

JPRS 77894

21 April 1981

Vietnam Report

No. 2264

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 1, 1981

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE ECONOMIC TASKS FOR 1981

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] We begin 1981 following more than 5 years of difficult but very glorious fighting on the front of building socialism and protecting the fatherland. As we review the work of past years, we must correctly evaluate the achievements that have been recorded, correctly understand the nature and origins of our difficulties and clearly establish the guidelines for the advance of our country's revolution.

Over the past 5 years and more, our people, by means of waging a very difficult fight, won tremendous victories in the work of building and protecting the fatherland.

To begin with, as a result of the total victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our people established and began to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective ownership throughout the country. With this victory, the basic questions of the revolution--to whom does political power belong and which course will be followed by the entire country of Vietnam--were resolved following one-half century of struggle by our nation, one-half century of a very fierce struggle against the most reactionary forces in the history of the modern world. This was the great victory of the Vietnamese revolution, was the first and most important prerequisite to our people achieving their goal of building a socialist Vietnam in the remaining years of the 20th Century. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective ownership throughout the country caused the revolutionary forces in our country to be stronger than ever before. This posed a major obstacle to the scheme of expansion of the Chinese hegemonists in Southeast Asia. Acting in collaboration with the imperialist powers, they consider Vietnam to be a vital objective in their counter-revolutionary strategy. And, they immediately began a comprehensive counter-attack against us.

Secondly, because the forces of the Vietnamese revolution are stronger than ever before, our people rapidly won victory over the two wars of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries, thereby firmly protecting their fatherland, helping to save the people of Kampuchea from the tragedy of extinction, destroying the base of expansion of the Chinese reactionaries in Kampuchea and building strong unity

among the three countries of Indochina. These victories further strengthened our people confidence in their invincible strength in the cause of protecting the independence of the fatherland. It can be said that over the past 20 centuries, in the face of Chinese expansionism, from Tan Thuy Hoang to the present Maoist reactionaries, our nation has never had the position and forces it has today with which to victoriously deal with their scheme of aggression.

Thirdly, our people won important victories in the efforts to heal the wounds of the war, restore the economy, develop production, establish the socialist production relations and build a unified economic structure throughout the country. Material-technical bases and production capacity have been significantly strengthened; the amount of farmland has increased by more than 1 million hectares and newly constructed water conservancy projects have increased the amount of irrigated farmland by more than 600,000 hectares. Agriculture has been supplied with more than 20,000 additional tractors. Industrial production capacity has increased by 200,000 kilowatts of electric power, 500,000 tons of cement, 2 million tons of coal and 50,000 tons of paper, not including the rather large capacity of several large projects that will be put into production during the period from 1981 to 1985. We have restored or constructed nearly 1,500 kilometers of railroad and 40,000 meters of bridges. Production jobs have been provided for more than 9 million new workers. Some 16 million persons are attending school throughout the country, an average of one of every three citizens.

Fourthly, the correct foreign policy of the party has created favorable international factors for our people to perform their national task and fulfill their international obligation. Above everything else, the militant solidarity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is stronger than ever before. This is an indispensable factor in the effort by each country to protect its national independence and build a new life for itself. With the SRV-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the official joining of CEMA by our country, the alliance between our country and the community of socialist countries, especially the comprehensive alliance with the Soviet Union, have been strengthened and consolidated; this is a guarantee upon which our people can rely in their socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland and, at the same time, is a prerequisite to our people fulfilling their international obligation in a worthy fashion.

The past 5 years have also been a period of an explosion of revolution in the world. Following the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, a host of revolutionary states emerged in South Asia, West Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. This situation proves that the balance of power between the revolution and counter-revolution in the world has undergone a major change in the favor of revolution. Although the imperialists have launched an insane counter-attack and although the Beijing ruling circles have betrayed the interests of the Chinese people and joined the ranks of imperialism, the imperialists have not won any of the important positions they lost and have been continuously repulsed in the recent past. China's base of expansionism in Kampuchea was toppled and their wars of aggression against Vietnam met with defeat. The United States was defeated in Iran and Great Britain was forced to withdraw from Rhodesia and accept the birth of the revolutionary state of Zimbabwe. These events are indicative of this. Our people are proud to have

made a positive contribution, by means of their arduous struggle and glorious victory, to the victories mentioned above, to intensifying the offensive by the three revolutionary currents in the world.

The great victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 5 years have been the result of many factors, the most important one being the fact that our party promptly and correctly resolved the various problems related to its revolutionary line. The 4th Congress of the Party set forth the line on building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland. When the actions of the Beijing reactionaries against Vietnam were clearly exposed, the 4th Plenum of the Party promptly made the decision to combat their scheme of aggression. This is a very revolutionary and scientific line; it showed all our people who our new, dangerous enemy is and presented them with guidelines for winning victory over this enemy. The decision to help the fraternal people of Kampuchea smash the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime, the base of expansionism of the Beijing reactionaries, was a very wise decision. The signing of the SRV-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and our country's joining CEMA rapidly created a strong and stable position for our country in the work of building and protecting the fatherland. The correct lines and policies concerning domestic as well as foreign affairs and socialist construction as well as the protection of the fatherland reflect the political skill and the combat experience of our party. Without such clear-sighted lines and policies, our people could not have won the great victories mentioned above, would still face the threat of losing the gains they have made and would experience immeasurable tragedies.

Of course, our progress has not been marked solely by victories. There are still many difficulties. The failure of production to meet consumer demand and the shortage of grain have influenced many aspects of social life. The supply of fuels, raw materials and other materials does not meet requirements and distribution and circulation are unstable, even disorganized in some areas. Manual workers and civil servants encounter many difficulties in their daily lives.

Our party has frequently pointed out the causes of these difficulties:

We are advancing to socialism from a system of small-scale, poor and backward production; this is the deep-seated cause of our difficulties. With each day that passes, we understand Lenin's argument more clearly: the more economically backward a country is, the more difficulties it will encounter as it advances to socialism. Russia, a capitalist country that had achieved an average level of development, produced 4 million tons of iron in 1913 but still encountered more than a few difficulties when advancing to socialism. Vietnam, which has a population of nearly 55 million, one-half the population of Russia at that time, only produces about one-fortieth of the iron and steel produced by Russia in 1913. Moreover, we are not able to take a long stride forward in the period of transition but are only at the start of this period, consequently, our difficulties are even more acute.

Before we could overcome the very severe aftereffects of 30 years of war, the Beijing expansionists unleashed two wars of aggression against our country and they are still scheming to annex our country, thereby posing major obstacles to our economic construction. In the face of the threat of aggression by the Chinese expansionists

and in order to protect our beloved fatherland, we have been forced to increase the national defense budget and transfer a large force of labor to meet combat needs.

It must also be repeated that the major economic and social changes that occurred after the South was totally liberated caused more than a few upheavals. This is not to mention the repeated, serious natural disasters that have occurred over the past 4 years.

Such are the objective causes of our difficulties.

Subjectively, we have committed mistakes in complying with the line of the party. Following the liberation of the South, we saw the advantages that existed, saw the potentials of the country and projected the bad situations that could occur; there could be economic and social upheavals and the Chinese reactionaries could unleash a war of aggression; however, we did not fully or deeply realize the difficulties caused by economic and social upheavals, by the shift from war time to peace time, by the aftereffects of the war, by the inefficient nature of the economic structure and by the structure of consumption left behind by history. As a result, in our plans, we have failed to arrange the economic structure and the structure of consumption in a manner consistent with actual capabilities and the requirements of socialist construction. Importance has not been attached to developing our two most precious assets, our labor and arable land, and we have not coordinated labor and arable land well with a view toward successfully resolving the grain and food problem, creating sources of export goods and, on this basis, developing sources of capital for socialist industrialization. Investment capital has been decentralized in an attempt to meet too many objectives; and many construction projects remain unfinished. The economic management mechanism, which is characterized by subsidies and bureaucratic administrativism, has restricted the development of production, restricted the effort to develop our potentials in many areas. Many policies on distribution and circulation were promulgated long ago and are not consistent with the new situation but have not been revised. The state apparatus is becoming more cumbersome with each passing day and its effectiveness is declining; there is no shortage of cadres but they have not been given appropriate job assignment, the economic training of cadres is being carried out too slowly, etc.

Our party considers the shortcomings mentioned above to be serious because they have caused significant losses and adversely affected the economic situation and the everyday lives of the people. We must take a stern attitude toward these shortcomings and take positive steps to correct them; however, we should not, on this basis, maintain that all of our economic difficulties and all of the difficulties being encountered in everyday life at this time are only the result of subjective shortcomings or primarily the result of subjective shortcomings. Such an understanding is incorrect. If we did not commit these shortcomings or did not commit serious shortcomings, the difficulties in production and everyday life would be less, the grain situation might be improved, some consumer goods might not be as scarce as they are now and so forth but many other difficulties would virtually remain the same. Time is needed to overcome these difficulties.

At present, our country is at peace but faces the possible outbreak of a war. Our people must firmly adhere to their strategic task of building socialism while protecting the fatherland.

In the next several years, we must firmly adhere to the tasks of accelerating production and improving distribution and circulation in order to stabilize and gradually develop the economy, stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people; improving our work in the fields of national defense, political security, social order, combat readiness and the fight to protect the fatherland; continuing to gradually and selectively build the material-technical bases of socialism; comprehensively improving economic management, correctly accelerating socialist transformation in the South and strengthening and perfecting the production relations in the North; strengthening our solidarity, mutual help and cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea, intensifying our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and tightening our relations with the countries of CEMA.

In 1981, a high percentage of our forces must be focused on agricultural production in order to resolve the grain and food product problem better and rapidly increase the sources of raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation by every means possible; intensive cultivation, multicropping, expanding the cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops, food product crops and industrial crops and developing livestock production. We must provide the conditions needed for the development of the consumer goods industry, the energy industry, the machine manufacture and repair industry and the chemical fertilizer industry and the development of communications-transportation and insure that these sectors directly and more competently support agricultural production and the processing of agricultural products. We must organize the production of high quality export goods on a large scale in order to accelerate our export activities and make it possible to import technical materials; every sector, every locality and every installation that has the ability must produce export goods. We must successfully implement resolution 26 of the Political Bureau on improving and strengthening distribution and circulation in order to support the daily lives of persons who earn their livings in a legitimate manner. We must intensify the effort to improve economic management, bring planning up to date and strengthen the socialist production relations within agriculture, industry, commerce and the other economic sectors. As regards specific regions of the country, we must firmly control the key, number one grain growing region of the entire country, the Mekong River Delta; tap the capabilities and tradition of intensive cultivation and multicropping of the Red River Delta; begin to invest in the development of the potentials that the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo have in industrial crops in order to support export activities; and make full use of every capability of the other areas in order to meet local needs. With regard to industrial production and living conditions, importance must be attached to the capital Hanoi and to Ho Chi Minh City.

We have the conditions needed to perform the tasks mentioned above well. It is commendable that many new, positive factors have emerged following the adoption of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, resolution 26 of the Political Bureau and the new policies of the party and state in the economic field and as a result of the efforts made by the various sectors, localities and installations. The provinces of Nam Bo have had many consecutive bumper harvests; the provinces of the North have waged a positive struggle against natural disasters and overcome many difficulties in order to develop production, support the daily lives of the people and put agricultural production on the momentum of development. Within industry, many model

units that operate well and effectively have emerged. In distribution and circulation, important advances have been made; the state is purchasing larger quantities of grain and agricultural products than in previous years. The budgets of some localities show a surplus. These are the results of many new methods of operating: the new method of contract work within agricultural cooperatives, the payment of piecework wages within state-operated enterprises, the new policies and measures in purchasing activities, etc. Due to these improvements, the production movement at many places that have applied new methods of working has begun to develop strongly. The stagnation of the economy has begun to be corrected. Negative phenomena have been partially repulsed. These facts show that the recent change in emphasis in the leadership and guidance of the economy by the party and state has correctly met the demands of the situation and is creating new, positive factors, creating a real possibility for us to overcome our difficulties and gradually move the economy steadily forward in the years to come.

In order to successfully implement the 1981 state plan and quickly create a new economic situation, every effort must be made to improve the management of the economy. This improvement must take the direction of conducting good planning in conjunction with applying commodity-monetary relations and the relationships between prices and wages better, implementing the principle of coordinating the three interests, correcting the practice of giving light attention to the interests of the installation and the worker, being determined to eliminate the administrative-supply system and shifting entirely to the socialist mode of business. It is necessary to research and summarize the model units that have learned good lessons in economic management and to widely apply this new method of management.

There must be a profound change in organizational work and cadre affairs in order to strengthen the leadership of the party, improve the management work of the state and strongly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people. In 1981, it is first of all necessary to take positive steps to improve and strengthen the corps of key cadres, especially the corps of cadres who directly manage production and business at installations and in the principal sectors of the national economy, along the lines of boldly promoting those cadres who truly possess ability and are loyal to the revolutionary undertaking of the people. We must rapidly, and systematically take steps to subdivide, merge and establish a number of ministries and departments that have been decided upon. We must strengthen the party organization, especially in the countryside and at enterprises, in a manner closely linked to completing the issuance of party membership cards. As regards work procedures, attention must be given to rectifying the shortcomings in the organization of the implementation of the decisions of the party and state, conducting good inspections, promptly reach conclusions concerning innovations and new factors that emerge, tap and encourage the spirit of initiative and creativity of the various levels and installations and promptly correct deviations.

The true moving force behind the revolutionary movement is the patriotism, the love of socialism of the working people. Ideological work plays an important role in stimulating production, practicing economy in consumption and stabilizing the standard of living. We must educate every worker so that he displays high patriotism, displays a deep love of socialism, is clearly aware of the situation and tasks, clearly sees the victories and new factors, clearly sees the extent, nature and origin of our difficulties, is aware of the true nature of the enemy as well as their decadent

schemes and tricks, gains greater confidence in the revolution, in the system, overcomes the manifestations of pessimism and negativism, unswervingly struggles to defeat the enemy, displays a high revolutionary-offensive spirit, overcomes difficulties and wins new victories in the cause of building socialism and protecting the fatherland.

With the correct line of the party, with the solidarity of the entire party and all the people, with our people's traditions of bravery and diligent labor, with the positive factors and new methods of working that have emerged within the economy and with the experience and knowledge in guiding and managing the economy that have been acquired by the various levels, the various sectors and the corps of cadres, we will surely quickly create a new economic situation and successfully implement the state plan for 1981. This is also a practical way to celebrate the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the 5th National Congress of the Party, which will be held in late 1981.

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CSO: 4209

RESOLUTION OF THE NINTH PLENUM OF THE VCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FOURTH TENURE, ON
HOLDING THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARTY DELEGATES

BK271152 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Item in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81
p 7--translation of Hanoi Domestic version previously published in the FBIS Asia
and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 251, 29 Dec 80, pp K-4-K-5]

[Text] In compliance with the stipulations of the party's statute, considering the current domestic and international situation, and at the request of the Political Bureau, the party Central Committee, fourth tenure, decides:

1. To convene the fifth national congress of party delegates by the end of the fourth quarter of 1981; the specific date for the congress will be decided later by the Political Bureau;
2. That the purposes of this congress are:
 - a. To discuss and approve a political report of the party Central Committee on reviewing the implementation of the resolution of the fourth national congress [of party delegates], especially the implementation of the second 5-year state plan, and on the orientation and targets for all fields of activity for the period ahead, especially the orientation and targets for the third 5-year 1981-85 state plan;
 - b. To discuss and decide on the guidelines for basic tasks, the main targets and the major steps of the third 5-year plan;
 - c. To discuss and approve reports on major questions concerning party-building, and decide on some specific corrections to the party's statute; and
 - d. To elect the fifth tenure of the party Central Committee.
3. To entrust the Political Bureau with preparing various plans and a working force for the congress, and the Secretariat with directing the holding of party congresses at all levels, and the preparation for serving the congress as well as other matters necessary for holding and conducting the fifth national congress of party delegates.

Hanoi, 10 December 1980; for the party Central Committee; [signed] General Secretary Le Duan.

CSO: 4209

VCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER TO ALL PARTY COMMITTEE ECHELONS AND PARTY CADRES
AND MEMBERS OF CONVENING THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARTY DELEGATES

OW281416 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Item in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81
pp 8-10--Hanoi Domestic version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific
DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 251, 29 Dec 80 pp K5-K-7]

[Text] It was decided at the ninth VCP Central Committee plenum, held from 3-10 December, that the fifth national congress of party delegates [NCPD] would be held in the last quarter of 1981. The NCPD is the party's most important political event. During the congress, all party committee echelons, cadres and members will engage in party activities to assess the implementation of the party's functions and tasks, discuss its line and policies and resolve problems on the party's organizational tasks for the coming period. Preparations for the congress must start after the issuance of the resolution on convening the congress. The party Central Committee Secretariat will issue further instructions on how to make preparations at all party echelons.

The fourth NCPD, held from 14-20 December 1976, summed up the victories in the war of resistance against the United States and for national salvation and in the national, democratic people's revolution; decided on the line and tasks of our country's socialist revolution; and outlined the guidelines and tasks of the second 5-year plan for economic construction, cultural development, consolidation of national defense and maintenance and improvement of the people's living conditions. Subsequent conferences of the party Central Committee specified the line and policies and adjusted economic plans to suit new situations.

Implementing the party's resolutions over the past 4 years, our entire party, people and army, fighting heroically, working hard and overcoming many difficulties, have scored great victories, advancing our revolutionary undertaking to a new stage. Our glorious victories included swiftly defeating the savage war of aggression waged by the reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles, firmly defending our homeland. They also included assisting the Kampuchean people and their revolutionary armed forces in abolishing the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, henchmen of the reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles, and completely liberating Kampuchea. Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, fully independent and free and closely united, have created a new strength to defend the revolutionary gains of each nation.

Our country is advancing toward socialism amid countless difficulties. Our predominantly small-scale production and backward national economy, seriously ravaged by war and affected by neocolonialism, have been repeatedly subjected to natural calamities. Imperialist and reactionary forces colluding with one another are frenziedly opposing our country's revolution.

in view of this complicated situation, all our party cadres and members and our people countrywide--whether they are workers, peasants or intellectuals and whether they live in the urban or rural areas, the highlands or the lowlands--are of one mind, have closely rallied around our party, have undergone hardships and have labored selflessly in healing the wounds of war, building the economy, developing the culture, improving the people's living conditions, consolidating national defense, maintaining public order and security and discharging internationalist obligations. Our combatants in border areas and on offshore islands have always remained combat ready and are determined to fight staunchly to defend every inch of our territory.

The revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological revolution, which make up our country's socialist revolution, are developing simultaneously and remarkable achievements have been scored. Obviously, our country's revolution is advancing steadily. However, numerous difficulties still lie ahead. The economic growth in agriculture, industry and basic construction is slow. Many major targets of the second 5-year plan have not been met. Our people still face many difficulties in their daily lives, especially in the lives of cadres, workers, civil servants and laboring people living in urban areas and in a number of areas hard hit by natural calamities. In addition, many weaknesses and shortcomings have been noted in carrying out our tasks concerning policies and plans for developing the national economy, economic management, management of goods circulation and distribution, guidance for implementation of tasks and assignment of cadres.

To make active preparations for the congress, all our party must correctly assess our country's current situation and mobilize our entire people and army to further strengthen their solidarity, to advance further and to successfully discharge the following tasks:

1. Uphold the spirit of self-reliance; develop the positive factors; accelerate agricultural and industrial production; concentrate efforts on agriculture to resolve the problems of grain, foodstuffs, raw materials for industry, and consumer and export goods; improve economic management and goods circulation and distribution; stabilize market prices and finances; overcome negative phenomena in society; stabilize the people's lives; and bring about favorable changes in the national economy. The direct purposes of good economic management are to increase labor productivity, economic efficiency and work quality. Every sector and locality must best exploit all potential in land, work forces, equipment and material supplies so as to produce plenty of wealth for society and strictly practice thrift.
2. Further consolidate national defense; thwart the enemy's psychological and espionage warfare; firmly maintain political security and public order and security; constantly uphold vigilance; prepare to fight and defend the fatherland.
3. Continue to carry out socialist transformation in the south while perfecting socialist production relations in the north.
4. Build step-by-step material and technical bases of socialism.
5. Enhance the ideological work; improve management, especially in the economic domain; promote the task of building and consolidating the party in order to ensure success in the execution of the new tasks of the revolution.
6. Enlarge all-round cooperation with Laos, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union, and the other fraternal CEMA countries. Let everyone labor and carry out his other tasks to the best of his ability with a deep love for his country and socialism, try to overcome the immediate difficulties, and make preparations for a new period of vigorous development of the nation.

Our party is advancing toward the fifth congress full of confidence in the communists' combative policy. It has sufficient energies and qualities to fulfill its historic task, successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist fatherland. It will bring to the final objective the ever-victorious banners of our glorious party and venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

All party organizations must reassess their forces, further strengthen them with new, good, active members and eliminate degenerate elements and must coordinate their activities with those of the masses' revolutionary movements in carrying out the three revolutions to develop the party's grassroots organizations into strong, clean organizations, perfect all party committee echelons, and promote the party's fighting strength so as to achieve monolithic solidarity and harmony within the party.

During its long history of struggle, our party has developed and gone through many precarious, complicated situations. However, thanks to its correct policy, its singlemindedness and solidarity with the masses, our party has led our country's revolution to great historic victories. Democratic practice is our party's fine tradition. Criticism and self-criticism help its development. Although we have many strongpoints in implementing our tasks, we are still guilty of weaknesses and errors. During the preparations for the congress, all party echelons must review their activities, carry out criticism and self-criticism correctly and with a high sense of responsibility so as to improve their activities. They must also further strengthen solidarity, uphold discipline, and scrupulously carry out all party and state resolutions.

While carrying out their right to collective mastery, our people should participate in preparing for the congress with revolutionary actions in production, construction, combat and by contributing their views on the party's line, policies and tasks and about party cadres and members.

Although our country still faces many difficulties and the class struggle remains complicated, our party is preparing for its congress under favorable conditions. Our fatherland, completely independent and reunified, is advancing to socialism. The historic victories in the wars of resistance against foreign aggression and social reforms have helped establish our people's right to be true masters of their country and society. Under the correct, clearheaded leadership of the party, our people countrywide are enthusiastically engaged in building a prosperous homeland and a civilized, happy life for themselves. We are fully capable of defending our homeland and defeating any aggressors. International conditions for the Vietnamese revolution are also very favorable. The alliance among the three Indochinese countries as well as the solidarity and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have proven their great strength as compared with imperialism. Capitalism is facing an acute crisis. The three revolutionary currents are rising on all continents and holding a strategic offensive position. The socialist system has become stronger than ever before and constitutes a solid bastion for world peace and revolution.

Let the entire party make preparations for the fifth congress with practical revolutionary actions and whip up a strong movement for building socialism and defending our socialist fatherland.

Hanoi, 10 December 1980 (signed) The VCP Central Committee.

CSO: 4209

REPORT ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE SRV

OW121515 Hanoi VNA in English 1449 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Report by Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the VCP, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission, at the 7th session of the National Assembly which opened in Hanoi on 12 December--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 80 pp 11-40. VNA version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT Vol IV, No 242, pp K2-K28]

[Text] Esteemed members of the presidium, comrade deputies,

In July 1976, following the great victory of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, in the jubilant atmosphere of North-South reunion, the National Assembly (6th legislature) decided to draw up the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and appointed a Constitution Drafting Commission.

As required by the resolution of the 4th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the commission has completed a draft of the new constitution with the active participation of the cadres and people throughout the country and the cooperation of the deputies to the National Assembly and many public services and offices. Before our session met, the draft constitution was examined by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The draft has now been completed. On behalf of the Constitution Drafting Commission, I shall submit a report of that draft for discussion and decision by the National Assembly.

My report is in four parts:

1. The need for a constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;
2. The basic content of the draft Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;
3. The debate on the draft constitution among the cadres and people;
4. How to ensure the scrupulous implementation of the new constitution.

- 1 -

The Need for a Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Comrade deputies, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an important document of the state epitomizing the revolutionary gains already obtained and charting out the orientation for the advance of the country. It institutionalizes the line and policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the new stage of the revolution, determines

the political, economic, cultural and social regime of our country, the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens, the organisational structure and guidelines for action of the state organs from the centre down to the grassroots.... The constitution is the fundamental law of our country.

1. The necessity to have a new constitution (as received)

Since the adoption of the 1959 constitution by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam many far-reaching changes have taken place in the situation of our country. Our country was then still divided into two zones. The North had just entered the period of socialist transformation and of building the material and technical bases of socialism while the South remained under the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The tasks of the people's national democratic revolution was not yet accomplished.

In 1975, after the South was completely liberated, in the North the socialist economic sector (embracing the state-owned economy and the collective economy) already accounted for 88.4 percent of the gross social product and 84.1 percent of the national income; the private economic sector of small producers accounted for only 11.6 percent of the gross social product and 15.9 percent of the national income. The private capitalist economic sector had been completely transformed. The organized market accounted for 75 percent of total retail sales.

The state held the monopoly of foreign trade. With regard to economic development, within the space of 16 years (1960-1975) while simultaneously maintaining production and (fighting) U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, our people won notable successes. The value of industrial output increased by 300 percent and that of (agricultural output) by 70 percent.

Even in the conditions of the bitter resistance against an atrocious war (action) by the U.S. imperialists and a continual flow of manpower and material resources to the great frontline in the South, the living standards in the North remained stable and even improved in some respects. In particular, big progress was recorded in the fields of culture, education and public health. One out of every three persons went to school. Compared to 1960 the number of doctors and assistant doctors increased by 13.4 times, the number of hospital beds by 2.3 times and the number of scientific, technical and professional workers of 19.3 times.

These realities allow us to assert that by 1975 when the newly liberated South entered the period of transition to socialism, the socialist system in the North had won basic success.

From a five-sector economy: state-owned, collective, joint state-private capitalist and the private economy of small producers, (as received) there remain only three economic sectors in the north: state-owned, collective and private in which the socialist sector (state-owned and collective) predominates and the state-owned economy plays the leading role in the national economy. Socialist ownership of the means of production has been established, the regime of human exploitation has been basically eliminated and the material and technical basis of socialism continues to be strengthened. That is a sure foundation for socialist transformation and the building of socialism on a national scale.

In 1975, the Ho Chi Minh military campaign won a great victory, marking the collapse of U.S. neocolonialism in the South. Our country became a unified state. The success of socialism in the north has had a major impact on the completely liberated south. Over the past five years, the situation in the south has changed considerably. After completing the people's national democratic revolution the south entered the stage of socialist revolution and is advancing together with the north to socialism. In 1980, the socialist economic sector in the south already accounts for 69 percent of the industrial output value, the state-owned economy alone accounts for 51 percent. The agricultural co-ops embrace 24.5 percent of peasant households. Rapid progress has been made in culture, education and public health. Illiteracy has been eradicated. The social vices inherited from the U.S. puppet regime are being gradually overcome.

In the whole country, the socialist economic sector already accounts for 57.7 percent of the gross social product and 49.2 percent of national income. The non-socialist sector accounts for 42.3 percent of the gross social product and 50.8 percent of national income, the bulk of which consists of the private economy of small producers. The rest belongs to the private capitalist economic sector. Compared to 1975 the value of manufacturing industry increased by 17.3 percent, that of agriculture by 18.7 percent. The number of general education students increased by 20 percent, that of universities and vocational schools by 108 percent. The number of hospital beds is up by 37 percent.

What do these quantitative and qualitative changes indicate?

1. At present, in spite of the difference in their levels of development the two zones of our country are both carrying out the socialist revolution and are both advancing to socialism. The north is perfecting and consolidating the socialist transformation of the non-socialist economic sectors, and the whole country is devoting all its efforts to the socialist industrialisation of the national economy and to building the material and technical foundation of socialism.

2. These economic changes have led to changes in class differentiation, and in the role and function of each class in our society. The working class has grown to approximately one tenth of the population. From the status of slave workers of the imperialists and capitalists, the working class has practically become master of the industrial enterprises, construction sites, state farms and the main means of transport. The material wealth produced by the working class accounts for almost half of the gross national product.

The peasantry has become a class of collective peasants in the north and is becoming so in the south. From social stratum most heavily oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and feudalists and working individually with primitive means on small, scattered plots of land, the peasantry of our country has become the collective master of the fields engaged in cooperative production, and has begun to use modern technical means. The value of agricultural output produced by the cooperative peasants accounts for 53.4 percent of the total value of our country's agricultural produce.

The intelligentsia is undergoing profound changes. In 1960, the North had only 18,400 scientific, technical and professional workers who were graduates of universities and middle-level vocational schools. The number rose to 356,000 in 1975. The figure for the whole country was 461,800 in 1975 and 776,700 in 1980. The intelligentsia in the north issued mainly from the working class and the collective peasantry and have become socialist intellectuals. In the south, the intelligentsia, new and old, are, generally speaking, motivated by patriotism and a love of socialism.

In the north, the exploiters have been abolished as social classes. So have the feudal landlords and compradore capitalists in the south. The national bourgeoisie and other bourgeoisie are being transformed along socialist lines. The rich peasants (who are actually the bourgeoisie of the countryside) remain fairly numerous in the south. Nevertheless, they are themselves undergoing transformation through the agricultural cooperation movement.

The various ethnic groupings in our country, majority and minority alike, who have united to fight for independence and freedom are now united still more closely in labour and struggle to build socialism and defend the homeland, determined to smash all schemes and acts of the imperialists and Chinese hegemonists.

In our country, a bitter struggle is taking place between the two paths, socialist and capitalist. In collusion with the U.S.-led imperialists and the Chinese hegemonists, the counter-revolutionaries in our country are making desperate attempts to prevent our people from building socialism. But our people are determined to level all obstacles and continue the march forward. In a word, the situation in our country has changed radically compared to what it was in 1959. Our state needs a constitution conforming to the changed economic and social relations in our country and capable of creating favourable conditions for mobilising the force of the entire people

to build socialism successfully on a national scale. Since our people won back power in the August Revolution our country has had two constitutions, the 1946 constitution and the 1959 constitution.

The 1946 constitution reflected the historic victory of the August Revolution, established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, developed the people's national democratic revolution, and served the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors. The strategic aim of this constitution was to achieve national independence, build and develop the people's democracy and lay the groundwork for the socialist revolution.

In 1959 constitution reflected the victory of the national people's democratic revolution in the North of our country, the victory of the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, served the socialist revolution in the North and also the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation of the entire people, provided for the building of the North into a firm base for the struggle to liberate the South and reunify the country and prepared conditions for the socialist revolution throughout the country.

The historic victory in spring of 1975 opened a new stage in the revolution of our country. In 1976, the 4th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam laid down the line and policies to build a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam. This requires that our country have a new constitution in keeping with the great victory of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, to institutionalise the line and policies of the party congress, serve the socialist revolution throughout the country and consolidate national reunification.

At present, Vietnam has become a unified state. However, the two zones of the country still differ in many respects. There remains a difference in the level of socialist transformation and construction in the two zones. This difference is natural because the North was liberated as early as 1954 and embarked on socialist revolution more than twenty years before the South.

The constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has the task of strengthening the broad unity of the entire people, stepping up the socialist revolution throughout the country, achieving the unity of the country on the basis of national independence and socialism. This must be unity in content and essence, unity in all fields: economic, political, administrative ideological, cultural and social.

The new constitution continues and develops the 1946 constitution and the 1959 constitution which were drawn up under the direct guidance of President Ho Chi Minh. Under the leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh, the leader of genius and the great teacher of the Vietnamese working class and people, our army and people have won glorious victories in the implementation of these two constitutions. Our people will for ever remember our beloved Uncle Ho with immense pride and gratitude.

2. Guidelines and Principles in Drawing Up the New Draft Constitution

Comrade Deputies, the new constitution must correctly reflect the spirit of the resolution of the 4th party congress which consists in firmly grasping proletarian dictatorship, developing the collective mastery of the working people, determining the close relationship between the leading party, the people as master of the country and the state as the manager, and ensuring the success of the three revolution: revolution in the relations of production, the scientific-technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, and defending our homeland.

The constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the constitution of the period of transition to socialism on a national scale. It not only summarizes and confirms the achievements already obtained but also reflects the orientation for the development of the revolution in our country along the line of the party. Therefore, the constitution will not confine itself to what has been and is being done, what has been and is being achieved but also embraces some works which must be done, which will be done step by step and are sure to be accomplished in the process of successful building of socialism.

While preparing the new constitution, we had to take into account the remaining disparities and lack of uniformity between the two zones so that the constitution will really

become the fundamental law of the whole country, and that all provisions are applicable to both zones, in order to avoid being either behind the times with regard to one zone or being too advanced with regard to the other.

The new constitution must correctly reflect the will and aspirations of our people. The process of elaborating the constitution was one of developing the right to collective mastery of the people, mobilizing the cadres and people throughout the country to take an active part in the deliberations and in making suggestions. That is why, after the constitution is promulgated, our people will make all-out efforts to implement it out of their own free will, and then the constitution will have a positive effect on the activities of the state and the people's life.

To elaborate the draft constitution was a major undertaking of the party, state and people, a broad and deep socialist democratization campaign and a process of serious study. In this process, the Constitution Drafting Commission has enjoyed fundamental facilities: We had the resolution of the 4th party congress and the subsequent resolutions of the party Central Committee to serve as basis for our work. We had the precious experiences of 35 years of building and consolidating the people's power and the rich experiences in the building and implementation of the 1946 and 1959 constitution. While firmly grasping the line and policies of the party and proceeding from the realities in our country we have also learned from the experiences of other socialist countries in the elaboration and implementation of their constitutions.

The Basic Content of the Draft Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Comrade deputies, the draft constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam comprises the preamble and twelve chapters. The preamble outlines the process of victorious struggle of our people during the past half century, the causes of these successes and the historical experiences of the revolution in our country. It presents the basic content of the new constitution, as institutionalising the line on socialist revolution laid down by the 4th national party congress and ensuring the full development of the Vietnamese society in the new period.

The nature and characteristics of the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the line for building the new regime, the new economy, the new culture and the new person, as well as for building a national defence system of the entire population, are reflected mainly in the first four chapters of the draft especially in Chapter 1 entitled "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam--Political Regime." Chapter 5 determines the "Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens." From Chapter 6 to Chapter 10 are the provisions concerning the organisational structure and the principles of activity of the state, at the central level, in the localities and at the grassroots. Chapter 11 provides for the national flag, the national emblem, the national anthem and the capital city. The last chapter deals with the legal force of the constitution and the procedure for its amendment. The composition of the draft of the new constitution follows the already rational pattern of the 1959 constitution. But this draft constitution has some additional chapters. Chapter 3 on "Culture, Education, Science and Technology," Chapter 4 on "Defence of the Socialist Homeland," and Chapter 7 on "The Council of State."

Below I shall present some major questions concerning the content of the draft constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

1. The Character of the State and the Leading Role of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The most fundamental question of the constitution is to determine the class character of the state. This is the question determining the whole content of the constitution of our country. The draft constitution stipulates:

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a state of proletarian dictatorship" (Article 2).

The class character of our state is reflected first in "its historic mission to establish the collective mastery of the working people, mobilise and organise the people to carry out simultaneously the three revolutions: in the relations of production, in science and technology and in ideology and culture with the scientific and technological

revolution as the kingpin; abolish human exploitation; crush all acts of opposition by counter-revolutionary elements in the country and all acts of aggression and sabotage by external enemies; build socialism successfully and advance to communism..." (Article 2).

The function of the state of the proletarian dictatorship consists not only in suppressing counterrevolutionary acts but also, and chiefly, in building socialism, a new society, a new economy, a new culture, a new people, a well-developed people, with high cultural standards, scientific and technical knowledge, labour skills and socialist virtues.

The class character of our state is also reflected in its foreign policy which continues to strengthen its fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism... pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence with countries of different political and social systems, on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, actively supports and contributes to the struggle of the world's people against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, and apartheid for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism (Article 14).

This foreign policy reflects the fine relationship between our country and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community; it also reflects the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance between our country and the fraternal neighbouring countries of Laos and Kampuchea, relations which continues to consolidate and strengthen. This foreign policy is a complete negation of the contemptible allegation of the reactionary Beijing ruling circles in collusion with U.S. imperialism who keep clamouring that our country is trying to found the so-called "Indochinese federation" and is carrying out regional hegemonism. Their slanders and fabrications are intended to mislead world opinion and undermine the militant solidarity between the three Indochinese countries, create division and mutual suspicion between the Southeast Asian countries and divert attention from their hegemonist and aggressive policy in this region.

A state of the proletarian dictatorship must ensure the exercise of the right to collective mastery of the working people. That is why, immediately after stating the nature of our state, the draft constitution declares this right. It points out that the working people comprised the working class, the collective peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia and other labouring people, with worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, as the core" (Article 3). Such a definition of the composition of the working people conforms to social reality and the logical forces in the change of the class structure in our country in the process of socialist construction.

The draft constitution points out: "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a unified state of all the nationalities living on Vietnamese territory, with the equality in rights and obligations" (Article 5). The state protects, strengthens and consolidates national unity and adopts plans to gradually eliminate difference between the nationalities in their levels of economic and cultural development.

The state of the proletarian dictatorship can accomplish the historic mission only under the leadership of the working class party which firmly grasps and creatively applies Marxism-Leninism. This has been fully substantiated by historic experiences of proletarian dictatorship elsewhere in the world as well as in our country since the north entered the stage of socialist revolution, and more particularly during the past five years when the whole country has been advancing toward socialism. For the first time in our country, the draft constitution brings out the leading role of the party: "The Communist Party of Vietnam, the vanguard and general staff of the Vietnamese working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism, is the only force leading the state and society and the main factor determining all successes of the Vietnamese revolution." (Article 4).

The acknowledgement of the leading role of the party in such a solemn spirit and in such solemn terms is very significant. Through Article 4, the draft constitution affirms the great services of our party, founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh, to the glorious revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese working class and nation. It reflects the deep feelings of our people throughout the country toward the party and meets the need to strengthen the overall leadership of the party in the new situation.

The draft constitution further says of the party: "Its organizations operate within the framework of the state constitution." (Article 4). This provision not only does not contradict the acknowledgement of the leading role of the party but also further enhances the prestige of the party. In fact, the constitution embodies the political line and major policies of the party which have been institutionalised. It reflects the will and aspirations of the people. To say that party organizations operate within the framework of the constitution means that the party carries out its line in the interests of the working class and the entire working people. Such a stipulation has the effect of contributing to preventing and overcoming all manifestations of arbitrariness and despotism among a number of party cadres and members. Article 4 of the draft constitution does not stipulate that party members must operate in the framework of the constitution, because each party member necessarily belongs to a party organization and is also a citizen, and all citizens must abide by the constitution and state law.

2. The Right to Collective Mastery of the Working People in Our Country

The right to collective mastery of the working class is a major question pervading the whole of the draft constitution. The provisions on this issue are recorded in Chapter 1 and concretized in almost all the other chapters of the draft, on the political, economic, cultural, defence planes....With regard to each citizen, the right to collective mastery is concretized in the provisions of Chapter 5 concerning the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. The draft constitution provides that "the people exercise their right to mastery through the state and social organisations and direct participation in state affairs and social affairs at the grassroots. Of course, the exercise of the right to mastery through the state is the main form of mastery.

What is the essence of collective mastery through the state? The draft constitution stipulates: "In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam all power belongs to the people. The people exercise state power through the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels which are elected by and accountable to the people" (Article 6).

The relationship between the National Assembly, the people's councils at various levels and the elected representatives on the one hand, and the people on the other, is a key factor in guaranteeing the people's character of our state. The resolution of the 4th national party congress already provides for "determining a regime and creating conditions for the deputies to the National Assembly and the people's councils to collect and report the opinions and suggestions of the people to the state organs and to follow the way these organs handle these opinions and suggestions and working out and promulgating regulations to ensure the electors' control over and their right to dismiss the representatives elected by them".

The draft constitution stipulates: "National Assembly deputies and deputies to people's councils at all levels are elected by universal suffrage. Voting is equal, direct and secret" (Article 7). All citizens, regardless of their origin, sex, social status, religions, cultural attainment, profession, and term of residence, have the right to vote upon reaching the age of eighteen, and to stand for election to the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels upon attaining the age of twenty-one with the exception of the insane or people deprived of such rights by law or people's courts.

The people's elected deputies must maintain close contact with their electors, submit themselves to the latter's supervision and report to them on their activities and of the activities of the people's elected bodies, answer the requests and suggestions of the electors, examine and settle the complaints and denunciations of the people. "Electors have the right to recall National Assembly deputies and deputies to people's councils at all levels [who] lose the confidence of the people (Article 7).

The National Assembly is defined as "the highest organ of state power" and the people's councils at various levels are defined as the organs of state power at local levels." To exercise the right to mastery through the state is essentially to do so through the organs of state power. That is why the draft constitution pays special attention to questions relating to the position, function, task, power and organization of the National Assembly and the people's councils at various levels. These questions were actually a

topic of special attention of our cadres and people during the discussions on the draft constitution.

In view of the character and position of the National Assembly and the people's councils the draft constitution provides that "the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels are the political bases of the system of state organisations." In our society the people exercise state power through elected bodies: the National Assembly and the people's councils at various levels. That is the system of people's representatives in our country.

The National Assembly elects the Council of Ministers, the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chairman of the Supreme People's organ of control. In their turn, the people's councils at various levels elect the people's committees and the people's courts at various levels. The power of these bodies derives from the organs of state power which have elected them. They are responsible to and report to the organs of state and the latter have the power to recall any member of these bodies elected by them. Thus, the system of state organs is built up from the election of these organs by the people (the National Assembly and the people's councils). The elected bodies in their turn elect the executive and administrative bodies at various levels, the judiciary bodies at various levels and the chairman of the supreme people's organ of control.

But the concept of organs of state power embraces only the organs elected by the people, namely the National Assembly and the people's councils at various levels. All the elected bodies and the organs elected by these bodies form the system of state organs of which the National Assembly and the people's councils are the political base.

To exercise the right to mastery through mass organizations is another very important form of mastery. For the first time in our country the position and role of the mass organizations are institutionalised in the draft constitution. With regard to the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the draft constitution affirms that it is a steady prop of the state. Its function is to unite the entire people and strengthen the singlemindedness of the people. It embodies the unity of action of all sections of the population in the building and consolidation of sections of the population in the building and consolidation of the administration, in implementing the policies of the party and state, in educating and mobilising the people to develop their sense of collective mastery and to emulate each other in building and defending the homeland (Article 9).

In our country like in other fraternal socialist countries the trade union movement holds a special position because it is the broadest organisation of the working class, the leading class of the revolution. The draft constitution provides that the trade unions within the area of their function, take part in state affairs and supervise the work of state bodies, participate in the management of factories, educate the workers and office employees, organise socialist emulation movements, and, together with state bodies, care for the lives of workers and office employees and protect their interests (Article 10).

The other social organizations such as the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnam Women's Union, etc. take part in the management of the state and society according to the constitutions of their organizations and the provisions of the constitution and law.

The state organs have the task of creating favourable conditions for the Fatherland Front and its member organizations to carry out fruitful activities. Apart from these forms of mastery through the state and through the social organisations, the draft constitution also provides for the right to direct mastery of the masses at the base: the collectives of working people at offices, factories, cooperatives, population centres and other basic units participate in state and social affairs that is, right in their places of work or residence (Article 11).

All the provisions in the draft constitution concerning the state of the proletarian dictatorship, the right to collective mastery of the working people and the leading role of the party, reflect the relationship between the leading party, the people as the master and the state as the manager. This is the fundamental relationship in the socio-political life in our country embodied in the draft constitution.

3. The Question of Institutionalising the Line for Building a New Economy, a New Culture, New People and the National Defence Force of the Entire Population.

Comrade deputies, in January 1946, in an interview with the press, President Ho Chi Minh said: "I have only one desire, an earnest desire, that is to see our country completely independent, our people completely free and every one of our compatriots with enough to eat and clothe himself and to afford education." In his testament, the president recommended: "The party needs to have very good plans to develop the economy and culture with a view to constantly improving the life of the people."

Under the glorious banner of the party and President Ho Chi Minh, our entire people and army have fought staunchly and worked creatively, regained independence, freedom and national unity, and made important progress in improving their material and cultural life. The 4th party congress laid down the line for transforming and building the economy, developing culture and materialising the earnest desire and the sacred testament of Uncle Ho. The draft constitution gives prominence to the economy and the people's livelihood.

The building of a new economy in our country is dealt with in Chapter 2 of the draft, in the spirit of combining socialist transformation with socialist construction, with the emphasis on construction, aimed at establishing socialist relations of production, developing the productive forces and perfecting the system of economic management. The draft constitution stipulates the goal of the economic policy of our state according to the need of the fundamental economic law of socialism (Article 15) and provides that the "central task throughout the period of transition to socialism is the socialist industrialisation of the country" (Article 16). Proceeding from the characteristics of the economic situation in our country, in the socialist industrialisation process our state "gives priority to a rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, and the integration of industry and agriculture on a national scale into an industrial-agricultural structure. It builds the centrally-run economy while developing the local economy....combining economic and defence activities". (Article 16).

The draft constitution also institutionalises other important aspects of the party's economic line such as the relations of production and the right to collective mastery of the people economic affairs, the system of socialist distribution, economic management and the planning of the national economy, the protection of nature and of the living environment, the reinforcement of economic legislation and the struggle against negative social features and foreign economic relations, especially the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal countries of the socialist community.

With regard to the forms of ownership during the period of transition to socialism in our country, the draft constitution reflects the present situation in our country where there still exist many economic sectors, and it calls for the carrying out of a revolution in the relations of production: On the one hand, we must guide and properly use the non-socialist economic sectors; and on the other, limit and transform them, establish and consolidate the regime of socialist ownership of the means of production, "with the aim of building a national economy with two essential components--the state sector under the ownership of the entire people, and the collective economic sector under the collective ownership of the working people" (Article 18). This is the objective which our state and people must achieve, by all means, during the period of transition to socialism. Of course, while striving for that objective we must always make active efforts and steady progress and guard against any manifestations of hesitation or undue haste.

Article 18 of the draft stipulates a very important point: "The state sector plays the leading role in the national economy, and is given priority for development." This stipulation determines the position and role of the state-owned economic sector throughout the process of transformation and development of the national economy.

The draft constitution affirms in a separate article the public ownership of "the lands, forests, rivers and lakes, mines; natural resources in the ground, in the territorial seas and on the continental shelf; industrial, agricultural, forestry and state commercial undertakings; banks and insurance organizations; public utilities, the systems of transportation by rail, road, river, sea and air; dykes and important irrigation works; establishments related to national defence; the systems of information and communications,

radio, cinema and television; institutes of scientific and technological research, and cultural and social establishments and other property defined by the law as belonging to the state." (Article 19).

The draft constitution stipulates that "state-run economic establishments operate according to the orientations and tasks laid down under the state plan; they carry out the regime of management accounting and the regime of managerial and individual responsibility; ensure the workers' and public employees' participation in management; raise the quality of products and services and economic efficiency; practice thrift; ensure accumulation for the state and the factories; scrupulously protect state property; and concern themselves with improving the working and living conditions of workers and public employees." (Article 22).

The draft constitution affirms that all land is under the ownership of the entire people. We know that during the process of socialist revolution, all land must inevitably be nationalized in principle, but in what way should this be done? Should it be by agricultural cooperation or by the nationalization of all land?

In elaborating the draft constitution, the question of ownership of land has been weighed carefully. The majority of our people, while debating the draft constitution, agreed to what has been written in the draft.

In the North, we have since 1959 gradually socialised the land through agricultural cooperation. Almost all the land and rice-fields in the North have become socialist property. Now the situation has changed. The South may proceed in different manner to the north. We may socialise the land by nationalization.

Why need we nationalize the land? For the following reasons:

-Every inch of land of our country has been soaked with the blood of heroes and martyrs throughout the country who have made great sacrifices to win it back from the hands of the imperialists and feudalists, and soaked with the sweat of many generations which have put so much effort in reclaiming, improving and protecting it. It is the common property of the entire people throughout the country, not of any social stratum or locality.

-The land in the north has already become socialist property under two forms: nationalized ownership and collective ownership; most of the land in the former fifth interzone is communal land; most of the land in the south is still uncultivated or grown to only one crop per year. We must work out plans to make proper use of the land throughout the country.

-We must put an end to the mismanagement of land through purchase, sale, resale, dispute or usurpation which is harmful to the unified management of the land by the state.

-We must nationalize the land in order to facilitate the planning of cultivation, live-stock breeding, construction and irrigation etc., and to use the land in a planned way in order not only to make proper and economical use of it but also to improve and protect it.

-The nationalization of the land is consistent with the interests of the whole society as well as the basic and longterm interests of every citizen. To reassure peasants in production, the draft constitution stipulates: "Collectives and individuals who have the use of plots of land are allowed to continue to do so and to enjoy the fruits of their labour according to law." (Article 20).

Therefore, the lands currently managed and used by cooperatives or production collectives will continue to be exploited as usual; member of cooperatives and production collectives will continue to enjoy the fruits of their labour on the "five percent of land" allotted them; those peasants who have not yet joined cooperatives or production collectives can still enjoy the fruits of their labour on the plots of land they have so far managed and used....

The draft constitution also stipulated that "Collectives and individuals who use the land have the responsibility to protect, replenish and exploit it in keeping with state policies

and plans." The land question is a complex matter. We must carry out a good campaign of propaganda and explanation among the people, and the state must soon promulgate the land law to ensure the effect of what is stipulated in the constitution and to solve practical problems such as residential lands, gardens, lands reserved for the cult of ancestors, lands of the church and pagodas etc., and also to prevent usurpation and misappropriation of land detrimental to production and the people's life.

After the state-owned economic sector, the cooperative economic sector under collective ownership holds the most important position. There are two forms of collective ownership: ownership by the cooperatives or production collectives, and ownership by trade unions and other collectives units with their own labour and funds. The draft constitution makes it the state's duty to guide and assist cooperatives in developing their economic activities, lays down principles for business and management of cooperatives; and stipulates that the state recognizes and protects the sideline family businesses of co-op members (Article 23).

With regard to the individual economic sector of peasants, handicraft workers and other individual labourers, the basic policy of the state is to transform them through cooperation. "The state encourages, guides and assists individual farmers, handicraft workers and other self-employed workers to advance towards the road of collective production, to form production cooperatives and other forms of mutual aid collectives on the principle of voluntariness. Small tradespeople receive guidance and assistance to gradually switch to production or to other suitable occupations" (Article 24). At the same time, considering the characteristics of a number of occupations in which individual labour is still needed and serves the interests of the national economy and the people, the draft stipulates: "The law defines the limits for private economic activity in agriculture, small industry, handicrafts, applied arts, and services" (Article 24). With this stipulation, all capacities for productive labour and services of the people will be used; talents and traditional occupations among the people will be preserved and improved.

With regard to the economic sectors of the feudalists and bourgeoisie the draft constitution says: "All economic bases of feudal landlords and comprador capitalists are nationalised without compensation" (Article 25) and "the state conducts the socialist transformation of the private capitalist economy by suitable forms" (Article 26).

The division of labour and balanced economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is an objective law of development of the world socialist system. Particularly with regard to our country which is advancing directly from small production to large-scale socialist production bypassing the stage of capitalist development, to join the division of labour and cooperate with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries is an indispensable requirement of strategic significance in attaining of objectives in economic and cultural development set by the 4th party congress. In this spirit, the draft constitution stresses the need to strengthen "cooperation and mutual assistance with fraternal countries in the socialist community" (Article 16). This is necessary and conforms with the situation in our country after Vietnam became a full member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Chapter 3 of the draft constitution stipulates the fundamental legal principles for stepping up the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution in accordance with the party's line in order to build a new regime, a new economy, a new culture, new generations of socialist people "motivated by a sense of collective mastery, the love of labour and respect for public property possessing a certain cultural level, scientific and technical knowledge and good health, and animated by the love for the socialist homeland and proletarian internationalism." (Article 37).

The key point in the ideological and cultural field is to establish the predominant position of Marxism-Leninism. The draft constitution says: "Marxism-Leninism is the ideological system guiding the development of Vietnamese society." "The state broadly disseminates Marxism-Leninism, the line and policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and the Constitution and laws of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It preserves and enhances the cultural and spiritual values of the nation; absorbs the best of world culture; combats feudal and bourgeois ideologies and the influence of imperialist and colonialist culture; criticizes petty-bourgeois ideology; guides socialist way of life, and combats backward life-styles and superstitions" (Article 38).

Besides Article 4 dealing with the party's leadership, Article 38 defines the position of Marxism-Leninism in the political and spiritual life of our society. It ensures the continued correct and creative development of the revolution in our country leading to still greater victories.

The ensuing articles of Chapter 3 provide for the right to collective mastery of the working people in the fields of culture, education, science and technology, institutionalising the line, principles and guidelines for developing education, public health and scientific research; building and developing culture, art, information, journalism, publication, physical culture and sports, and tourism. The draft constitution devotes an important position to education which aims to train generations of socialist working people, educate the young generation and foster a revolutionary generation for the future; defines our educational principles and emphasizes the responsibility of the state, the Ho Chi Minh Youth Union, the family and the whole society in educating youth and children. The draft constitution stipulates:

The state promotes the scientific and technological revolution with the aim of developing the productive forces, increasing labour efficiency, speeding up socialist industrialisation, improving living standards and strengthening national defence, and building an advanced science and technology for our country" (Article 42). The state encourages creative research and invention and attaches importance to applied sciences.

With regard to literature and art, the draft constitution stipulates: "Vietnamese literature and art are developed on the basis of the perspective of Marxism-Leninism, and in keeping with the Communist Party of Vietnam's line with regard to literature and art. Encouragement is given to the development of professional and amateur literary and artistic activities as a means of educating the people in the line and policies of the party and the state, educating them in revolutionary ethics, thinking and sentiments, developing their aesthetic sense and raising and satisfying their cultural needs." (Article 44).

Apart from economic and cultural development, the draft constitution stipulates: "The state is responsible for the protection and improvement of the people's health. It combines modern medicine and pharmacy with traditional medicine and pharmacy, combines the techniques of prevention and cure with the emphasis on prevention, and combines state run health services with people's health services at the grass-roots levels. The state and society give protection to mothers and children and campaign for family planning" (Article 47).

A major and constant requirement of the revolution in our country is that while carrying out national construction, we must always heighten our vigilance, strive to build an national defence force of the entire population combine economic development and national defence, make the country powerful and the people ready to fight in defence of the socialist homeland and foil all acts of aggression and sabotage by the enemy. Our experiences have accumulated in the thousands of years of our history of national construction and defence. In the present conditions of our country, consolidating national defence to successfully defend our homeland is very necessary.

In this spirit, the draft constitution devotes Chapter 4 to the "defence of the socialist homeland." This chapter stipulates the fundamental points of the line, guidelines and principles in building a comprehensive and modern national defence force, comprising the whole population, combining national construction with defence; combining the strength of the people's armed forces with that of the entire people; combining the tradition of national unity against foreign aggression with the strength of the socialist regime; the nature and duty of the people's armed forces with the duty of all state officers, social organisations and citizens towards the building of a national defence force of the entire population, to defend the homeland and maintain political security, public order and social security.

4. The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

The stipulations in the draft constitution of this issue reflect our party's views on relations between citizens and the state and the collective as "an harmonious combination of

the requirements of social life and legitimate individual freedoms, and "guarantee of the identity of interests between the state, the collective and the individual, on the principle: each for all, all for each," (Article 54).

The essence of this relationship is that the citizen's rights are inseparable from their duties. As the citizens have their rights, they must perform their duties. In return as they perform their duties they are entitled to the rights ensured by the state... The state guarantees the rights of citizens; and citizens must fulfil their obligations towards the state and society" (Article 54).

The draft constitution provides for a very important right. "All citizens are equal before the law" (Article 55). Every citizen enjoys rights and must perform the duties stipulated by the constitution and law. Being the collective masters of the country, having at their disposal the principal means of production and having been freed from oppression and exploitation, all citizens in our country have the fundamental conditions to enjoy their rights and perform their duties as equals, bring their talents into full play and to their best to perform the state and social duties. The law concretises the stipulations of the constitution on labour, study, military service, distribution, wages, etc., sets the criteria and methods to ensure equality and fairness, to avoid egalitarianism, and oppose privileges and prerogatives.

On the other hand, this stipulation also means that all citizens must observe the constitution and law. Any violation of the constitution and law must be duly punished, no matter what position the violator holds. The law is impartial: those who violate the law must be held accountable to the law in accordance with the extent of their violations, and it is impermissible to use any influence for protection from the law. Our propaganda and educational activities must make everyone understand that the principle of "equality before the law" is a great principle of socialist democracy in our country.

The draft constitution stipulates citizens' fundamental rights as already contained in the 1959 constitution, but with necessary amendments: The right to vote or to be elected to the National Assembly and the people's councils at various levels, the right to work, the right to rest, the right to study, freedom of religion, that is the right to adhere or not to adhere to any religion....

Besides these rights, the draft constitution stipulates a number of very new important rights: The right to take part in the management of state and social affairs; the right to free education; the right to free health care, medical examinations and treatment; the right to housing; the right to protection of life, property, honour and dignity by law. The amendment and expansion of citizens' rights is consistent with the development of the revolution of our country over the past twenty years since the promulgation of the 1959 constitution.

The draft constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam defines not only those rights the conditions for the exercise of which already exist but also other rights which can be exercised or begin to be exercised and will be gradually introduced in the process of socialist construction in our country (for example, the right to housing). The draft constitution stipulates: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom to demonstrate in accordance with the interests of socialism and of the people. No one may use democratic freedoms to violate the interests of the state and the people" (Article 67). This is meant to prevent disruptive elements from fomenting trouble and sabotaging national independence and socialism and the people's genuine interests.

The draft constitution also specifies a number of other rights such as the right to inviolability of residence, the right to free movement and residence...and leaves to the law the task of stipulating specific regulations and conditions of implementation.

Some rights such as the right to labour, and the right to study are also obligations. Those citizens able to work must work and study to raise their knowledge and capacity to take part in state and social affairs. The stipulations of the draft constitution on citizens' rights conform to the spirit of the declaration of human rights approved by the international community.

For us, human rights include, first of all, the right of all nations to live in independence and freedom, the right of the working people to oppose oppression and exploitation and other rights of citizens in the political, economic, cultural and social fields as explicitly stipulated in the constitution. The draft constitution not only specifies citizens' fundamental rights but also provides that our state is duty bound to create the material conditions for its citizens to enjoy and make use of these rights. This further brings out the superiority of the socialist regime, a regime which really respects human rights and is "one million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" (Lenin). The promulgation of our country's new constitution will help expose the deceitful allegations of the imperialists and their henchmen about the so-called "human rights question".

On the obligations of citizens, the draft constitution stipulates very basic points: First of all, "Citizens must be loyal to the homeland. Treason against the homeland is the gravest crime against the nation" (Article 76). Citizens have the duty to defend socialist homeland and are obliged to do military service and to take part in national defence.

Citizens are obliged to abide by the constitution and law and labour discipline, to defend political security and social order and safety, to keep state secrets and to respect the regulations of socialist life. Citizens are obliged to respect and defend socialist property under nationalised ownership as well as other collectively owned property. Citizens are obliged to pay taxes and take part in common welfare labour as stipulated by law. The stipulations on citizens' fundamental rights and obligations are very concise. They not only have a judicial character but also embody socialist virtues. The judicial organs will concretise these provisions of the constitution in order to facilitate their implementation.

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On the Organizational Structure of the State

Comrade deputies, in the light of the new situation and tasks facing our country and the experiences in organisation and operation of the state accumulated over the past decades, the draft of the new constitution lays down the organisational structure of the state in order to ensure that our state is really one of the people, by the people and for the people and, at the same time, to enhance the managerial efficiency of our state.

Based on the principle of democratic centralism, the draft constitution determines a clear assignment of tasks and responsibilities among the state organs, between the central and local administrations, and between the state organs of powers and the state executive and administrative bodies.

In the process of drafting the new constitution, a question which attracted the particular attention of our cadres and people is how to really give substance to the position of the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels as outlined in the resolution of the fourth party congress, so that the organs of power have real power and use it in an effective manner. To meet this requirement, the draft constitution makes fuller and more systematic stipulations about the tasks and power of the National Assembly (Article 83), and the people's councils at all levels (Article 115). It defines the National Assembly as the supreme organ of state power, the only organ vested with constitutional and legislative powers. The National Assembly decides on basic internal and foreign policies, on the tasks and targets of economic and cultural development, on the main principles regarding the organisation and operation of the state apparatus and on citizens' social relations and activities. The National Assembly exercises the supreme right of supervision over the entire activity of the state (Article 82). The constitution's stipulations on the tasks and powers of the National Assembly, the Council of State, the National Assembly chairman, the National Defence Council, the Council of Nationalities, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and the deputies are intended to ensure full exercise of the National Assembly's functions.

On the people's councils, the draft constitution clearly defines their power to "decide on and take measures to build their localities in all fields, ensure the development of the

economy and culture, the improvement of living standards of the local people and the fulfilment of the tasks assigned by the higher authorities" (Article 114), to exercise their control over the state offices of their localities and to supervise within the limits of their responsibilities and powers, the observance of law by public offices, factories and other organisations at higher levels in their localities" (Article 115).

In order to really give substance to the role of the National Assembly and people's councils at all levels, these organs of power themselves must fulfill all their tasks and properly exercise their authority as stipulated in the constitution; on the other hand, it is necessary to clearly determine the responsibilities of the executive bodies and make sure that they assume their full responsibilities towards the organs of power and create conditions for these organs to perform their duties and exercise their authority as provided for in the constitution.

A new stipulation in the organisational structure of the state is the establishment of the Council of State (words indistinct) the functions of the National Assembly Standing Committee and the president of the republic as provided for in the 1959 constitution. The concentration of the tasks and authority of these two organs onto the Council of State gives it a very important role in the system of state organs and makes its operation more effective. Besides, the establishment of the Council of State will help streamline the machinery of the central state administration.

To better facilitate the role of the Council of Ministers as the organ to manage all the political, economic, cultural, social, security, national defence and foreign relations affairs of our country, Article 107 of the draft constitution adds to the 1959 constitution many of points relating to the duties and authority of the Council of Ministers. The draft constitution also defines more clearly the responsibilities of the members of the Council of Ministers: "Each member of the Council of Ministers shall be personally responsible for his work to the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers and, together with other members, shall bear collective responsibility for the activities of the Council of Ministers to the National Assembly and the Council of State" (Article 112).

On the people's courts and the people's organs of control the draft constitution adds important points to the 1959 constitution. Article 127 says: "The people's courts and people's organs of control in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are, within their competence, obliged to protect the socialist legal system, the socialist system, the working people's right to collective mastery and socialist property, and to ensure respect for the lives, property, freedom, honour and dignity of citizens." The people's courts at all levels apply a system of election of judges and people's assessors. The draft constitution provides for the establishment of appropriate people's organisation at the grassroots to deal with minor breaches of law and disputes among the people. This is a new stipulation aimed at creating conditions for the people to take direct part in managing society and ensuring enforcement of the law (Article 128).

On legal proceedings, the people's courts operate according to the principle of collective judgment, majority decision and open trials, with exceptions stipulated by law; during trials, the judges and people's assessors are independent and subject only to law; the people's assessors have the same power as judges; citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken languages and scripts before the courts; the defendants' right to plead their cases is guaranteed; and organisations of barristers may be formed to give legal assistance to the defendants and other persons concerned. All these stipulations are aimed at ensuring the popular character of the courts and seeing to it that judgments and punishments are equitable and just, thus helping to educate the people to respect the law and maintain social order. The people's organs of control control the observance of law, exercise the right to public prosecution and ensure a strict and uniform observance of law.

The people's organs of control are organised on the principle of individual responsibility and centralist and unified leadership within their branch. The chief procurators and members of the provincial, municipal and district people's organs of control and those at corresponding levels are appointed by the procurator-general of the supreme people's organ of control and not elected by the people's councils. The system of individual responsibility and control and unified leadership in the department of people's control

ensures that the people's organs of control are not dependent on any state organs whatsoever in the localities and guarantees their unanimous and effectual operation in finding out, checking and resolving promptly all breaches of the law by state organs citizens.

6. On the Strengthening of the Socialist Legal System in the Draft Constitution

The strengthening of the socialist legal system is an urgent requirement to enhance the proletarian dictatorship's managerial efficiency and to guarantee of the working people's right to collective mastery. The draft constitution stipulates: "The state manages society according to law and constantly strengthens the socialist legal system.

"All state and social organs, all state employees, all members of social organisations and all citizens must strictly abide by the constitution and law, and must struggle resolutely to prevent and oppose crimes and violations of the constitution and law" (Article 12).

This stipulation requires that our state urgently elaborate laws. Obviously to "manage society according to law," it is necessary to have laws, to elaborate law. On the other hand, we need to better publicise the law and educate citizens in it so that they are self-motivated to observe it of their own free will; it is also necessary to strengthen the juridical office, promote the study and elaboration of judicial plans, and improve to the systems of supervision, control, inspection and trial, etc. All these offices must be organised into a system with a clear assignment of responsibilities and closely coordinate their work so as to serve as the core of the building of the legal system and guarantee the enforcement of law.

It is necessary to overcome the current abnormal situation of the great inadequacy of the legal system, particularly the absence of many laws relating to economic activity. On many occasions, the party's directives or the government's "sub-legal documents" are used as substitutes for law. The already promulgated laws have received inadequate publicity and inadequate guidance for enforcement. Those offices directly responsible for law enforcement or specialising in protecting the legal system often are not strictly law-abiding and do not make timely suggestions on amending the laws in force. The deviations in the execution of law are not corrected in time. The promulgation of the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will certainly usher in a new stage in the strengthening of the socialist legal system in our country.

In short, the draft constitution is aimed at perfecting and strengthening the state of proletarian dictatorship and bringing into play the working people's right to collective mastery; ensuring a satisfactory carrying out of the three revolutions: the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution; combining economic development with the strengthening of national defence, successfully building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Viet Nam; and victoriously achieving the stage of transition to socialism in our country.

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Public Debate on the Draft Constitution

Comrade deputies, at the beginning of 1978, in execution of an instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and a resolution of the National Assembly Standing Committee of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Constitution Drafting Commission and relevant bodies of the party and government organized discussions of the draft constitution among our cadres and people. The two-phased discussions (the first phase for senior and middle-level cadres, and the second for other cadres and the entire people) were conducted throughout the country. Almost twenty million people of different walks of life actively participated in the discussions. In addition, many people met the responsible cadres to present their views while others sent letters or their suggestions to the drafting commission.

Contrary to the fears of the leading cadres of some offices and factories that not many persons could take part in afterwork discussions, the debates drew large attendance. National Assembly deputies actively contributed to arranging the debates and themselves

took part in the discussions. It can be said that so far no other political activity has involved so great a number of people throughout the country. The discussions of the draft constitution were really a broad and deep political activity and a broad and deep movement of socialist democratisation among the people. This situation has reflected a very important truth: Our people in their capacity as collective masters of the country have actively engaged in the building of the fundamental law of great importance for the revolutionary cause of the country and for the interests of the entire people. Although the situation and characters of various localities differ, our people's sense of collective mastery has been clearly demonstrated during the discussion on the draft constitution.

Constructive suggestions to the draft have reflected the people's political maturity. The great majority of these suggestions were found to be practical, sincere and constructive. There were very few insane suggestions. During the debates and in their letters to the commission, our cadres and people compared the contents of various articles in the draft with realities in their localities and units. They affirmed the good points and criticised shortcomings and mistakes and proposed measures to rectify them.

In some places, the people not only criticised party cadres and members but also practised self-criticism with regard to their responsibility in the affairs of the state and society. The struggle between right and wrong has clearly been reflected in the public discussions.

Our cadres and people are unanimous in approving the draft constitution. They noted that it faithfully reflects the line of the 4th party congress, the people's will and aspirations, and meets the demands of the state's fundamental law in the new stage. The suggestions of our cadres and people are numerous and varied. Many suggested amendments and modifications to all chapters and articles and also the preamble of the constitution. Others proposed more detailed stipulations, and regulations applicable to each locality and each service. Most of those suggestions are good. However, many of them cannot be registered in the constitution but can be only written into laws or decrees. Many can be recorded only in government-issued documents. In any case all the suggestions have been carefully recorded and studied by responsible state bodies in order to work out policies to concretise the constitution and perfect the legal system of our country.

The draft constitution has been amended and corrected on the basis of a selective assimilation of all constructive ideas and suggestions of our cadres and people. The draft constitution as is submitted to the National Assembly today is much more elaborate than previous ones. It has more chapters, more articles, and carries modifications and additions to 138 articles of the total of 147. Obviously, the draft constitution reflects the collective wisdom of the broad masses of our cadres and people throughout the country. The Constitution Drafting Commission proposes that the National Assembly warmly (praise) all cadres and people who have enthusiastically participated in the building of the state's fundamental law.

Comrade deputies, below I shall outline some important suggestions raised at the debate on the draft constitution:

1. Our cadres and people welcome the fact that the draft constitution brings out the leading role of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the state and society, and they regard this as a good demonstration of our people's confidence in the party's leadership. In the spirit of building and defending the party, our cadres and people have criticized a number party echelons for overstepping their authority and encroaching upon state organs. They have also criticized a number of party cadres and members for violating the people's collective mastery and violating state law. The masses have proposed that the party organizations at various echelons allow the full functioning of the corresponding administrative organs and operate well in the framework of the constitution. Party cadres and members must set good examples in the implementation of the constitution and law, prevent acts of arbitrariness and authoritarianism, severely penalize retrograde cadres and members who abuse their power and positions in the party and state to oppress the masses and violate the state and people's property.

2. Many people have paid great attention to the clear determination of the people's right to collective mastery, especially at the grassroots, and to the rights of social organisations and their members elected by the people. In fact, the activities of many of them now are only a ritual. The people (wish) that effective measures be worked out to ensure that the elected bodies are genuine state organs of power at various levels with effective rights and functions, that an end be put to the bad situation in which many people's committees encroach on the power of the people's councils and render the latter inefficient in discharging their functions. At the same time, the masses demand that concrete measures be worked out to facilitate close contacts between deputies and electors to ensure faithful reflection of the opinions of the masses in state organs so that correct suggestions be promptly studied and put into effect.

3. The efficiency of the socialist state machine and socialist legislation was also a prominent question raised at the discussions of the draft constitution. Much criticism has been levelled at the bureaucratic and authoritarian attitudes of some cadres and employees of state organs and drew attention to the cumbersome and ineffective state machine. Many manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape causing annoyance to the people. Many people indicated that socialist laws are both insufficient and overlapping, and there remains a dereliction in the enforcement of law. Propaganda, popularisation and guidance work for the enforcement of law remains inadequate. The people demand re-organisation of the work force, streamlining of the state machinery and an improvement in the effectiveness of state organs and party and front organisations. They also ask for a national organisation and use of cadres and their assignment to the most appropriate work and places, and a better elaboration of laws and their strict enforcement.

4. Our cadres and people agree with the draft constitution which affirms that the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a proletarian dictatorship. Many criticise the state for the loosening of the dictatorship, inadequate punishment of counter-revolutionaries, exploiters that refuse to be reformed, hooligans, thieves, speculators, smugglers, and traffickers. At the same time many party organisations and state bodies have not observed socialist democracy and respected the people's right to collective mastery. The people are indignant at the fact that many bureaucratic, arbitrary despotic and corrupt cadres, who take bribes and oppress the people have escaped punishment or are punished too lightly. The people wish that our party and state would take firm measures to overcome this state of affairs.

5. Our cadres and people have noted that the fundamental rights and duties of citizens as provided for in the draft constitution are clear enough. However, they suggested amendments to a number of provisions, for example with regard to the national minorities, the right to labour safety, the right to health care and protection, the right to legal protection where individual freedoms, honour and dignity are threatened or violated, and prompt responses by state organs to the people's complaints and denunciations... the people demand that the state create necessary material conditions for them to really enjoy their rights as stipulated in the constitution.

These are important suggestions which are considered legitimate by the Constitution Drafting Commission and have been adopted in the rewritten draft. Now I shall report on some suggestions that the Constitution Drafting Commission deems unacceptable or should not be included in the constitution.

1. Some people suggest that a separate article on the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union be included in the first chapter. The draft constitution devotes a separate article to the Communist Party of Vietnam--the only leading forces of the revolution in our country--and another to the confederation of trade unions--the largest mass organisation of the working class considered as "the school of communism" and assigned by the state directly to look after the working people's life within a given area of responsibility. That is necessary and proper for the constitution of a socialist country.

The youth play a very important role in the revolution. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is a reserve force and the right arm of the party. The union's role in social life and in relation to young people's rights and obligations are stipulated in Articles

41, 66, 86 and 106. In particular, Article 66 stresses the responsibility of the state towards the youth and their leading role in socialist construction and national defence. That is why it is not necessary to have a separate article on the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union in the first chapter.

2. Some people suggest that the five economic sectors should be clearly stipulated in Chapter 2 of the draft constitution. Our country is now in the stage of transition to socialism.

Our economy is undergoing constant change as socialist construction and transformation progress. There remain three economic sectors in the north while five still exist in the south. But these five sectors are in the process of socialist transformation. The constitution is the fundamental law of the whole country which must stipulate common provisions valid for the whole country over a rather long period. That is why the five economic sectors in the south should not be mentioned in the constitution.

3. Some people say that the addition of the phrases "according to law" or "in conformity with the interests of socialism and the people" to the stipulations on citizens' rights such as the freedom of movement and residence, the freedom of speech... may give the impression that the constitution puts limitations to citizens' rights or "give out with one hand but takes back with the other."

In our country, the people assume power and control the country. They elect the National Assembly and the National Assembly decides on the constitution. All the articles in the draft constitution are aimed at ensuring the people's right to collective mastery in order to successfully build socialism and defend our socialist country, make the country prosperous and powerful, the people free and happy. In the articles about citizens' rights such as the freedom of movement and residence, the freedom of speech... it is necessary to add the phrases "according to law" or "in conformity with the interests of socialism and the people." This is only aimed at preventing enemies and bad elements from making use of these rights to harm the interests of socialism and the legitimate interests of the people. It is completely reasonable and necessary, and to the benefit of the people and socialist revolution in our country.

4. Some people suggest that we should ponder over whether or not to include in the draft constitution such rights as cannot be exercised immediately or in the near future. For instance: freedom of residence, freedom of movement, and the right to housing. Freedom of residence and freedom of movement were included in the 1946 and 1959 constitutions. Because of the war situation in the past (and the danger of war still remains) these rights have not been fully realised. But these are fundamental rights of the people, and in the present conditions, they must and can be exercised though on a limited scale, and when the situation permits, they will be fully exercised. The law will make detailed stipulations on the freedom of residence and movement. Vietnamese citizens cannot freely go abroad unless they are issued exit visas by the competent state authorities. They are free to move within the country but are not allowed to visit or live in areas reserved for national defence projects, or areas where hostilities or epidemics are taking place.

The right to have a house is another fundamental right of the people. Of course, we will have to strive over a long period to achieve it. However, in the immediate future, whatever the difficulties, the state will strive to gradually build more dwelling houses while encouraging collectives of workers and other labouring people to build their own houses under a common plan in order to gradually implement this right.

5. Some people suggested that the administrative apparatus in the cities under central authority should consist of only two echelons. This matter has been carefully considered. The Constitution Drafting Commission held a conference attended by representative of the people's committees of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Danang, Hue and Can Tho, and representatives of the Central Organizing Committee for Consultations.

Through this conference and through the two phases of discussion among our cadres and people, we came to the conclusion that the two-echelon municipal administrative organization is in line with common trends in the management of modern cities. But there remain many difficulties and complexities in the cities of our country where the lack of modern facilities does not allow efficient and highly-centralized management.

The managerial capacity of our cadres is still very poor. That is why the draft constitution stipulates that the municipal administrative apparatus in the inner cities under central authority comprises three echelons to suit the managerial capacity of our cadres, enable their close contact with the masses, and guarantee the exercise of the people's right to collective mastery at the base.

6. Some people have suggested that there should be a chairman of the people's council or a standing committee of the people's council in order to give substance to the role of the council and ensure its effective operation. The draft constitution has determined the close relationship between the people's council and the people's committee. The people's committee is in fact the standing committee of the people's council, and the chairman of the people's committee is actually the chairman of the standing committee of the people's council. The appointment of a chairman of the people's council or the election of a standing committee of the people's council would inevitably lead to a dissociation between the people's council and the people's committee and the administrative machine would become more cumbersome. The point is how to strictly implement the stipulations of the constitution and law with regard to the function, duty and power of the people's council and the people's committee, to improve their knowledge, capacity and working methods, to enhance the role and work of the people's council, especially on the basis of the application of the new constitution.

This and a better and correct understanding of the role of the people's council by the party organization, are the main things, not the appointment of a chairman, vice chairman or a standing committee of the people's council.

To guarantee effective operation of the people's councils and bring into full play the role of the local organs of power, the draft constitution stipulates among other things that the Council of State has the duty to supervise and guide the activities of people's councils at all levels, in order to promote their function as representative organs of the people" (Article 100, point 9). The Council of Ministers has the duty to "ensure that the people's councils at all levels discharge the tasks and exercise the powers of organs of state authority in the localities" (Article 107, point 19) and "the people's committees shall create favourable conditions for activities of deputies to the people's council. The chairman of the people's committee is responsible for regulating and coordinating the activities of the committees set up by the people's council" (Article 125).

These were the questions raised at the discussions of the draft constitution; some of them have been accepted, others rejected by the drafting commission. I wish to report them to the National Assembly for consideration.

4. What to be done to ensure strict implementation of the new constitution.

Comrade deputies, To elaborate a good constitution is a very important undertaking. However, the constitution takes genuine effect only when it has a strong impact on the thinking and daily life of the masses, and in return it is strictly complied with by the party branches, the state institutions, the mass organisations and all citizens.

Our cadres and the entire people are waiting for the promulgation of the new constitution. Many have asked themselves: Will the new constitution be strictly enforced? Will negative acts contrary to the constitution be resolutely eliminated?

Our people have a long tradition of solidarity, patriotism and sacrifice to build and defend the country. Since the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam, our people have put their complete confidence in it, because under the talented leadership of the party, our people have gained independence and freedom and are building socialism. Our people are attached to the revolutionary power and the state constitution which ensure them the right to collective mastery and protects their daily interests.

On the other hand, small production remains the dominant feature of our economy; unprincipled liberties and spontaneous actions remain widespread in society. As far as questions of economics and the people's livelihood are concerned, we still face innumerable difficulties. Moreover our state has not yet properly managed society according to law. These are both positive factors and difficulties in implementing the constitution. But, the positive factors are dominant. Nevertheless, we must see things all sides of the situation in order to educate and mobilize the people to further promote their strong points, overcome mistakes and shortcomings, and scrupulously implement the constitution and law.

The new constitution will not be automatically observed after its promulgation. To have the constitution implemented will involve a long struggle in many fields of political, economic, administrative, legal, organizational, ideological, and cultural, combining political education of citizens, development of the economy and culture and improvement in living standards while combating sabotage by the enemy, and the negative aspects and social evils. [sentence as received] Only when the people consciously and voluntarily comply with the constitution under the strict leadership of the party and the state can the new constitution bring practical results. To ensure scrupulous implementation of the constitution, the Constitution Drafting Commission proposes to the National Assembly that the following matters be attended to immediately after the constitution is promulgated:

1. The Launching of a Publicity and Education Campaign About the Constitution and Law Among Our Cadres and People.

This is an urgent task which will bring about important immediate and long-term benefits. Following the promulgation of the new constitution, it is necessary to launch a movement of extensive and intensive political activities to study the constitution and discuss its implementation in party and state organs, social organizations, the people's armed forces and the entire people; to mobilize the people to make observation and criticisms of state and social management and to make self-criticisms about their own shortcomings towards the state and collective. Public employees and cadres from the centre down to grassroots levels must carry out self-criticism and overcome such negative practices as corruption, bribery, undercounter dealings, waste of state property, oppression of the masses, failure to strictly observe the party policy and state laws.

Following this campaign, the Government Council needs to instruct the concerned offices to adopt plans for regular publicity for and interpretation of the law by means of newspapers and books, radio, television, lectures, etc. The constitution and some important laws in force should be included in the curricula of universities, vocational and general schools, party and trade union schools and schools of other social organizations. To modify the curriculum of civic education at general schools in a way conformable with the spirit and content of the new constitution. [sentence as received]

2. The Speeding Up of the Elaboration of Law

Following the promulgation of the constitution, many provisions of the constitution need to be concretised into laws and decrees. Apart from the electoral law to be submitted to the National Assembly for approval, the Government Council, the Law Drafting Committee of the National Assembly, the People's Supreme Court, and the People's Supreme Organ of Control need to urgently elaborate draft laws on elections to the people's council at all levels, draft laws on organizing the National Assembly, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the people's councils and the people's committees, the people's court and the people's organ of control. Bills to this effect will be submitted to the National Assembly at the appropriate time.

In the coming years, the National Assembly will successively adopt various laws concerning such things as citizenship, land, labour, military service, democratic freedoms (including freedom of movement and residence), legal proceedings, criminal law and civil law.

The Council of Ministers and the concerned offices and organisations are responsible for elaborating the above-mentioned draft laws and the draft economic laws and submitting them to the National Assembly, so that within about five years, the National Assembly can adopt the necessary laws.

3. The Perfecting of the State Machinery in General and in Particular, of Specialised Agencies Responsible for Defence of the Socialist Legal System

During their discussions on the new draft constitution, our people remarked that our state machinery is cumbersome, bureaucratic and ineffective. We must take these righteous criticisms seriously. We must make careful study in order to strengthen the organisation of offices together with the reorganisation of the state machinery on the basis of the new constitution, to improve the quality of cadres, reorganise the state offices, change the style of work, and streamline the state machinery. We must pay attention to perfecting the economic management apparatus from the top to the grassroots levels, to increasing the power and responsibilities of the general management of technical-economic services, and to strengthening the management at the district level and building the district into an agro-industrial unit.

The National Assembly and the people's councils must do their utmost to be worthy of being the organs of power of the state at the centre and in the localities and at the same time organs representing the people and in close touch with them.

The people's courts and the people's organs of control at various levels, the Ministry of the Interior, the Law Committee, the Government Inspectorate and the Law Drafting Committee of National Assembly must be strengthened. At the same time it is necessary to set up legal offices of the ministries and of the state commissions...to help these offices devise new and suitable laws and strictly implement the constitution and laws.

4. The Improvement of Training and Fostering of Legal Workers and Administrative Cadres at Various Levels

Over the past few years, the training of legal and administrative cadres has not been given due attention. Almost none of our administrative cadres have received systematic training in law and administration. That is why they have on many occasions attended to matters in a casual manner, violating the principles, laws and regulations of the state and violating the people's right to collective mastery. The Hanoi Law College was not opened until 34 years after the revolution succeeded. That was a disastrous delay. The Government Council must pay attention to assisting this college to quickly stabilise its organisation and improve its teaching program. It is necessary to reopen administrative schools to train administrators in conformity with the new constitution.

Besides full-time courses, it is necessary to organise part-time and complementary courses to strengthen the contingent of legal and administrative cadres at various levels.

5. Increased Supervision and Control of the Implementation of the Constitution and Law; Proper Punishment for All Breaches of the Constitution and Law.

A reason for the widespread and prolonged situation of nonobservance of law lies in the fact that its implementation has not been closely supervised and controlled and that many cases of lawbreaking have not been dealt with properly and promptly. The National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels must fully exercise their function of supervising and controlling the implementation of law by the state organs. The trade unions and the other social organisations, basing themselves on their regulations, must take an active part in supervising and controlling the implementation of law by the state organs and the people.

It is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the state organs of the control and inspection and also to intensify the people's inspection work.

The people's courts, the people's organs of control and the people's security forces at all levels must effectively do their duty in promptly investigating and duly punishing all

offences against the constitution and law. To must urgently reorganise the system for examining people's complaints and denunciations and eliminate delays in dealing with them. [as received]

Comrade deputies. The constitution and the laws institutionalise, "statise" the line and policy of the party. The scrupulous implementation of the constitution and laws are of paramount importance to our people's revolutionary cause. That is why it needs the regular and close guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the committees at all levels.

I am pleased to report to the National Assembly that the party Central Committee held a plenary session from September 4 to 10, 1980 to examine the draft constitution. The plenum approved the basic content of the draft and made further recommendations to perfect it before submitting it to the National Assembly. The party Central Committee spent much time discussing guidelines for strict implementation of the new constitution.

To implement the constitution is the duty of the entire people, of all party and state organisation, and all social organisations in the system of proletarian dictatorship under the party's leadership. This requires sustained efforts over a long period, but in any case, the constitution must be implemented immediately after its formal promulgation.

At present, our socialist laws are still inadequate. Our cadres' and people's knowledge of law and their consciousness of law is still low. Moreover, the effectiveness of the state machinery is still limited. In this context, the leading role and the obligations of party organisations, above all the party and its committees at all levels, are of decisive importance for the implementation of the constitution and the laws. Each party cadre and member must be an exemplary citizen in the enforcement of the constitution and laws. These party members who hold high rank and positions of authority but who make light of or violate the constitution or the laws should be dealt with all the more severely.

The socialist state is the organiser and manager of all spheres of social life. It is also the organiser of the implementation of the provisions of the constitution. Should the state organ operate ineffectively, the constitution and laws would naturally not be well implemented. So, to consolidate and strengthen the socialist state is the primary duty of the party. Party committees at all levels must improve their style of work in leading the administration, must not look down upon those who are elected by the people, must truly respect the obligations and powers of the state organs and must never encroach upon their authority or act in their stead. The party absolutely forbids its cadres and members to work out arbitrary regulations contrary to the constitution and laws and violating citizens' rights and collective mastery.

The implementation of the new constitution could not be detached from the people's duties in production, construction, combat preparedness and of fighting victoriously. Our country currently faces many difficulties relating to the economy and the people's livelihood. But the recent publication and implementation of a number of new economic policies of the party and government are generating new progress in agricultural and industrial production and in the distribution and circulation of goods. This demonstrates the realistic possibilities of surmounting difficulties and advancing our national economy steadily in the years to come.

For the time being, efforts must be focussed on agricultural development to solve the problem of food, foodstuffs, and materials for industry and export goods. We have to ensure conditions for expanding the production of consumer goods and the energy, engineering, fertilizer, and communications and transport industries; speed up socialist transformation in the south while consolidating and perfecting the socialist relations of production in the north; continue to improve the distribution and circulation of goods, especially the purchase of food and other agricultural produce; strengthen market, financial, and monetary management and the management of state-owned materials and goods; adopt policies aimed at encouraging production on the basis of meeting the interests of the state, of the collectives and of the working people; stabilise and improve the life of cadres, workers, public employees, and other people; improve economic management and planning aimed at making full use of the work force and land and existing equipment

and materials; gradually resolve the imbalances in the economy, pay due attention to economic efficiency in capital construction, production and trading; improve the quality of products; strictly practice thrift; apply scientific and technical innovations in production and economic management; criticise and combat negative manifestations contrary to the constitution and the laws; consolidate national defence and stand ready to fight and fight vitoriously and fulfill our international obligations toward Laos and Kampuchea.

On the occasion of the promulgation of the new constitution, the Constitution Drafting Commission calls on the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the confederation of trade unions, other mass organisations, and the people's armed forces to launch a socialist emulation campaign throughout the country in order to mobilise the entire people and army to exceed the 1981 state plan, record many achievements, bring about new changes in the economy and in the people's livelihood so as to ensure that everyone confidently and resolutely implements the constitution, and makes it become really effective.

Comrade deputies, the current session of the National Assembly will discuss the draft constitution, decide on and adopt the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The coming into being of our country's new constitution is an extremely important event which together with the great anniversaries make 1980 a very memorable year. Our entire party, state and people will use the new constitution as a sharp weapon in the struggle to achieve greater successes in socialist construction and defence of the socialist motherland. With the new constitution, our people will hold still higher the banners of national independence and socialism and will continue acting upon the sacred testament of the great President Ho Chi Minh. They are determined to successfully build a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam, thus making a worthy contribution to the world people's revolutionary cause.

Comrade deputies, this session of the National Assembly demonstrates our people's determination to consolidate the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in all fields and make it a firm member of the world socialist community. The strengthened solidarity of the socialist countries is of very important significance in the present situation when the imperialists, above all U.S. imperialism, in collusion with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are intensifying the arms race, poisoning the international climate, and aggravating the world situation.

The Communist Party, the National Assembly, the Government, and the people of Vietnam fully support the Leninist foreign policy and the untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at accelerating the process of detente and defending peace. We applaud the December 5 summit meeting in Moscow of party and state leadership of the Warsaw Pact countries aimed at enhancing socialist unity in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

At that meeting, leaders of Poland stressed that Poland has been and will always be a socialist country, a firm member of the socialist community and leaders from other fraternal countries also affirmed their solidarity with and strong support for the Polish People's Republic and the Polish party and people.

We are firmly confident that under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party and with strong support from the fraternal socialist countries and progressive mankind, the Polish people will bring into full play the revolutionary tradition and forces to surmount difficulties, thwart all plots of the reactionary forces, resolutely defend the socialist regime, and ensure the continuing development of the country along the road of prosperity and happiness. The Vietnamese people will, as hitherto, always side with the fraternal Polish people."

Comrade deputies, if the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is successfully implemented, the Vietnamese people will triumph over poverty and backwardness, the great family of the Vietnamese nation will enjoy a more plentiful and happy life, the position of a civilised and beautiful and rich Vietnam will be enhanced in the international arena; and a strategic outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia will be consolidated and strengthened. The earnest desires of our beloved Uncle Ho and the lofty vision of our heroes and fighters who have laid down their lives for the country will come true:

Let all our compatriots throughout the country scrupulously observe and implement the new constitution to be adopted by the National Assembly at this historic session.

--Long live the peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam!

--Let the entire people closely unite and completely attain new achievements in socialist construction and national defense!

--Long live the victorious world struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

--Long live the Communist Party of Vietnam, the organiser and inspiration behind all victories of the Vietnamese people!

--The great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our revolutionary cause!

CSO: 4209

THE TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81 pp 41-48

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Two years are a very short period of time in the rebuilding of the country of Kampuchea, a country that was so ravaged and crippled that it had "less than nothing left."

The things that have been achieved over the past 2 years in Kampuchea, which is coming back to life, have truly been remarkable. Without the extraordinary efforts of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, without the ardent patriotism and the spirit of mutual help of the people's of the various Kampuchean minorities and without the assistance in many areas from the fraternal socialist countries, it would have been impossible to overcome the towering, serious difficulties left behind by the Pol Pot clique and its Beijing bosses, especially the saving of millions of persons from the brink of death.

Countless jobs had to be performed in rapid succession: mopping up the hundreds of thousands of remnant forces of Pol Pot in every type of terrain and rescuing a portion of the population that was being used by them as a shield, as a living fence and being used to supplement their own forces; stabilizing life, fighting famine, providing medical treatment, helping the people return to their former homes, helping the people carry out production, build their forces, maintain security and so forth. With wholehearted help from their friends and tremendous efforts on their own part, the people of Kampuchea rapidly restored their lives.

The routing of the remnants of the Pol Pot army, the rescuing of millions of persons from their grip, the quick stabilization of the life of an entire nation and, most significantly, the saving of the population from dying of starvation, from rotting to death in concentration camps are efforts very deserving of admiration.

The above mentioned achievements recorded in 1979 show the strong vitality of the Kampuchean people.

On the basis of the victories won in 1979, the Kampuchean revolution entered 1980 with a strong position and power with which to overwhelm the enemy.

The life of the various strata of the people is more stable and famine and the aftereffects of the genocidal policy of the Pol Pot clique have been eliminated. Following the 1979-1980 successful 10th month harvests, the people of Kampuchea, having become the true masters of their destiny, exceeded the norm on the amount of area under cultivation in the 1980-1981 10th month season. The various levels of the revolutionary government have been established and strengthened and are fulfilling their role of managing the country and caring for the lives and the security of the people. The revolutionary armed forces have developed rapidly, have been challenged in combat and in the mobilization of the masses and have built and strengthened the revolutionary government. The corps of revolutionary cadres is becoming increasingly large and their political level, their spirit of patriotism, their love of the people and their ability to perform their jobs are gradually being raised. The National United Front for National Salvation and the other revolutionary mass organizations have developed and matured. Political security and social order are being maintained better with each passing day. The international prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is being raised. The remnants of the Pol Pot army are continuing to be annihilated and routed. Many reactionary political organizations supported and controlled by Beijing, the United States and Thailand have been exposed and smashed; the scheme of the United States to foment rebellion has been bankrupted.

Over the past 2 years, the people of Kampuchea have won large victories in the struggle against the enemy, the struggle to protect the fatherland.

After the revolutionary forces liberated Phnom Penh (7 January 1979), the remnants of the Pol Pot army withdrew to the treacherous mountainous jungles, awaiting the opportunity to stage a "counter-attack." Intensely pursued, the majority of them had to flee across the Kampuchea-Thai border in order to "consolidate" their forces; the forces that remained in Kampuchea dispersed, engaging in acts of banditry and threatening the security of the people. Those that crossed the border forced some civilians to flee to Thailand with them. Supported by Beijing, the United States and Thailand, these forces created a state of prolonged instability along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Their intention was to use military forces in an attack from the outside coordinated with fomenting internal rebellion in order to reoccupy a number of areas along the border while coordinating with the diplomatic struggle at the 35th session of the United Nations, thereby exerting pressure for a "political solution" to the "Kampuchean question" in a vain attempt to reverse the situation in a manner favorable to them.

Pol Pot boasted that he still had dozens of divisions. In fact, their forces were not large at all, consisting of only the forces that were cowering on the other side of the border; if they crossed into Kampuchea, they would be dealt painful blows because practically all of their bases within the country had been destroyed, resupply would be difficult and they did not have the support of the people for a "guerrilla war." Thus, they were forced to divide into small units, each numbering no more than 10 men, as recently admitted by Ieng Sary, and have only been able to carry out the activities of bandits, namely, disrupting security and stealing from the people. Where do they think they can find the forces with which to launch an attack from the outside and foment internal rebellion? In actuality, the key forces of Pol Pot, some 240,000 troops that once did whatever they pleased, were

virtually defeated before 7 January 1979 and, since then, tens of thousands have been put out of combat. The base upon which Pol Pot and the rulers in Beijing have been relying in order to prolong the war has collapsed and cannot be rebuilt.

In order to foment rebellion, they have tried to establish a so called "underground army" and create a "shadow government." By means of tempting and winning over a number of persons who possess a low level of political awareness and especially by taking advantage of the difficulties encountered in everyday life, they have persuaded civilians in a number of provinces along the Kampuchean-Thai border to cross the border to obtain rice and aid goods in order to propagandize and train these civilians and then send grain, weapons, intelligence agents and spies back into the hinterland. They have also dispatched persons to infiltrate the various revolutionary organizations in order to engage in acts of sabotage. They have forced persons receiving aid goods to serve as local rear bases for them. All of these schemes have been exposed. One after the other, double agents, members of the underground army and so forth have come forth and confessed their crimes. The U.S. imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and the other reactionaries have also taken advantage of the famine relief program. They used the organization of "no border physicians" (MSF), an organization that has close ties with the CIA, to stage the so called "walk for the survival of Kampuchea" from Thailand to Kampuchea in order to conduct espionage activities and carry out psychological warfare; in particular, they have supported Pol Pot and the other reactionary Khmer cliques resisting the Kampuchean revolution, prolonged the state of instability along the Kampuchean-Thai border and undermined the peaceful reconstruction of Kampuchea. All of their tricks have been denounced by public opinion. Every person of responsibility in the UNICEF organization, the International Red Cross, the Society of Charity and so forth working in Kampuchea consider these actions to be "a farce," to be "ignorant."

The enemies of the people of Kampuchea have also organized the so called "voluntary repatriation" program, under which they sent from 300,000 to 400,000 victims back to Kampuchea during the between season food shortage in July and August of 1980. It was their intention to insert into Kampuchea reactionaries, espionage agents, commandos and spies and even the ringleaders of each area of Pol Pot returned with them in order to link their basic organization together, establish clandestine bases, build the reactionary party faction, establish a shadow government, etc.

However, the people of Kampuchea promptly stopped them as they approached Battambang. As a result of the masses being mobilized and, in particular, on the basis of the actual situation in Kampuchea, everyone realizes that the people of Kampuchea are truly the masters of their destiny, the people have adequate food, those who are ill receive medicine, every social activity has been rapidly restored, everyone is being educated, everyone has freedom of religion, the right to live of families is guaranteed, human dignity is respected and so forth, all of which is completely contrary to the propaganda of the enemy. Decadent elements have gradually been exposed and have had to confess their crimes. The "voluntary repatriation" scheme was totally bankrupted. Practically all of the schemes of reactionary organizations to carry out armed rebellion have been exposed before these organizations could take action. At present, the Beijing expansionists, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have fabricated the so called "political solution." However, the forces upon which Beijing has pinned

many hopes, the remnants of the Pol Pot army, have been routed. But will the lackeys of Beijing or the lackeys of the imperialists allow each other to establish one front or another? Have they not fought each other viciously at numerous times, like a herd of horses confined to the same pen? Even though the Beijing expansionists arranged for the butcher Pol Pot to give his power to Khieu Samphan in order to deceive public opinion, they have failed to persuade anyone to join the so called "Patriotic and Democratic National United Front" fabricated by them. Each boss has his own way of handling the situation: some want to maintain the phantom Pol Pot, some want Son San, Sihanouk and so forth. This is not to mention the position of being primarily concerned with the security of Thailand and wanting to wage a "protracted war" against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. At the 35th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Beijing and the United States spent much money and effort and exerted heavy pressure upon a number of countries in order to retain the seat of Pol Pot (otherwise, the Pol Pot clique would have been removed from this seat just as they were expelled from the movement of non-aligned countries in September 1979). However, even the persons who voted for Pol Pot had to say that they voted for him "for technical reasons," not because they recognized the genocidal regime of Pol Pot.

Clearly, both the bosses and their hirelings are being pushed down a deadend road by the people of Kampuchea. However, they have not abandoned their ambition of reversing the situation and collaborating with one another in a variety of plans to undermine the peaceful reconstruction of Kampuchea. The people of Kampuchea must always be highly vigilant in order to thwart each of their sinister schemes and make even stronger progress.

During the past 2 years, the people of Kampuchea have recorded tremendous achievements in the reconstruction of their country.

In order to consolidate its national independence, protect the fatherland, protect the peaceful labor of the people and build the country, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has attached particular importance to building the national defense system and maintaining its security. The once small and decentralized armed forces of Kampuchea have now developed regular force military corps with appropriate technical branches. All of these forces have received political and military training and been challenged in combat and the maintenance of security as well as in helping the people carry out production and organize their lives. Units are also producing enough grain for themselves, thereby relieving the burden borne by the state, while setting the example of helping the people at places where difficulties still exist, especially the hundreds of thousands of persons who were recently returned from Thailand.

All of the provinces and districts have local troops. Hundreds of thousands of guerrillas have been chosen, organized, equipped and trained. Many guerrilla units have fought the enemy and protected the people, thereby providing a good base for the revolutionary government. The characteristics of the Kampuchean guerrillas are that they understand the people, know the enemy, know the terrain, are close to their villages, have been educated well and employ appropriate, efficient methods of fighting, consequently, although their forces are small, they have killed or forced the surrender of many scattered enemy bands and confiscated many weapons. The armed

forces of Kampuchea, especially the local troops and guerrillas, are respected, helped and trusted by the people very much. Many units have been awarded the Liberation Medal by the Kampuchean Ministry of National Defense.

The young men and women of Kampuchea consider receiving an education, being allowed to conduct activities, joining the guerrillas, joining the army and so forth to be a great honor. They are an inexhaustible source of reinforcements of the revolutionary forces, especially the armed forces of Kampuchea.

An increasingly large corps of military cadres that have been trained in schools and forged in combat have supplemented the command staffs on the various echelons and in the various combat units as well as the headquarters, political, rear service and other specialized technical staffs of the army.

The security forces have coordinated with the people to maintain social order by exposing and routing reactionary organizations and thwarting the schemes of the enemy to foment rebellion; apprehending many intelligence agents, spies and commandoes coming from Thailand to conduct activities; and helping to transform decadent elements and educate persons who have gone astray or were controlled by the enemy and forced to do their bidding. As a result of being enlightened, the persons who were forced by the enemy to carry papers identifying them as supporters of the enemy in a vain attempt to "discredit" them and create hostilities among the people have become persons who actively struggle against the enemy. Many of them have led revolutionary cadres in arrests of persons who were "inserted" or "placed" among the people and decadent elements that have come from other places. Many persons have persuaded many enemy troops trained in Thailand to surrender and many places have persuaded many troops of the remnant Pol Pot army to join the revolution with their weapons.

Through the political activity drives conducted from the central agencies to the installations for the purpose of raising the level of vigilance, maintaining security, providing internal protection and distinguishing between friends and enemies, the security forces have been strengthened. In the capital Phnom Penh political security is very good and the sense of responsibility of the citizen with regard to the management of society has been heightened. The people's government is trying to strengthen the security forces in order to promptly punish thieves who disrupt security and intelligence agents and spies hiding behind various types of labels and thwart the schemes of the enemy to build an underground army and place double agents within the revolutionary organizations.

At the start of 1980, the task of restoring and developing the economy and stabilizing the life of the people became the primary task of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Government.

As a result of emergency aid in the form of grain, seeds, farm implements and medicine from Vietnam, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries as well as several international organizations, especially as a result of the spirit of self-reliance and mutual help, the people of Kampuchea were able to smoothly carry out agricultural production. However, because of shortages of everything, especially seed paddy, draft power and labor, and because of a prolonged drought, they only

managed to plant about 1 million hectares of rice and subsidiary food crops in all of 1979, harvesting about 500,000 tons. In 1980, grain production was considered the central task. As a result of receiving help with such necessary items as seed paddy, farm implements, draft power, water conservancy and so forth, the agricultural production movement was intense. The masses everywhere enthusiastically emulated in production, made innovations and made full use of every capability and condition in order to develop production. The government adopted policies providing incentive for production; for example, it permitted the household economy to operate in addition to the work performed within the production solidarity teams, the state purchased agricultural products at negotiated prices, agricultural taxes were not collected, etc. Consequently, grain production achieved good results. At present, the people of the entire country are harvesting a successful 10th month crop.

Fishing has also been accelerated. Fishermen are enthusiastic over the policies adopted by the state, such as strengthening and developing the fishing solidarity teams, establishing suitable fishing areas, extending loans to fishermen, meeting some of the needs of fishermen, such as their need for grain, other daily essentials, petroleum products, fishing equipment and so forth. As a result, fishermen doubled their catch in 1980 compared to 1979.

At the rubber plantations, a movement is underway to restore 5,000 to 7,000 hectares to rubber cultivation and, at the same time, restore a number of industrial sectors supporting rubber production, such as power plants, machine centers, processing plants, kilns used to make the bowls to collect latex, etc. As of the end of August 1980, latex had been extracted from more than 4,900 hectares and plans call for the extraction of latex on 7,000 hectares of rubber trees by the end of this year, thereby bringing the output for the entire year to 2,500 to 3,000 tons of latex.

As regards industry over the past 2 years, more than 150 enterprises (52 in Phnom Penh alone) have been restored and gone into production. Power plants, water works, textile mills, chemical plants, paper plants, food product processing plants and so forth employing tens of thousands of workers are now in regular operation. Despite encountering many difficulties and complicated problems, enterprise management is gradually being put on a regular basis. The handicraft and artisan sectors, such as the textile, weaving, ceramic and other sectors, have also been restored and developed.

In particular, the issuance of the riel currency caused the circulation of goods to develop, caused markets to become bustling places and increased the variety of goods on the market. These are the results of the process of actively restoring the financial system of Kampuchea, which was abolished by Pol Pot. At present, the riel is being used throughout the country. The Kampuchean People's Government is concerned with how to use its currency well in order to stimulate production and create the conditions for stabilizing and developing the recently revived economy. The matters of practicing economy and combating corruption, bribery and waste have been and are being squarely faced.

Communications and transportation are a very important sector and have recorded many achievements. The port of Kompong Som has been receiving dozens of ships at once, some in the 6,000 ton class. The port of Phnom Penh has also been regularly

receiving many ships in the 4,000 ton class. Pochentong Airport is bustling with more and more aircraft of many international civilian airlines.

Normal vehicular traffic has been restored to more than 16,697 kilometers of highways. The highway transportation capacity of Kampuchea is rather large: between 25 August and 25 September 1980, nearly 50,000 tons of grain and other goods were transported from the port of Kompong Som to Phnom Penh, thereby helping to promptly alleviate hunger, provide medical treatment and supply rice seed and fertilizer for production as well as other essentials to the people.

A revolutionary culture of a national and progressive nature has developed rapidly. In addition to the movie theaters in the capital, all provinces have mobile film units. The song and dance units of the central level and the provinces have been restored and are being developed in the correct direction, thereby competently supporting the spiritual lives of the people. A central commission to preserve historic ruins and national works of art was recently established. Information and cultural activities have been rapidly restored and are on a momentum of development, supporting production, combat and work; through cultural exchanges, the friendship with the fraternal countries has been strengthened. Physical culture and sports activities are also being encouraged and, at some places, especially in the capital, the soccer movement is rather intense.

In particular, the education sector has been restored and developed rather rapidly. School enrollment during the 1980-1981 school year has exceeded 1 million. The College of Pharmacy and the Teachers College have been reopened.

In only 9 provinces and municipalities, some 8,000 children have been accepted into 230 kindergarten and nursery school classes with 267 teachers. The effort to wipe out illiteracy among adults has also been intensified. Only when one remembers that, under the Pol Pot regime, 80 percent of the teachers and intellectuals were killed and nine colleges and tens of thousands of middle schools and elementary schools were turned into jails and prison camps does one realize the full scope of the great achievement of the Kampuchean revolutionary educational sector.

Following liberation, Kampuchea only had a few dozen physicians. Now, the corps of physicians, doctors, pharmacists and nurses numbers in the thousands and provides health care for the people, cadres and troops at central hospitals, provincial hospitals, district clinics and village public health stations; a network of maternity clinics has been established. Marked progress has been made in the prevention and treatment of disease, the health of the people is improving with each passing day and the number of deaths occurring because of a lack of physicians or medicine has declined very much; in particular, malaria is being treated rather well and no major epidemics have broken out.

The people's revolutionary governments on the various levels have been built and strengthened. At present, the people, cadres and troops, although they still encounter difficulties in their daily lives, clearly lead a life that is 100 times better than the life they led during the time of Pol Pot. As a result, the people have increased confidence in the new system, in the revolution. The enemy wants them to be "two faced" in their support but they continue to wholeheartedly support the

revolution. After being enlightened, many persons who were "discredited" by the enemy have fought them very tenaciously.

Front, Trade Union, youth and women's organizations have been strengthened and, within each organization, more and more activists have emerged to become the leadership nucleus on the basic level. The elementary and advanced training of cadres have been given attention. Classroom and on-the-job political training of the cadres on the various levels has been conducted in a continuous manner. The corps of cadres has been rapidly expanded.

The correct foreign policy of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council is widely supported by world opinion. The international prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has continuously been heightened. At present, 30 countries and two national liberation movements recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The recognition of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea by the government of the Republic of India was of very important significance.

Many international organizations have established relations with the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Many mass organizations in many countries of the world have demanded that the governments of their countries recognize the new government of Kampuchea. At the Havana Conference in September 1979, the Pol Pot clique was expelled from the non-aligned movement. Great Britain and Australia have declared that they no longer recognize the Pol Pot "regime."

In order to strengthen the militant solidarity, the great friendship and the cooperation among the three countries of Indochina following the Treaties of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation that were signed between Kampuchea and Vietnam and between Kampuchea and Laos in 1979, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos held in Phnom Penh on 5 January 1980 further stated that, with their powerful strength, with the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and with the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, the peoples of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos will surely advance each country's cause of protecting and building the fatherland to total victory.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos held in Vientiane in 17 and 18 July 1980 declared support for the "four point" solution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea concerning the Kampuchean-Thai border issue, considering it to be an expression of good will by the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This conference expressed sympathy and support for the Kampuchean revolution.

The solidarity and friendship between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the fraternal socialist countries have been growing with each passing day. The cooperation between the three countries of Indochina and the Soviet Union is becoming closer and stronger with each passing day. The alliance of the three countries of Indochina has never been closer. This reflects the unprecedented strength of the forces of national independence and socialism in Southeast Asia.

Every scheme and trick of every enemy who opposes the Kampuchean revolution has been defeated. The people's republic is becoming increasingly stable. The revolutionary situation is good and constantly improving. Progressive opinion in the world holds

that although Beijing, the United States and Thailand are conducting a campaign to implement the incorrect resolution of the 35th session of the UN General Assembly (October 1980) on "convening an international conference to find a solution for Kampuchea," their efforts are in vain. The people of Kampuchea shall not permit anyone to intervene in their internal affairs.

However, the people of Kampuchea clearly realize that the struggle of their country to exist and develop will continue to be a sharp struggle. They are becoming increasingly aware of the clever schemes of every type of enemy. They also realize that the so called Royal Buddhist socialism of Sihanouk would only serve the interests of the royalty and the bourgeoisie. The "Khmer republic" of Lon Nol was only designed to serve as a lackey of the United States and introduce a war in order to kill the people of Kampuchea. The most despicable of them all, the "democratic Kampuchea" of Pol Pot, was the one especially favored by Beijing. It could only lead Kampuchea to genocide. Only the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the true savior of the nation and only it can lead the people in building a Kampuchea of peace, independence, democracy, neutrality and non-alignment that advances to socialism and brings comfort and happiness to the people.

The tremendous, comprehensive victory won by the Kampuchean revolution in less than 2 years has been the result of the correct line, position and policies of the National United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council, of the patriotism and solidarity of the peoples of the Kampuchean minorities, of the growth of the corps of cadres, of the efforts of the people's governments on the various levels and of the determination of the armed forces of Kampuchea to fight the enemy and maintain security and social order. The constant heightening of the level of political awareness of the various strata of the people is a firm foundation for leading the revolution past every hardship and challenge and constantly moving it forward.

At present, the people of Kampuchea are making every effort to carry out the tasks set forth by the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council; specifically:

1. Constantly raising the level of revolutionary vigilance and the will to fight, strengthening their unity and defeating every scheme of the enemy concerning the so called "guerrilla war," the "political solution," the "peace plan" and so forth for Kampuchea;

Developing upon the victory won over the enemy during the rainy season and being ready to defeat their dry season plan from the very outset; launching a mass movement to strengthen the revolutionary government and maintain social order and security in conjunction with the activities of the armed forces and security forces.

2. Overcoming every difficulty, displaying self-reliance and making every effort to accelerate production and restore the economy, especially agricultural production;

Protecting and systematically harvesting the 1980-1981 10th month crop, immediately preparing for the 1981 dry season crop and adopting a plan to purchase agricultural products in exact accordance with policy in order to stimulate production in keeping with the guideline of purchasing grain and satisfying farmers;

Having a good fishing season while further strengthening the production solidarity teams, especially establishing fair distribution and providing training to team cadres in the management of work within the team and in revolutionary ethics.

3. Accelerating the buildup of the armed forces in every area, which includes both the armed forces and the security forces; building and strengthening the revolutionary governments on the various levels and the revolutionary mass organizations; attaching full importance to cadre training and, in particular, building teams to serve as nuclei by holding nuclei training classes and gradually putting the activities of the nuclei teams on a regular basis so that every village and hamlet eventually has a nucleus team.

4. Constantly displaying high vigilance against the divisive schemes of the enemy, strengthening the solidarity and cooperation among the three countries of Indochina and strengthening the solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in order to oppose the common enemy.

5. Actively and immediately preparing for the formulation of a common program, of the 1981 economic program and making good preparations for the National Assembly general election and the ratification of the Constitution.

6. Regularly educating cadres, forging and heightening their revolutionary capabilities and qualities, cultivating within them confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolution, overcoming the thinking of complacency and passivity, deepening their love of the people and heightening their spirit of self-reliance in building and protecting the fatherland; teaching cadres to live pure, wholesome, diligent, simple and frugal lives, combat every manifestation of individualism, display the spirit of unity and the consciousness of collective work, combat arbitrariness and authoritarianism, etc.

As the close and loyal neighbors of the people of Kampuchea, the people of Vietnam are very happy and excited over the tremendous, comprehensive achievements that the people of Kampuchea have recorded in the past 2 years and consider them to be victories of their own. We are firmly confident in the just cause and the inevitable victory of the fraternal people of Kampuchea.

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THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81 pp 49-59

[Article by Hong Chuong]

[Text] The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam states: "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a dictatorship of the proletariat state" (Chapter 1, Article 2).

Why is our state a dictatorship of the proletariat state? How does a dictatorship of the proletariat state differ from a bourgeois state? Why is our state not based on the bourgeois democratic system? In order to help clarify these questions, we would like to express some thoughts on "the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois democracy."

Both a dictatorship of the proletariat state and a bourgeois democratic state are states, are products of a society divided into classes. In the primitive system of communism that existed before society was divided into classes, mankind never knew what a state was. Only when society divided into classes did states begin to appear as a tool of the ruling class with which to suppress the classes that were being ruled. In the history of man, various types of states have emerged: the state of the slave owners, the state of the feudal class, the state of the bourgeoisie and the state of the proletariat (also called the dictatorship of the proletariat).

The state is a product of a society divided into classes and is a tool in the class struggle. Every state of every class employs violence to oppose the class that is its opposition. Therefore, the state is, above everything else, a tool of violence. On the other hand, every state also practices democracy vis-a-vis the class that it serves. As a result, every state has two sides: dictatorship and democracy. The bourgeois democratic state is also a bourgeois dictatorship state. It practices democracy for the bourgeoisie and establishes a dictatorship over the proletariat and the working people. The dictatorship of the proletariat state is also a proletarian democratic state, a socialist democratic state. It establishes a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes while establishing democracy for the proletariat and the other strata of the working people.

The history of man has proven that, in every society that is divided into classes, the ruling class establishes a dictatorship, that is, uses violence to suppress the

opposition by the classes that are being ruled. The bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of western Europe used violence to topple the feudal kings and suppress and smash the schemes to restore them to power. Since seizing state power, the bourgeoisie has used violence on a daily, hourly basis to suppress and exploit the working class, the other strata of working people and the oppressed nationalities. The political system of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries is the bourgeois dictatorship. The propagandists of the bourgeoisie describe this system as "Democracy." However, in the capitalist countries, there is no "Democracy," only bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are one and the same thing. The bourgeoisie uses political power only to establish democracy among the persons within their class while establishing a dictatorship over the working class and the other strata of working people. Democracy and dictatorship are nothing more than the two aspects of a ruling system of a class in a society that is divided into classes and is experiencing a class struggle.

From a historical perspective, the bourgeois democratic system (or bourgeois dictatorship) was a step forward compared to the medieval feudal system. However, because it was built upon the system of private ownership, it is a phoney type of democracy. It is paradise for the rich and a trap, a hell for the poor, for the working people. It was Marx who revealed the fraudulent nature of the bourgeois democratic system in which the oppressed and exploited "determine once every 3 or 6 years which persons within the ruling class they will elect to the National Assembly to 'represent' the people and suppress the people." Lenin also said: "Although the forms of bourgeois states are very diverse, they have one thing in common: all of these states, without exception, must be dictatorships of the bourgeoisie." (1) Lenin pointed out that "even in the most liberal republics, bourgeois democracy is nothing more than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (2) Rejecting the argument concerning the so called "pure democracy" in the capitalist countries, Lenin pointed out that, in these countries, "as democracy develops and becomes increasingly 'pure' the class struggle becomes more open, becomes sharper, becomes more unyielding and the yoke of oppression of capitalism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie increasingly reveal how 'pure' they are." (3) The argument concerning the so called "pure democracy" is nothing more than a scheme to protect the bourgeoisie and their special rights of exploitation.

The bourgeois democratic republic is only an apparatus supporting the bourgeoisie in its suppression of the working people. Being hired slaves is the fate of the people, even in the most "democratic" bourgeois republics. Bourgeois democracy has always been and will always be democracy for a minority, democracy for the rich. The bourgeoisie declares that their political system guarantees the democratic rights of the majority; however, as long as private ownership of cropland and the other instruments of production continues to exist, this guarantee can never be fulfilled. "Freedom" within the bourgeois democratic republics is only the freedom of the wealthy to oppress and exploit the working class and the other strata of working people. In the United States as well as Great Britain and France, it is the "freedom" to exploit surplus value at home and the "freedom" to reap exorbitant profits in the colonies. In the United States, it is also the "freedom" to murder black people.

Bourgeois democracy is democracy in form only. For example, under the bourgeois democratic system, the freedom to publish books and newspapers is a recognized right.

However, all of the printing houses, paper warehouses and book and newspapers distribution networks are in the hands of capitalists; therefore, only they truly have the freedom to publish books and newspapers. The working people do not have the means with which to exercise this freedom.

In the capitalist countries, because the movement of the working class and laboring people is demanding increasing rights, the bourgeois governments have been forced to make concessions and grant the people certain democratic rights; however, these democratic rights are frequently infringed upon and are very limited because the working people do not have the means with which to exercise them.

Some persons cite the fact that a number of communist party members are members of the national assembly or government in some capitalist countries to show that these countries practice true democracy. There are several points deserving of attention with regard to this matter. First, where communist party members hold such positions, it is the result of the struggle waged by the working class and laboring people. Secondly, the activities of communist party members within bourgeois national assemblies or governments are restricted to the framework of bourgeois law; when the bourgeoisie feels that these activities might pose a threat to their rule, they immediately expel them from the government or dissolve the national assembly; and, this can be done quite easily because they control the tools of violence of the state (the army, the public security system, the courts, etc.).

Other persons maintain that bourgeois democracy is true democracy because the legislative, executive and judicial functions are separated from one another, that is, because there are "three separate and distinct powers." At first glance, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers so that they cannot control one another appears democratic. In substance, however, this separation of powers is nothing more than a trick to deceive the working people. Two of these powers, the judicial and executive powers, are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and are only influenced by elections slightly. Legislative power, although influenced to some extent by elections, lies within the framework of bourgeois electoral law and representatives of the bourgeoisie always constitute the majority in the national assembly, consequently, legislative power also lies in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Although there is a division of power, all three of these powers are in the hands of the bourgeoisie; therefore, the division of powers only represents a dictatorship by the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois democracy is only a tool used by the bourgeoisie to suppress and exploit the working class and laboring people. However, in order to deceive the masses, the bourgeoisie does everything possible to conceal the class nature of the bourgeois state. The bourgeoisie hire propagandists to write songs praising the system of bourgeois democracy and discrediting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A frequently employed trick of bourgeois propagandists is to create a cloud of smoke concerning the terms "democracy" and "dictatorship." They talk about "Democracy" and "Dictatorship" without referring to any particular class. They intentionally conceal the class nature of the political systems they praise or discredit. For this reason, when communists employ the viewpoint of classes and the viewpoint of

class struggle to scientifically analyze these systems, the clever arguments of the capitalists and their lackeys concerning "democracy" and "dictatorship" are exposed and collapse in a heap.

In contrast to the bourgeoisie, which tries to conceal its dictatorship by means of arguments about "Democracy," the proletariat openly states that a dictatorship of the proletariat is established once the yoke of capitalist rule has been overthrown. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fundamental element of the proletarian revolution. The objectives of the dictatorship of the proletariat are to establish socialism and abolish the division of society into classes; turn every member of society into a worker; and abolish the foundations underlying the exploitation of man by man. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an historic inevitability in the process of making the transition from capitalism to socialism. The founder of scientific socialism, Marx, said: "A period of revolutionary change marks the transition from capitalist society to communist society. Corresponding to this period is a period of political transition in which the state can only be a revolutionary government of the proletariat." In a letter to Co-do-may-o [Vietnamese phonetics] dated 5 March 1852, Marx said that his latest contributions proved that the existence of classes is only linked to the historical stages of the development of production; the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; and, this dictatorship is only a stage of transition in the advance to the elimination of every class and the advance to a classless society. Marx reached this brilliant conclusion on the basis of a scientific analysis of the development of the society of man, the antagonisms within the capitalist economic system, the irreconcilable differences between the interests of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the proletariat and the role of the proletariat in capitalist society.

Lenin, the great successor of Marx, clearly stated: "Only those persons who understand that a dictatorship by one class is inevitable not only in each society that is divided into classes, in general, not only for the proletariat once it has toppled the bourgeoisie, but also throughout the historic period of the transition from the capitalist system to a "classless society," to communism, understand the true nature of Marx's theory concerning the state." (4) In addition, Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to communism will, of course, assume very many different political forms but, in essence, these forms will be the same: a dictatorship of the proletariat." (5) Lenin said: "Only the person who broadens his recognition of the class struggle to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a Marxist. This is the fundamental difference between Marxists and ordinary petty bourgeoisie (and even powerful bourgeoisie). We must use this touchstone as a test of true knowledge and true recognition of Marxism." (6) Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of principle of communism. He said: "The principles of communism lie in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and employing the forces of the state in the period of transition." (7)

After using force to smash the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to perform the following tasks:

--Crush the resistance by the class enemies that were toppled by the revolution and thwart their schemes and acts to restore capitalist rule;

--Rally the various strata of the masses around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction and prepare the conditions for the complete elimination of the classes;

--Build, consolidate and strengthen national defense forces in order to combat each scheme of foreign enemies to unleash war and commit aggression and struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new;

--Support and assist in every way possible the revolutionary struggle of the working class, laboring people and oppressed nations of the countries within the capitalist system and strengthen and develop cooperation and mutual help among the fraternal socialist countries.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the new style state apparatus of the proletariat. It is a mass organization managed by manual workers and laboring people in which there is no separation of legislative and executive powers. It is "the proletariat organized into the ruling class." With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, state power shifts from the hands of the exploiting minorities to the hands of the exploited majority for the first time in the history of man. The dictatorship of the proletariat differs from the bourgeois dictatorship in that the bourgeois dictatorship employs violence to suppress the opposition of the laboring people while the dictatorship of the proletariat employs violence to suppress the opposition by capitalists and landowners. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a new style democratic state (democracy for the working class and laboring people) and new style dictatorship (dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes). Under the dictatorship of the proletariat system, the masses democratically participate in and decide the work of managing the state. This is the complete opposite of the situation under the bourgeois democratic system. Bourgeois democracy is organized so that the mass of workers and laborers are excluded from the management of the state. This contrasts with the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is built in such a way that the laboring masses can participate in a decisive manner in the management of the state. For this reason, in the various forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the Paris Commune to the soviet system in Russia and the people's democracies in the socialist countries born after World War II, legislative and executive power are combined as one instead of being separated as they are under the bourgeois democratic system. The dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the principle of democratic centralism and the centralization of power. Marx often says that the organization of government of the working class "should not be a parliament, but an organ of action that controls both legislative power and executive power."

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat not only necessarily replaces the various forms and organs of democracy, in general, but also broadens democracy to an unprecedented degree in the world to the working classes exploited by capitalism." (3)

Concerning the soviet system, a form of dictatorship of the proletariat that emerged in Russia following the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "The soviet system is the highest degree of democracy of manual workers and peasants; at the same time, it represents a complete break with bourgeois democracy and the emergence of a new

style democratic system in the history of the world, that is, proletarian democracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat."(9)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a new system of democracy, that is, proletarian democracy. Lenin often stated that the task of the communist parties in all countries is to "explain to the broad mass of workers the tremendous significance, the political and historical inevitability of the new democratic system, the proletarian democratic system, the system that must replace bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system."(10) Comparing proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy, Lenin said: "Proletarian democracy is 1 million times more democratic than any bourgeois democratic system."(11)

After seizing state power, the working class, depending upon the degree and form of opposition by class enemies at home and abroad, employs suitable forms of struggle to force the exploiting classes to obey its will. The exploiting classes (landowners and bourgeoisie) do not disappear in a short period of time under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although they have been toppled, they have not been annihilated. Their opposition mounts with each passing day. Although they have been defeated, they still maintain widespread social ties at home and abroad. They have much experience in managing the state, in political and military struggle and in economic management. Their strength also lies in old habits, and in small-scale production, which gives birth to capitalism and to bourgeoisie in a spontaneous manner and on a large scale, every hour of every day. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the classes and class struggle still remain; in particular, during the initial period following the overthrow of capitalism, the class struggle changes only in form and is still a sharp struggle.

Lenin taught: "The classes exist and will continue to exist everywhere for many years following the seizure of political power by the proletariat."(12) The dictatorship of the proletariat employs a variety of measures encompassing violent and non-violent measures, measures involving bloodshed and measures not involving bloodshed, military and political measures, administrative and economic measures, force and persuasion and so forth to combat the scheme of the overthrown exploiting classes to restore themselves to power and transform the old society and build the new.

Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to socialism is an entire stage of history. Until this stage ends, the exploiters will nurture the hope of regaining the position they lost and this hope will inevitably become a scheme to regain their lost position."(13) Socialism means abolishing the classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat endeavors to abolish the classes but this work cannot be completed in a short period of time. Lenin taught: "In the age of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the classes continue to exist but the face of each class changes as do the relationships among the classes. The class struggle is not brought to an end under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it only assumes different forms."(14) The dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean postponing the class struggle, but continuing it under a new form and by means of new measures. According to Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a brave and tenacious struggle by the proletariat against a stronger enemy, against the bourgeoisie, a class whose power of opposition greatly increases as a result of being toppled. The abolition of the

classes is the result of a long, arduous and steadfast struggle, a struggle which does not end with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but only changes its form and, in many respects, becomes a sharper struggle. Lenin taught: "As long as the social classes still exist, as long as the bourgeoisie have only been toppled in one country and are building their offensive strength in order to oppose socialism on an international scale, there will continue to be a need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat plays a tremendous, decisive role in the socialist transformation of the private capitalist economy and the individual economy as well as in building the new, socialist economy.

Toppling landowners and capitalists and abolishing the exploiting classes are only a part of what is involved in abolishing the classes and are not the most difficult part of this work. To abolish the classes, it is also necessary to eliminate the differences between manual workers and farmers so that everyone becomes a worker. This is an extremely difficult task that requires a very long period of time to be completed. This task can only be completed by transforming the entire social economy, by advancing from an economy of small-scale, private production to a collective economy of large-scale production.

The most difficult task of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not lie in using violence to suppress counter-revolutionaries scheming to restore the old system (which is, of course, not an easy task itself). The most difficult task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is building and developing the new economy and the new culture. Lenin taught: "The dictatorship of the proletariat does not only involve the use of violence against exploiters and is not primarily a matter of violence. The economic base of this violence, the guarantee of its vitality and victory lie in the proletariat's introduction and implementation of a style of organization of social labor that is higher than that of capitalism. This is the essence of the matter." (15)

The primary task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to build the new society. Only by successfully building the socialist economy and the socialist culture is it possible to totally abolish the classes and the origins of classes, possible to bring happiness to the people and prosperity to the country, possible for socialism to win total and perpetual victory.

Once it has successfully built socialism, the lower stage of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has still not completed its internal role. It must continue to carry out the task of struggling to overcome the remnants of the exploiting classes and the habits of the old society; it must organize labor and teach communism to the laboring masses, build the material and technical bases of communism, gradually elevate the system of collective ownership of the instruments of production to ownership by all the people, gradually eliminate the differences between the working class and collective farmers and gradually abolish the fundamental differences between the cities and the countryside, between manual labor and mental labor. During this period, the thrust of the dictatorship of the proletariat is primarily directed toward foreign imperialists and their lackeys who are still conducting clandestine acts of sabotage within the country.

Only when society develops to the high stage of communism and there are no longer any classes does the proletariat complete its function and the proletarian state dissolve itself. Lenin said: "In the end, only communism causes the state to become totally useless because, at that time, there is no one to suppress, no one is considered part of a class and there is no need for a systematic struggle against a particular portion of the population." (16) Lenin also said: "In order for the state to disappear completely, there must be total communism." (17) Only when communism has been completely constructed will the brilliant prediction made by Engels become reality: "The classes will disappear and, as a result, the state must disappear. Society will reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal federation among producers and will place the entire state apparatus in a place reserved especially for it at that time: in a museum of archeology beside the spinning wheel and the brass hammer."

As long as the dictatorship of the proletariat state is in existence, it is necessary for the party of the proletariat to exist and the nature of this party remains unchanged. As long as the party of the proletariat exists, it must strengthen its unity of thought and action and combat vacillations that undermine the principles of the party and benefit the class enemies of the proletarian revolution. Lenin taught that the experience of all revolutions has proven in a completely clear and irrefutable manner that "if the vanguard revolutionary unit of the proletariat suffers a loss of unanimity, of forces and of influence for one moment, these vacillations inevitably lead to the restoration of the political power and the system of ownership of the capitalists and landowners." (18)

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a compass for actions. The communists in each country apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of their country in order to adopt a correct revolutionary line for the purpose of advancing their revolution to victory. Lenin often taught that as long as national differences still exist among countries, differences which exist for a very long time after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world, the unity of the international strategy of the communist movement of countries does not demand the abolition of national differences, but the application of the basic principles of communism (on the dictatorship of the proletariat) in such a way that these principles are correctly changed with regard to specific matters and are suitably applied to the different situations of nations and countries. Therefore, every party must conduct research and determine national characteristics in the specific method employed by each nation to resolve the common issues of the world revolution, namely, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism and communism.

Displaying a high spirit of independence and autonomy, our party has creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat to the specific conditions of our country and correctly resolved the basic question of the revolution, that is, the question of state administration. As soon as it was founded, our party set forth the form of organization of the revolutionary state government in our country. In the Abbreviated Platform drafted by President Ho and adopted by the Party Founding Conference held on 3 February 1930, besides the slogans "Down with French Imperialism and the Feudalists" and "Total Independence for Vietnam" were the slogans "Establish a Worker-Peasant-Soldier Government" and "Organize a Worker-Peasant Army."

In the political platform of the party drafted by Tran Phu and adopted by the 1st Plenum of the Party in late 1930, it stated: in its initial stage, our country's revolution is a bourgeois, democratic revolution that will follow the course of a proletarian revolution; the essential elements of the bourgeois democratic revolution are to topple the French imperialists, topple the feudalists and make our country totally independent. The political platform stated: "To accomplish this, it is necessary to establish a worker-peasant soviet government. Only with a worker-peasant soviet government can we have a very strong weapon with which to topple the imperialists, feudalists and landowners, provide land to those who till the soil and bring the proletariat under the protection of the law." The political platform pointed out that the proletariat and the peasants are the two primary moving forces of the Vietnamese revolution and that the right to lead the revolution belongs to the proletariat. The political platform stated: "In order to establish a worker-peasant government, the proletariat must lead the broad laboring masses, especially those who till the soil." The political platform also stated: "When the power of the revolution is very strong, when the ruling class has been shaken, when the classes in the center are leaning toward the revolution and the mass of workers and peasants have become intensely revolutionary and are determined to give their lives for the revolution, the party must immediately lead the masses in toppling the government of the enemy and seizing political power for workers and peasants."

In the Directive on the Reorganization of the Red Peasants' Association dated 20 March 1931, the Party Central Committee stated: "When the revolution seizes political power, the form of government will be a worker-peasant government led by the proletariat." This was necessary in order to reach the second stage, the stage of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Immediately after our party was established, a widespread revolutionary movement of the masses broke out throughout our country. Under the leadership of the party, the mass of workers and peasants of Nghe An and Ha Tinh staged uprisings to overthrow the colonial and feudal rulers and establish worker-farmer soviet governments in a number of rural areas. Although defeated, the Nghe-Tinh Soviet proved the very large revolutionary capabilities of the mass of workers and peasants.

In 1936, faced with the peril of fascism and international war, our party changed the direction of the struggle from a clandestine to a legal and quasi-legal struggle for democratic freedoms and improved living conditions, for peace and against fascist aggression.

In World War II, our party once again undertook clandestine activities and actively built our political and armed forces in preparation for an uprising to seize political power. The 6th Plenum of the Party, which was held in late 1939, adopted the slogan: "Establish A Democratic Republic." The 8th Plenum of the Party, which was held in 1941, adopted the Viet Minh platform, which stated: "After driving off the French and Japanese imperialists, we will establish a people's government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the national emblem of which will be a red flag with a five pointed gold star."

In August 1945, our party mobilized all the people to stage a general uprising, abolish the state of the colonialists and feudalists and establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. The democratic republic born in Vietnam following the victory of the August Revolution was a new style state. It was not an old style democratic state, that is, a bourgeois democratic state born after the victory of an old style bourgeois revolution. It was a new style democratic state born after the victory of a new style democratic revolution, that is, the victory of a national, democratic people's revolution led by the working class. It was in the category of a proletarian state. It complied with the laws on the birth, development and self-destruction of proletarian states in the world. At the same time, it operated under the special laws of a revolutionary state under the special conditions of Vietnam. In its initial stage, under the close leadership of the party of the working class, it performed the tasks of the people's national, democratic revolution; in its second stage, it performed the tasks of the socialist revolution.

Our state is a state of, by and for the people. President Ho said: "The agencies of the government, from the national level to the village level, are the servants of the people, that is, they perform public tasks for the people." President Ho also said: "Our state must develop the democratic rights and political life of all the people in order to tap the positive spirit and the creativity of the people and insure that every citizen of Vietnam truly participates in the management of the work of the state."

Making full use of their effective tool, the revolutionary state, our people, under the leadership of our party, won victory over two imperialist powers, France and the United States, excellently completed the tasks of the national democratic revolution, reunified the fatherland and advanced the Vietnamese revolution into the new stage, the stage of the entire country's advance to socialism.

On 25 April 1976, our people, from Gao Lang to Minh Hai, participated in a general election to elect the National Assembly of the entire country. On 2 July 1976, the National Assembly decided to establish the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a dictatorship of the proletariat state because it manifests and implements the right of collective ownership of the working people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers led by the proletariat.

In the Political Report delivered at the 1st session of the National Assembly of the entire country, Le Duan stated: "The right of collective ownership of the working people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers, is implemented by the state under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class; this is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our state, therefore, is a dictatorship of the proletariat state."

Our state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state because it has the historic mission of mobilizing and organizing the people in carrying out the socialist transformation of the national economy and building socialism; smashing every act of resistance and aggression by the enemy; building socialist society and eventually building a classless communist society.

Within our system, the working people are the collective masters of the country. The right of collective ownership of the working people and the dictatorship of the proletariat are inseparable. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible to implement the right of collective ownership of the working people. Without implementing the right of collective ownership of the working people well, it is impossible to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The resolution of the 4th Party Congress stated: "The first prerequisite to advancing the socialist revolution to total victory is to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people." Within the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the leadership role of the communist party, the management role of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and the ownership role of the people are clearly defined. Our country's Constitution states: "In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people"(Chapter I, Article 6). Our people exercise their ownership of the country primarily through the state. The class nature of our state is clearly manifested in the goals, lines, policies and measures of the state. Through the management provided by the state, the party exercises its right to lead society. Therefore, our state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state led by our party.

Why was it necessary for our country to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat state instead of a bourgeois democratic state? It was necessary because our people are determined to advance to socialism, not follow the path of capitalist development. The path of capitalism, with its extremely crude oppression and exploitation, is a path of suffering, bloodshed and tears for the laboring people. If we had adopted a bourgeois democratic system, the state government would have fallen into the hands of a few rich capitalists who would live in comfort and oppress and exploit the working class and laboring people at will while the masses would be nothing more than hired slaves. If we had followed the course of capitalist development, our country could not become prosperous or strong and would, in the end, fall into dependency upon imperialism. Only by establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat state, carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism can we advance the country to prosperity, bring happiness to all the people and insure that our country is forever independent, that our people are forever free. Only by following the path of socialism is it possible to abolish every form of oppression and exploitation, abolish every source of class divisions and create perfect political, economic, cultural and social unity within the country as well as political and spiritual unanimity on the part of all the people. Socialism is the inevitable course of development of our country's revolution and is consistent with the laws of development of mankind in our age.

In July 1976, our National Assembly decided to name our country the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Expressing the will and aspirations of the entire country, our National Assembly decided that our country shall advance to socialism. To achieve this, we must have a dictatorship of the proletariat state. Only a dictatorship of the proletariat can bring a true right of collective ownership to the working people. Only with a dictatorship of the proletariat state can our fatherland be truly prosperous and strong and our people enjoy true freedom and happiness. Therefore, our country's Constitution clearly says that our state is a dictatorship of the proletariat state.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "The State and Revolution," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part I, p 204.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Speeches to Communist International Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 26.
3. Ibid.
4. V.I. Lenin: "The State and Revolution," p 204.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p 203.
7. V.I. Lenin: "Speeches to Communist International Delegates," p 170.
8. Ibid., p 30.
9. V.I. Lenin: "To Commemorate the 4th Anniversary of the October Revolution," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 552.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Speeches to Communist International Delegates," p 44.
11. V.I. Lenin: "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 45.
12. V.I. Lenin: "Infantilism('Leftism') Within the Communist Movement," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 339.
13. V.I. Lenin: "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," p 51.
14. V.I. Lenin: "Economics and Politics in the Period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 263.
15. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 29, p 469.
16. V.I. Lenin: "The State and Revolution," p 253.
17. Ibid., p 257.
18. V.I. Lenin: "The Draft of the Resolution of the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on Trade Unionism," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 466.

ESTABLISHING AN EFFICIENT ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO MAKE THE BEST POSSIBLE USE OF OUR COUNTRY'S LABOR AND ARABLE LAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81 pp 60-65

[Article by Che Viet Tan]

[Text] The year 1981 is the first year of the third 5-year plan (1981-1985), which is a 5-year plan of very important significance in the process of building socialism in our country. The expression of an increasingly efficient economic structure in the 1981 state plan, as was pointed out in the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, will open the way for the deployment of an efficient economic structure in the third 5-year plan (1981-1985) for the purpose of developing upon the positive aspects of the existing structure and overcoming the imbalances and inefficiencies left behind by history in the present structure of the economy.

The economic structure consists of the relationships among the sectors of the national economy and their primary constituent components. Ordinarily, the economic structure of each country is influenced by such factors as natural conditions and sources of natural resources; changes in the needs of society; the level of scientific and technological development; the political task of the country; and, finally, the international division of labor and international cooperation. As the 4th Congress of the Party pointed out, over the long range, this economic structure for our country is the modern industrial-agricultural economic structure, which is formed through the process of socialist industrialization in accordance with the line of "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development" so that agriculture and industry are always closely linked to and stimulate each other and combine to form an entity. The industrial-agricultural economic structure that we must build is a unified economic structure for the entire country that consists of the central economy and the local economy and coordinates the economy with the defense of the nation and domestic economic development, which is of primary importance, with broadening the international division of labor and cooperation. Within this economic structure, the industrial-agricultural structure is the basic structure and will, depending upon the situation in each specific area, form the economic structure of each territory, of each locality (district, province and municipality).

Establishing the correct relationship between industry and agriculture or, to be more specific, the relationship between agriculture-heavy industry and the consumer

goods industry, is an extremely important matter in the process of building our country's economic structure. We maintain that, in this relationship, industry is the primary foundation of the national economy and agriculture is the base of industrial development. Giving priority to the development of heavy industry is the key to the process of socialist industrialization primarily because heavy industry is the foundation of the socialist economy. However, the priority given to the development of heavy industry differs depending upon the conditions within each country during each period of history. While considering industrialization to be the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, our party has adopted the policy of giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry in a manner closely linked to the development of agriculture and light industry in terms of the rate of development, the structure and scale of development. As Le Duan pointed out, we must "closely coordinate agriculture and industry within one entity so that they smoothly develop to large-scale socialist production in a manner in which they are always closely linked to each other, stimulate each other and support each other in each stage of development."(1)

With regard to our country, the strong development of agriculture, forestry, fishing and consumer goods production, especially the production of export goods by these sectors, has an especially important impact upon socialist industrialization in many areas: resolving the difficulties encountered with living conditions; meeting the needs for grain and food products of our country, which will have a population of 60 million by 1985; providing raw materials for industry; creating jobs in order to make good use of the 30 million workers we will have in 1985; redistributing labor on a large scale and implementing the new division of labor; and creating jobs for the 7 million workers who must be given jobs during the period of the third 5-year plan (1981-1985), who consist of unemployed workers and new workers. Making good use of social labor, raising social labor productivity and creating important sources of export goods to support the development of industry and the other sectors will stimulate the growth and development of the industrial-agricultural structure.

Our present economic structure, which was recently unified on a nationwide scale, still encompasses many inefficiencies and imbalances left behind by the old system.

Our country's economy, although it does include a number of large-scale production installations, is predominantly an economy of small-scale production. This basic characteristic indicates that our country's present economic structure is still beset by many of the shortcomings of a crippled, imbalanced and uncoordinated structure and still shows many of the scars of the long period of domination by colonialism, both old and new, and many years of war.

This situation demands that we, beginning with the 1981 plan, very clearly see the characteristics of the revolution and the actual economic situation of our country and, on this basis, gain a deep understanding of the line of the party so that we can continue to make the economic structure increasingly efficient, considering this to be a task of special importance in overcoming our difficulties and correcting the imbalances within the economy at this time while creating for the economy new balances and a new position from which to make strong progress in subsequent years. Rearranging the structure of the economy is very necessary in insuring the completion of the economic and political tasks of the new period, that is, continuing to build socialism and firmly protecting the socialist fatherland.

Arranging an increasingly efficient economic structure is work that must be carried out on the basis of thorough considerations and calculations, work that must be carefully and closely guided. In one area, this work will take a number of years and must meet the following requirements:

Rearranging the capital investment structure is a job of extremely important significance in the entire process of forming the efficient economic structure of our country as it advances from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The establishment of a correct capital investment structure assumes even greater importance in view of the fact that our national income is still low and our investment capabilities are limited.

Experience has shown that when establishing the structure of capital investments, we must have a truly deep understanding of the guidelines and tasks of the socio-economic plan. For the next several years, we must give priority to the production of grain and food products, the production of certain essential consumer goods and goods for exportation and priority to the exploration for and development of petroleum and natural gas. We consider making investments that have the objective of making full use of labor and arable land to be an extremely important guideline. In view of the fact that our state's investment capital capabilities are limited as is its ability to supply grain, energy and raw materials, fully utilizing the existing capabilities of each unit and each production installation, especially within the scope of the district, relying upon the people in order to expand production and using investments in living labor to make embodied labor are of very important significance, have a very large impact and cannot be given light attention. Of course, in order to balance and coordinate investments and create the conditions for developing every investment capability of the state and the people, it is necessary to allocate investment capital in an appropriate ratio to the sectors that support these tasks, such as the electric power sector, the coal sector, the communications-transportation sector and the mechanical engineering sector. In view of the facts that investment capital capabilities are limited and, in particular, that the capacity of the machinery and equipment of many installations is not being fully used, importance should be attached to making investments in depth and making small investments in developing the capabilities of labor in order to support domestic and export needs. Investment capital must be balanced between construction requirements and capabilities in order to insure that economic returns are achieved in construction.

To insure that the investments that are made are necessary, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive re-examination of construction projects. We must be determined not to build a number of project items for which we do not have the necessary conditions to build or which will not provide economic returns. With regard to important projects, the necessary forces must be assembled so that these projects can be constructed rapidly. Projects that are being constructed under deadlines must be managed more closely. In order for projects to be constructed rapidly, systematically and completely, it is necessary to make better initial preparations, improve design and construction work and correct the practice of building projects in a decentralized fashion that takes a long time, fails to complete projects and is wasteful. Only in this way is it possible to build the necessary projects well and achieve the key objectives that have been set forth.

A number of elements within the production forces structure must also be rearranged by allocating supplies, energy and equipment for the production of grain and food products, for the improved use of existing capabilities, thereby creating the conditions for gradually raising social labor productivity and the conditions for rapidly developing production forces in subsequent plans.

We have a network of state-operated industrial enterprises and artisan and handicraft cooperatives that extends from the central to the local levels and is managed by many ministries. However, some enterprises are not operating efficiently or are encountering difficulties with raw materials, energy and so forth. As a result, it is necessary to re-examine these enterprises in order to give them the necessary classification and adopt plans for dealing with each specific case. However, with regard to installations that lack the conditions needed to operate or have operated at a loss for many years, we must decide whether to consolidate them with other installations, to supplement or reorganize them or to suspend their production completely, allocating their supplies and energy to installations that operate well or installations that are important to the national economy.

The internal structure of industry must also be re-examined to insure balance between the processing industry and the raw material development and production industries along the lines of developing the production of raw materials and only building new processing installations when the capacity of existing installations is being fully utilized. It is necessary to examine, for the purpose of re-arranging, the structure of light industry, of the machine manufacturing industry, of the food products industry and so forth.

In the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, the new division of labor with all that it entails is extremely necessary. At present, a number of problems involving the labor structure, such as the training and utilization of the scientific and technical labor force, the redeployment of labor among the various areas of the country, among the various sectors and trades and so forth, are being raised for research and will be resolved better. Our long-range guideline is to carry out mechanization and partial automation in order to raise social labor productivity; however, the rate and scale of mechanization must be efficient, must be consistent with actual capabilities during each period of time. In view of the fact that labor is still abundant but material capabilities (gasoline, oil, vehicles, machinery and so forth) are limited, the use of manual labor must become an important guideline of the various sectors and levels, especially within agriculture, water conservancy, fishing, forestry, construction, transportation, the production of consumer and export goods, etc.

The economic infrastructure, which consists of material bases that play a very important role in the process of social reproduction, must be strengthened. Most evident in our country at this time is the rather wide gap, the rather large imbalance between the economic infrastructure and production and circulation. Present production capacity, in terms of means of transportation, roads, wharves, storehouses and so forth, does not meet requirements and poses a major obstacle to production and construction activities. For this reason, improving the management of communications-transportation and increasing our communications-transportation capacity, primarily at the seaports, on the main roads running from the North to the South and on a number of strategic lines, are of very important significance.

The structure of distribution and circulation has a very important impact upon the efforts to open the way for and stimulate the development of production, the redistribution of social labor, the stabilization and improvement of the living conditions of the people, regulating the distribution of national income in a reasonable manner and creating a new balance for the economy. Therefore, in view of our country's situation at this time, we must, in conjunction with accelerating production, attach particular importance to rearranging the structure of distribution and circulation in accordance with the guidelines and policy set forth in Political Bureau resolution 26 with a view toward bringing about a strong change on the distribution-circulation front and achieving financial and monetary stability. We must resolve the problems of prices and wages well in order to make more efficient use of the various levers in developing production, insure that the state controls the market, support the daily lives of the people well and not allow speculators to monopolize the market. Toward this end, we must rearrange the technical supply network, the purchasing network and the consumer goods, wholesale and retail network to be more efficient. Closely linked to this rearrangement of the structure of distribution and circulation, rearranging the structure of consumption (in production and in everyday life) and regulating needs, beginning with the most pressing needs of production, construction and everyday life, are very necessary.

The process of building the modern industrial-agricultural economic structure of our country is closely associated with the process of simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development and coordinating the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure. Le Duan has said: "Advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a process of integrated development, one coordinating orderly development with leaps forward, coordinating overall balances on a nationwide scale with specific balances within each locality and each sector, coordinating unified, centralized development from top to bottom with widespread development from the bottom upward. As a result, simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development is also a law of development of the economic structure in our country."(2)

The acceleration of the production of grain, food products, consumer goods and export goods in the next several years demands the strong development of the local economy. This requires a very strong effort to make progress on the part of the various localities, especially in agriculture, fishing and forestry, requires the close coordination of our two strengths, our two tremendous potentials, labor and arable land, in all localities; at the same time, it requires that the central level accelerate those jobs that are under the jurisdiction and responsibility of the central level and create the conditions for the local economy to develop. These jobs include establishing the overall economic strategy of the country, formulating long-term plans, 5-year plans and economic-technical quotas and standards, training technical cadres and workers, promulgating major policies on economic development, etc.

The process of building the economic structure in keeping with the guidelines mentioned above in the next several years is occurring in the period of transition, a period in which the economy consists of many different segments, consequently,

establishing the structure of the various segments of the unified national economy is very important. As our party has pointed out, the North now has three economic segments while the South will continue to have five economic segments for some years to come, among which the state-operated economy plays the dominant role. We must clearly determine the position and impact of each economic segment, must realize the dominant role played by the state-operated economy and must constantly strengthen the state-operated economic segment; at the same time, we must clearly see the position and role of the other economic segments so that we can adopt positions and policies for utilizing them in a manner that benefits socialism. The arrangement of our country's economic structure in the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan absolutely must take into consideration the requirements of strengthening the national defense system protecting the security of the fatherland and combating each scheme of sabotage and war of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against our country.

Our country's economic structure is being formed primarily on the basis of the internal factors of the country; however, under present conditions, we must take into consideration the complicated impact of external factors and must, on the other hand, realize that we have major advantages in our favor in the coming period, namely, our comprehensive alliance and cooperation with the USSR, our alliance and cooperation with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, the assistance and cooperation of the other fraternal socialist countries and, in particular, the economic alliance between our country and the member countries of CEMA. These factors have a profound impact upon the formulation of our country's economic structure and will help to insure that expanded reproduction is carried out in a smooth manner.

In order to create an economic structure whose nucleus is a modern industrial-agricultural structure, it is necessary, in the next several years, to bring about a profound change in the entire socio-economic management mechanism of our country, with the most important changes being bringing planning up to date and improving economic management. We must conduct research in order to formulate a system of basic, long-range policies and measures concerning the planning and management of the national economy; at the same time, we must raise and resolve the pressing problems that exist in planning and management in order to change the present economic situation and present living conditions. Planning must help to stimulate the process of reorganizing production in a manner closely linked to making good use of our labor and arable land throughout the entire economy, within each sector and within each economic area, beginning immediately within each basic economic unit. The specifics involved in reorganizing production and making full use of labor and arable land are not being clearly expressed in our present plans, especially in the plans of the districts, which are the places our party considers the base for reorganizing production and redistributing labor.

This process of reorganizing production is the process of causing the continuous formation and development of large-scale production and the creation of favorable conditions for broadening the scope of planning. In the initial stage of the period of transition, the effort to bring planning up to date requires that importance be attached to constantly broadening the subjects of planning and increasing the effectiveness of planning not only by means of the system of legal norms of the state plan, but also by coordinating with the various economic levers and effective

forms and methods that are consistent with the diversity of the economy. In other words, in our country at this time, we must plan the very formation of that which must be planned and broaden the scope of planning, not plan an existing system of large-scale production, but only create new relationships. This can be considered a characteristic of planning in our country in the initial stage of the period of transition. The policy of our party concerning building the districts into agro-industrial economic units is a part of the line on building socialism in our country, is consistent with the characteristic of our country of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and is of special importance in the formation of the industrial-agricultural economic structure of the entire country. The task of planning is to represent this policy in the contents of plans. In the present situation, the principal part of the plans of the districts is to reorganize production within the scope of the district and use plan norms in close coordination with other measures to reorganize production and redistribute social labor along the lines of specialization, cooperation and federation of production of large-scale socialist production and in accordance with the plan guidelines and planning of the province and the central level.

The formation of the modern industrial-agricultural economic structure of the entire country begins with reorganizing production in a manner closely linked to developing production. In the economic units, the districts, the provinces, the municipalities and the economic-technical sectors, we must, in the deployment of the third 5-year plan (1981-1985) and the 1981 plan, correctly evaluate the present condition of the economy and the characteristics in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country and, on this basis, establish an economic strategy that encompasses a suitable structure and suitable stages of development. This is a matter of major importance in thoroughly implementing the line of the party and must be viewed as such in the process of formulating and integrating long-term plans, 5-year plans and yearly plans. We must concern ourselves with resolving the problems we face in the next several years as a result of the present condition of our country's economy in order to bring about fundamental changes in many of the ways we work and build an increasingly efficient economic structure in order to highly develop our two most precious assets, our labor and arable land, make good use of existing and future material-technical bases and establish an efficient relationship between the use of mechanized labor and the use of manual labor with a view toward creating many new jobs and using the labor force well. Only in this way can we virtually meet the needs for food, clothing, shelter and education, gradually improve travel and health care, meet the needs of the people for essential consumer goods better with each passing day, create large sources of export goods, develop our petroleum and natural gas, develop the rich natural resources of the country, improve the socio-economic management mechanism and create an initial balance to serve as a firm springboard for gradually advancing our country's socialist construction.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 57.
2. Le Duan: "May van de co ban trong duong loi cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o mien Bac" [Several Basic Matters in the Line on the Socialist Revolution in the North], The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II p 330.

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