many years following the October Revolution, endured many more shortages than any other stratum of the people. Lenin and the Bolshevik Communist Party explained to the working class that their sacrifice was of very noble significance because it was a sacrifice made for the sake of the continued existence of the worker-farmer government, for the sake of the victory of the common cause of liberating workers.

In our country at this time, the vast majority of manual workers, civil servants and soldiers has been and is displaying a spirit of bearing hardships and making sacrifices for the sake of the common interests of society, for the victory of socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland. This voluntary spirit of enduring hardships must be strengthened, must be strongly developed upon and turned into a source of strength mobilizing and encouraging everyone to overcome the difficulties and shortages we face in order to march forward.

The farmers of the North embarked on the course of earning a living collectively 20 years ago. The class of collective farmers in the North constitutes more than 90 percent and, in the South, 20 percent of the total number of farm families. Generally speaking, the socialist production relations within agriculture have virtually been established throughout the country, but not everything is as it should be. Misconceptions of earning a collective living, of agricultural cooperativization are still evident at many places, especially when production encounters difficulties. Therefore, it is very necessary to give farmers a deep understanding that continuing to advance along with the working class to socialism is the only course that will insure that they are forever free from oppression and exploitation and have a bright future.

In order to strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers, the tasks of our party and our state are to continue to mobilize the remaining private farm families in the South to embark on the collective way of life in suitable stages of development and, at the same time, constantly strengthen the new production relations that have been established in the majority of the rural areas of our countryside while continuously improving the management of agricultural production cooperatives.

In order to expand the agricultural cooperativization movement in the South, it is necessary to correctly evaluate private farmers, primarily middle farmers, have firm confidence in our ability to mobilize them to embark on the collective way of life and adopt methods for mobilizing them that conform with both reason and sentiment. As we know, the working class and laboring farmers have the aspiration of thoroughly abolishing the exploitation of man by man and want to develop production and improve the standard of living. Under the guidance of the party over the past half century, the Vietnamese farmer has constantly matured in the process of the nation's revolutionary struggle and has increasingly shown himself to be closely linked to the ideals of the working class. This is the aspect of unity, the fundamental aspect of the relationship between workers and farmers. On the other hand, there are antagonisms between the working class and farmers, but not opposing antagonisms, merely antagonisms involving understanding and selecting guidelines for meeting these basic requirements. At places where there is correct leadership on the part of the various party organizations and correct management by state agencies, these antagonisms have been satisfactorily resolved.

In a number of localities in the South, as a result of correct concepts and correct methods of working, a number of increasingly strong cooperatives and production collectives have been built over the past 5 years that have played a good role and affirmed the superior nature of the collective way of life. However, besides these victories, agricultural cooperatives and production collectives have, at certain times and places, been organized by the "listing of names" method or by means of

compulsory measures without detailed propaganda and educational work. The principles of voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management have not been respected. The lack of preparation in the areas of outlook and thinking, cadres and so forth has caused some production collectives and agricultural cooperatives to stand still and not develop once they were established or led to their dissolution. In the North, lax management of agricultural cooperatives at some places has caused the material interests and the right of collective ownership of cooperative members to be violated. These negative phenomena have had an adverse impact upon the effort to strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers and must be overcome at an early date. From the point of view of socio-political management, strengthening, improving and rationalizing the management of distribution and circulation by the state are a pressing demand in providing better support of production, the life of the people, the national defense task and the requirement of strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers. Distribution and circulation are the link between production and consumption, between the state economy and the collective economy, between workers and farmers and among the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the worker. However, our present management of distribution and circulation is marked by significant shortcomings and weaknesses that have had adverse socio-political consequences. The majority of the cases of misappropriation, bribery, conspiracy, authoritarianism, irresponsibility and so forth occur in distribution and circulation. Exposing and harshly punishing those who steal property belonging to the state are actions that are very strongly supported by our people because they are totally consistent with their interests and desires. In conjunction with these steps, we must resolutely expose and promptly and appropriately deal with persons that have position and authority in the field of the management of distribution and circulation who, because of bureaucratic behavior and irresponsibility, cause waste or create the conditions for theft, thereby causing a loss of property belonging to the state, adversely affecting production and making the already difficult lives of the people increasingly difficult. Exposing these elements is more difficult than exposing hoodlums and thieves. However, it is work that must be performed in a determined manner so that our state apparatus is pure and strong. At present, one of the wishes of our people concerning our state is that the cadres and civil servants of the state, while constantly endeavoring to become skilled managers, be persons who possess a sense of justice, are honest and are fully responsible to the people. Taking determined steps to remove parasites and persons who are lazy from within the state apparatus, especially the apparatus managing distribution and circulation, will effectively satisfy this wish of the people, preserve the prestige of the state, protect the interests and right of collective ownership of our people and increase the effectiveness of our state's socio-political management in order to support the pressing tasks of the revolution in the present stage.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1975, Volume 6, p 101.
2. V. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 150.

BUILDING THE CULTURAL-INFORMATION SECTOR ON THE DISTRICT LEVEL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 20-23 and 28

[Article by Nguyen Van Hieu]

[Text] Building the district and strengthening the district level are a creative policy of our party in the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland. In the realities of the socialist revolution in our country, the role of the district level as a comprehensive management level in the fields of politics, economics, the culture, society and national defense is becoming increasingly evident. What must the cultural-information sector build and how must it be built in order to help make this model increasingly complete and strong?

In the realities of building the cultural and information sector on the district level, the following several key matters stand out:

Building the cultural-information sector on the district level involves, in essence, building a foundation for cultural-information activities within the district, including the district town and all of the population centers within the villages of the district.

Building the foundation for cultural and information activities within the district involves creating the premises and basic conditions that insure the stability of cultural-information activities within the district in order to effectively implement and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people in the field of culture with a view toward tapping the strength of culture-information and having a positive impact upon the performance of the political task of the district. It is a measure of strategic significance, an important element in the process of building the new countryside, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man.

Building the cultural-information foundation on the district level means building and strengthening the organizational apparatus, building the movement and building material bases for cultural-information activities. These three factors are closely linked to and have a positive impact upon one another. Each factor is the result as well as the cause and the premise of the other two factors. In order for the cultural-information movement to develop well, we must strengthen the organizational apparatus and must have material bases suited to cultural-information activities. A solid, strong organizational apparatus provides favorable conditions for maintaining and developing the movement and making good use of material bases.

Strengthening the organizational apparatus of the sector on the district level is designed to insure the ability of the sector to serve as the command staff of the party committee echelon and the government within the district in the formulation of plans, the formulation of norms on the development of culture and information and the proposal of suitable, specific work programs as well as designed to increase its ability to guide, organize and regulate the various areas of work and forms of cultural-information activities within the scope of the district.

The universal situation at this time is that the cultural-information apparatus on the district level is unstable, the minimum structure required is lacking, organizational work has not kept pace with the development of the movement and has failed to meet the needs of the masses within the district to enjoy and create culture. Here, the concept of organizational staff is not clear. Within the cultural-information apparatus on the district level, it is necessary to make a distinction among management units, work units and business units. Staff reductions are primarily to be accomplished within the administrative and management components. As regards work units, such as cultural halls, libraries, museums, mobile information units and so forth, it is necessary to gradually increase the number of cadres to an appropriate level, especially cadres for the cultural hall and the mobile information unit of the district.

All villages within the district must have a cultural committee to assist the village people's committee in formulating activity plans and managing cultural-information work throughout the village. Such cultural-information organizations as the installation information unit, the literature and art unit, the library or reading room and so forth must be closely linked to the cooperative organization and must conduct their activities solely on the basis of the economic organization; in this way, they firmly adhere to the production task, are governed by regulations and policies and have a budget with which to meet expenses.

In order to overcome the shortage of cadres and their lack of specialized, professional experience, in addition to the cadres supplied by the upper echelons, the districts must, with the assistance of the central level and the province, train primarily local cadres. An important, practical source of cadres can be found in the many zealous and culturally creative persons emerging from within the rich cultural and information activities of the masses. Only by relying primarily upon these persons is it possible to promptly meet the requirements of the movement and develop cultural-information work on the district level in a rapid and strong manner.

Why must we build the cultural-information movement on the district level? Which factors must exist in order for this movement to develop well?

Facts have shown that the victory of every revolutionary undertaking is closely linked to the mass movement. Cultural-information activities on the basic level are directly carried out by the masses and can only achieve good results when they have the voluntary participation of the masses. It is truly difficult to imagine any results being achieved from the effort to build the new style of life and establish families of the new culture without creating a mass movement. The experience of many districts has shown: as cultural-information activities become more of a mass

movement, they have an increasing practical effect in improving the cultural and spiritual lives of the people and more competently support the political task of the installation. Intense cultural-information movements have the effect of stimulating the other revolutionary movements and creating an atmosphere of continuous emulation. The mass literature and art movement and the movement to read books and newspapers, listen to the radio and act in accordance with books have strongly inspired the production movement, the emulation movements to fulfill the military obligation, the grain obligation and so forth. In many districts, cultural festivals that have been combined with production festivals in water conservancy campaigns, transplanting campaigns, plowing campaigns and so forth have generated an atmosphere of enthusiastic, intense emulation, created high labor productivity and helped to rapidly complete many major jobs of the locality.

To build a widespread and stable movement, it is first of all necessary to correctly establish its goals and theme. The more closely the cultural-information movement is linked to the political task being performed by the masses and the more effectively it meets the needs and satisfies the practical interests of the masses, the more rapidly, strongly and continuously it will develop. For example, the movement to establish the new lifestyle must be closely linked to the campaign against negative phenomena, the movement to read books and newspapers must be closely linked to the application of science and technology in production and so forth. Of importance is the need to develop the sense of collective ownership of the masses, heighten their spirit of initiative and creativity and heighten their awareness and responsibility to the movement. When launching a movement, the leadership agencies of the party and government, the mass organizations and the cadres who perform cultural-information work within the district must adopt a plan for providing close and continuous guidance. The successful development of the movement is the combined result of many measures taken to provide guidance, of many forces participating in the movement. For this reason, the persons who guide the movement must coordinate actions well and must build the nucleus force of each movement. For example, in the movement to establish families of the new culture, the nucleus is the Women's Union; in the mass literature and art movement, the nucleus must be youths. In order to develop well, the movement also requires certain cultural-information material bases.

It can be said that building cultural-information material bases involves building an arbor upon which cultural-information activities can climb, blossom and bear fruit. Cultural-information activities--in other words, "cultural-information labor"--can only achieve good results and meet the rising cultural needs of the masses when they are carried out using the proper tools and means. For example, the reading of books and the mass movement to read books and newspapers and act in accordance with books, newspapers and radio programs cannot achieve high results if there are no libraries or reading rooms that contain the necessary books and newspapers and if the wired radio system lacks the minimum number of loudspeakers and stations.

Clearly aware of the needs of the cultural and spiritual lives of the people and of the importance of building material bases for cultural-information activities, many districts have performed this work well.

Here, one question comes to mind: in view of the fact that we are still encountering numerous economic difficulties, what is the best way to build material bases for cultural-information activities? The methods employed by the districts that have achieved good results in this area are a living example of the building of material bases in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 2nd Party Plenum: "The building of the material bases mentioned above (the material bases for cultural-information activities) must primarily be based on the labor of the cooperative, of the locality and the local budget with necessary investments."

In keeping with the guideline "the state and the people working together," many places have taken creative steps. At one place, cadres on leave have contributed a day of their salary to building the district museum (Tam Ky); at another place, the people have contributed bricks and bamboo to build the district museum and library (Hai Hau); and, at another place, the people have contributed a day of socialist labor to build a cultural hall (Dong Hung). The creation of material bases for cultural-information activities need not always require new construction, rather, it is possible to make full use of existing material bases. At many places, especially in the precincts and districts of the southern provinces, many old material bases have been remodeled into good cultural projects. For example, Phu Duc District has remodeled an old school of a Catholic mission into a relatively large cultural hall; the cultural center of Song Lo District was formed primarily by remodeling and using old installations. It is possible, depending upon the conditions at each place, to begin to build a cultural project without having to build everything at once. The construction of cultural projects can be carried out gradually but must be part of the overall planning of the district.

Due to the role of the district level at this time, the district town has become the political, economic and cultural center of the entire district; therefore, every district must gradually create the necessary cultural projects and eventually establish a district cultural center. This cultural center must play the role of guiding and regulating the cultural-information activities throughout the district, must be the place where all the conditions are available for satisfying the cultural needs of the people and must be a center of social intercourse and the cultural activities of the various strata of people within the district. Cultural activities must spread from this center throughout the district and have an impact upon the cultural-information network within the district. Within this center, priority must be given to building the key project, namely, the district cultural hall. It must be a place that provides professional guidance in mass cultural-information activities to the installations; at the same time, it must directly organize cultural and art activities and serve cadres and the people. On the village and similar levels, such as the wards, precincts, collective housing areas of manual workers and civil servants, enterprises, worksites, state farms and so forth, cultural centers should not be constructed because the term center has the connotation of completeness and the villages and wards do not have the conditions needed to build and manage a cultural center. Each village and ward can, depending upon its capabilities, build a number of material bases with which to meet the cultural needs of the people, such as a cultural hall, club, tradition room, library or reading room and so forth.

building a strong apparatus performing cultural-information work, launching cultural-information movements and creating a number of material bases will lay a firm cultural-information foundation on the basic level, meet the needs of the people to enjoy and create culture, create a happy and wholesome spiritual life and competently contribute to the performance of the political task of the basic level.

In view of the fact that the economy is not developed, numerous difficulties will surely be encountered in building the material bases of cultural-information activities on the district level; however, facts have proven that we can build these bases. At many places where the material standard of living has not been rapidly raised, a relatively rich and wholesome cultural and spiritual life has still been created, thereby bringing true joy and happiness to the people. Many provinces and municipalities have established good model units in the field of culture and information on the district level, such as Hai Hau, Hung Ha, An Nhon, Dac To, Phu Duc, Thot Not and so forth, the most representative of which is Hai Hau District. Hai Hau District took positive steps to build a relatively strong and evenly distributed cultural-information foundation on the basic level, thereby creating the first model of cultural-information activities on the district level; it has used cultural-information activities to have a large impact upon production, upon the building of the national defense system and upon the effort to improve the cultural lives of the people throughout the district.

What is the moving force behind and the cause of the initial achievements recorded in cultural-information work by the advanced model units? It is the process of continuously utilizing the activities of the mechanism and system of socialist collective ownership, which is vividly manifested in the correct relationship among the party, which leads, the state, which manages, and the people, who exercise ownership.

It can be said that practically all of the basic victories won by the districts in the field of culture and information have originated in the building of the system of socialist collective ownership. This system of ownership is most clearly manifested in the ownership exercised by the working people primarily by means of the state and under the leadership of the party. Therefore, in order to stimulate the development of cultural-information work on the district level, it is necessary to successfully establish the correct relationship among leadership by the party, management by the state and ownership by the people. These three factors can only exert their full strength when they are very closely linked together within an entity. For this reason, success in the effort to build the cultural-information sector on the district level can only be the product of conscious (awareness by the party), organized (guided by the state), effective and creative activities of the masses in the work of building and protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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THE KEY ELEMENT IN THE ISSUANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 24-28

[Article by Vu Oanh]

[Text] The recent phases in the issuance of party membership cards have shown that the key element in the issuance of party membership cards is evaluating and classifying party members. Only by evaluating and classifying party members in a truly clear and accurate manner is it possible to meet the requirement that "party membership cards only be issued to party members who are fully qualified to be party members and fulfill their party member task" as stipulated in the directive of the Secretariat.

According to the directive of the Secretariat, every party chapter and party organisation is to classify its party members into one of three types: party members who are fully qualified to receive a party membership card; party members who still have relatively serious shortcomings against whom appropriate disciplinary action must be taken and who must spend some time being educated and rectifying their shortcomings or party members whose qualifications pose some problems and must be examined but concerning which conclusions cannot be immediately reached; and party members who are not qualified to be party members and must be immediately expelled from the party.

Evaluating and classifying party members in a truly clear and accurate manner and reaching correct conclusions concerning party member qualifications are not simple matters at all.

To perform this work well, it is first of all necessary for the basic organisations of the party to firmly grasp the requirements regarding party member qualifications.

Party member qualifications consist of basic attributes that every party member must possess. These attributes were defined by the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party. The Organisation Department of the Central Committee has issued specific instructions concerning the evaluation and classification of party members. They can be summarized as follows:

Fully qualified party members are persons who "possess awareness of communist ideals, are absolutely loyal to the revolution and voluntarily make sacrifices and struggle

throughout their lives for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism and communism; possess a certain knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, grasp the lines and policies of the party, have the ability to perform the work assigned to them, have the ability to lead the masses and contribute to the leadership work of the party organization; respect and make every effort to help build the system of collective ownership of the masses, maintain close ties with the masses and propagandize, mobilize and organize the masses well; concern themselves with building the party, possess the sense of organization and discipline, possess the spirit of self-criticism and criticism, protect the party and protect the solidarity and oneness of mind of the party; display a high spirit of proletarian internationalism and help to fulfill the international obligation of the party."(1)

Every party member must actively work to meet these requirements. However, in the present situation, fully qualified party members must also exhibit the following: the necessary level of political awareness, a clear and unwavering stand and ardent devotion to the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to the cause of protecting the fatherland. They must know who our friends and enemies are, especially know that our immediate enemy is the Beijing expansionists and must actively struggle against the Beijing expansionists, the imperialists and their lackeys. They must consciously protect the special relationship between our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea and protect the great friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union as well as the other fraternal socialist countries. In summary, fully qualified party members are persons who, in their outlook, thinking and actions, reflect the revolutionary-offensive spirit, possess the style of leading the masses and the spirit of serving the masses and have been recognized as persons of good qualities by the vast majority of party members and the masses. Fully qualified party members can commit mistakes and shortcomings but they cannot be so serious as to cause them to lose the qualities that make them party members.

Persons who are not qualified to be party members and must be immediately expelled from the party are:

--Persons who violate political standards, elements that support the enemy in opposing the revolution and party members who do not display a clear attitude of opposing the Beijing expansionists;

--Persons who commit acts that reflect a lack of organization, discipline and responsibility; persons who cause serious divisions or engage in serious acts of factionalism; cadres who have position and authority but become deviant; elements who steal, engage in bribery, suppress good persons, intimidate the masses and do not comply with or intentionally violate the policies of the party and the laws of the state by, for example, not being willing to fulfill their military obligation, not joining a production collective or cooperative if collective production can be carried out at their installation, illegally occupying cropland, hiring labor and paying exploitative wages, pooling capital in a profit making, bourgeois style of business, not rectifying shortcomings when requested by the party and so forth;

--Persons whose will to engage in revolutionary struggle has declined, who do not perform the task assigned to them, do not lead the masses, no longer have the trust of masses and are no better than the common masses;

--Persons whose political awareness is very low and who have failed to make progress even though they have been educated;

--Persons who, for no legitimate reason, cease to participate in party activities.

Persons who must spend a period of time being educated (no longer than 6 months) include persons who committed shortcomings and been disciplined but have not yet been expelled from the party; persons who once recorded achievements in production, combat or work and contributed to the socialist revolution and the protection of the fatherland but now, under new working conditions and circumstances, are failing to fulfill the vanguard, exemplary role of the party member in many ways but who, if educated and helped, can still fulfill this role well; and persons who, although their level of political awareness is low, are still devoted to the party and show prospects for becoming good party members. At the end of this 6 month period, these persons must be re-evaluated and, if they are found to have not made progress, they must be expelled from the party.

Only by firmly adhering to such specific requirements regarding the qualifications of party members can party chapters and party organizations evaluate and classify party members in a clear and accurate manner and overcome the deviations, sometimes rightist, sometimes "leftist," resulting from not being fully aware of party member qualifications.

In order to evaluate and classify party members in a clear and accurate manner, it is necessary to practice self-criticism and criticism within the party well.

All party members must, on the basis of the requirements of their task and duties and on the basis of party member standards, seriously review themselves before the entire party chapter; on this basis, they must determine on their own whether or not they are fully qualified to be party members. The party chapter must fully and forthrightly contribute its opinions in the spirit of comradeship concerning the strengths and weaknesses of each party member and must, through secret ballot, vote on whether or not each person is qualified to be a party member.

The practice of self-criticism and criticism must be carried out in the following order: the members of the party committee and the key leadership cadres of each unit review themselves first followed by all party members. Facts have shown that only when the members of the party committee and the key leaders of each sector, level and unit set good examples in the practice of self-criticism and criticism are good results achieved in the practice of self-criticism and criticism throughout the party chapter or party organization.

When engaged in self-criticism and criticism, it is necessary to overcome the tendency to act in a cursory fashion. At some places, the party committee echelon maintains that the issuance of party membership cards is professional, administrative work, that self-criticism and criticism are routinely practiced within the party and that the evaluation and classification of party members were carried out when implementing directive 72 of the Secretariat, consequently, it is not necessary to be as thorough this time. As a result of this attitude, the evaluation and classification of party members are cursory, self-criticism and criticism are not practiced in a serious

banner and party members sympathize with, are lenient toward, compromise with and are indulgent of one another with regard to party member standards, which leads to the lowering of party member standards and the decision that all members of the party chapter are fully qualified to be party members. Besides this tendency, there is a tendency to turn the meetings held within the party chapter for the purpose of practicing self-criticism and criticism and evaluating and classifying party members into opportunities for fighting with and belittling one another with the result that some comrades who are fully qualified to receive party membership cards do not.

Self-criticism and criticism must meet the requirement of correctly evaluating the strengths and shortcomings of each party member, teaching party members and strengthening the solidarity and oneness of mind within the party. Self-criticism and criticism not only have the purpose of uncovering shortcomings and mistakes, but also have the purpose of heightening the awareness and developing the intelligence of the party member.

Good self-criticism and criticism help to evaluate and classify party members in a clear and accurate manner and help party members to adopt guidelines for overcoming and rectifying their weaknesses. Therefore, the basic organizations of the party must make very good preparations and provide very good ideological leadership within the party chapter as well as for each party member prior to engaging in self-criticism and criticism.

Properly preparing and organizing the masses to contribute their critical opinions of party members and determining whether or not party members are qualified are an important measure in evaluating and classifying party members clearly and accurately.

Having the masses participate in party building is a principle, a guideline in the party building of our party. Party member qualifications can only be accurately examined and decided upon when there are participation by the masses plus criticism, analysis and conclusions by the party organization.

Due to the importance of the issuance of party membership cards, the organizing of the masses to contribute their critical opinions concerning party members and help to determine whether or not party members are qualified must be under the close, thorough and meticulous guidance of the party committee echelons. We must absolutely avoid the attitude of disdain for the opinions of the masses and avoid obtaining the opinions of the masses in a form for form's sake manner; we must avoid not seriously examining or studying the opinions contributed by the masses and avoid the fear of difficulties, a fear that is expressed by maintaining that the critical opinions of the masses have been obtained many times, consequently, this work is no longer necessary. On the other hand, it is also necessary to avoid considering all opinions of the masses to be correct, giving light attention to conducting inspections and verifying opinions that are not fully supported by specific facts and giving light attention to the conclusions reached by the party organization.

Facts have shown that at those places which properly prepare and organize the masses to contribute their critical opinions concerning party members the opinions contributed by the masses are of high quality and help the party organization to evaluate and classify party members accurately. The Chau Thanh Party Chapter in

Chau Thanh District, Tay Ninh Province, has 16 members. When they voted on party member qualifications within the chapter, all 16 of these party members were classified as fully qualified. However, after obtaining the opinions of the masses through a secret ballot, the masses proposed the re-examination of the party member qualifications of eight of these party members and offered clear, precise reasons and evidence. The Chau Thanh District Party Committee conducted a re-evaluation and determined that seven of these members were not qualified to be party members. As a result of not making good preparations during the initial phase, the party organization of the port of Haiphong only obtained 60 opinions from the masses concerning the qualifications of party members. Promptly gaining experience, the party committee began to provide close guidance and adopted a method of obtaining opinions that was suited to shift work, consequently, it mobilized 1,700 persons outside the party to contribute good opinions in an intense, positive manner. Many other basic organizations within the Haiphong party organization, such as the party organization of the Tam Bac Shipyard, the party organization of the Dredger Corporation, the party organization of Le Chan Ward and so forth, have done much creative thinking and adopted methods for obtaining the opinions of the masses in a flexible manner consistent with the production and work conditions at each place, consistent with each category of persons among the masses. Many other localities and units throughout the country have also developed interesting methods of working and gained valuable experience with regard to organizing the masses to contribute their critical opinions concerning cadres and party members.

Organizing the masses to criticize cadres, party members, the party chapter and party organization not only has the purpose of obtaining opinions that expose mistakes and shortcomings on the part of party members, but also the purpose of obtaining opinions that affirm the strongpoints and achievements of party members and protect the prestige of party members in the face of distortions, rumors and fabrications by decadent elements.

In the coming period, the basic organizations of the party must do a better job of organizing the masses to contribute their critical opinions concerning cadres and party members. It is necessary to show the masses that their interests are closely linked to strengthening the corps of cadres and party members, to building the party organization within their locality and unit. Of importance is the need to guide the masses in grasping the main points concerning the qualifications of party members and familiarizing themselves with the principal jobs assigned to each party member so that they can, when criticizing cadres and party members and evaluating the leadership of the party organization, contribute specific, profound opinions of high quality. When organizing the masses in criticizing cadres and party members, attention should not merely be given to the number or the social strata of the persons participating, rather, attention should primarily be given to selecting persons capable of contributing constructive opinions to cadres and party members. It is necessary to mobilize the spirit of awareness of the masses and to insure true democracy so that the masses confidently and boldly express their opinions in a forthright manner without fear of prejudice or recrimination. The party committee echelon must seriously study the opinions offered by the masses and fully respond to them. To insure that the masses speak honestly and openly and, at the same time, avoid every possible "retaliation" that might occur on the part of cadres and party members, the opinions of the masses concerning the evaluation

and classification of party members should be obtained by means of a secret poll.

After party members have conducted a review of themselves, criticized themselves and engaged in criticism within the party chapter and the opinions of the masses have been obtained, the party chapter classifies its members and reports the results to the party committee. The party committee re-examines these results and reports them to the next higher party committee for its approval. If any of the opinions of the party committee differ from the decisions reached by the party chapter, it discusses these differences in opinion with the party chapter committee and, if agreement is still not reached, these differences in opinion must be reported to the next higher level. The party committee on the level directly above the basic party organization must conduct a prompt investigation, make a thorough assessment and directly determine whether or not a party member is qualified, thereby insuring that the evaluation and classification of party members achieve the objective of being as accurate as possible. In cases in which a clearcut conclusion has not been reached, it is necessary to immediately conduct an investigation and reach a conclusion; such cases cannot be ignored or put off until another time. In a number of localities, as a result of conducting its own inspection and carefully examining and evaluating the qualification of a party member, the party committee on the upper level correctly decided to not issue membership cards to some unqualified party members and to issue membership cards to qualified party members who were ignored, thereby promptly correcting the mistaken conclusions reached by party organizations on the basic level.

The various party committee echelons that have the authority to approve the qualifications of party members must combat the tendency to evaluate and classify party members in a general, perfunctory manner and the practice of placing too much confidence in the decisions of the installations without conducting inspections and re-examining these decisions. At the same time, it is also necessary to oppose the tendency of being skeptical of every conclusion reached by the basic level and conducting sweeping inspections and re-evaluations, which waste time and do not serve the internal unity of the party organizations.

Firmly grasping the requirements regarding party member qualifications, having party members engage in criticism and self-criticism within the party chapter, obtaining the critical opinions of the masses concerning cadres and party members and having party member qualifications approved by the party committee on the upper level, these four steps comprise an entity which insures that the evaluation and classification of party members are clear and accurate.

FOOTNOTE

1. See: "The summary report on party building and the revision of party statutes" presented by Le Duc Tho, member of the Political Bureau, at the 4th National Congress of Delegates.

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IMPROVE SOCIALIST TRADE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 29-34

[Article by Tran Duong; passages within slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] To satisfactorily carry out its role as an important instrument ensuring the workers' right to collective mastery in distribution and circulation, the socialist trade sector /must make vigorous changes to improve its activities/. This is aimed at satisfactorily meeting the following specific and urgent requirements:

/First/, on the basis of serving and accelerating production, it is necessary to improve goods circulation and the collection and purchase system, to mainly rely on planning, to correctly apply the relationship of goods and money, and to carry out three measures--economic, administrative and educational--in order to place goods under state control.

/Second/, it is necessary to reorganize and strengthen market management to help restore order in economic life, accelerate socialist transformation, consolidate the socialist economic components and ensure that state trade controls the market.

/Third/, it is necessary to satisfactorily organize the distribution of goods in order to stabilize and gradually improve the people's daily life. First of all, efforts must be made to ensure the supply of essential consumer goods to workers, cadres and the armed forces.

These three requirements are interrelated and interdependent. The collection and purchasing of goods, their sale and the management of the market are three inseparable tasks in socialist trade. To satisfactorily serve production and the people's daily life, the socialist trade sector must /control goods and organize their sale directly to consumers/ according to set policies and regulations. Only when goods are under state control and the selling of goods is satisfactorily organized can socialist trade manage the market, exercise wholesale rights and control retailing and the market.

In view of this, we must /concentrate on struggling to fulfill at all costs the collection and purchase norms/ set forth in the state plan. At the same time, we must apply market relations in a lively manner and strive to /control more/ of the goods produced beyond prescribed quotas in order to have an increased volume of goods to meet demands, especially essential products for the people's diet--products which the state has authorized the trade sector to purchase beyond prescribed quotas at agreed-upon prices, such as pork, soybean and eggs.

/With regard to industrial goods/, the trade sector must control goods through the implementation of the system of production according to contracts and orders placed with production establishments. Production enterprises must correctly fulfill their obligation to deliver their products and must not sell their products to others. In the handicraft and artisan industries, contracts must be signed for goods manufactured with valuable raw materials and materials under uniform state control, and for goods the value of which is less than that of the raw materials. The method of selling raw materials and buying products according to the "bidding" system must be extensively applied.

State-run trade enterprises and marketing cooperatives must quickly change their business methods and intensively collect, purchase and control goods, including goods purchased within and beyond set quotas. They must overcome the current shortcomings being committed by some corporations. For example, some corporations have maintained the old trade system, passively waited for goods, feared difficulties and responsibilities, and failed to boldly apply innovations. Others have changed their old trade methods but have not thoroughly studied each enterprise's capabilities or conducted investigation and study of demands in order to place goods orders suitable to each enterprise.

In agriculture, it is necessary to expand the socialist market, strengthen relations between the state and peasants in the organized market. We must resolutely eliminate private wholesalers in the agricultural market and implement the policy of stabilizing the obligations of agricultural cooperatives, production collectives and peasants' households to sell agricultural products (vegetables, jute, rush, silk, tea, coffee, beans and peanuts). We must also implement the policy of stabilizing the obligation to sell meat hogs or cattle to the state for 5-year periods. After selling their products to the state in accordance with the set obligation quotas, the producers are allowed to freely use the remainder; if necessary, the state-run trade sector may purchase them at agreed-upon prices. The trade sector must, through two-way economic contracts, link the supply of production materials and consumer goods with the purchase of agricultural products.

In implementing the collection and purchasing policy, it is necessary to firmly grasp the three types of interests--those of the state, the collectives and the working people. We must stress the obligation of the agricultural cooperatives and peasants to sell agricultural products and foodstuffs to the state. These three types of interests reflect the obligations and rights of the executors of the policy and reflect the viewpoint toward the laboring people's collective mastery as expressed in that policy. If one of the three types of interests is either overemphasized or slighted, implementation of the collection and purchase policy will result in imbalances that adversely affect production and the effort to bring the sources of goods under state control. These three types of interests are reflected in a concentrated manner in the mechanism and methods for collection and purchase employed by the state, /first of all in the system of collection and purchase prices and in the procurement quotas/ set for each type of product. The mechanism and methods for collection and purchase must be designed to fulfill at all costs the collection and purchase norms set in the state plan for items of goods which fall under state control and which are important to the economy and the people's life. We must consider the method of carrying out collection and purchase according to the plan and through two-way economic contracts as the most decisive method. But we must not neglect the collection and purchase of products

in excess of the plan /in accordance with agreed-upon prices/, which is a very important measure designed to increase the state supply of goods. It is necessary to struggle against such erroneous tendencies as paying more attention to trade based on agreed-upon prices and neglecting the collection and purchase of goods in accordance with the plan or, conversely, limiting business to trade in accordance with the plan and paying no thought and taking no action for expansion of trade based on agreed-upon prices outside the framework of the plan. In the southern localities, where production is still carried out on an individual basis, obligation quotas have not yet been established for the sale of agricultural products to the state and purchase and sales contracts have not yet been signed based on the directed prices, the state organizations in charge of material supply and trade must temporarily sell production materials and consumer goods and provide services to the producers at agreed-upon prices. The state organizations in charge of collection and purchase must buy agricultural products from the producers also at agreed-upon prices.

/As regards the distribution of consumer goods,/ the trade sector should thoroughly understand the viewpoint of collective mastery and ensure that the demands of every member of society can be met in a just, rational, convenient and ever better manner in line with the principle of distribution according to labor. When a member of society has fulfilled his obligation to the society, the society is dutybound to care for and organize his life well. At the same time, utmost attention should also be given to gradually increasing collective benefits and social welfare in the interest of all people.

Through its tasks of circulating goods, the trade sector actively contributes to organizing social life and has a vigorous effect on various tasks in the recycling of social production. The role of socialist trade is to ensure that social products correctly and effectively meet consumption needs and actively contribute to /stabilizing the market and prices, firmly maintaining monetary value, balancing budgetary and monetary receipts and expenditures, distributing and redistributing national income, securing actual wages of workers and civil servants, and gradually stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood./ The trade sector should then go on to base itself on the above viewpoint to improve sales of consumer goods.

As an immediate task, the sector must ensure the supply of some staple commodities at directed prices to workers, cadres, peasants and those having some direct economic relations with the state. It must particularly ensure the supply of some staple commodities to workers and cadres in a regular manner and in the prescribed rations or in accordance with a proper system in order to stabilize their livelihood. Moreover, it is necessary to adjust the types of supplied goods and standardize rations to cope with the realistic situation ahead. The system of subsidization to those who have no direct economic relations with the state must be reduced while expanding the network of trade operations in a struggle to stabilize market prices. It is necessary to improve sales organization and procedures and ensure that commodities reach consumers' hands without being curtailed. We must organize two systems of state-run trade stores: One system specialized in providing staple commodities according to rations and at stabilized prices, and the other dealing in non-controlled and non-rationed commodities which must involve actively expanding businesses to support the people's livelihood and struggling against all speculative and market-disruptive activities. We must develop

the network of trade cooperatives dealing in those commodities authorized by the state at prices that can ensure smooth business performance.

It is necessary to formulate a policy of distribution and rational retail prices of consumer goods in order to effect the distribution of products and the distribution and redistribution of national income. The policy and system of circulating goods must be amended in the direction of resolutely and gradually doing away with the /regime of administrative subsidization, overcoming egalitarian distribution,/ concentrating more goods on various targeted centers and implementing well the principle of distribution according to labor. While improving the task of planning distribution and circulation on the basis of balancing the purchasing power of each locality with the potential of that locality in contributing to the fulfillment of general demands, we must continue to carry out broad measures to improve organization and procedure in order to ensure justice, fairness and convenience for consumers.

It is necessary to reserve large quantities of goods for consumers and reduce to the minimum those sales designed to satisfy the general needs of agencies, mass organizations, enterprises, military units and so forth in order to ration budgetary expenditures. We must gather more goods to supply to office and manual workers. By doing so, we will have more goods to trade for cash in order to solve the cash difficulties now confronting the state.

There is a demand by the people that the socialist trade sector which acts as a tool to guarantee the people's benefits in the fields of circulation and distribution must /organize well the selling of goods in accordance with just, rational and convenient principles./ The people may be aware of the difficulties and the shortages of goods resulting from the limited supply capacities of the economy. But they cannot fail to condemn the trade sector for its shortcomings in dealing with the circulation of goods, for it has caused regrettable losses and inconveniences. The trade sector must not cite any reason as an excuse to justify or downplay these shortcomings. It must take responsibility for these shortcomings, as it could do better if greater efforts were made.

Justice, fairness and convenience are primary standards for ensuring the people's right to collective ownership in the field of distribution and circulation. These standards must be all the more respected at a time when commodities are in short supply, because they are of political and economic significance. In fact, they manifest some respect for the people's right to collective mastery over trade.

The way to ensure just, fair and convenient sales is to /revamp and reorganize the business networks at grassroots level/ (villages in rural areas, and subwards in cities), linking these networks with various populous areas and using ration books instead of ration coupons. It is necessary to widely apply the following professional measures and good sale experiences: Achieve the three clears (clear accounting of funds to party committee echelons and local administrations; clear standards, systems, prices and points of sales to the people; and clear name plates to be carried by sales personnel.) It is necessary to organize sales of food in a general manner and in packs, to extend various forms of purchasing and home delivery, and to increase the number of measuring instruments, manpower and work hours at various retailing shops. We must particularly arrange the work

force for various tasks and organize work shifts and work hours rationally in order to concentrate manpower on vital tasks, for peak hours and busy days and for much sought after goods. In the rural areas, it is necessary to closely coordinate the activities of marketing cooperatives with those of agricultural production cooperatives in organizing the livelihood and commodity sales for cooperative members and peasants. We must actively resolve on the spot the problems of meeting demands for vegetables and dip sauce...; combine the sales of industrial goods with the collection and purchase of agricultural products and food; extend service operations on the occasions of weddings and funerals and in childcare centers; organize mess services in ricefields; and process cooked food for sale to cooperative members in busy crop seasons.

In addition to improving the organizational system and methods of selling goods, an urgent task already set forth for the trade sector is /to intensify its control of the market/, and not to leave this battle ground to the merchants.

It is necessary to carry out the struggle in the market with the adoption of the three measures--administrative, economic and educational--aimed at ensuring success for socialism on this extremely hot economic front. We must scrupulously implement state regulations on market management and struggle against speculative, smuggling and other illegal activities. At the same time, we must promote further interchange of merchandise with organizations among various elements concerned and between various regions and sectors in our national economy. This is necessary to ensure that products which are not under state monopoly or unified management and transactions, and which are not in areas zoned off for purchase and collection only by the state, can be circulated normally by the producers and other members of their establishments.

Controlling the circulation of goods does not mean to obstruct the flow of goods from the places where they are produced or to fail to help move them swiftly to consumer outlets. It means to create favorable conditions for the smooth circulation of goods. However, such uninhibited circulation is permissible only for certain consumer outlets and certain products under state policies, and must be kept within the economic policies of the party and the state. It is necessary to combine the control of the circulation of goods with the effort to continue and complete socialist transformation of capitalist and privately-operated trade in the south and gradually arrange small trade in both parts of the country. On the basis of thoroughly understanding the viewpoint of the party toward various economic elements in each part of the country and the viewpoint on "who triumphs over whom" in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the present revolutionary stage, it is particularly necessary to satisfactorily organize the social market, correctly implement the function of the home trade sector over the unified management of the domestic market, and ensure the leading role of state-operated trade in the entire market.

We must first of all establish the right of the state to master the market, consolidate and expand the unified socialist market, direct and control the activities of the free market, and persistently oppose speculative and smuggling activities.

One of the factors necessary for the state to successfully master the market is that it must try to control the stocks of goods at all costs. The task set forth for the state and achieve this goal is the adoption of the two business methods--

/under and in excess of plans/; and to intensify socialist trade activities in all three aspects--/wholesale, purchase and collective, and retail/--in both /organized and "free" markets/ and in the two domains--trade and public service.

On the other hand, we must abide by the industrial and commercial registration regulations and the measures concerning industrial and commercial taxation, the procedures necessary for the opening of bank accounts by privately operated trade and industrial establishments, and the price control and inspection system and price fixing system. Thus, we must closely control all families engaging in privately-owned business. This is necessary to compel them to correctly follow state laws and to place them under the control and supervision of responsible state organs. We must, on a regular basis, combine the forces of all sectors concerned (trade, public security service, custom house and tax bureau) to actively carry out operations against smuggling, speculative and hoarding activities by blocking all smuggling routes from the border and coastal areas and appropriately punishing all smugglers and speculators.

We must resolutely eliminate private dealing in those commodities monopolized by the state or placed under the unified managerial and business control of the state. We must organize the job placement of honest merchants with some professional and technical skills in the direction of motivating and helping some of them who are qualified to shift to production, and in the direction of authorizing those ineligible for production to continue their business dealings in those commodities, professions and jobs which the state still allows the private sector to operate. Some of them will be used as agents to sell or buy certain commodities or to perform the tasks of transporting, processing and packing under the contractual systems for the state-owned trade and marketing cooperatives.

/Along with intensifying market management, it is necessary to stage a vigorous struggle against negativism in the sector/ and against illicit transactions between the bad elements in the sector and illegal dealers in society. We must by all means prevent pilferage, corruption, bribery and illicit transactions in the ordering, collecting and purchasing tasks; the stealing of goods during shipment and in storage; under-the-counter dealings with dishonest traders to siphon off commodities and recycle ration coupons; and the practice of cheating in sales and arbitrariness in distribution.

In this struggle, we must combine "construction" with "opposition." We must build new men in trade who possess a high sense of duty to serve the people and to be just like their good housewives. The building of new men must be coupled with the launching of a mass revolutionary movement to oppose negativism in the sector, the implementation of the "four systems," and the development of the right to collective mastery of office and manual workers in the sector. Attention should be paid to the control task, especially to the promotion of control by collectives and the masses. At the same time, we must use such forms as customer conferences, suggestion books and constructive mail boxes to learn customers' likes and dislikes so that action can be taken to develop good points and correct deficiencies. We must further improve and perfect the managerial apparatus of the sector from the upper to the lower levels in order to successfully develop its effectiveness in the management of labor, materials, goods and capital. At the same time, we must modify unsuitable managerial and economic institutions and systems and improve and enhance the professional and business knowledge of the sector's cadres and personnel.

Only by performing these tasks well can the trade sector satisfactorily support production and the people's livelihood.

RICE CONTRACTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 35-44

[Article by Nieu Hanh]

[Text] Recently, many cooperatives (good cooperatives, average cooperatives and weak, deficient cooperatives as well) have made several improvements in the way they organize rice production and contract for rice. On the basis of the "three contracts" plan of the cooperative, the production units bear the main responsibility to the cooperative for the final product; the basic production units (in coordination with the specialized units of the cooperative) organize collective labor to perform the five basic jobs (preparing the soil, supplying seed, distributing fertilizer, taking charge of irrigation and drainage and preventing and controlling insects and diseases and protecting crops) and then contract with each laborer and family for the remaining jobs, such as transplanting rice and cultivating the crop until the final product is harvested on a particular piece of land or all of the land under the cultivation of rice at the cooperative in accordance with the plan and the economic-technical quotas of the collective with bonuses and penalties in product for exceeding or failing to fulfill the contract.

This new method of contracting has the effect of causing the laborer to truly be concerned with the final results of production, encourages everyone to raise his labor productivity and develop and effectively utilize the potentials of the labor and supplies within the countryside and the arable land in agriculture in order to rapidly raise rice output and encourages everyone to concern himself with implementing the production plan of the cooperative well in order to satisfy all three interests (the interests of the laborer, the collective and the state).

I. Results Worthy of Enthusiasm

The Doan Ia Cooperative in Do Son District, Haiphong, was once a weak, deficient production cooperative whose members encountered difficulties in their daily lives year after year. During the past six rice seasons, the cooperative has assigned a number of work contracts to laborers that make them responsible for providing the final product to the collective (called the rice "product contract" for laborers by this collective), thereby causing the economy of Doan Ia to develop rapidly and move steadily forward. Today, as a result of this, the material and cultural life in Doan Ia are very good and order and security are maintained. Below are the results of this new method of contracting at Doan Ia (see following chart).

Explanation	Unit of Measure	1977	1978		1979		1980	
			Actual	Compared to 1977	Actual	Compared to 1977	Actual	Compared to 1977
Percentage of land used to raise rice under product contracts with cooperative members compared to total land under rice cultivation	%	0	17%	+17%	38%	+38%	50%	+50%
Amount of land under the cultivation of rice for the entire year	Ha	585	620	+35	639	+54	738	+153
Paddy output of the collective	tons	749	1054	+305	1134	+385	1500	+751
Paddy over and above contract (received by cooperative members)	tons	0	50	+50	80	+80	120	+120
Total social grain output during the year	tons	749	1104	+355	1214	+465	1620	+871
Commodity paddy sold to the state during the year	tons	100	170	+70	170	+70	91(*)	--
Pork sold to the state	tons	21	30	+9	30	+9	43	+22
Monthly grain standard (distributed by the collective)	kg/ person	6.4	10.3	+3.9	11.4	+5	13(*)	+6.6

* Only includes the 1979-1980 5th month-spring season, not the 10th month season.

Several other cooperatives have implemented this new method of contracting on some of their land for one rice season and recorded good harvests; for example, the Xuan Minh Cooperative in Tho Xuan District, Thanh Hoa Province, used this method of contracting for 30 percent of the area under the cultivation of 10th month rice in 1979 on fields used to raise winter crops. During the 1979-1980 5th month-spring season, the Doan Lap Cooperative in Tien Lang District, Haiphong, used this method on 92 percent of its land and the Yen Thinh Cooperative in Thieu Yen District, Thanh Hoa Province, used it on 30 to 100 percent of the land of eight of its nine

production units raising rice. In the 1980 10th month season, numerous cooperatives in the outskirts of Haiphong and some cooperatives in Vinh Lac District, Vinh Phu Province, as well as a number of other cooperatives in the provinces of Nghe Tinh, Thanh Hoa, Ha Nam Ninh and so forth implemented rice "product contracts" for laborers. At all of the cooperatives that have been assigning contracts for a number of jobs in rice production to laborers, contracts that make them responsible for the final product delivered to the collective and include bonuses and penalties in product when contract quotas are exceeded or not met, there has been a clear and uniform increase in rice yield and output, in the quantity of grain and food products sold to the state, the standard of living of cooperative members has been greatly improved and the cooperative has been strengthened in a manner similar to the Doan Xa Cooperative mentioned above.

Why have these cooperatives been able to record these achievements?

First, the implementation of this new method of contracting has the effect of developing the potentials of the labor and supplies among the farmers and of the arable land within agriculture.

The close link between the material interests of the laborer and his personal responsibility for delivering the final product to the collective insures that everyone who accepts a contract works as hard as he can and mobilises all other labor within his family to participate in field work. Their actual work time in fields has increased 50 to 100 percent compared to when they were not working under "product contracts" for the cooperative. They work in an urgent manner and are responsible for their work. During urgent periods in the crop production cycle (such as the transplanting season, the harvesting season and the planting season for winter crops), they make full use of each day and hour in a race against time. During these times, their labor productivity (primarily as a result of the increased intensity of labor and increased work time) is two or three times as high as when they were not working under "product contracts," consequently, they perform their work during the best possible portion of the season.

At practically all cooperatives that have implemented this new method of contracting, all cooperative member families have invested additional livestock manure, chemical fertilizer and other types of fertilizer; at some places, the amount of fertilizer applied to rice crops is 50 percent above the contract quota of the cooperative. As a result, the movement to make fertilizer and raise hogs has developed rapidly. Between 1 October 1979 (before rice "product contracts" for laborers were initiated) and 1 October 1980 (when rice "product contracts" for laborers had been in effect for one 10th month season), the following cooperatives in Vinh Lac District, Vinh Phu Province, had reduced the number of households with empty livestock pens: the Tho Tang Cooperative, from 283 to 251 households; the Tan Hung Cooperative, from 347 to 76 households; the Tan Tien Cooperative, from 154 to 37 households; and the Chan Hung Cooperative, from 141 to 38 households. The majority of families raising hogs at these cooperatives have repaired their permanent hog pens in order to obtain the manure. The excavation of pond mud and alluvial soil for use as fertilizer, the making of compost piles, putting bedding into hog pens and so forth have become voluntary and routine actions on the part of the masses.

Laborers work diligently, make full use of each bit of land on embankments and in field corners, plant all of their land and maintain a uniform density of clumps and

plants. At the Tho Tang Cooperative in Vinh Lac District, as a result of transplanting at an efficient density in order to achieve a high yield, the number of clumps per unit of area has increased by 10 to 13 percent compared to the old density. The amount of area producing good rice harvests each year has increased markedly. As a result of maintaining the seasonal schedule, taking positive steps to overcome difficulties encountered with the weather (damage caused by drought and typhoons and waterlogging) and transplanting in many consecutive phases, the amount of area under the cultivation of rice at the Doan Ia Cooperative in Haiphong in 1978 (when product contracts were only assigned to laborers for 17 percent of the amount of area under rice cultivation) increased by 35 hectares; in 1979 (when product contracts were assigned to laborers for 38 percent of the amount of area under rice cultivation), it increased by 94 hectares; and, in 1980 (when product contracts for laborers were in effect on 50 percent of the amount of area under the cultivation of rice), it increased by 153 hectares compared to 1977 (when centralized production was still being carried out on all land cultivated with rice).

Secondly, the implementation of this new method of contracting has had the effect of raising rice yields, raising the output of paddy, reducing production costs and effectively overcoming many negative phenomena in the management of production and distribution.

The most significant result is that on the majority of the land cultivated with rice at cooperatives that have implemented "product contracts" for laborers over a period of many seasons or only one season as well as at cooperatives that used this method for the first time during the 1980 10th month season, rice yields have increased; the lowest increase has been from 3 to 5 percent, the average increase has been from 10 to 15 percent and the highest increase has been from 30 to 50 percent compared to the contract yield quota of the cooperative.

As a result of such increases in yields per unit of area and a significant increase in the amount of area under the cultivation of rice compared to the years when rice "product contracts" for laborers were not in effect, the output of rice has rapidly risen. The total rice output of the Doan Ia Cooperative in Haiphong in 1977 (before there were rice "product contracts" for laborers) was only 749 tons; in 1978 (when product contracts for laborers were in effect on 17 percent of the amount of area under the cultivation of rice), it rose to 1,104 tons (an increase of more than 47 percent); in 1979 (when product contracts for laborers were in effect on 38 percent of the land cultivated with rice), it rose to 1,214 tons (a 62 percent increase); and, in 1980 (when product contracts for laborers were in effect on 50 percent of the land cultivated with rice), it increased to 1,620 tons (an increase of more than 116 percent). At the Yen Thinh Cooperative in Thieu Yen District, Thanh Hoa Province, only 94 tons of paddy were harvested during the 1978-1979 5th month-spring season (centralized rice production); in the 1979-1980 5th month-spring season ("product contracts" for laborers were in effect on roughly two-thirds of the land cultivated with rice), 155 tons of paddy (an increase of nearly 65 percent) were harvested. Similar increases in paddy output have occurred at other cooperatives that have implemented this new method of contracting for rice production.

The implementation of this new method of contracting also reduces the production cost of each quintal of paddy. An investigation of the recent early 10th month

rice harvest at a number of cooperatives in Vinh Lac District, Vinh Phu Province, showed the following:

<u>Explanation</u>	Production Cost Per Quintal of Paddy (dong per quintal)		A/B	Notes
	A Unit of Laborers Working Under Product Contracts (A)	A Unit of Laborers Working as a Collective (B)		
The Dong Van Cooperative				
Actual Production Costs:	53.45 dong	66.50 dong	down 13.05 dong	
--Supply costs	30.80	38.30	-7.50	
--Living labor costs	22.65	28.20	-5.55	Labor calculated on the basis of the value of the manday at each cooperative
The Tho Tang Cooperative				
Actual Production Costs:	38.45 dong	42.20 dong	-3.75 dong	
--Supply costs	12.50	14.50	-2.00	
--Living labor costs	25.95	27.70	-1.75	
The Tam Hong Cooperative				
Actual Production Costs:	43.90 dong	57.30 dong	-13.40 dong	
--Supply costs	16.40	19.30	-2.90	
--Living labor costs	27.50	38.00	-10.50	

This new method of contracting also effectively overcomes or limits many phenomena involving the mishandling of workpoints and losses of product during harvesting. As a result of basing contract workpoints on the quotas of the laborer in many different jobs, establishing at the very outset that costs are to be based on contract quotas and stipulating that, if no unexpected changes occur in the production process, costs shall not change, the practice of production units awarding workpoints for work not performed has been successfully limited. During the harvest, cooperative members who have accepted "product contracts," harvest their crops carefully, transport them carefully so that no rice is dropped to the ground, thresh the rice carefully so that none is left in the straw and store their paddy properly in order to deliver the full amount required under their contract output quota to the cooperative and receive a bonus for exceeding their contract; as a result, they have limited to the lowest possible level (one can say to an insignificant level) the loss of rice during harvesting in the fields and the loss, spoilage and waste of rice at the drying yards of the cooperative.

The results presented above prove that at those cooperatives that have implemented contracts for a number of jobs with laborers in a manner that makes them responsible for providing the final product to the collective, production relations have never been weakened, rather, they have been strengthened in three areas. First, the primary instruments of production, such as cropland, buffalo, cattle, plows, harrows and other agricultural machinery, of the collective are still under collective

ownership and are used, closely managed and distributed in accordance with the unified plan of the cooperative. Secondly, cooperative members are allowed to truly discuss the production plan and formulate and set economic-technical quotas, contract yield and output quotas, distribution quotas, awards and penalties. Here, we clearly see true ownership by the laborer in the management of production and distribution. Thirdly, cooperative members who accept contracts are paid workpoints on the basis of contract quotas clearly established at the very outset; the cooperative implements a system of awards or penalties in product when their production exceeds or falls short of the contract; this correctly reflects the principle of distribution in accordance with labor within cooperatives.

In the implementation of this new contracting system for rice production, we have yet to see any of the material-technical bases of the cooperative being used in a wasteful or indiscriminate manner. Machinery, buffalo, cattle, farm implements, storehouses, drying yards, water conservancy projects, seed production facilities and so forth are still used and maintained well and have even been strengthened, especially the material-technical bases that directly support the five basic jobs undertaken by the cooperative and its production units in order to create favorable conditions for the laborers who accept contracts to perform the remaining jobs, including the harvesting of the final product, to achieve the highest possible returns.

This new method of contracting for rice production is completely different from the "start to finish contract" under which the laborer performs all of the jobs involved in the production of rice, including the harvesting of the final product. This is a form of collective labor with an efficient division of labor between collective labor and the individual labor of the collective farmers within the cooperative under unified guidance in accordance with production planning and regulations, in accordance with economic-technical quotas and on the basis of a high level of intensive cultivation.

II. Concerning the Matter of Bonuses and Penalties

On the basis of supply cost ceilings, labor quotas and product quotas that must be accurately established, all of the cooperatives that implement a system of contracts with laborers for the performance of several jobs in the production of rice, contracts which make them responsible for providing the final product to the collective, also award bonuses or impose penalties in product when output exceeds or falls short of the contract quota.

As regards penalties, all of these cooperatives impose a penalty of 100 percent of the shortfall in product (which is deducted from the amount of product distributed to the person who accepted the contract) or in money calculated on the basis of current "free" market prices. When supply cost ceilings and labor quotas are correctly established and implemented and, in the course of production, the various materials are not supplied in exact accordance with standards or natural disasters affect the yield of rice, the cooperative may reduce the contract output quota; however, if output still falls short of the contract quota of the cooperative as a result of the work performed or the techniques employed by the person who accepted the contract, this person must pay a penalty of 100 percent of the shortfall in product. This practice is totally correct and has been welcomed and accepted by cooperative members. It has the effect of heightening the work discipline and the

personal responsibility of the person who accepts a contract for the final product of the collective; at the same time, it prevents persons from concealing or pilfering part of the product produced.

The same practice is applied to unit chiefs and unit commands. If a situation is allowed to develop within a unit in which many families fall short of their contract quotas and the entire unit fails to complete its contract output plan assigned by the cooperative (after legitimate reasons have been excluded), the cadres of the unit must also pay a penalty in workpoints equal to 3 to 5 percent of the number of indirect mandays worked by each type cadre of the unit who is eligible for workpoints.

As regards bonuses, some places pay a bonus of 80 to 90 percent while others pay a bonus of 100 percent of the output exceeding contract quotas to laborers. Generally speaking, both practices have the stimulative effect of quickly encouraging the laborer to produce with enthusiasm and be willing to invest more labor and supplies in the intensive cultivation of rice in order to achieve high yield and output not only for the purpose of fulfilling the contract output quota of the cooperative (and earn workpoints), but also for the purpose of producing a large output above the contract quota (and earn a product bonus).

All of the cooperatives in Vinh Lac District, Vinh Phu Province, that enter into rice "product contracts" with laborers pay a progressive bonus of 80 to 90 percent of the output exceeding the contract quota: if the quota is exceeded by less than 10 percent, a bonus of 80 percent of the additional output is paid and if the quota is exceeded by more than 10 percent, a bonus of 90 percent is paid in product. The cooperative takes from 10 to 15 percent of the additional output in order to pay bonuses to unit cadres. The remaining 5 percent is used as a bonus fund for specialized units that meet and exceed the contract planned quotas of the cooperative.

In order to insure that the cooperative controls the product that is produced and awards bonuses and imposes penalties in an accurate manner, it is absolutely necessary that the harvest be husked at a public yard (the yard of the unit or joint unit). This practice of bringing the harvest to a public yard naturally imposes many difficulties and obstacles upon each family that accepts a contract; however, at all of the cooperatives in Vinh Lac District that have entered into rice "product contracts" with laborers, this work has been performed smoothly. The majority of the cooperative members, production unit cadres and cooperative management boards at installations want to receive a bonus of 100 percent of the additional output in product as this would increase their income and could be easily accomplished; they also want cooperative members to be allowed to harvest and take to their homes 100 percent of the output above contract quotas on remaining land.

In Haiphong, all of the cooperatives that have entered into rice "product contracts" with laborers pay a bonus of 100 percent of the output exceeding the contract quota to laborers in product. This method of paying bonuses, which is very attractive to farmers, has caused the mass of the labor forces within the countryside to request "product contracts" from the cooperative. When this bonus system is implemented, the cooperative only receives the output required under the contract quota (from units that exceed or meet the contract quotas of the cooperative) or receives slightly

less than the output required under the contract quota (from units that fall short of their contract output). In addition, the cooperative does not need to establish another harvest account for product over and above contract quotas in order to pay a bonus to the cadres of units who record the achievement of organizing and managing production within their units in such a way as to achieve a high yield and output.

In Thieu Yen District in Thanh Hoa Province, cooperatives also pay a bonus of 100 percent of the output over and above the contract quota to the laborer in product; however, they have also successfully resolved the matter of bonuses for the cadres of basic production units and specialized units that exceed the production plan quotas of the cooperative.

Here, the contract output quota assigned by the cooperative to the production unit is established on the basis of the average progressive yields of the past 3 or 5 years. As regards the production units, the cooperatives allow this contract quota to be raised by no more than 10 percent (that is, by approximately 10 kilograms of paddy for each additional sao under cultivation) so that they can enter into contracts with each laborer (this must be discussed and unanimously agreed upon by cooperative members).

The realities of production within production units show that from 60 to 70 percent of the families within the unit who accept contracts exceed their contract output quotas (by at least 5 to 10 percent, with the average being 20 to 30 percent and the highest being more than 50 percent of their contract output); only about 20 to 30 percent of the families merely meet their contract output quotas and about 5 to 10 percent of the families fail to meet their contract output quota (the majority of them fall short of their quota for legitimate reasons and are given a waiver or a lower contract quota).

Under this method, when families within the production unit fail to meet their contract output quota, the unit is still able to compensate for this shortfall in order to always meet and exceed the contract quota assigned to the entire unit by the cooperative. Of the output produced over and above the contract quota by the entire unit, the cooperative returns 80 percent to the unit as a bonus; the unit then divides this bonus among its members on the basis of the percentage of man-days they worked for the collective; the remaining 20 percent of the bonus is turned over to the management board so that the cooperative can establish a bonus fund for the cadres of basic production units and specialized units that meet and exceed the contract planned quotas of the cooperative.

Under this method of paying bonuses, it is not always necessary to bring the harvest to be husked to a public yard as this poses many complications and difficulties, especially in view of the unstable weather conditions that exist during the busy days of the season. At cooperatives that have ample drying yards, granaries and machinery to support cooperative members in the harvesting of their crops, it is possible to have the families that are working under rice "product contracts" to bring enough of their harvest to the yard of the cooperative for threshing in order to deliver the full quantity required under their contract (both primary and subsidiary products) to the cooperative. The portion of the output that exceeds the contract

and is still in fields should be harvested by cooperative members and taken directly to their households, thereby giving them a bonus of 100 percent of the additional output in product (both paddy and rice straw). At cooperatives that only have enough drying yards, granaries and machinery to support the harvesting of some of the crop of those families that are working under contracts, the remaining portion of the crop can be harvested by cooperative members and taken to their households. The person who is working under a contract need only deliver to the cooperative the product output (both primary and subsidiary products) required under his contract quota. At places where the material bases supporting the harvesting of rice are insignificant and everything must be done by hand, cooperative members can be allowed to harvest the entire product and take it to their households, but still must deliver to the cooperative the full output required under their contract quota.

Regardless of what method of harvesting is used, the full product required under the contract quota must be delivered to the cooperative. In actuality, this is being achieved by good cooperatives, average cooperatives and weak, deficient cooperatives as well. There has never been one case of laziness or cheating the cooperative out of some of its contract output. That portion of the output which exceeds the contract quota and is given as a 100 percent bonus to cooperative members can be left for them to harvest and take to their homes; this is both reasonable and fulfills the wishes of the persons accepting "product contracts."

III. Combating Deviations and Mistakes

Recently, due to the difficult situation being encountered with grain, some cooperatives have automatically assigned contracts for a number of jobs in rice production to laborers and cooperative member families, contracts which make them responsible for the final product delivered to the collective and which provide for bonuses and impose penalties in product when their output is above or below the contract quota (also called a "product contract" or a rice "increased output contract"). This action has achieved good results and, as a result of being widely acclaimed, has been copied by many other cooperatives. However, due to the lack of unified, specific and thorough guidance, more than a few deviations have occurred that must be corrected.

Due to their limited management skills and the fact that they have not received specific training and guidance, some installation cadres, especially production unit cadres, are still confused and do not know how to control the jobs of which they have been put in charge by the cooperative and the production unit. For this reason, some places have contracted with laborers for so many jobs that the cooperative's instruments of production are decentralized and being used by cooperative members in any manner they see fit. In the plowing and harrowing of fields, for example, the Doan Lap Cooperative in Tien Lang District, Haiphong, at first assigned this work to cooperative members, consequently, it was necessary to divide the cooperative's buffalo, cattle, plows and harrows among the various families that accepted contracts. This method caused disputes among the families and led to overuse, which adversely affected draft power and caused the plows and harrows of the collective to rapidly break.

The management boards of a few cooperatives in Vinh Lac failed, when applying this new method of contract work, to tightly control day to day distribution and this led to disputes and a loss of unity among the families working under contracts. For example, as a result of not tightly controlling the distribution of the collective's fertilizer to households in need of fertilizer and households lacking fertilizer and not tightly controlling the distribution of draft power among units with many buffalo and cattle and units with few buffalo and cattle of the collective, households that have much fertilizer belonging to the collective use much while the other households must use less fertilizer than required under the cooperative's contract quota and units that have many buffalo and cattle plow and harrow their fields easily while units with few buffalo and cattle must also prepare their fields with hoes. The failure to set strict quotas and closely manage the uprooting of seedlings has led to a situation in which one person uproots the seedlings of another and one production unit uproots seedlings belonging to another production unit, thereby causing arguments, a loss of unity and the transplanting of different varieties in the same field.

At some places, the contract quotas and regulations on bonuses and penalties have not been thoroughly discussed by cooperative members, consequently, the persons accepting contracts have demanded that fields be divided in a very decentralized fashion (with each person receiving some poor land, some good land, some nearby land and some distant land); this situation has occurred in the Tho Tang and Dong Van Cooperatives in Vinh Phu Province and has adversely affected production, cultivation and the intensive cultivation of rice.

Due to the lack of a full understanding of the objectives and principles of the rice "product contract" system for laborers, some cooperatives and production units have left it up to individual laborers and their families to perform every job under contracts with the cooperative, including the delivery of the final product. As a result of production units failing to closely guide the daily work of persons who have accepted contracts, the rice that has been planted in fields has not complied with the allocation of varieties of the cooperative (as has been the case in a number of production units at the Dong Van Cooperative) and rice has been transplanted with no regard for the technical standards established by the cooperative (for example, the 12th unit of the Tho Tang Cooperative allowed its cooperative members to transplant at too high a density, a density of 77 bunches per square meter, thereby causing the yield per sao to decline by 7 kilograms of paddy compared to the contract quota of the cooperative).

As a result of production units not closely guiding the acceptance of "product contracts" by laborers and cooperative member families and their practice of allowing anyone to accept a contract, some persons accepting contracts have found themselves unable to fulfill them and had to hire persons in order to earn a profit. Some families at the Thieu Tien Cooperative in Thieu Yen District, Thanh Hoa Province, accepted contracts for too much land and then invested money in additional fertilizer and manpower; at harvest time, after deducting their costs, they still earned a profit of 15 quintals of paddy per season!

If the deviations mentioned above are not corrected at the very outset, they can very easily lead to "start to finish contracts."

In addition, the attitude of economic leaders concerning the rice "product contract" for laborers is also very deserving of attention.

The leaders in Do Son District, Haiphong, have the correct attitude, possess a high spirit of leadership and were willing to assume the responsibility for developing and rapidly introducing in main crop production the rice "product contract" for laborers with bonuses and penalties in product.

When they noticed that the Doan Xa Cooperative, which once encountered many difficulties in its daily life for many years, had rapidly improved its economy, established a comfortable standard of living, developed its culture and was maintaining order and security, the district party committee immediately contacted the installation cadres and local people in order to gain an understanding of what had been done. Seeing that the leaders on the level above them, the district, were truly concerned, the cadres and people of Doan Xa accurately reported on the results of their work with rice "product contracts" for laborers with bonuses and penalties in product, work which they had kept a secret from everyone else in the locality for four seasons. The district party committee conducted a review, immediately learned from its experience, improved upon this new method of contracting and issued a resolution (a resolution had previously been issued by the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee) directing that "product contracts" for laborers be implemented on 40 percent of the amount of area under the cultivation of rice within the district. This resolution was very rapidly implemented by the people. The atmosphere surrounding production in the Do Son countryside was stronger than ever before. Noticing this rare production spirit at Do Son, the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee conducted an inspection and immediately reached conclusions; at the same time, it issued a resolution to the districts throughout the municipality instructing them to implement the rice "product contract" system for laborers with bonuses and penalties in product. During the 10th month season of 1980, a year of serious destruction by typhoons and waterlogging in this area, Do Son, in particular, and all of Haiphong, in general, transplanted more rice than ever before; the rice in fields is growing well and will surely bear a high yield and large output: this is the irrefutable result of implementing rice "product contracts" for laborers with bonuses and penalties in product.

On the other hand, a situation similar to the Do Son situation described above occurred in Thanh Hoa Province but was handled in a completely different manner by the party committee echelon.

The Xuan Minh Cooperative in Tho Xuan District, Thanh Hoa Province, is a cooperative that has a weak economy and has encountered difficulties in its daily life for many years, just as Doan Xa in Do Son, Haiphong, has. During the 1979 10th month season, this cooperative also began to implement the use of contracts for laborers with bonuses and penalties in product for some jobs on 30 percent of the land under the cultivation of rice at the cooperative (primarily fields that were transplanted with early 10th month rice so that winter crops could be grown). As a result, Xuan Minh had the best harvest on the left bank of the Chu River in Tho Xuan District that season. The cooperative paid its agricultural taxes for that year early and exceeded its grain and food product obligations for that year. The monthly eating standard of each person rose from 6-7 kilograms to 12 kilograms (distributed by

the collective) and the 100 percent of the paddy over and above cooperative member contract quotas provided them with about 10 kilogram more. The people and cadres at the installation are very excited; they estimate that, in four or five seasons, this style of rice "increased output contract" can help them correct their weak economic situation and provide the momentum for the cooperative to achieve large-scale operations.

When Thieu Yen District, which is located next to the Xuan Minh Cooperative, saw that this mode of contracting for rice production was yielding good returns in many areas, it immediately researched it, improved it and issued specific instructions to the majority of the cooperatives within the district to implement rice "product contracts" for laborers on 50 percent of the area under the cultivation of rice during the 1979-1980 winter-spring season within the district. The farmers and cadres within the district welcomed this decision very much and eagerly registered to accept rice "product contracts" from the cooperative. As cooperative members were transplanting their rice, an order came from the province prohibiting the use of rice "product contracts" for laborers and requiring a return to work contracts with bonuses and penalties in workpoints. Thieu Yen's request that the province allow it to conduct a pilot project was also rejected. The Xuan District then stopped the "product contract for laborers movement in Xuan Minh without calculating whether the economic returns from it are good or bad. The district sent a member of the district party committee (not a local person) to serve as village party committee secretary and guide the work of raising rice by collective labor. The district also sent about 100 cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the state to provide assistance (of course, the cooperative has incurred rather high costs feeding and housing these persons). It took 2 months of collective labor (hardly a season!) to finish transplanting the 1979-1980 winter-spring rice crop. The yield was low, much of the land that was planted was not harvested, paddy output was, as a result, small and the eating standard of cooperative members during this season was only slightly more than 3 kilograms per person per month (not the 20 kilograms called for in the plan formulated by the district!).

As present, Thanh Hoa Province has realized its mistake in its dealing with Thieu Yen District and has criticized itself before the comrades of Thieu Yen. This is a very welcomed attitude.

We hope that soon, on the basis of the experiences that have been gained, deviations will be eliminated and promptly corrected and the new method of contracting will become increasingly improved, develop widely and in the correct direction and yield practical benefits to the laborers, the collective and society.

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RONALD REAGAN: REGRET OVER A POSTURE OF STRENGTH THAT IS PAST AND GONE!

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 45-50

[Article by Luu Quy Ky]

[Text] So, the United States has elected a new president.

Ronald Reagan, the 40th president, enters the White House in the first year of the 1980's, a decade predicted to be one of many changes and upheavals.

Several questions have been raised: why was Reagan elected president? Can Reagan reverse the steep decline of the United States? Can Reagan solve the problems that are weighing heavily upon the United States? When the results of the election were announced, a U.S. newspaper declared: "The Reagan era has begun." However, what is this era?

In U.S. society, even an important political event such as a presidential election has its exciting side: Jimmy Carter, an unknown peanut farmer, was suddenly elected to the White House to serve as the youngest president (56 years of age) and then, 4 years later, was tragically rejected with only 11 percent of the electoral vote. Reagan, 69 years of age, a former screen actor who once did advertisements for U.S. capitalist corporations on television, was twice put into the California governor's chair by U.S. millionaires and failed in three other bids for the presidency, suddenly enters the White House with an "overwhelming" majority of the vote, more than 90 percent of the electoral votes, and becomes the oldest president of the United States.

However, the significance of this election does not lie in its exciting side. We find its significance in an analysis of the data and the relationship of this event to the circumstances and the present trend of development of the United States as well as the U.S. social system.

Reagan Is Not a Person Who Was Selected by the American People

A glance at the results of the election shows that Reagan received a majority of the votes that were cast and an "overwhelming" majority of the electoral votes: 489 compared to Carter's 49.

However, what are the true facts? Of the 160.5 million voters in the United States, 84 million, that is 52.3 percent, voted. According to the results of 97 voting districts, Reagan won 42,187,495 votes, 51 percent of the number of votes cast. Thus, only 26 percent, or one-quarter, of the U.S. electorate voted for Reagan. Assuming that the Americans are truly free to vote for whomever they please, the figures presented above fully confirm that Reagan, who won the election, is not the choice of the majority of the American people.

On the other hand, the election system in the United States does everything possible to prevent legitimate, talented representatives of the working people from running for office and also fails to enable the working people to elect persons who truly represent them. In the end, the U.S. electorate can only choose between the two persons who are nominated by the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Both of these parties are parties of the bourgeoisie and represent the interests of the monopolistic, capitalist groups of the United States. Lenin observed long ago: in terms of both their nature and their basic objectives, these two parties are as similar and as "different" as "the two clogs in a pair of clogs" and share responsibilities with each other in order to deal with specific situations: war or peace, relaxation or tension, growth or decline... Therefore, regardless of which person of these two bourgeois parties is elected, the U.S. bourgeoisie still determines the policy line of the United States.

Once these two parties have chosen their candidates, the election campaign enters its most difficult, intense and noisy "phase." In this uproarious campaign, the two candidates attack one another at will, thus causing naive persons to think that it is a "totally free and democratic" election. In fact, however, in the United States, there is only the freedom of the candidates (selected by the bourgeoisie) to compete against each other; there is never any freedom on the part of the electorate to elect persons who truly represent them.

The method of calculating voting results solely on the basis of the votes cast by the Electoral College causes the person who wins the election to represent the desires of the majority of voters even less. The winning of this election by Reagan is a clear example: in terms of the number of votes cast, Reagan only beat Carter by 10 percent (51 percent compare to 41 percent); however, when the results were calculated, Reagan beat Carter by 10 times as many votes (Reagan received 489 and Carter received 49 of the total number of 538 Electoral College votes).

Another factor that causes more difficulties to the American people in elections is that the widespread press and information means of the U.S. government never help to deepen the understanding or raise the political level of Americans but constantly distort and conceal the truth instead. At election time, this apparatus is mobilized as much as possible in order to "create interference" and prevent the people from gaining a clear understanding of the issues faced by the country and the personalities of the candidates.

Under such a "U.S.-style" voting system, the person who wins an election always fits into the plans of the bourgeoisie; if he is not a member of the Democratic Party, he is a member of the Republican Party. This time, voters did not want to

vote for Carter but were very afraid to vote for Reagan. To the American people, whether Carter or Reagan is in the White House is, as it has always been, "no different than exchanging one calamity for another." Aside from Carter and Reagan, it would have been difficult for anyone else to win a majority of votes. Clearly, the vote is not a means by which the American people choose the person who will represent them. For this reason, more and more Americans have become disenchanted with and apathetic toward elections as the following figures show: the percentage of American voters who voted compared to the total number of voters was 61.9 percent in 1962, 60.9 percent in 1968, 55.5 percent in 1972, 54.3 percent in 1976 and 52.3 percent in 1980.

The Rejection of Carter Does Not Mean Acceptance of Reagan

Both the U.S. and western press have observed: "The rejection of Jimmy Carter was not surprising but the size of Reagan's victory shocked many persons... Reagan won because the persons who voted for Carter in 1976 in the South, the Northeast and the Midwest no longer supported Carter. A large number of Americans voted for Reagan because they think that the situation at home would continue to worsen and that the United States would lose all prestige overseas if Carter remained in power not because they share Reagan's viewpoints and have more confidence in him. Consequently, the result of the election is more of a rejection than an acceptance..."

According to a public opinion poll conducted by the NEW YORK TIMES, nearly 40 percent of the voters questioned admitted that they voted for Reagan because of the "need for a change" and only 11 percent selected Reagan because "he is a true conservative."

The results of the election of the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate also prove that Carter had "declined in value." This time, Reagan's Republican Party won 11 more seats in the Senate, 32 more seats in the House of Representatives and 4 governorships. Carter's Democratic Party lost roughly the number of seats gained by the Republican Party.

While a large number of voters boycotted the election, those who did vote rejected Carter. Worried, displeased and desperate, they rejected Carter after only one term as president and removed scores of Democrats from the Senate and the House of Representatives.

They rejected Carter because they do not want their country to be in a state of prolonged decline; because they felt that Carter could not change the poor rate of growth of the United States and that Carter could not keep the promises he made before he became president.

They elected Reagan because they want a "change" even though Reagan has no miracle for bringing strength back to the declining economy or for curing the other serious, chronic ills, even though they have still not forgotten the "long held" extremist, far right views of Reagan and the harm caused by the "hawkish" policy of the Nixon era, which Reagan endorsed.

This psychology of demanding a change together with the crisis of confidence are spreading widely in the United States. Americans are dissatisfied with the present and concerned about the future. This is easily understood. How can the minds of Americans be at ease when they see that in their country, a country that has an abundant material and technical base and a developed economy, the number of unemployed persons has risen to 8.3 million, inflation has reached 14.8 percent per year, the value of the dollar has fallen to 838 dollars per ounce of gold (compared to 35 dollars 10 years ago, a 20-fold decrease!), difficulties are mounting, crime is on the rise and society is becoming increasingly corrupt. In the past, the U.S. budget routinely operated at a deficit of 13 billion dollars per year; however, during the past 4 years, this budget deficit rose to 48.6 billion dollars per year. And, the entire United States is suffering a headache over energy...

There is yet another factor. Since its defeat in the war of aggression against Vietnam, the United States has suffered an increasing loss of position on the international front. The position of the United States has weakened in the face of the three intense revolutionary currents of our times and weakened compared to the other countries in the capitalist world. The United States was forced to retreat in the face of the revolutionary movements in Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, etc. The United States no longer has a presence in the Caribbean and the Middle East, especially in Iran. The tendency of the U.S. allies in western Europe and of Japan is to not give any consideration whatsoever to the leadership role of the United States; they are pursuing their own separate policies and gradually relaxing their commitments to U.S. policy. The French news agency AFP pointed out: "The election of Reagan as U.S. president raises a host of uncertainties and doubts deserving of concern among the European allies"; both the German Federal Republic and France are concerned over Reagan's policy of "wanting to appear experienced" and "wanting to go over the heads of the western European countries" and the president of France stated to the French Government Council that "western Europe must defend itself against U.S. pressure" by strengthening the relations within Europe. The German Federal Republic has demanded that the United States "treat western Europe as an equal" and, what the U.S. ruling group fears the most is that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will develop rapidly economically and militarily.

The achievements of the 4 years of the Carter administration were very few in number and, in some areas, setbacks were experienced. For this reason, Carter was defeated in this race for the White House.

In the election campaign, Reagan made many statements based on a "conservative" and "ultra-right" stand and his platform contained many contradictions between policy and measures. However, Reagan was not elected because the majority of the American people endorsed this stand and platform. Thus, who did support Reagan?

The Illusions of U.S. Financial Circles

It is quite clear that the economic, political and social crises in the United States have led to a crisis concerning the highest leaders of the state. The fourth preceding president, who was considered to be the "essence of U.S. politics," had to retire because of the defeat in Vietnam. Succeeding presidents also failed

to improve the weakened, declining position of the United States. Thus, in whose hands was the ship of state to be entrusted? It was in this crisis over who would serve as president that Reagan was chosen. And, the persons who chose Reagan were none other than the U.S. financiers. It is they who establish the strategy and policy of the United States, even though the U.S. president does make a contribution to them through his skills, talents and style.

Thus, which capitalist groups stand behind Reagan? The U.S. press reports: in the 1950's, Reagan had close ties with the General Electric Corporation, a corporation worth nearly 20 billion dollars that ranks 11th among the largest monopolistic corporations of the world and controls the majority of the production of nuclear weapons, aircraft and missiles by the United States. In 1960, Reagan also won the support of the financial circles in the automobile, petroleum and chemical industries. Reagan's domestic and foreign policy advisors include many members of the Committee on the Present Danger, which consists of rightist personalities within the military-industrial complex; this committee opposed the signing of the SALT II Treaty and has demanded much larger military expenditures in order to "combat the Soviet threat."

The financiers mentioned above, persons who have become wealthy in the military hardware business, have used Reagan to achieve their own objectives. In 1947, Reagan actively cooperated with the "Californian Republican's supporting Barry Goldwater" (the ultra-right faction) organization and the U.S. press called Reagan the "crown prince of the Goldwater kingdom."

Reagan supported Eisenhower in 1952 and Nixon in 1960. For nearly one-half century (1932-1980), competently supporting the U.S. financier, capitalist government, he has engaged in activities based on a bellicose point of view, one that considers increasing the military might of the United States in order to oppose the Soviet Union to be the number one priority. In the war of aggression against Vietnam, Reagan demanded that U.S. generals be given the freedom to act, demanded the use of nuclear weapons against North Vietnam and opposed a negotiated peace.

While running for the office of president, Reagan provoked the psychology of nationalism and big country chauvinism to the point of maintaining that "the Vietnam war was a glorious page in the history of the United States," that "Americans have no reason to feel remorse over the execution of the Rosenbergs, the Watergate Affair, the My Lai Massacre... The United States is very beautiful because it is the embodiment of virtues and freedom. The United States must be strong in order to protect justice and the law, etc." After he was elected, Reagan made it known that he might nullify the SALT II Treaty, give the green light to the manufacture of the nitron bomb, intervene in Iran with armed forces... He selected a number of "hawks," such as General Haig and Kissinger, to serve as advisors.

What do U.S. financial circles want as a result of putting Reagan into the White house? L'HUMANITE Newspaper (France) observed: "Reagan has the advantage of satisfying the feeling of nostalgia for the past and creating the illusion that the time when the United States could run roughshod over the rest of the world can be brought back to life."

In World War II, due to its special position, the United States enjoyed exclusive possession of the atomic bomb for a period of time, possessed military might superior to all other countries, possessed a large amount of dollars and occupied a highly visible position in the world. It became the fortress, the ringleader of world imperialism, the international gendarme and nurtured the dream of ruling the world.

However, the development of history continued to comply with immutable laws.

Since the war of aggression in Vietnam, the United States has experienced a continuous decline. The "golden age" of the United States has slowly slipped into the past. The so called "American era" is gradually approaching the endpoint of frustration.

In the face of this bleak prospect, the U.S. imperialists have once again schemed to reverse the wheels of history. They have been making every effort to compete in the arms race, block the trend toward world peace and the relaxation of international tensions, create a tense situation and a cold war, win back military superiority, thwart revolutionary movements, intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and engage in hostile actions against the socialist countries in an attempt to win back positions that have been lost. The 6 November 1980 edition of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR said: "Reagan's victory gives some Americans new hope that the problems they face at home and abroad will be resolved" and is "an opportunity to reverse the growth of government."

Is this a hope or an illusion?

If It Continues To Follow the Same Old Course, the United States Will Pay a High Price

It is still too early to comment on Reagan's domestic and foreign strategies and policies. We must at least wait until the new president takes office and delivers his State of the Union Message to the U.S. Congress on 20 January 1981. Even though Reagan's past and the platform on which he ran together with the decline of the imperialist United States give us a rather clear picture of the prospects, which are not the least bit bright, of the United States during the next 4 years of the new president's administration; however, two factors cause us to reserve comment for awhile: ordinarily, after they assume office, U.S. presidents "forget" the promises they made during the election campaign; and, there is a gap between "great" programs and the very limited capabilities of the president and the actual capabilities of the United States. The new president will encounter difficulties and contradictions with which he must personally deal when he enters the White House, thereby forcing him to revise the policies outlined by himself and the monopolistic capitalist groups of the U.S. state.

In three unsuccessful bids for the presidential nomination over a period of 12 continuous years, Reagan has pursued one dream: to bring back to the United States the power it had at the end of the 1940's when the Soviet Union had not yet completed healing the wounds of the war, when the world socialist system was just beginning

to take form, when nations were just beginning to become aware of their national sovereignty, when the peace and democratic movement was still in its infancy, when the countries of western Europe and Japan were still living the nightmare of countries ravaged by war and so forth. Then, the United States, with an atomic bomb in one hand and a bag of dollars in the other, rushed to the various continents, monopolized the United Nations and resolved every problem from a position of strength.

Today, this situation has faded into the past. Following many years of defeats and decline, the United States is no longer able to play the role of international gendarme; domestically, the United States cannot avoid the tragic, inevitable consequences of a developed capitalist economy. The balance of power in the world has been and is changing in a manner increasingly in the favor of socialism, national independence and world peace. The three revolutionary currents are continuously on the offensive and gradually winning victory. The allies of the United States no longer unquestioningly obey the United States. Progressive mankind will not sit idly by and watch peace and security be undermined, but will constantly be highly vigilant and take stronger revolutionary action to protect national independence and world peace.

The world has entered the 1980's, a decade that will bring much more confusion and chaos to the capitalist world as a result of the class struggles within society, economic decline, the scarcity of energy and resources and the competition of capitalism in its final stage. The 1980's will also bring new attacks by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The new president of the United States will face a host of difficult problems that originate in the very fiber of the U.S. system itself, in the nature of imperialism. How will Reagan act? How can he keep his promises? Even before Reagan officially assumed office, a supporter of his lamented: "Yes! We won victory. We won a large victory. But we must soon start showing some results. We must keep our promises..."

At present, no one in the United States is displaying optimism over the new presidency, even members of his own party. However, one fact is certain, namely, regardless of who is at the helm of the U.S. ship of state, the policy line of the United States will basically remain unchanged and the United States shall continue its present decline!

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REVIEWING THE WORKS WRITTEN ABOUT THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST WAR OVER THE PAST 35 YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 51-56

[Article by Phan Cu De]

[Text] The people's war against the imperialist aggressors is one of the great subjects of Vietnamese socialist, realist literature. We are proud to have established a literature that reflects the 35 years of our people's continuous struggle against imperialism, a literature that strongly denounces and exposes without regret the malicious tricks and the barbarous crimes of the old style colonialism of France as well as the neo-colonialism of the United States. There are, however, still certain limitations that must be overcome, both ideological and artistic. Some works are still simple and cursory in nature and the romantic lyricism found in some novels and short stories has blurred the sharp lines of reality. Generally speaking, however, the subjects written about the war have honestly described the essence of the revolutionary struggle over the past several decades. These works are outstanding works of art of our socialist, realist literature. Few literatures in the world have been as strongly and consistently anti-imperialist as ours has over the past half century. It is a literature that burns with the flame of ideals, of the confidence of revolutionary heroism. This literature has helped to mold the new, socialist Vietnamese man and will surely serve as a beacon for countless generations to come. For this reason, the political report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress affirmed:

"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 rank of the anti-imperialist literature and art of the modern age."

Recently, however, several incorrect attitudes have arisen with regard to evaluating the realistic nature of the works on the war.

Some persons maintain that our literature of the past several decades has leaned toward describing reality as it should be, not as it does exist, toward describing ideals more than reality, describing that which is noble but not that which is beautiful.(!) They believe that the socialist realism in our literature and art is a "proper realism" resulting from a "proper style of life" based on the law of "acclimating oneself to circumstances"; in substance, they are talking about a lifestyle conforming to circumstances in society and a kind of dogmatism and formalism

in literature, about a literature that is not truly free, a literature that is not realistic because it must be written on the basis of the desires of the leadership. This is slanderous and, at the same time, is a show of contempt for our literature and writers, one that has caused legitimate indignation on the part of many of our writers.

The persons who set forth this argument, in actuality, see party spirit being in opposition to realism and seek to ignore, in an unreasonable manner, that which is noble, is heroic and deny the greatest strengths of Vietnamese socialist, realist literature, namely, the writing of works rich in ideals and the creation of bright examples of revolutionary heroism. Literary models that reflect pure qualities and noble ideals are totally consistent with the aesthetic tastes of the Vietnamese in the past as well as the present. The Vietnamese have a tradition of attaching importance to their spiritual life, to communal relationships, and thirst for beautiful ideals. The lifestyle during the several decades of the wars of resistance against the two imperialist aggressors was not a "proper lifestyle," a "style of life suited to circumstances," rather, it was revolutionary heroism that became the dominant lifestyle of our people. As a result, the heroic, the noble are the essence of the revolutionary struggle. As a result, the central task of Vietnamese socialist realism in literature is to "reflect the revolutionary heroism and the noble qualities of our people." (2)

In the field of theory, the persons who have set forth the theory on "proper realism" made a mistake when they metaphysically set ideals into opposition with reality, when they put that which should exist into opposition with that which does exist. In societies in which class antagonisms exist, writers are unable to bridge the gap between ideals and reality. In these societies, there is a deep abyss between the ideals of the writer who desires a beautiful life and the stark reality of society; ideals either "triumph" over stark reality in some illusory fashion in a comedy or are ruthlessly crushed in the face of brutal reality in a tragedy. The majority of the aesthetic ideals of the humanist literature of the past were models of perfection of that which existed in reality. The beautiful symbols in folk literature and ancient literature were sometimes nothing more than dull, pale faces seen in dreams. However, the symbols that reflect noble ideals in our works on the revolutionary war (such as the heroes and heroines Nup, Miss Ut Tich, Kan Lich, Nguyen Van Troi and so forth) are true images of heroes and heroines who bore arms in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States. In socialist society, as E. Fisher pointed out, there is never a gap that cannot be bridged between ideals and reality. Of course, there does continue to be an antagonism between ideals and reality: when reality actually becomes an ideal, man wants to go higher and farther. This relationship is constantly changing but we do not have the antagonism between ideals and reality that exists in old societies.

The new society, the Marxist world view and the socialist realist method help the writer to describe reality in a specific, historic manner in the process of development of society and establish a harmonious relationship between ideals and reality, between that which should exist and that which does exist. The smooth coordination between ideals and reality has become the aesthetic characteristic of the works on the war over the past several decades. Yet, some persons ignore

this fact and maintain that these "works are only one-half truth" and that this "one-half truth is fabricated." This is an incorrect evaluation. The reality described in the works of our writers on the war is a rich, complex and aesthetically diverse reality. The party has appealed to our writers and artists to put themselves in the vanguards of life, be where the flames of the resistance, the flames of heroism burn most brightly, be where the waves and winds of the class struggle and the national struggle are the most severe, the strongest. For this reason, our literature cannot avoid, but must go directly to the center of antagonisms; must not only describe the heroic, the noble, which are the essence of reality, but also denounce the cowardly and the base; must not only praise brilliant feats of arms, but also talk about the losses and suffering, the difficulties and problems that our people had to experience in order to win the victories of today. Many short stories on the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation concentrated on describing the fierce fighting in the "kill Americans" zones, the outskirts of the cities and the demilitarized zone. Heroic Thuong Hamlet, which was located along a road leading into a U.S. paratroop base ("The Hamlet Along the Road"), Ha Thanh Village, which stubbornly stood its ground in the most savage "kill Americans" zone in Quang Da ("Quang Soil") and Ca Village, which remained tenacious and unyielding within an enemy staging area near Chu Lai ("Man and I"), these were representative fortresses resisting the United States, theirs were very typical circumstances that reflected the savage struggle between ourselves and the enemy. The Americans wanted to wipe out the "kill Americans" zones, to eliminate the liberated zones and our people were determined to stay, to not budge 1 inch, determined to be the masters of the staging area in order to annihilate the enemy. The reality in the works on the war is not "contrived reality," is not a "thin layer of clouds covering the ground"! The victories that we won were the result of countless difficulties and hardships, countless losses and sacrifices on the part of our compatriots and comrades.

The short story "Man and I" begins at a low point in the movement, in late 1964, when central Trung Bo was being ravaged by an unprecedented flood throughout the coastal provinces from Thua Thien to Binh Dinh. By means of an objective but alert pen, Phan Tu achieved success in announcing the genocide of unprecedented barbarity committed by the Americans and the puppets. Our hearts were seized with pain by the scene on that dark, foggy night as the floodwaters rose ferociously and thousands of persons screamed in panic within the strategic hamlet "hells" tightly surrounded by gun barrels, barbed wire and mines. It was on the basis of such scenes of pain and anguish that hatred of the enemy flared and created the powerful force behind the chain reaction uprisings by dozens of villages and the large attacks on the bases that had committed numerous crimes in southern Tam Ky. Soaked in mud and blood, Ca Village made itself into a combat village. However, the Tam Sa movement ebbed after it was betrayed by Ba Chan and the six hamlets of Tam Sa were occupied by the enemy. Then, the United States landed large numbers of troops at Chu Lai and turned Ca Village into a springboard near the base. Despite every painful challenge, tenacious, unyielding Ca Village continued to grow and ultimately became a bright model of heroism in the South. Other short stories, such as "The U Minh Forest," "Quang Soil," "Footprints of the Soldiers," "The Region Afire" and so forth, although they speak at great length about losses and pain still display the extremely strong, indomitable power of our compatriots who lived amongst the enemy and still reflect the examples of unyielding heroism and communist humanitarianism of the soldiers who bore arms against the enemy.

Some persons who are confused and pessimistic in the face of the tremendous difficulties being encountered in the course of development of the revolution have made mistaken observations concerning the real nature of our life and the task of the writer in the new situation. When evaluating the works written on the war, they seek to narrow the scope of realism to the "other side," to the negative aspects, to the pain and losses, which they call by the common name "savage, violent realism." They criticize our literature as not focusing on describing unfortunate persons, only "lucky persons," not describing the "painful paths" and the "persons who aimlessly wander" on the fringe of socialism, not describing the small, ordinary and average persons but only concentrating on describing the progressive persons and heroes of society.

Reality is objective, diverse, complex and constantly changing. Viewing reality as entirely red in color is a shallow point of view based on a formula but maintaining that we must focus on describing the negative, the losses and sacrifices, the violence in order to be realistic is merely to fall victim to a different formula. Because, over the past several decades, we have defeated two imperialist powers, been building socialism in one-half and then the entire country and are now in a new fight to protect the independence and freedom of the fatherland and successfully build socialism. Our achievements are extremely large. If we only see the negative side, only see the losses and sacrifices, we will fail to correctly evaluate reality, confuse phenomenon and essence and, as a result, fall into pessimism, even cowardice, and lose our guidelines in creative and critical literature.

In the past, works on the war focused on denouncing the crimes of the enemy and praising the revolutionary heroism of the masses. This was totally correct. "Footsteps of the Soldiers" described the beauty of two generations that bore arms in the fight against the United States. "Air Space"(Volume I and Volume II) told of the heroic character of the masses in the Vietnam People's Air Force in the fight against the war of destruction of the American Air Force and this was the main success of the work. Under the circumstances of the war, there were certain things that could not be fully divulged because of our sense of responsibility to the destiny of the fatherland; among these were the tremendous losses and sacrifices that our people had to endure as well as the heroic but silent, unannounced feats of arms of sapper units, security units, air force units and so forth. Now, under the new conditions that exist, it is totally correct for us to raise the matter of improving the quality of the realism in our literary works. After the resistance against the United States concluded, "Air Space"(Volume III), "The Region Afire" and "Essays on the Land of Flames" were able to present some of the pieces of reality about which we once could not speak. On the other hand, we have had time to evaluate events more accurately and view the war in a more comprehensive and inclusive manner. This is not to mention the fact that the requirements of readers have become increasingly high, increasingly complex and subtle. However, in order to accurately raise the matter of improving the quality of the realism in our literature, we must have a correct understanding of the political situation of our country today. Some persons have fallen into the illusion that we are now in a period of total peace, that we are not being attacked by domestic and foreign enemies; therefore, now is a time that literature can discuss any subject and raise any issue. Of course, literature must describe the struggle that is being waged between the two ways of life in order to advance to socialism,

describe the struggle against backward, negative phenomena that still exist in our daily lives. However, it must also be realized that we face the danger of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Our people recently won victory in two wars to protect the fatherland on the southwestern border and the northern border against the Beijing expansionists and their lackeys, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. Today, however, our soldiers must still fight enemy encroachments along the border, still suffer casualties, still deal with very insidious acts of sabotage by the Beijing reactionaries, who are collaborating with the imperialist clique, headed by the U.S. imperialists. Literature must continue to mobilize the will of the people to fight to protect the independence and freedom of the fatherland and must heighten their vigilance so that they are ready to defeat every crafty scheme, every psychological warfare trick of the enemy. Literature must also contribute to strengthening the will of our people in the struggle to implement the line on the socialist revolution with a view toward building the system of large-scale socialist production, the system of socialist collective ownership and the new culture and molding the new, socialist man.

If we fail to correctly understand the nature of the realities of the revolution over the past 35 years and the present tasks of literature, we will easily fall into vague arguments and even lose our direction.

It is a mistake to maintain that our literature describes "lucky persons" on the basis of some formula. The central characters in the successful works written on the war, such as Ca ("The Assault"), Luong ("Before H Hour"), Miss Thu Hau ("The Conversation at the Hospital"), Miss Xu ("The Clod of Dirt"), Nguyen Van Troi ("Living in His Example"), Xao Tham ("Quang Soil"), Man ("Man and I"), Luu ("Footprints of the Soldiers") and so forth, suffered countless losses in their personal lives and some even sacrificed their lives for the noble *raison d'être* of the nation. They are models of the heroic fight of our nation over the past several decades. Of course, those who had to follow a "painful path" to reach the revolution, those who "wander aimlessly" on the fringe of socialism and persons who are small and average can also be described by our literature. But they are not the ones who represent the essence of our times. What purpose would it serve for literature to direct its efforts toward the heart rending tragedies of traitors, of those who surrender, those who vacillate, of opportunists, of the "suffering," "unfortunate" persons "on the fringe" of socialism?

The Vietnam Communist Party has always considered molding the new man and molding progressive, heroic models to be the central task of socialist, realist literature. This is also the central task of the ideological and cultural revolution. We all know that the models of the new man, of the soldier-hero are the points of convergence of matters that are the essence of life, are the ideal pictures of the world around us, consequently, they are persons who represent the life of today and the future trend of development of history. These literary models also help us to recognize the basic antagonisms of reality because these are persons who are ready to take the lead in the struggle and stand on the main front of antagonisms in order to resolve them. A realist literature in the communist party spirit must consider the task of molding models of the new man to be its strategic task, its reason for existing in the common revolutionary undertaking of the nation. We cannot exclude describing negative characters in literature. The purposes of

describing negative characters are to accentuate positive characters and present our bright revolutionary ideals. Maintaining that our literature must take the direction of describing "unfortunate" persons, persons who "wander aimlessly," persons on the "fringe" and even persons who surrender and commit betrayal is a mistake.

Improving the quality of the realism in literary works and discovering and creating the new are the constant task of our literature. This does not mean, however, that we must turn our backs on the fine traditions and deny the tremendous achievements of our literature over the past 35 years nor does it mean pursuing a number of outmoded viewpoints of some "fashionable" styles of western bourgeois literature. Maintaining that our literature is "proper realism" because it only describes that which should exist, not that which does exist is the same argument A. Camus made more than 2 decades ago when he criticized the socialist realism in the literature of the Soviet Union.

In the theory as well as the practice of literature, the new is not synonymous with the strange nor with the illogical. On the foundation of the tremendous achievements we have recorded over the past 35 years and on the basis of the beautiful tradition of the national literature, we will reach new pinnacles and discover and create new artistic values. That which is genuinely new cannot arise from infertile ground, from a questioning, formalistic way of thinking that is divorced from national traditions and the realities of the present political struggle of our people.

Improving the quality of literary works is one of the important tasks of our literature, in general, and of works on the subject of war, in particular. Our socialist, realist literature is a vanguard, anti-imperialist literature of the present age, a heroic literature whose main strength is that it constantly shines with the flames of ideals. This literature does not permit us to separate realism from party spirit, realism from ideals. In our times, Marxist philosophy not only explains the world, but also helps to transform it. Socialist, realist literature is a literature that not only reflects the world for the purpose of reflecting it, but which must also give attention to cultivating the revolutionary thinking and feelings of the masses, thereby helping to mold the new, socialist man and contributing to the completion of our people's present revolutionary tasks, protecting the fatherland and building socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the article: "Concerning a Characteristic of Our Literature and Art in the Recent Stage" by Hoang Ngoc Hien, printed in VAN NGHE Journal, No 23, 9 June 1979.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.

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BUILDING THE NEW COUNTRYSIDE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 80 pp 57-61

[Article by Ngo Huy Quynh]

[Text] While flying into the capital Hanoi, a foreign guest said: "From up here, it appears that this green, lush land is being changed, being rearranged by the hands of man." Indeed, with the area and plot embankments and the irrigation and drainage ditches running parallel to the rows of healthy shelter belts, the countryside of our country has undergone rather significant change. Under the system of socialist collective ownership, many villages have been transformed. Although there are no modern, huge architectural projects, water conservancy projects, machine centers, livestock farms and so forth are the basic features that are changing the appearance of the countryside.

In the lowlands, many villages and hamlets have become beautiful places with broad, clean roads. In the mountains, settled nomads have established new style housing areas using building materials given them by nature. We have yet to meet the requirement of building mountain villages that are truly beautiful but new factors in housing architecture have emerged from the movement of the people to repair and build new homes. The traditional 5 to 7 room house with beams of many different types of wood is gradually being replaced. Bedrooms, the living room, the workshop for subsidiary trades and the room in which children do their homework are now clearly defined. Around the house, the garden, hog pen, chicken coop and two-compartment privy have been more efficiently arranged, thereby insuring good relations among neighbors. Clearly, in the field areas that reflect the advance to large-scale socialist production through specialized farming, intensive cultivation, water conservancy, the application of chemistry and the use of electricity on the initial scale of the construction of the material and technical bases of socialism, villages have developed their material and cultural lives in depth, even though their architectural appearance is still far from being grand and beautiful.

I. We Must Reach a Common Understanding With Regard To Building the New Countryside

Some of the concepts regarding building the countryside are still subjects for debate.

Should we "urbanize the countryside"? There are some persons who talk about this matter on the basis of a mistaken concept. Some maintain that we must turn the entire countryside into cities. Some urban planning cadres think that the villages and hamlets that exist now need only be improved and temporarily remodeled so that they continue to "live" for a period of time because they will evolve into cities. Thus, it is not necessary to consider the matter of planning the construction of the countryside! Also as a result of this "urbanization of the countryside" view, there is no shortage of places that maintain that we must build the countryside like the cities, that is, construct broad highways and build houses on either side of them as has been done in Hanoi.

Marxism-Leninism raises the issue of abolishing the antagonism between the cities and the countryside. In the initial stage of the effort to achieve this objective, the socialist countries have endeavored to gradually reduce the basic gap between the cities and the countryside; therefore, the features of urban planning still differ from the features of rural planning.

In the process of industrialization, the cities will develop on the basis of the development of industrial projects concentrated to some extent within each city, where the population will consist primarily of the industrial working class. At the same time, in the process of advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production characterized by electrification, the application of chemistry, mechanization and the development of the working class within agriculture, we must cause the formation of new style population centers in agro-forestry areas, such as the centers of the subareas within the district and the district town, which have many industrial production installations supporting agriculture and pisciculture. If the present hamlets and villages are consistent with the requirements of the redistribution of labor, they will continue to exist on a permanent basis and gradually be remodeled into new style villages in which the basic gap between the cities and the countryside will gradually be reduced and eventually eliminated. In the initial stage of the building of the material-technical bases of socialism, this new style village will gradually assume the characteristics of a city, that is, they will become neatly arranged, centralized (due to economic reasons), densely populated and supported by water and electricity projects as well as many public service projects. However, these housing areas, whose population will consist primarily of farmers and agricultural workers, will continue to be new style villages at least for the next three or four 5-year plans. Over the longer range, that is, at the turn of the century, for example, the relationships between the cities and the countryside might be different and it might, in actuality, be difficult to discern the cities from the countryside. This has occurred in a number of fraternal countries that have a developed economy and culture.

A number of other persons raise the slogan "a tile roof for every house." This slogan is seemingly based on the desire of farmers for "a house with a tile roof, a jackfruit tree." Putting tile roofs on houses so that rice straw can be used in livestock production is a proper demand in rice growing areas. However, the goal of building housing--specifically, the housing of the collective farmers throughout the country--surely involves more than putting tiles roofs on houses. The lifestyle of the family of the new culture, the new man and the civilized appearance of the countryside are not achieved merely by putting "a tile roof on every house"!

This slogan raises demands that are not always reasonable in every locality; it also impedes the effort to provide housing promptly and creates the thinking of waiting for scarce supplies from the state, such as cement, iron, steel and tiles. Putting a tile roof on a house without building a ceiling and laying a brick foundation will turn the house into an oven in the middle of the summer!

The rushes in acidic, saline areas, the Tre and Nua bamboo in the mountains, the gum residue of rubber and many other local materials will, if investigated and improved upon by advanced science and if our hands are not tied and innovations are not thwarted by the slogan of "a tile roof on every house," provide us with much roofing material for construction during this initial stage. Of course, we cannot stop here because the latest achievements of science and technology will develop inexhaustible natural potentials. In the future, brick houses and various types of cottages with large windows, flat roofs, slate roofs and red tile roofs will be the homes of the collective farmers throughout our prosperous and beautiful country.

On the other hand, in the construction on the district level of projects supporting everyday life, another concept is being espoused that is divorced from reality: to build in this initial stage modern architectural projects such as those found in the fraternal countries that have carried out economic and cultural development and have a developed building industry. Even though they were only constructed as pilot projects, the several huge, multi-story district houses of culture constructed of steel reinforced cement in some localities reflect this trend. One such project has remained incomplete for 4 or 5 years at a time when other houses of culture constructed in a simple manner consistent with actual capabilities are serving the cultural lives of the local people well. Worthy of being models in the construction work in the mountain villages are the spacious buildings that require not one piece of iron that are being converted into houses of culture.

II. Effective Measures Must Be Taken To Implement the Plans for Rebuilding, Enlarging and Building New Houses in the Countryside, Including the Settlement Villages of the Compatriots in the Mountains

Practically every district level has a rough plan that serves as a guideline for deploying and building projects. However, measures are 10 times as important as a plan. The slowness in construction has primarily been due to the lack of positive measures. With regard to the population centers, the rebuilt and enlarged villages and the newly constructed villages, including settlement of nomad areas and housing areas in the new economic zones, there are still very many shortcomings in construction planning; in particular, there is a lack of measures to implement this planning, which includes such problems as potable water, land for housing and especially building materials. In addition, the spirit embodied in many directives on construction planning has not permeated to the district and village levels.

--It is necessary to urgently train and assign a well coordinated contingent of specialized cadres to the district level.

Although the building sector has concerned itself with planning the building of districts, in the 11 districts that are being guided as model units by the central level, it can be asked: how much of the building management apparatus has been established and how effective is it?

While many places are giving their attention to and are encouraged by the results of international contests in rural construction, many building management agencies have not fully concerned themselves with helping and guiding localities but have, instead, allowed the intelligence and zeal of a rather large contingent of cadres to be wasted. These cadres, who were trained by the party and possess knowledge, zeal and experience, must be organized into a construction army fighting on the frontline of the nearly 400 districts. In the course of their work, they will train young forces to work in the villages and cooperatives. Only when the building sectors send to the districts a corps of zealous cadres who are deeply interested in the countryside can we build material-technical bases within the districts, villages and cooperatives and improve the housing of farmers.

--It is necessary to investigate, research and develop upon traditions in coordination with introducing modern science and technology in the production of building materials and in construction with a view toward meeting present requirements.

Every locality in our country has its own experiences and measures with regard to producing building materials for the construction of its housing. In view of the fact that there will not be much cement, iron or steel available during the next several years, we should provide the guidance and organization needed for scientific and technical cadres and the people to discover and develop upon long standing building traditions. Iron, steel and cement will still be allocated for livestock pens, warehouses and large economic and cultural projects of a permanent nature. In the future, when we have an adequate supply of good building materials, we will build housing for farmers that is many times more durable and beautiful. It has been reported that many localities have the habit of using soil that contains clay. The Nung tribesmen in Lang Son build two-story houses called "fortresses" in order to protect themselves against raids by border bandits. I think that, in order to prepare for combat against the Chinese expansionists, these styles of houses with their sturdy walls are fully capable of being used as combat fortifications, even air raid shelters. Bamboo lattice walls covered with mortar or walls constructed of unbaked bricks can also serve a protective function. Walls that are smoothly mortared are aesthetically pleasing within the house and eliminate the need for baked bricks. The Institute of Combined Planning and Design of the Ministry of Building in Ho Chi Minh City has erected a model house constructed of bricks pressed from soil found in hills. This model can be used in the construction of housing, agencies and production projects in the new economic zones. Tiles might be more difficult to provide; however, a wide variety of possibilities for resolving the problem of roofing for houses will develop if we simply overcome the thinking of waiting for baked bricks and tiles.

The prize-winning blueprints presented at the international contest in rural construction (1) presented many measures for making use of locally available building materials. To prevent wood from rotting, our compatriots apply "bottle" oil to the surface of wood as they do a coat of paint; they also use discarded motor oil, the mortar applied to cement boats to protect them against salt water, kerosene and "bi tuyn." *Bruguiera gymnorhiza* wood that has been stripped of its bark and dried over a small fire can be used for 5 to 15 years. Mangrove wood, "duoc" wood, rattan and bamboo have been in use for thousands of years. The working people along the seacoast, in the mountains, in the lowlands, in dry areas and in areas that are inundated throughout the year employ countless techniques that must be studied, improved upon by state agencies.

With regard to building materials for rural areas, there are a great many things to be discussed. The matter of rapidly carrying out the mass construction of projects in nearly 400 districts and tens of thousands of villages compels us to give thought to the most effective measures. All of the blueprints that won international prizes for rural construction proposed the use of measures that are well known in the world regarding the standardization of construction members, the standardization of architectural styles and the industrialization of the production of stress-bearing members so that they can be quickly installed in projects. By means of the "industrialization of the production of construction members," it is possible to mass produce boards measuring from 2.7 meters for use in pre-fabricated building frames for all styles of housing, warehouses, manure decomposition pits and so forth. Where can we obtain the lumber necessary? We can mobilize farmers to plant Japanese lilac and Tre bamboo on land around the cooperative and on land of cooperative members and establish two-way trade in the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum in which a district level agency purchases pieces of lumber of the dimensions mentioned above and then plane this lumber, mill it, cut places for hinges in it and so forth. Farmers would surely be willing to bring lumber to exchange for pre-made polls, rafters and so forth at a small additional charge. Pre-cut lumber is an idea that was proposed in one of the prize-winning blueprints.

One of the international prize-winning blueprints presented a floating style of house for the area in Ca Mau that is inundated throughout the year. It also involved advanced methods, such as the standardization of a 6 square meters pontoon-style foundation floating on the water and the construction of many such "foundations" to meet each requirement of the different styles of houses, of schools or livestock pens and warehouses. Regrettably, such pontoon-style "foundations" cannot be constructed in large numbers in the immediate future using steel reinforced concrete as proposed by the author; however, we are capable of making these floating "foundations" now using available raw materials, the durability of which, of course, is limited.

The measures proposed regarding building materials and project construction members and innovations in planning the organization of life and the subsidiary household economy in the countryside were not rare. The 37 blueprints presented by the authors participating in the contest included many bold ideas and many proposals that reflected the zeal of the corps of Vietnamese architects, who are ready to charge forth on the front of building the socialist countryside.

Part III. We Are Capable of Building the New Countryside and Contributing to the Formation of a Highly Developed Culture Without Waiting for Developed Industry To Be Achieved

Many of the blueprints presented by the architects that participated in the international contest proposed that building be carried out in accordance with the requirements and capabilities of socialist construction in the initial stage in our country. In addition to raising the matter of rebuilding existing structures and villages so that persons can live in them, raise livestock and practice a subsidiary household trade, all of these blueprints gave attention to the need to establish families of the new culture and mold the new man. They proposed that the mass movement be closely linked to science and technology and that the masses be mobilized

to participate with the state in formulating and implementing advanced scientific measures regarding the standardization of construction members. The world considers these measures to be advanced science. Our forefathers--today the workers in the field of folk architecture and skilled carpenters understand this best--assembled imperial palaces, temples, shrines and houses of the people using pre-fabricated rafters and beams and standardization as far back as ancient times!

If the classical architectural tradition of our people is improved upon by science, gradually perfected and widely developed in accordance with the line of the party and the policy of the state, we can manage large-scale construction in the countryside well while successfully carrying out the tasks of developing the economy, improving housing and villages and establishing the civilized style of life for the purpose of manifesting an increasingly highly developed culture in this initial stage, a stage in which we do not have a developed industry throughout the country. Even in the future, when a modern industry does exist, at a number of places, villages and houses can retain the architectural projects of today with their mortared walls, unbaked bricks and such building materials as Tre bamboo, Nua bamboo and lumber; of course, within these houses, there will be modern conveniences, such as tap water, air conditioners, gas stoves and so forth. If we build large numbers of two-story houses nestled among groups of trees and lush gardens, we need not fear that the appearance of village architecture will be monotonous.

Using traditional materials and techniques, our forefathers built architectural projects worthy of a highly developed culture in the prosperous centuries of the fatherland. Today's advanced science applied to the actual circumstances of everyday life and our traditional techniques and building materials are showing that we have tremendous capabilities for developing Vietnamese style villages of the new culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. A number of Vietnamese architects and engineers presented 37 blueprints based on the actual practices of many localities. Six blueprints of Vietnamese authors participated in the second stage of the international contest along with three from France, three from Lybia and one from Senegal. In the end, three of the five international prizes were awarded to Vietnamese architects and architectural students. The general secretary of the International Architects Association "Mi-sen Lang-to-ni" [Vietnamese phonetics], observed: "I think that the blueprints of the Vietnamese architects are of high quality; this quality, which is evident in both the areas of theory and application, is the result of the very progressive skills employed by the Vietnamese architects to resolve this problem."

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