

JPRS 78139

22 May 1981

Vietnam Report

No. 2273

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 2, 1981



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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MAKING GOOD PREPARATIONS FOR THE 5TH PARTY CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 1-6

[Editorial; a brief report on this item was carried by Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese on 28 February 1981 and published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 041, 3 Mar 81, p K9]

[Text] The 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided to convene the 5th National Congress of the Party late in the 4th quarter of 1981.

The National Congress of Delegates is the most important event in the political life of the party, is the highest leadership body of the party. At every congress, the intelligence and strength of the entire party are highly tapped in order to determine matters regarding the line, guidelines and tasks of the revolution and usher in a new and more beautiful period of development for our country's revolution.

Convened on schedule, as stipulated in the Party Statutes, the 5th Congress of the Party will mark a new stage of growth of our party.

The growth of the party is most evident in the effective political leadership and guidance provided by our party. The 4th Congress of the Party set forth the line on building socialism throughout the country and protecting the socialist fatherland. This is a correct, scientific and creative line that is consistent with general laws and meets the demands of our country's situation. With the great victory of the resistance against the United States and the reunification of the country, we should have enjoyed favorable, peaceful conditions for implementing the resolution of the 4th Party Congress better; however, the Beijing reactionaries, in collaboration with the imperialists, insanely counter-attacked our country's revolution and caused us countless difficulties. The 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee rapidly set forth guidelines, plans and measures for combating the scheme of expansionism and aggression of the Beijing reactionaries against our country. Under the wise leadership of the party, our army and people defeated the Chinese reactionaries in their two wars of aggression against our country, thereby maintaining the territorial integrity of the fatherland. At the same time, we wholeheartedly helped the people of fraternal Kampuchea to smash the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, the lackey of the Beijing expansionists, liberate the entire country of Kampuchea and create the conditions for the revolutions of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to move strongly and steadily forward together.

the signing of the Vietnam-Soviet Union Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the joining of CEMA by our country and the intensification of foreign activities rapidly created for our country's revolution both a position and power that are stronger than ever before. As regards socialist construction, the resolutions of the 2nd and 3rd Party Plenums, especially the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and Political Bureau resolution 26, gradually concretized the economic development line set forth by the 4th Congress, making it consistent with the new situation. Although we still face difficulties, shortcomings and negative phenomena, the achievements that our people have recorded over the past years in building and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, in socialist transformation and socialist construction confirm that the line of the party and the resolutions of the party are correct. By continuing to thoroughly comprehend the line of the party and thoroughly and fully complying with the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, our people will surely take an important step forward in developing our country's economy. Recently, strong changes in the organizational work and the guidance of implementation by our party and state yielded good results. Many positive factors have emerged, many new capabilities have blossomed, thus signalling that our country's economy is gradually overcoming its difficulties and moving forward.

The growth of our party is also seen in the fact that our party has a corps of cadres and party members who possess good qualities, are maturing rapidly and form an experienced, reliable leadership nucleus.

Although some cadres and party members are weak and deficient and although some have even degenerated and have experienced a serious decline in their personal qualities, the vast majority of cadres and party members have, in the new stage of the revolution, continued to display the fine qualities of the communist. They are a powerful corps of cadres consisting of many types: leadership cadres, management cadres and scientific and technical cadres; they belong to many different age groups and have been trained and selected from the working class and other strata of laborers; they have close ties with the people and are absolutely loyal to the fatherland; they are willing to endure hardships and sacrifices and stand ready to give their lives for the revolution; they possess the ability to organize combat and have gained some experience in organizing and managing the economy and managing society. In the face of the new, large requirements of economic construction and development, many of these comrades have made an effort to improve themselves, to gain experience and gradually learn basic knowledge in economic management, science and technology and have, as a result, matured rapidly.

Representative of our corps of cadres is the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, the reliable leadership nucleus that is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, is politically experienced, has experience in the revolutionary struggle, has great prestige within the party and among the people and is the center uniting the entire party.

The growth of the party and the basic strength of the party are seen in the fact that our party has maintained and upheld its precious tradition of solidarity at times when the revolution is entering a new stage, faces many new issues and difficulties and finds it difficult to avoid problems. Correctly understanding the importance of the advantages in our favor and correctly understanding the causes of our

difficulties as well as the ways to correct them, the entire party has always closely united around the Party Central Committee, led by the revered Le Duan. This is a strong solidarity based on a high level of unanimity concerning the line of the revolution: the line of resisting the scheme of expansionism and big country hegemony of the Beijing reactionaries; the line on socialist transformation and socialist construction; and the foreign affairs line of our party. Our enemy, together with the tactics of attacking us militarily, isolating us politically and surrounding us economically, has been looking for every way to divide our people and provoke a coup d'etat in a vain attempt to destroy us from within. They think that they can divide us internally by taking advantage of the difficulties we are encountering with the economy and in everyday life and by wicked psychological warfare attacks. However, none of their psychological warfare tricks can weaken the strong solidarity of our party and people.

In keeping with the line of the 4th Party Congress, our party has, in recent years, conducted a widespread educational program concerning the matter of upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and has gradually codified the right of ownership of the masses in the form of state regulations. In particular, the right of ownership of the working people was recently codified in the Constitution, the fundamental law of our state.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an important event in the political life of our state and people. Our entire party, our entire army and all our people, fully aware of the importance of the Constitution, are carefully studying the Constitution and scrupulously complying with it. In keeping with the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, our entire party, our entire army and all our people are "using the Constitution as their effective weapon in carrying out the tasks of building socialism and protecting the fatherland, in molding the new, socialist man, establishing a cultured, disciplined style of life and determinedly eradicating negative phenomena and actions that adversely affect political security and social order and safety.

The establishment and upholding of the right of collective ownership of the working people are seen in the strengthening of the already close relationship of the party with the masses on a higher level in the present stage of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

With the confidence in the party that they have shown over the past one-half century of revolutionary struggle, our people have been continuing in recent years to display revolutionary heroism and have begun to exercise their right of ownership, determined to implement every position and policy of the party and state and winning tremendous victories under extremely difficult and complex circumstances.

Clearly aware of the victories that have been won and clearly aware of the strength of our party, it is even more necessary for us to take a harsh attitude concerning mistakes and weakness and look for ways to overcome every difficulty and move forward with renewed determination and revolutionary spirit. At present, our country faces new challenges: the economy is developing slowly; many norms of the second 5-year plan cannot be fully implemented; and the people, especially cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the mass of laborers in the cities and a number of areas

ravaged by natural disasters, are encountering many difficulties in their daily lives. This situation has given rise to negative phenomena and complex social problems.

The objective causes of these difficulties and negative phenomena are that our country is advancing from small-scale production and is experiencing the severe aftereffects of several wars, neo-colonialism and repeated serious natural disasters.

Subjectively, however, we have committed shortcomings in our effort to comply with the line of the 4th Party Congress, especially in concretizing this line in the form of policies and plans of the state; we have not promptly changed or amended economic policies that are no longer suitable and have not set forth positive and effective measures for developing the tremendous potentials of our country's economy. The assignment, utilization and training of cadres are not good; the organization and management of work have not kept pace with requirements; the mode of work is outmoded; the socialist system of law is not being scrupulously implemented; the discipline of the party is still loose and so forth. These are shortcomings in our ability to guide implementation and our ability to organize and manage the economy. This is the greatest weakness of our party and state at this time. The causes of this weakness lie in the knowledge possessed by our cadres and party members, especially their knowledge of the laws of socialism, of the science of organization and management, which have not kept pace with the rapid development of the revolution. We have been slow to summarize experiences in economic management, social management and party building and have not attached full importance to systematically and selectively studying and researching the experiences of the fraternal parties and countries.

In the letter to the party committee echelons and all cadres and party members concerning the convening of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, our Party Central Committee stated:

"In order to effectively prepare for the congress, the entire party must reach a unanimous evaluation of the country's situation and mobilize all the people and the entire army to strengthen their solidarity, march enthusiastically forward and successfully complete the following tasks:

1. Displaying a high spirit of self-reliance, developing upon the new factors that are emerging within the mass movement, accelerating agricultural and industrial production, focusing efforts on agriculture in order to resolve the problems with grain, food products, raw materials for industry, consumer goods and export goods, improving economic management, distribution and circulation, stabilizing the market, prices, the financial system and monetary activities, overcoming negative phenomena within society, stabilizing the standard of living and bringing about a good change in the national economy. The immediate objectives of improving management are raising labor productivity, raising economic returns and improving the quality of work. Each sector and each locality must develop the potentials it has in its arable land, labor, equipment and supplies as best possible, produce much wealth for society and practice strict frugality.

2. Further strengthening national defense forces, defeating the psychological war and spy war of the enemy, maintaining political security and social order and safety, constantly heightening our vigilance, maintaining combat readiness and fighting to protect the fatherland.
3. Continuing to carry out socialist transformation in the South and perfecting the socialist production relations in the North.
4. Gradually building the material-technical bases of socialism.
5. Intensifying ideological work, strengthening the management organization, especially in the economic field, and improving the building and strengthening of the party in order to insure the completion of the new tasks of the revolution.
6. Broadening our comprehensive cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea, with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries within CEMA."

The key to leading the successful completion of these tasks and making good preparations for the 5th Congress of the Party is to rapidly increase the fighting strength and leadership ability of the party.

Raising the fighting strength and the leadership ability of the party primarily involves improving the ability of the party to organize and guide implementation. To resolve this problem, the Political Bureau has issued the resolution on organizational work. The various levels and sectors, every organization of the party and every cadre and party member must scrupulously comply with this resolution. They must first insure the quick implementation of the effective, urgent measures set forth in the resolution so that every organization of the party and state and every mass organization complies with the basic points of the system of democratic centralism, collective leadership and personal responsibility in order to improve the quality of leadership and guidance, heighten responsibility, strengthen discipline and stimulate the performance of each immediate task. They must also be very highly determined to successfully implement the well coordinated organizational measures set forth within the resolution and bring about a profound change in organization with a view toward improving leadership and management, especially of the economy.

Raising the fighting strength and leadership ability of the party also involves continuing to strengthen the party chapters and basic party organizations and improving the quality of the corps of cadres and party members, beginning with improving the personal qualities and work ability of each person so that everyone has the ability to complete his task in the new stage. All of the basic organizations of the party must, through the revolutionary movement of the masses and in close coordination with the performance of their work tasks and with the struggle against negative phenomena in economic life and social life, reinspect their corps, accept new members and expel elements that have lost their will to fight and degenerated, thereby purifying the corps of the party. The issuance of party membership cards and the making of preparations for the party congresses on the various levels must be used as opportunities to teach, forge and purify party members, strengthen the various party committee echelons and build basic party organizations that are truly pure and strong.

Every cadre and party member must be clearly aware of his responsibility in the face of the new requirements of the revolution, heighten his will to struggle, maintain solidarity and unanimity, maintain his sense of organization and discipline and make every effort to study, train and improve his political qualities and work skills while successfully carrying out the resolutions of the party and the plan of the state. The qualities and abilities of cadres and party members must be expressed through selfless, tireless struggle to turn the policies and lines of the party into living reality. At present, in the face of the difficulties with the economy and in everyday life, cadres and party members, more than anyone else, must be very steadfast and unswerving, must struggle against vacillations, against the distorted arguments of the enemy, must protect the line of the party, protect the revolutionary cause of the party. Revolution is always an arduous and difficult undertaking, especially when the revolution enters a new stage. Not trying to overcome difficulties, not being firm in the face of every challenge, wavering and being skeptical and even losing sight of one's guidelines in the face of the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy, such manifestations are totally foreign to the nature of the communist.

The important measure in raising the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party is the practice of criticism and self-criticism. This is not only a law of the development of the party and an effective weapon in strengthening and building the party, but also a fine tradition of our party. In the process of preparing for the national congress and holding the party organization congresses on the various levels, the organizations of the party must thoroughly review their work programs and measures and practice criticism and self-criticism in a forthright and sincere manner and with a full sense of responsibility with a view toward improving the quality of leadership and guidance, improving work, strengthening solidarity, heightening discipline and fully complying with every position and policy of the party and state. Only on the basis of fully tapping the intelligence of the entire party and intensifying the practice of criticism and self-criticism can the party congress correctly evaluate the situation and, through correct resolutions, strongly advance the revolutionary undertaking of our people.

The party congress is not only an important event of the party, but also an important event that directly influences the interests of the people, the life of society. Preparing for the party congress provides a good opportunity to mobilize the masses to participate in party building, thereby helping to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses. Therefore, on this occasion, the organizations of the party must give the people a clear understanding of the important significance of convening the party congress and must organize and mobilize the people to criticize the work of the party, criticize cadres and party members, discuss the proposals of the congress, actively emulate to successfully carry out every work and production task, maintain combat readiness and fulfill our international obligations well in order to make a practical contribution to the preparations for the party congress.

Our country is totally independent and unified and is advancing to socialism. Our people have become the genuine masters of our society. Our country's revolution is in an offensive position. The revolutionary forces of our country are more powerful than ever before. These are the great achievements of many years of arduous and

tenacious struggle by our people under the leadership of the party. Since the day that the country was totally liberated, we, having led, organized and managed the economy for a period of time, have learned useful lessons and gained important experiences. These factors have created new, favorable conditions for moving our country's revolution steadily forward.

We are living amidst international circumstances that are very favorable. They include the strong, militant, unshakeable alliance among the three fraternal countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They include the comprehensive and close coordination between our country and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. They include the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents, which are continuing to surge on all continents, despite attempts at sabotage by the imperialists and the other reactionary powers.

Taking place under such favorable domestic and international circumstances, the 5th Congress of the Party will surely achieve brilliant results and usher in a new period of development of our country.

We are determined to move forward with renewed revolutionary spirit, fully implement the appeal made by the Party Central Committee and prepare for the 5th Congress by means of practical revolutionary actions that culminate in a movement to build socialism and protect the socialist fatherland.

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FULLY GRASPING THE PARTY'S VIEWPOINT CONCERNING ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 7-14

[Article by Chinh Truc]

[Text] When the revolution enters a new stage, the leading party must promptly change the direction of its line, political task and party building to suit the new situation and stimulate the smooth, beautiful development of the revolution. Together with changing the direction of its line and political task, it is necessary to change the direction of organizational work because a suitable organization will insure the good performance of the political task; conversely, an outmoded organization will pose an obstacle, sometimes a very large obstacle, to the completion of political tasks. "Organization is both the most revolutionary and the most conservative of things"(1); these words of Le Duan have been verified by reality.

Following the great victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country's revolution entered a new stage, the stage of carrying out the socialist revolution throughout the country. To meet the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, organizational work and cadre work have undergone important changes and achieved significant results. The 4th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee confirmed the results achieved in organizational and cadre work and set forth guidelines for developing upon these results. On this basis, in the various aspects of organizational work, such as strengthening the various party committee echelons and the basic organizations of the party, strengthening the state apparatus and building the national defense forces and people's public security forces, we have made new efforts and made progress in many areas, especially with regard to our awareness with regard to researching changes in direction in organizational work and management.

However, due to many reasons, our organizational work has, in some respects, failed to keep pace with the new requirements, especially the requirements of leading and managing the economy and managing society.

The shortcomings and weaknesses of the apparatus, the negative phenomena among some cadres and party members, the shortcomings in the cadre policy, the old habits in our work methods and procedures and so forth have persisted for many years and limited the size of the victory of the revolution; they are one of the reasons for the difficulties and shortages that we have been and are continuing to experience.

At present, in addition to the tremendous, basic victories we enjoy, we also face acute difficulties: production has stagnated in some areas and the national economy is still seriously imbalanced; the standard of living of the working people, primarily of cadres, manual workers and civil servants within the state sector, has declined; and negative phenomena within the economy and society are being corrected slowly. The enemy and decadent elements, taking advantage of this situation, are making every effort to intensify the psychological war with a view toward opposing our country's revolution.

The resolutions of the Party Central Committee, especially the resolution of the 6th Plenum and the 7th Plenum, and resolution number 26 of the Political Bureau clearly stated the pressing political tasks that must be performed in order to effectively overcome our difficulties and quickly stabilize the situation.

To insure the good performance of these political tasks, the Political Bureau recently promulgated the resolution on organizational work.⁽²⁾ This resolution deals with the most basic problems in organizational work with a view toward improving the leadership and management, especially of the economy. After seriously evaluating the situation surrounding organizational work in past years, the resolution sets forth the tasks concerning organizational work and the guidelines for bringing about changes in this work in the coming period. It also sets forth specific positions and measures: further improving the organizational apparatus; improving the qualities and abilities of cadres and correctly assigning cadres; building a revolutionary and scientific work system; truly upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses, especially at the installation level; and strengthening the agencies of the state government and the mass organizations.

In order to thoroughly understand and correctly implement the Political Bureau's resolution on organizational work, it is necessary to bring about a profound change of a revolutionary nature in our viewpoint concerning the building of our organization.

First, it is necessary to clearly understand the position occupied by organizational work.

The factor of foremost importance in determining the victory of the leadership provided by the party is the adoption of a correct line. It is on the basis of the political line of the party that the specific tasks concerning organizational work are established. Every manifestation that is separated from the political line of the party will cause organizational work to take the wrong direction, to be remote from the correct substance of activities and can become an obstacle to the performance of general political tasks. On the other hand, it must be realized that organizational work determines the victory of the political line. Talking about organization in our social activities, as Le Duan said, is talking about "the coordination of activities among the components of an entity, about the system of leadership and management in the various areas and sectors, the system of forms and measures of and for the implementation of decisions that are made from the time the plan is set forth until the final results of its implementation are inspected."⁽³⁾ Thus, good organization causes the entire apparatus to operate uniformly from top to bottom with smooth coordination and the necessary dynamism,

thereby insuring that every resolution is implemented with the highest possible results and that every task is performed in the best possible manner. Conversely, with an organization that is neither strong nor good, the political line, regardless of how correct it might be, cannot be implemented well and might even be implemented incorrectly. Good organization not only increases the efficiency of the entire apparatus and causes every task to be completed, but also guides each cadre in taking correct actions and conducting close inspections, forges each cadre and increases their strength many times. When placed in the correct position within a good apparatus, each person acquires additional conditions under which he can develop his strength. Even when this person has some bad habits he must, in order to avoid being overwhelmed by them, comply with the regulations of the organization and through this "compulsion" he can consciously make progress.

For the reasons mentioned above, organization is a strategic task and good organization is an important guarantee that political tasks will be completed well. Knowing how to organize and creating a strong organization creates an extraordinary strength. This is the significance of the famous words spoken by Lenin: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will turn all of Russia upside-down."(4)

For a long time, more than a few of our cadres and party members have not had the correct understanding of, have not attached appropriate importance to organizational work.

Actually, organizational work is the most difficult work. Lenin frequently talked about the complex, difficult nature of organizational work in practice. And, the more backward a country is when it begins to carry out the socialist revolution, the more difficulties it will encounter, consequently, in our country, it is even more necessary to be particularly concerned with organization.

In principle, every leader must control an organization. To provide leadership, the various party committee echelons and the cadres in charge must control an organization, must determine organizational and cadre matters because only they understand the organizational and cadre needs within the scope of their responsibilities. At present, at more than a few places, the cadres who are in charge of a level or a sector usually give little attention to guiding organizational work, leaving this work up to the organization committees. The guidance of organizational work lacks determination and is not thorough. Many of the resolutions and directives of the party and state on organizational and cadre work are not thoroughly implemented, consequently, they are not thoroughly understood even within leadership agencies. There is a lack of a clear division of labor among organizational agencies as well as a lack of close cooperation. This situation has caused the discipline within the party and the state apparatus to be lax at certain times and places; shortcomings persist, persons who make mistakes are not criticized or prosecuted, the responsibility for mistakes is not determined, light attention is given to inspecting the implementation of resolutions and so forth.

It is impossible to bring about a strong change in the economic situation if there is no change of a revolutionary nature in organizational and management work. When the central aspect of organizational work is to strengthen the leadership and management of the economy, laxity in organizational work will impede the planning of

the national economy, limit the development of production and adversely affect the effort to improve the lives of the people. This is exactly what is happening now. It has come time for the leadership agencies and the persons in charge on all levels, in all sectors and in all units to tightly control organizational work and consider it a decisive element in changing the situation. Only in this way can we free ourselves of our present confusion and difficulties in order to establish an organization that is strong enough to stimulate the completion of every task set forth by the party and state.

Secondly, to perform good organizational work in the new stage, we must firmly adhere to economic laws and deepen our knowledge of economic management, of science and technology.

In the past, during the years of the resistances against France and the United States, our objectives and requirements were to triumph over the imperialist aggressors and firmly protect the independence of the fatherland.

At present, the threat of a war unleashed by the Chinese still exists; our national defense forces must be ready to triumph over aggressive attacks by the enemy and maintain the safety of the country. At a time when we must continue to heighten our vigilance and be ready to appropriately retaliate against every enemy act of adventurism, we must make every effort to intensify socialist construction. Compared to the period of the wars of resistance, the basic tasks of this period are totally different and the laws governing this period are unique to this period. When talking about war, we are talking about a life or death struggle with the enemy. In war, we cannot shrink in the face of sacrifices and losses and, in decisive battles, we must make the greatest possible effort to win victory over the enemy. In economic construction and development, we must work on the basis of calculations with a view toward achieving the highest possible economic returns. This method of working requires deep knowledge of and the ability to correctly apply economic laws to the realities of our country, of each sector, locality and unit. This way, and only in this way, can we avoid paying a high price for achievements. As a result, in economic activities, the method of organizing the apparatus must be different from the method employed during a period in which we are guiding a war. The historical experience of many countries in the world has shown that if the entire apparatus that is used to guide a war is also used to guide the economy, if there is a lack of necessary knowledge of economic management, it is impossible to avoid confusion and problems and sometimes necessary to pay a very high price regardless of how much revolutionary zeal this apparatus possesses. The task of economic development demands that the apparatus of the party, the state and the mass organizations have knowledge of the various economic laws and meet the demands of economic activities well. These apparatus must be strong and streamlined, must work in the large-scale industrial, scientific style, must have clear communications from top to bottom, must have close coordination among their various components and so forth. The guidance of these apparatus of the production and business installations must be timely, responsive and effective. The cadres of these apparatus must have knowledge of economic management, science and technology that is commensurate with the task assigned to them and must know how to manage and work in a manner that yields the highest possible returns in production and work. These apparatus cannot tolerate persons in charge of production and business, persons in charge of management who only have general political knowledge.

reviewing our organizational work and our apparatus and corps of cadres, we very clearly see that we must still make very many efforts and bring about very many improvements in order to meet the demands of leading and managing the economy. For a long time, we have managed the economy by the administrative-subsidy style, which uses political mobilization in place of calculating economic returns, uses administrative relations in place of economic relations. We used a purely administrative apparatus to manage the economy. Once we began to practice cost accounting, which is essential in building a socialist economy, this administrative-subsidy apparatus created many difficulties and posed major obstacles to management.

In leadership work, many party committee echelons, due to the failure to fully realize the special characteristics of the party when it is in political power and the failure to see the system "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership," have routinely taken over the work of the state, even in the field of economic management. Conversely, more than a few economic management agencies of the state rely upon the leadership of the party committee echelon and are unaware of their complete functions and authority. These practices of taking over the work of the economic management agencies of the state and relying upon the party committee have resulted in a division of labor and division of echelons that are not specific and a lack of clearly defined responsibility, consequently, the returns from production and business are usually limited. Generally speaking, our corps of cadres is weak in terms of knowledge of economic management. The number of cadres who have attended school for economic management is very small. The corps of key economic leadership and management cadres of the various levels and sectors has been improved slowly, even though some of these cadres have shown themselves to be unable to perform their tasks. The corps of scientific and technical cadres is large but because it has not been assigned or utilized well, it has not played an appropriate role in production. With such an apparatus, difficulties and shortcomings in the performance of economic tasks are difficult to avoid.

Adhering to economic laws, our organizational work at this time must rapidly contribute to the building of a new economic structure and the implementation of the new mode of economic management. The new economic structure demands that there be an effective management apparatus consisting of competent cadres who are correctly utilized and assigned. The new mode of management demands that we take determined steps to abolish the administrative-subsidy style of economic organization and management and boldly shift to the socialist mode of business. At the same time, the new mode of management demands the strengthening of the system of production and business organizations and the strengthening of the management agencies of the state so that they are able to guide and manage the production and business organizations.

Thirdly, in order to build an organizational structure that reflects the principle "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages" in accordance with the comprehensive point of view and which insures the systematic and well coordinated nature of organizations, it is necessary to conduct research in order to learn and apply knowledge in the science of organization.

Knowledge in the science of organization is brand new in socialist construction. To us, this knowledge is even newer because our knowledge of this field of science

is not such. We must work hard to learn and apply this science well. However, in the initial stage, there are a number of main points to which we can give thought.

Once organizational work becomes scientific in nature, it is necessary that this work be highly precise. The precise and scientific nature of this work demands that every organization within the overall system have a specific political task, a clearly defined function, an efficient apparatus, a correct mode of operation and cadres who can fulfill the assigned task. There must be an apparatus that is competent to perform every task well and, when this task changes, this apparatus must promptly change in a corresponding manner. Within each apparatus, there must not be any unnecessary components or any unnecessary management units; every component must have the best cadres possible so that they can perform the best possible job. These problems cannot be resolved in any manner seen fit, but must be resolved under the light of knowledge of the science of organization.

The scientific nature of organizational work is also seen in well coordinated organizational activities. Lenin often compared the leader to the conductor of an orchestra, that is, we must work in such a way that the various components of his unit coordinate and operate smoothly. When talking about the socialist economy, we are talking about planned activities, about planning. Planning demands that the various sectors within the economic field--and even the sectors within the cultural and social field--coordinate their activities in a balanced, comprehensive and close manner. This coordination requires that the organizational structure be complete, that there be sufficiently skilled cadres for each sector, each area of operation and each level and that there be an industrial, urgent and precise method of working. Coordination also requires that every manifestation of departmentalism, partialism and localism and every attitude of liberalism, a lack of discipline and anarchy be thoroughly eliminated.

When talking about the scientific nature of organizational work, it is necessary to emphasize concrete planning. Every element of cadre work, from the selection and training to the assignment and utilization of cadres, must be researched in a scientific manner in accordance with an efficient plan. There must be cadres for each type work, both at present and in the future; we must know how many cadres are needed for each sector and each unit, which type cadres must be replaced, who will replace whom and how cadres will be replaced in order to avoid unnecessary upheavals in work and so forth; all of these things must be researched, must be prepared on the basis of scientific calculations. Only in this way is it possible for the corps of cadres to constantly grow, possible for cadres to succeed one another in an efficient fashion and possible for their activities to be well coordinated.

We have not fully realized the complex nature and scientific content of organizational work and have viewed this work in a simple fashion. We have yet to attach importance to training leadership cadres, management cadres and organizational cadres who possess scientific knowledge of organization and management. At times, organizational work has been conducted on the basis of empiricism, consequently, it has become bogged down in administrative detail, has been onesided, has lacked foresight and vision. The organizational structure and its complex relationships have not been clearly established, the art of leadership and management, especially of the economy, has not been improved and work procedures are still outmoded and "handicraft" in nature, lacking effectiveness and efficiency.

Within our apparatus at this time, the lack of coordination is universal. The various sectors and levels do not smoothly coordinate their operations or support one another. As a result, unnecessary difficulties have arisen at times, thereby creating stagnation and major waste. The economic activities in every field, in industry, agriculture, distribution-circulation and so forth, are closely linked to one another and all are very urgent. Any stagnation or confusion immediately causes stagnation and confusion in numerous other activities.

Within this apparatus, there is a lack of planning, or planning in form only, of cadre work. At times, the selection of cadres has not been strict, has not complied with necessary standards; at some places, because jobs are established for persons, the elementary and advanced training of cadres, in general, has not met the requirements of the situation and task, the utilization, assignment and promotion of cadres have been piecemeal and haphazard at times, etc. As a result, our present apparatus includes cadres who are unable to perform their task but have not been replaced; at some times and places, there is a shortage or surplus of cadres, competent cadres are not being utilized or assigned in a reasonable manner, etc.

Of course, we cannot wait until we learn the science of organization before reorienting our organizational work. We must work and learn at the same time. With our successful experiences and our shortcomings in organization over past years and with the experiences in organizational work of the fraternal parties, we surely can find good solutions to this problem if each level and sector taps the intelligence of the collective and presents matters related to organization and cadres to the collective for discussion.

Fourthly, organizational work cannot be carried out in a separate fashion, but must be closely coordinated with ideological work or, in other words, we must closely link ideological work and organizational work. Supporting the political line and task are the objective, the reason for being of ideological work and organizational work; it is in this process of providing support that the quality of ideological work and organizational work is gradually raised. When talking about ideology, we must talk about organization. Without organization, correct theories and thinking are nothing more than things in books and appeals cannot become a strength that has an impact upon life. On the other hand, however, ideology itself has a strong impact upon organization. No revolutionary movement can occur without being stimulated and prepared for by ideology. The broader and deeper ideological work is, the more it helps to bring about tremendous revolutionary changes. And, once ideological work becomes lax, the organization and the persons within it are very easily poisoned by deviant ideological viewpoints and very easily make mistakes in their actions. Therefore, in order for organizational work to undergo the necessary change in direction, it must have the competent support of ideological work. Ideological work causes every cadre, party member and citizen to understand why changing the direction of organizational work is necessary, why this change in direction must take place in accordance with one set of guidelines instead of another and why one measure should be employed instead of another. Ideological work sheds light on the viewpoints of the party concerning organizational work and helps everyone to overcome misunderstandings, incorrect thinking and manifestations of individualism in order to actively and voluntarily do what is required by organizational work.

Together with holding within each cadre and party member correct viewpoints, understanding and thinking concerning organizational work and the change in the direction of this work, it is necessary to overcome the mistaken thinking that now exists at some places regarding organizational work. This thinking includes conservative thinking, that is, the unwillingness to accept those elements that are new in organizational work, elements without which organizational work cannot overcome its stagnation and become an effective lever stimulating the good performance of the political task.

This thinking includes impetuous thinking, that is, the desire to quickly put organizational work on a regular basis without fully realizing the complex nature of this work and falling into impetuous, adventurous actions.

This thinking includes feudal and petty bourgeois viewpoints in organizational work, that is, assigning cadres and personnel on the basis of an outmoded procedure, evaluating cadres solely on the basis of their position, rank and status, showing disdain for young cadres and female cadres and adopting a cadre policy with benefits so large that they approach special rights and privileges.

This thinking includes the lack of organization, liberalism and the practice of doing as one sees fit in organizational work as seen in the failure to respect general regulations, principles and standards, in evaluating cadres on the basis of personal feelings, in not respecting common interests, in departmentalism, partialism and so forth.

This thinking includes rightism in organizational work, that is, the failure to determinedly guide the implementation of resolutions on organization and cadres, the failure to promptly overcome negative manifestations within the apparatus, the failure to promptly take disciplinary action against cadres and party members who commit mistakes, the practice of giving light attention to the struggle against mistaken viewpoints in organizational work, light attention to strengthening the basic level, etc.

Fifthly, it is necessary to strengthen the apparatus and improve the quality of cadres, organization and the methods of organizational work. This is an important factor in bringing about a strong change in organizational work. To win victory in war, it is necessary to have a skilled command staff; to achieve good results in organizational work, it is necessary to have an organizational apparatus consisting of good, competent organizational cadres. In order to provide good leadership, the party committee and the person in charge must control the organization; however, in order to do this, they must utilize the organizational apparatus well. The organizational apparatus of the various levels and sectors are the command staff, are the competent right arm of the party committee and the person in charge in organizational work. If the apparatus is a good one, it will help the party committee and the person in charge quickly and correctly perceive organizational problems and find good ways to resolve them. If the apparatus is a poor one, setbacks in organizational work might be concealed or distorted and the solutions adopted by the party committee echelons and the persons in charge might not be correct, might not be appropriate and might lead to harmful consequences.

At present, the organizational apparatus of the various levels and sectors have not been appropriately strengthened, consequently, they are still weak compared to the requirements of their tasks. At many places, these apparatus operate on the basis of outmoded conceptions, on the basis of outmoded work methods. Rapidly bringing about a change in the organizational apparatus is a pressing, objective requirement. This change must begin by equipping every cadre within the apparatus with new concepts, with the necessary knowledge of his work task. This change also demands the clear definition of the functions, task and authority of the organizational apparatus on each level and within each sector, the clear definition of the relationship between it and the party committee and various departments of the party as well as the agencies of the government that perform organizational work and the creation of an efficient division of levels so that the departments of the party and the various sectors can manage cadres in the best manner possible. This change must also be evident in the personal involvement on the part of leadership agencies and cadres in charge in organizational work.

The corps of organizational cadres has long been making many efforts; generally speaking, this corps has displayed an unswerving stand, loyalty and devotion to the task assigned to it. However, this corps has also displayed many weaknesses, especially with regard to its knowledge of organizational science and economic management, which is still low, much lower than the requirements of tasks at some places. Many comrades still strongly adhere to outmoded concepts. Some lack objectivity, lack a sense of justice and, as a result, lack loyalty. A small number who are corrupt have made serious mistakes.

Performing organizational work and cadre work involve constantly resolving personnel problems. Organizational cadres must be sensitive to the general situation and task, must be sensitive to the new, must wholeheartedly serve the common good and be very fair and objective. Organizational cadres must have the necessary knowledge of organizational science, psychology, the science of education, economic management and so forth because these are very necessary bases for making correct observations and correctly thinking about the apparatus, personnel and cadres. The organizational cadre must love others and possess a deep love of his comrades. The likes and dislikes of the organizational cadre must be very fair and he cannot allow personal feelings or prejudices to control his work. Of course, organizational work is difficult, complicated work; however, the organizational cadre must, in every situation, propose the solution that best serves the common interests of the revolution and absolutely not allow personal considerations to adversely affect his work.

The above mentioned viewpoints concerning organizational work are closely inter-related and must be thoroughly understood and applied in a well coordinated manner. By firmly grasping these viewpoints, we will deeply comprehend the resolution of the Political Bureau on organizational work, thoroughly understand the specific positions and measures set forth by the resolution and have a firm foundation upon which to apply the resolution in a manner consistent with the realities of each sector, locality and unit.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Ve xay dung Dang," [On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 260.
2. The contents of the resolution were introduced in the 31 December 1980 edition of NHAU DAN Newspaper.
3. Le Duan: "Ve xay dung Dang," p 248.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 5, p 559.

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THOUGHTS ON ORGANIZATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 15-21

[Article by Phan Thanh]

[Text] Organization is the inherent structure of things. Everything has its own organization, that is, has a form that is associated with its substantive factors. The organization of a thing is formed in accordance with specific laws.

In nature, things exist in objective independence of consciousness. They are arranged in a natural order consistent with the laws of nature. To the contrary, in society every phenomenon occurs through the conscious actions of man. Le Duan said: "When talking about organization in our social activities, we are talking about the relationship and the coordination of actions among the components of an entity, about a system of leadership and management of the various areas and sectors, about a system of forms and measures for implementing decisions that are made from the time plans are proposed until the final results of their implementation are inspected." (1) Organizational work is the activity of man designed to arrange his activities, work, and life on an orderly basis. And, only man can perform organizational work, can conduct organized activities, can take conscious actions to organize his life. This organizational work has the purpose of building things in accordance with a model that exists in man's mind.

Organizational work is a science. If organization is the inherent structure of things, it is clear that organizational work, a subjective activity of man, cannot be haphazard but must be carried out in accordance with a specific sequence controlled by the objective laws of things. It begins by researching and learning the laws of things in order to, on this basis, conceive of a model of things as they should exist in reality while adopting a plan and measures for achieving this by means of practical actions in accordance with the sequence that has been set forth in order to achieve the objective of forming the thing in question in reality.

Thus, organizational work must comply with the objective laws of things and comply with its own laws. In turn, this type of laws is also controlled by the objective laws of things. To perform organizational work well, we must learn the laws governing this work. The system of principles of organizational work that man has deduced through summarizing his experiences in organizational activities and which have been upgraded to theory reflect these laws and are the substance of the science of organization.

Organizational work is not only a science, it is an art as well. The art of organization is evident in several areas: first, in reality, things are multifaceted; every thing demands organizational work that is suited to it; therefore, in addition to understanding the general principles of organizational work, we must also have practical experience in organizing each thing.

Secondly, organizational activities are creative activities. Through organizational work, man creates new things. The same thing can be created on the basis of different models. The same organizational activity employed to achieve this model can be carried out under many different plans; here, the art of organization lies in selecting an optimum model, an optimum plan.

Thirdly, the objects of organizational work are not formed all at once, but take shape gradually in the process of organizational work. As a result, the organizer cannot visualise each and every detail of a thing from the very outset or all of the jobs that he must perform in order to create a perfect thing. The art of organization demands that we be extremely sensitive in the process of organizing in order to detect newly emerging factors, perfect the model we have in our mind and supplement and adjust the plan that was adopted at the beginning.

Fourthly, the task of organizational work is not only to cause the formation of things in accordance with its laws, but also to cause things to operate in accordance with its laws. Here, organizational work is expressed as management. There is management work in organizational work and vice versa. And, as Lenin stressed, management is both a science and an art. Every field of activity demands that the person who is performing the work of organizing and managing must possess knowledge, experience and skill.

The nature of organizational work as a science and an art is even more special when organizational work is related to social phenomena. Here, we do not encounter inanimate objects that can be arranged as we see fit, rather, we encounter varied social relations and living persons with their own concepts and feelings, which demands that we handle matters in an extremely delicate fashion.

When talking about organization, we must talk about the master of the organization, the object of the organization and the operations of the organization. These three factors of organization are closely inter-related, have an impact upon one another and define one another.

In a society that has classes, organizational work on a society-wide scale lies in the hands of the ruling class. The master of the organizing of society here is the ruling class. However, the old society is a society based on the private ownership of the instruments of production. Here, the primary economic activities are private activities. As a result, the society-wide organizational work of the ruling class is limited to the superstructure. Their organizational work is primarily designed to organize political and spiritual life in order to exercise what Marx called "external control of production"; business and production are undertaken by the strongest of persons in a private, spontaneous manner. As a result, the economic organization of society forms in a spontaneous manner. The forces organizing the economy are not the conscious actions of society, but the spontaneous

forces of the natural needs of man, the laws of the market and so forth. Lenin said that the organizing force of the capitalist economy is as follows: "The organizing force of capitalist society--a society built in an anarchistic fashion--is the domestic and international market, a market that is now developing spontaneously in breadth as well as depth."(2)

In the old society, organizational work on a society-wide scale is carried out in a conscious manner but not in accordance with the requirements of objective laws, rather, it is carried out in accordance with the interests of the ruling class. When the interests of this class are consistent with the requirements of the objective laws, the organizations created by them are in a state of stability. When their interests are no longer consistent with these laws, these organizations become unstable and cannot avoid collapse. The state organizations and regimes that have risen and fallen throughout the several thousand year history of society with classes verify this.

Thus, the organizational work of the old ruling classes, although carried out in a conscious manner and for a clear purpose, is not truly conscious organizational work performed on the basis of scientific understanding. In this situation, it cannot be said that organizational work is a science.

Under socialism, the nature of organizational work is entirely different. Here, the masters of this work are the collective of working people. The objects of organizational work are all social activities, from economics and politics to cultural and social activities. Organizational activities are fully conscious activities designed to build and manage the entire society as an entity in accordance with a general plan. They are activities that are carried out for the sake of the interests of all working people and are, at the same time, consistent with the objective laws of things. Only in socialism does organizational work truly become a science. Only in socialism does the science of organization exist in the full meaning of the term.

The fundamental organizational difference between socialist society and a society that has opposing classes lies in the following: whereas the object of organizational work in the old society is the superstructure, the primary object of organizational work in socialist society is economic life, and the primary organizational activities of socialist society are activities involved in organizing the economy. On the basis of effectively organizing the economy, effective organizational activities are conducted for the political and social aspects of life. At the same time, organizational activities within the superstructure are oriented primarily toward supporting the organization of the economy. Talking about the organizational task of the socialist revolution, Lenin stressed the following organizational task within the field of the economy: "The primary task that the proletariat and poor peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat, must complete in every socialist revolution and, as a result, must complete even in the socialist revolution that we began in Russian on 25 October 1917 is the positive, creative task of establishing a network of new organizational relationships, an extremely complex and delicate network encompassing the planned production and distribution of the products necessary for the lives of tens of millions of persons."(3)

On the basis of the task of organizing the economy, the principal task of socialism, Lenin set forth a series of guidelines concerning the organizational work of communists. Below are several important guidelines to which we must fully adhere in our present organizational activities.

1. Organizational work must be both revolutionary and scientific in nature. The task of organizational work is to build a society that is new in every respect and fundamentally different from the old society. This is a very difficult and complex revolutionary task. To carry out this great task, organizational work must coordinate construction and transformation, with primary emphasis upon construction. It must abolish all that is old, outmoded and conservative that impedes the establishment of the new. Lenin emphasized the requirement that organizational work be revolutionary in nature and harshly criticized the conservatism of many cadres and agencies following the October Revolution as follows: "In all fields of social, economic and political relations, we have shown ourselves to be 'frightfully' revolutionary. However, in terms of rank, in terms of respecting administrative forms and procedures, our 'revolutionary nature' often gives way to the worst kind of conservative spirit." (4) Lenin demanded that this irreconcilable antagonism between the revolutionary nature of the political task and the conservative nature of organizational work be abolished.

In order to perform good organizational work, it is not enough to merely possess revolutionary spirit. Lenin always emphasized the need to grasp the science of organization. To achieve this objective, we must study, must learn from practice, must learn even from the bourgeoisie. Lenin said: "Large-scale capitalism created systems of labor organizations which, under the conditions of the exploitation of the masses, were a most wicked form whereby a minority of wealthy classes could enslave and exploit surplus labor and exploit the strength, blood and energy of workers; at the same time, however, these systems of labor organizations were production organizations of the most scientific nature and the Soviet Socialist Republic must copy and improve upon them in order to exercise our inventory and control of production and, on the other hand, raise labor productivity." (5)

Lenin frequently stated the need to coordinate revolution and science in organizational work by means of the famous formulas of coordinating Russian revolutionary spirit with American practicality, coordinating the Soviet system with the scientific organization of the Germans.

2. Organizational work demands the coordination of the general and the specific. Organizing is building things in each of their components and details with a very clear concept of the coordinated nature, of the organic relationship of these components and details, of the completeness of the thing and of the laws controlling the organic relationships among these components and details. Organizational work is the practical action of turning lines and theory into living reality. For this reason, it is necessary to have a concept that embraces the thing in question as a whole, as a law; at the same time, it is necessary to be very specific and detailed in one's practical actions. Without grasping the thing in question as a whole, as a law, it is impossible to have a clear guideline for practical actions. When organizational work is begun, confusion develops and, with each step forward, it is necessary to go back and resolve problems in the nature of principles. Conversely,

if we are satisfied with general principles, with an understanding of the thing as a law but do not engage in specific, detailed actions, we will fail to go beyond general appeals, beyond empty slogans and will basically be unable to perform organizational work or organizational work will fail to become specific in nature.

Lenin required that the directives and resolutions of the party be implemented in practice, be turned into the specific. He said: "We demand that comrades, that cadres of the party devote their efforts to performing a host of tasks that are now nothing more than directives and resolutions set forth by the Soviet government agencies on the upper level and promulgated by the party organization. And, you yourselves know how far it is from issuing a general resolution, from issuing general directives to implementing these resolutions and directives in practice; this means that you must bear a very heavy burden in order to successfully implement these directives and principles so that these directives are not merely words on paper, something which, it is regrettable to say, is not rare in Soviet Russia today." (6)

3. Organizational work must combine scientific foresight with practical experience. This guideline is the corollary of the guideline mentioned above. There must be scientific foresight based on a firm grasp of the laws of the thing in question in order to develop a model of the entire thing, in order to conceptualize it. Once a model has been established, organizational work enters the stage of practical action, the stage of building the model in reality. However, regardless of how skilled he might be, the organizer cannot foresee each and every detail and aspect of the thing in question. For this reason, in practice, the organizer must give attention to gaining experience in order to amend and perfect his initial thoughts. In organizational work, Lenin criticized two opposite tendencies: the tendency to seek perfection in the formulation of organizational plans and the tendency to rigidly adhere to the policies and principles that have been set forth. He said that the socialist revolution is a brand new undertaking. It is necessary to possess scientific foresight but also necessary to be bold in one's actions. He liked to repeat the words spoken by Napoleon: "Begin to work and we shall see" in order to show the need to combine scientific foresight with practical experience.

4. Organizational work must combine the leadership of the party with innovations by the masses.

The socialist revolution is a great revolutionary undertaking that inevitably demands leadership by the party. After setting forth its line, the party must organize the implementation of this line. The leadership of the party is the factor determining the success of organizational work. Without this leadership, organizational work cannot implement the line as it was set forth and has no correct guidelines.

The masters of the socialist revolution, of socialist construction as well as organizational work under socialism are the collective of working people. The collective of working people, through revolutionary actions, are the persons who directly transform the line of the party into reality. Lenin said that socialism is the undertaking of the masses.

In the process of organizing the building of the new society, the masses, on the basis of the guidelines of the party, turn their hands to organizing the new life

and constantly create forms of organization and methods of taking action that were not fully foreseen in the line and policies of the party. Lenin reminded Russian communists to attentively observe the practical experiences of the masses and the forms of organization and work measures created by them. He respected every innovation by the masses, from great ones, such as the Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist labor form of emulation, to specific innovations by the masses in organizing emulation, organizing production, organizing daily work, etc. Organizational work must use these experiences, must analyze them under the light of the line and policies of the party in order to perfect this line and, on the other hand, to develop forms of organization and measures that are best suited so that the innovations of the masses become universal.

At present, the socialist revolution in our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition. Our organizational task is extremely large and difficult. Advancing from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, we must organize our country's entire society, from the economic base to the superstructure, from production forces to production relations, from material life to spiritual life; we must advance from nothing to something in virtually every field. As regards the characteristics of the period of transition in our country, Le Duan said that this is not only an ordinary period of transition, but a period that is beginning to form as well.

This characteristic demands that our organizational work be extremely creative. We must visualise the model of our society in every respect, must develop correct guidelines in order to achieve this model. The tremendous success of the 4th Congress of the Party gave our people this model and guidelines for achieving it. The model is the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new, socialist man. Our guidelines are to firmly grasp the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

To successfully carry out this organizational task, we must grasp the characteristics of organizational work in the present period of transition.

Our objective is to build socialism; however, we cannot skip stages. The period of transition is the period of decisive struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life. In the period of transition, new things are being formed but they are not fully formed and old things are dying but they have not died completely. Therefore, the characteristic of the period of transition is that things are in a "state of flux" and not yet stable. Lenin said: "Until we achieve complete communism, no form is permanent."(?)

Organizationally, we must develop transitional forms of organization that correspond to the level of development during each stage of the period of transition of production forces, of production relations, of the socio-economic structure and of the cultural and ideological levels of the various strata of the people. For example, to satisfy every need by means of subsidies before communism is reached is utopian socialism and makes it difficult to avoid dry averaging. To perform good

distribution work, we must develop the most suitable form of distribution that reflects the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and takes into consideration the nature of labor in the different production fields.

Lenin frequently pointed out that in order for a country whose economy is dominated by the private economy of the people to advance to socialism, it absolutely must employ increasingly highly developed forms of transition: "It is not surprising that, in a country in which small farmers constitute the majority of the population, the socialist revolution can only be carried out by means of a series of special measures of transition that are totally unnecessary in the developed capitalist countries in which persons who work for hire within industry and agriculture constitute the majority of the population." (8) In the case of Russia, he was more specific: "Under the best circumstances, this stage of transition will last for many years. In our policy, this period will be divided into many small stages of transition. And, all of the difficulty of the task that we must perform, all of the difficulty of our policy and all of the skill of our policy lie in determining the special tasks of each of these stages of transition." (9) To insure that society develops in exact accordance with the objective laws of the period of transition, Lenin did not hesitate to employ forms of organization which, from the point of view of pure socialism, were a step backwards, such as ground rents, state capitalism, high wages for specialists, etc.

The resolutions of our party, such as the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and Political Bureau resolution 26, are models of the utilization of forms of transition during the present period of transition in our country. The various forms of contracts, such as the payment of collective contract wages based on the final results of production at enterprises and the product contract within agriculture, are forms consistent with the level of economic development of our country in the initial stage of the present period of transition.

The need for forms of transition demands that our organizational activities be extremely revolutionary and creative during the period of transition. With regard to our country, a country that is advancing directly from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the revolutionary and creative nature of organizational activities in the period of transition are even more important. We are not advancing to socialism by a path for which there is precedent. We must study the experiences of the fraternal countries but we cannot mechanically apply the forms of organization employed by them. We must develop forms of organization that are suited to the circumstances of our country as it advances from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. These forms of organization must insure that our country does gradually advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; we must have the ability to effectively transform small-scale production into large-scale production.

The revolutionary and creative nature of organizational activities demands that we abandon forms of organization with which we were familiar during the war of resistance in order to apply new, vibrant forms of organization demanded by economic activities during the period of transition with a view toward making use of every

production capability and applying economic levers in a manner consistent with the present level of production forces, with the attitudes and habits of the working people.

The requirement that organisational work be of a revolutionary and creative nature becomes increasingly high when, in the period of transition, all of society as well as each of its fields of activity constantly changes toward socialism. Every new development by production forces compels us to re-examine the organization of production relations. In substance, the level of socialization with the different material and technical bases at the different cooperatives demand that the leader of the cooperative in each locality not automatically apply the organizational experiences of one place, rather, he must create the form of organization best suited to his locality. On the other hand, a form of organization can only have a positive impact for a certain period of time. Organizational activities must promptly detect this situation and promptly replace the old form with a new and more suitable form of organization.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Ve xay dung Dang." [On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 248.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 36, p 207.
3. Ibid., p 207.
4. Ibid., Volume 45, pp 453-454.
5. Ibid., Volume 36, pp 173-174.
6. Ibid., Volume 43, p 423.
7. Ibid., Volume 37, p 269.
8. Ibid., Volume 43, pp 68-69.
9. Ibid., Volume 40, pp 119-120.

DISTRIBUTION-CIRCULATION IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 22-27

[Article by Vu Huu Ngoan]

[Text] In the process of social reproduction, distribution links production to trade and consumption, insures the immediate objective of production, namely, consumption, and insures that consumption plays the positive role of stimulating production. Without consumption and better consumption, there can be no production or better production. Conversely, there can be no production or better production without consumption or better consumption.

Distribution and consumption always consist of two components: the instruments of production and the instruments of activity. The consumption of the instruments of production occurs within the production process in order to convert one form of use value into another form of use value and more closely link this new form of use value to the needs of production and everyday life. The consumption of the instruments of activity is, in essence, the process of reproducing the present labor and future labor of society, one of the most important factors of production forces. For this reason, the attitude toward distribution must first be considered the attitude toward the destiny of social production.

K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out: distribution does not lie within the realm of natural relations but production relations. Within the entire system of production relations, distribution is the factor that lies on the surface of social life, the factor that represents the special characteristics of the system of production relations to the outside. The relationship between distribution and products lies within the framework of the relationship between production relations and production forces. As long as different economic interests still exist within society, distribution is a very complex field because it directly touches upon the interests of the various members, strata and classes within society. Therefore, the attitude that is taken to examine and resolve the distribution problems of socialist society must also be considered the attitude toward the masses, toward the right of collective ownership of the working people.

When commodity-money relations still exist, distribution is closely related to circulation. And, this is related to the series of mechanisms and structures that

organize the economy: finances, prices, banking, commerce, the market, etc. The most important component of product distribution occurs within the scope of circulation. Distribution and circulation have a very important impact upon regulating national income. The redistribution of national income and the regulation of the incomes of the various strata and classes occur in a sharp and decisive manner through distribution and circulation. The economic organization mechanisms and structures of distribution and circulation are an entity and have a reciprocal impact upon the effort to regulate income within society.

During the period of transition to socialism, the national economy is in a state of transition toward socialism. Under these circumstances, distribution and circulation also assume forms and degrees of transition. Compared to the other economic fields, distribution and circulation are much more varied in form. The specific policies and measures concerning distribution and circulation can be changed quickly. The localities and installations can display creativity in order to implement these policies and measures well. The standard for evaluating the policies and measures as well as the innovations in distribution and circulation is: do they help to stimulate the development of production, strengthen the system of collective ownership, improve the living conditions of the people and insure the fulfillment of obligations to the state? On the basis of this standard, we can differentiate good policies, measures and models in distribution and circulation from bad ones.

Distribution and circulation during the period of transition are called wholesome when the value of the dong does not decline or only declines slightly and slowly, when prices do not rise and fall irregularly and are not chaotic in nature, when the market that lies outside the plan supplements the planned market well and when the organizational mechanisms and structures of distribution and circulation are used in a positive manner in the struggle between the two ways of life to resolve the question of "who defeats whom." The wholesome results of distribution and circulation are the acceleration of production, the strengthening and improvement of the socialist economy, the improvement of the living conditions of the people and so forth.

The immediate and most severe consequence of negative distribution is the violation of the principle set forth by V.I. Lenin: he who does not work, does not eat; this is the practical order of socialism and practical organizational work must insure that this principle is upheld. When circulation is negative in nature and allowed to develop freely and when the spontaneous nature of circulation dominates and triumphs over the planned nature of circulation, it is the persons who live on wages that encounter the worst difficulties while the incomes of those who earn their livings illegitimately soar. Of course, violations of the principles of socialist distribution adversely affect production, with the most serious effects being workers who lack enthusiasm in production and low labor productivity. The poor development of production causes distribution and circulation to become increasingly disrupted. This is a vicious cycle.

In the advance from small-scale production and backward agriculture directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, production is very seriously imbalanced in many respects during the initial period. The overriding difficulty is the lack of accumulated capital, the shortage of raw materials and the

shortage of grain, consequently, we also lack machinery, equipment and consumer goods. This imbalance, this difficulty cannot be easily or quickly resolved. Whereas it is not very easy to display dynamism and creativity in this area, we can, on the other hand, display both dynamism and creativity in the field of distribution and circulation in order to help to resolve the difficulties mentioned above. Production might develop slowly and some factories might even have to suspend operations due to the lack of raw materials; however, distribution and circulation must continue to be carried out, even on a daily and hourly basis. Moreover, the production process is bound by certain technical necessities. However, distribution and circulation are much more elastic and flexible. The same quantity of products and commodities can be distributed and circulated in one way or another. If goods are not distributed and circulated in an organized manner, they will be distributed and circulated in a spontaneous manner or these two modes will exist together and struggle with each other. This is inevitable. When distribution and circulation are spontaneous in nature the following phenomena develop:

First, spontaneous distribution and circulation cause the negative aspects of production, which is already underdeveloped, to grow at an increasingly rapid rate and on an increasingly broad scale.

Secondly, production, even though it is planned, is eroded by spontaneous distribution and circulation, which can even destroy the planned nature of production. The phenomena of "earning more on the outside than on the inside," the loss of supplies and raw materials and so forth prove this.

Karl Marx pointed: production is the foundation, production determines distribution and circulation, and we cannot consume more than permitted by the present state of the economy. Because production is the foundation, it is even more necessary for the state to display its dynamism and creativity during the initial stage of the period of transition in the field of distribution and circulation so that they have a positive reciprocal impact upon production, stimulate the development of production and cause the process of social reproduction to be carried out in a closed cycle and carried out rapidly during the period of transition. Clearly dynamism and creativity on the part of the state in the field of distribution and circulation during the period of transition, especially during its initial stage, are a matter of theoretical and practical significance.

In subsequent stages of the period of transition and when developed socialism is achieved, distribution and circulation cannot be carried out the same way they were in the initial stage.

During this stage, it is necessary for the state to undertake the distribution of the primary instruments of production, to conduct thorough inventories and exercise strict control and to make the most economical use possible of products in order to build the new economic structure and meet the most pressing needs of the people. The distribution of the instruments of production to all industrial or agricultural, state-operated or collective economic units must be closely linked to the cost accounting of these units. The distribution of instruments of production in a manner that is not based upon precise labor quotas and technical standards and that does not discern places that are achieving economic returns from places that are not is

merely distribution of the administrative-subsidy style. As regards farmers, the distribution of the instruments of production must, on the one hand, be based on the natural characteristics of each area; on the other hand, it must be closely linked to the obligation to contribute grain and other agricultural products to the state.

The distribution of instruments of activity for personal consumption during this stage can be based on no other principle than that of distribution in accordance with labor to those who have the ability to work. In all of the stages of socialist society, two modes of distribution for personal consumption exist: distribution in accordance with labor and distribution for social welfare. The absolute quantity of products distributed under each mode constantly increases but the ratio between the quantities of products distributed under the two modes changes. Social welfare is gradually expanded on the momentum of the development of production. As a result, the percentage of social consumption that takes the form of personal consumption constantly increases. Distribution in accordance with labor emerges when the system of socialist public ownership of the instruments of production is established. At first, it emerges as a strong tool employed in the class struggle to combat parasitism and exploitation. When talking about the immediate tasks of the Soviet government, Lenin emphasized the need for the most thorough and strictest inspection of the amount of labor and consumption within society. The experience of the Soviet Union has shown: during the initial period, distribution in accordance with labor constituted a very large percentage of the consumption fund, but only 60 to 70 percent today; by 1985, public consumption will have increased to 50 percent. Clearly, both theory and practice show: in the initial stage of the period of transition, it is even more necessary to implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor well and combat the use of subsidies.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, production is still underdeveloped, the quantity of products available is very small, labor productivity is very low and the standard of living is also very low; however, we must still create the necessary premises for the formation of large-scale socialist production. The unity of the three interests (the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and personal interests) is a requirement of all stages of socialist society; however, in the initial stage of the period of transition, this requirement is even more pressing. For this reason, these three interests must be coordinated well even in the distribution of the instruments of activity and the distribution of the instruments of production. In the distribution of the instruments of production, we must closely link each laborer, each economic installation and each locality to the nationwide division of labor in order to form the new economic structure and must develop, as highly as possible, the existing trades of localities and laborers. The distribution of the instruments of activity must also support the requirement of redistributing labor and developing existing trades. Some consumer goods are sold to meet the requirement of accumulating much capital while other items are sold primarily to meet the essential needs of the people. During the initial period, accumulating capital in order to create the premises for intensifying socialist industrialization involves very many difficulties. This is the antagonism between the need to accumulate much capital and low labor productivity, a low output of products and a low living standard. As a result, during the initial period, in conjunction with insuring the stability of the daily lives of the people, practicing economy is a strategic economic task.

The existence of many economic segments is a common characteristic of the period of transition, especially in the initial stage. This causes commodity-money relations to exist on a broad scope. In the initial stage, the vast majority of the needs of the members of society are met through commodity circulation. As a result, in this stage, circulation has a very large influence upon distribution. Controlling the mechanisms and structures of economic organization of circulation in order to have an impact upon distribution and, in particular, maintain the living conditions of persons who earn their income from the state, is very necessary and is consistent with the present situation in which we have very few commodities and the standard of living is still low.

The initial stage has its own characteristic with regard to the issuance, management and use of money. K. Marx pointed out: money is the form of expression of value. The amount of money that must be in circulation depends upon various factors: the total value created, the value of the dong itself, the number of times 1 dong is circulated during the year, etc. However, under the conditions of advancing from small-scale production to socialism, the total value of commodities is still very small at first; meanwhile, we have available labor and natural resources and have begun to establish the system of collective ownership, consequently, it is necessary to issue a certain amount of money in order to organize production and circulation. At present, it is difficult to avoid the amount of money in circulation exceeding the necessary level, the value of the dong declining and prices on the market, primarily the market that lies outside the plan, increasing. The urgent problem facing the state is that it must use the impact exerted by distribution and circulation to reduce the rate of decline in the value of the dong and the degree of imbalance between money and commodities in order to reduce the difficulties faced in the daily lives of the masses. However, accelerating production is the key matter, and this is true not only in the initial stage, but in every stage. In the initial stage, distribution and circulation must be employed to resolve this problem in a positive, effective manner.

First, it is necessary to improve and insure the collection of taxes. The collection of taxes in money and product helps the state to control a quantity of the money issued by it and control some products. This has a good impact in many areas: it increases the value of the dong, thereby helping to maintain a balanced budget; the state acquires additional grain and raw materials; it guarantees a supply of commodities in accordance with ration standards to cadres, manual workers, civil servants and so forth, consequently, additional conditions are provided for improving the living conditions of the working people, primarily of the persons who earn their income through wages from the state.

Secondly, making purchases at directed prices (under obligations) and purchases at negotiated prices (from every type of economic installation, including private farmers) are activities of very important significance in the initial stage. To capitalism, due to the impact of the law of surplus value, selling goods ($H'-T'$) is a matter of survival and difficult to achieve. To the contrary, for us, due to the system of collective ownership and the impact of the basic economic law of socialism, the purchasing of goods ($T-H$) has become particularly important and much more difficult than selling goods. In the initial stage of the period of transition, this work is even more important, is extremely difficult to perform and requires a series of

economic, administrative and educational measures. By making purchases well, the state is able to control the majority of the commodity grain, raw materials and consumer goods. On this basis, the production plan can be implemented in a stable manner and the state can take the initiative in organizing life on a society-wide scale and struggle more effectively against the "free" market. In a report on the use of the grain tax in place of the confiscatory purchasing of surplus grain in Russia, V.I. Lenin pointed out: "If commodities were in your hands, you would control political power."(1)

Thirdly, prices are a competent economic tool in the initial stage of the period of transition. Prices are the monetary form of value. This has two meanings: on the one hand, prices must reflect value, must be based on value; on the other hand, prices can be different than value (be lower or higher). The socialist state can and must use this difference as an economic lever. Not giving attention to prices or not conducting correct pricing activities is to abandon one of the strengths of socialism.

Correctly calculating value in order to establish the basis for prices is a scientific activity. We must know the value of a commodity before we can have a benchmark for determining the difference between price and value; the failure to know the value of a commodity causes its price to be set in a haphazard fashion and there no longer is any so called "difference." Calculating the value of agricultural products is especially difficult. Here, due to the characteristics of agriculture, there are factors that increase the value of the commodity and factors that decrease its value. Whereas determining value is a scientific activity, establishing the difference between price and value is an art. The state utilizes this difference to support its economic and political tasks, regulate commodity-money relations, as manifested in the relationship between supply and demand, distribute national income, insure the value of the first distribution and adjust the incomes of the members and strata of society. There is some leeway in determining which goods will have high prices and which goods will have low prices and how high or low these prices will be. This is truly the art of using the economic levers of the state.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, prices can do much with regard to revenues and expenditures of the state budget. The state must compensate for losses incurred as a result of the prices of goods supplied to maintain the standard of living of cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the laboring people. Conversely, there are many products that, on the basis of correctly determining their value and establishing a high but reasonable difference between value and price, can provide a significant source of revenue, thereby helping to maintain the value of the dong and improve the living conditions of laborers.

Fourthly, it is necessary to intensify the making of payments through the bank and attract idle money into the bank. To accomplish this, we must expand the opening of accounts, establish strict regulations on the use of cash and adopt policies that provide strong incentive for depositing money in savings accounts. If done well, these steps will remove a large amount of money from circulation and, as a result, increase the value of the dong and help to pull down prices on the "free" market.

Fifthly, the state must use the market as an effective tool in the struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in the field of distribution and circulation.

The market fluctuates on a daily and hourly basis, is very responsive to the needs of everyday life and production and directly touches upon the daily life and interests of everyone. Deserving of attention is that the market which lies outside the plan can develop in two different directions: it can either supplement the planned market well and create additional favorable conditions for the everyday lives of the people or it can oppose the planned market and disrupt daily life. If the market that lies outside the plan is guided in a positive, constant manner by the planned market and is directly established between installations and producers, on the one hand, and consumers, on the other hand, or established through small merchants who are under the strict inventory and control of the state, it is a wholesome unplanned market. Conversely, if the unplanned market develops in a totally spontaneous manner and this market "explodes" but production does not "explode" or production is still narrow in scope, many negative phenomena are sure to arise. In other words, if the quantity of commodities does not increase and even declines but the number of small merchants increases significantly, the development of smuggling, reselling, speculation on price increases and so forth is unavoidable, especially if the state is lax and does not perform inventory and control work.

The burning questions with regard to the mechanisms of distribution and circulation in our country at this time are related to all of society and these mechanisms have a reciprocal influence upon one another. The use of these mechanisms demands the close coordination of a series of economic, administrative and educational measures. The economic agencies, the agencies of power and the motivational, propaganda and educational functional agencies share responsibility with regard to these measures. However, the immediate responsibility and the impact of greatest economic significance belong to the economic organizational structures of distribution and circulation: the finance sector, the banking sector, the price sector and commerce. The positive and effective use of these economic organizational structures in the struggle to resolve the question of who defeats whom which exists between socialism and capitalism in the field of distribution and circulation is a pressing issue in our country at this time. Organizing and building the economy are difficult work and we face sabotage of the economy by the enemy, consequently, the struggle is even more fierce. Although complex, distribution and circulation, if performed well, can help to maintain the living standard of the people and accelerate production even in the initial stage of the period of transition from small-scale production and backward agriculture directly to socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 288.

RESEARCH ON TRADITION: THE NATIONAL TRADITION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 28-33

[Article by Professor Tran Quoc Vuong]

[Text] Part I

1. Tradition is a matter that lies within the scope of culture and civilization.

The word tradition originates in the latin tradere, traditio and means to pass down, to transmit, the act of passing down, transmission.

On the one hand, "tradition" is understood as the sum of the special characteristics and the achievements handed down by society, of all of the things that individuals--with the exception of inheritance resulting from genetics--understand, retain and hold, such as a socio-historic vestige or experience in a manner consistent with an "acclimation"(positive) to the human environment as a result of being educated and participating in the customs, morals and the rules of society.

On the other hand, "tradition" is understood as the handing down through the generations of the unique cultural vestiges of a given community (community here to be understood as a family, a clan, a village, a nation, a country and so forth). Tradition is the faithful transmission of the collective patterns of behavior that insure the existence of a community (its existence as an entity), the handing down of the community's entire style of life and, in particular, of the methods and technologies that insure the success of the community within a given environment (both natural and human). The historic experiences of a community are not limited to material successes; therefore, tradition also encompasses social and spiritual experiences, encompasses all customs, religious beliefs, values and controlling lines of thinking.

Tradition makes a deep imprint upon every society, especially the societies that existed before the birth of Christ. Marx frequently quoted the French proverb "Le mort saisit le vif"(the dead instruct the living), and Auguste Comte stated: "The dead govern the living"(les morts gouvernent les vivants).

The handing down of tradition first begins with the spoken word, with personal memories and collective memories and then takes the form of written language.

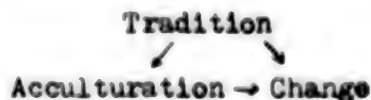
We accept and spread the essence of tradition not on the basis of traditionalism, that is, the philosophy of believing in things that have been codified and handed down, a philosophy which has disdain for changes.

Thus, we can see that the nature of tradition is collective and communal, is historic and stable, that tradition spans a long period of time but is not permanent; at the same time, tradition is dynamic: it can be learned and handed down.

And, therefore, tradition can be explained as a system of characteristics and patterns of behavior of a collective (a community) which is formed in history, formed in a given natural and human environment, which becomes stable and can be codified in law or statute and handed down from one generation to the next to insure the homogenous nature of a community.

2. The history of Vietnam over the past several thousand years, in addition to its own, independent development, has also been the history of struggle against aggression and domination by the Chinese feudalists; in the past several centuries, it has been the history of the struggle against western colonialism (both old and new) and imperialism and against the domination of the Japanese fascist militarists; today, we must wage a struggle against the great nation expansionism and hegemony of China. The Vietnamese civilization is always blossoming and developing in the independence, the harmony and the coordination among the following:

- a) Tradition (of the nation and the people from the time of Dong Son);
- b) Cultural accomodation (as a result of forced Vietnamese-Chinese, Vietnamese-French and Vietnamese-American contacts); the maintenance of a number of traditional factors and the combination of several foreign factors to create a new cultural mix through the "filter" that is the villages that raise wet rice and the state;
- c) Change (or revolution):



Therefore, when dealing with the matter of national tradition, full attention must be given to the endogenous factors but light attention cannot be given to the exogenous factors of Vietnamese culture. Many factors that were once exogenous (such as the three social bonds and the five cardinal virtues of Chinese Confucian scholars and French bourgeois democracy) have gradually been incorporated in the life of our nation or become a unique aspect of local tradition.

In addition to many other matters, the building of the new culture and the molding of the new Vietnamese man who is the master of nature, the master of society and the master of himself, we must review Vietnamese tradition in three areas: our pattern of behavior vis-a-vis the natural environment of Vietnam; our pattern of behavior vis-a-vis Vietnamese society (at home and abroad); and our pattern of behavior vis-a-vis the people of Vietnam themselves, that is, we must understand the natural environment of Vietnam and the traditional relationships of the Vietnamese to this environment; we must understand Vietnamese traditional society as an entity consisting of traditional

relationships among Vietnamese and between Vietnamese and foreigners; and we must understand Vietnamese man himself.

Gaining an understanding of Vietnamese tradition, therefore, must involve an organized project conducted by a large collective under the leadership of the party. Here, we would only like to present a few personal thoughts.

Part II

1. In contrast to western tradition which provokes an attitude of hostility toward nature, the Vietnamese have both lived in harmony with and struggled with nature. They support themselves by engaging in production and gathering products from nature. In their construction, they give attention to the orientation of their homes, to the "home-veranda-garden"; the person lives in harmony with the natural surroundings. In their travel, the Vietnamese make full use of water routes, have created various types of sampans and so forth.

In our pattern of behavior vis-a-vis nature, we view nature as both natural and mystical. We use nature but do not destroy it. We have gods of mountains, gods of rivers, a god of the soil, a god of trees, the "tiger god," the "elephant god," the "horse goddess" and so forth but we do not worship them to the point where they become a religious doctrine.

The Red River Delta, the crucible of Vietnamese tradition, has two unique geographical-human characteristics. In addition to wet rice, there are:

- + Dikes (water control projects as well as travel routes and fortifications).
- + Ponds (economic and civilian projects used to raise fish, vegetables and duckweed, to store water for washing, to irrigate fields, soak bamboo and wood and so forth).

In the maintenance of dikes and ponds, we must resolve the problems of depleted soil and "stagnant ponds."

The relationship between the population and cropland is a thorny problem to which we must always try to find a solution. Population pressure is a constant factor. There is a "population threshold" in traditional wet rice cultivation. We must practice intensive cultivation, practice multicropping and change seasonal schedules. We must clear more wilderness along the seacoast and in the midlands. To open new lands in the deltas, we must build dikes. However, we have practically no large-scale water conservancy projects due to their very long standing nature as lowlanders, as delta inhabitants, a quality which is so old as to be engraved in "stone," few Vietnamese have gone "into the mountains or out to sea," except when forced to and then they have usually migrated toward the South.

It is necessary to gain a truly deep understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Vietnamese in their traditional pattern of behavior vis-a-vis nature in an energy system that consists of practically nothing but muscle power (humans and the species of large livestock: buffalo and cattle, very few horses). The Vietnamese use very little water power and wind power in agricultural production (they only use

sailboats, use wind power to dry rice and so forth). Besides the "population threshold," there is also the "technical threshold" in traditional wet rice cultivation. The Vietnamese are skilled in knowing when to plant their crops (timing is of utmost importance, skill is of secondary importance) as well as skilled in seizing opportunities in the struggle against aggression and domination, in the revolutionary struggle; they are skilled in applying integrated measures (water, fertilizer, labor and seed), but they are not skilled in improving their tools (their hoes, shovels and so forth have been the same since the new Stone Age). The same is true in the handicraft trades: the Vietnamese are renowned for their dexterity (weaving lattice, making furniture and weaving silk, for example), but their implements are very rudimentary (the specialization of tools is underdeveloped).

Of greatest importance is that the Vietnamese (especially the ethnic Vietnamese) are skilled in cultivation, skilled in using the terrain, geography, the elevation of fields, the quality of soil and so forth to organize an allocation of crops that is both uniform throughout the country and unique to each locality (many local products are famous and must be preserved and developed). However, the Vietnamese are too closely linked to the deltas and have little regard for forestry or ocean fishing (and even river fishing--as seen in the emergence of the "inferiority complex of the fishermen" and "the lack of land in which to put one's stake"...). During the Dong Son period, our lifestyle was still rather comprehensive. After more than 1,000 years of northern domination and from the time of Ly and Tran, especially from the period Le, we began to place too much emphasis upon the countryside, became "indignant toward uplanders" and even reached the point of closing the frontier, which is contrary to the natural environment of Vietnam, by turning our backs on the mountains and facing the sea. By the 19th Century, the Vietnamese had turned their backs on the mountainous jungles and were facing the sea. The revolution must be determined to eliminate our traditional pattern of behavior vis-a-vis nature, which is an aftereffect of the "Asian mode of production" that has ruled Vietnamese society for too long and has been exacerbated by the harmful influence of China ("continental politics" in place of "ocean politics").

2. When examining the matter of tradition, it is necessary to make a judgement on the nature of the socio-economic system of Vietnam prior to the 19th Century and its changes under the domination of French colonialism, Japanese militarism, U.S. imperialism and so forth. We cannot simply give it the label of "feudal" or "colonial and semi-feudal." Even when we say the "Asian mode of production," we must determine its special characteristics in Vietnam.

It is also necessary to attach importance to examining local characteristics and traits. For example, up until the 19th Century, under the unified administration of the Nguyen Dynasty in Hue, almost all cropland in the Red River Delta was privately owned and, generally speaking, decentralized (there were very few large pieces of land); in central Vietnam, the public ownership of cropland was widespread (and, it is clear that, in some areas, such as the Muong and Thai areas and central Vietnam, there was a style of exploitation based on the public ownership of cropland; this is an important observation that must be made in order to understand the so called "traditional Asian mode of production"); and, in the Mekong River Delta, the ownership of large pieces of cropland by large landowners was widespread. Thus, the economic structures, the social systems and, on this basis, the spiritual and

psychological structures also differ. The characteristics of the colonial system differed from one region of the country to the next. Therefore, national tradition also includes local tradition.

Generally speaking, particularly with regard to the Red River Delta, the psychological-traditional-cultural crucible of the nation, we see that, on the basis of the cultivation of wet rice, the small farmer economy was widespread. The small landowners who lived in the villages were actually small farmer-style businessmen. During the periods of Ly and Tran, there were a number of fiefdoms; at the start of the Le period, there were still a number of large "farms" but, within the plantations, the fiefdoms and the farms, there was, generally speaking, no large-scale production, only the small farmer style of business. In contrast to China, we never had a class of large landowners in our country to serve as the firm social foundation of a imperial, feudal government (except in Nam Bo, where this class existed into the modern era and supported Nguyen Anh and the Nguyen Dynasty while vigorously opposing the Tay Son peasant movement that started in central Vietnam). The traditional small farmer style of business was for the "husband to plow, the wife to transplant and the buffalo to pull harrows." This is a major part of Vietnamese traditional history. The small farmer economy had enough dynamic strength to give birth to a system of small merchants (which developed very much in the Red River Delta in a system of "rural markets" operated primarily by women) which had no large flow of goods in the hinterland, no international commercial ties and very few traditional foreign trade ties. There was no stratum of large merchants. This economy did not develop in the cities. The market (Thang Long) had the structure of a large village (the ward was an administrative unit, not an industrial-commercial guild; many wards still engage in agriculture, fishing and so forth).

Large landowners and large merchants are not many in number and are not strong enough to have a separate style of life that leaves an imprint upon the national lifestyle. The lifestyle of the nation is the small farmer lifestyle. The Vietnamese small farmer is the representative of the national psychology, tradition and culture.

The traditional social structure has the private family or the nucleus family (wife, husband and children who have not reached maturity) as its basic cell. Every small farmer family is a home (or a kitchen).

With the natural division of labor within the home of the rice farmer ("the husband plows and the wife transplants"), with women controlling small business (and, as a result, the "lock and key" within the home) and as a result of other socio-historic circumstances (war, for example), the role of the mother (the female), the wife became very important. The Vietnamese family, the form of which is a patriarchy, is actually both a patriarchal and matriarchal style of family, if not to say a family built on the principle of motherhood. This is a constant factor of the Vietnamese family, of the tradition of Vietnamese women.

The small farmer families of Vietnam combine to form villages and hamlets with each family having its own residential land and cropland. This can be stated in terms of a formula as follows:

The hamlet and village equal the sum of their small farmer families.

The village is a very basic and vivid "model," "organization" of traditional Vietnamese society with its own special appearance and its own individuality, is a complete economic-social-cultural human entity that has many different sides (blood, relationships, geographic relations [neighbors], the relationships among the age groups, the relationships among the classes and so forth).

In traditional Vietnam, there was no urban lifestyle or urban culture. In essence, traditional Vietnamese culture is a hamlet and village culture. Herein lie the strengths and weaknesses of Vietnamese tradition! Oral transmission is a special characteristic of Vietnamese tradition. In many respects, traditional Vietnamese culture is an oral culture. The village is somewhat self-governing and has commune-style rules established by its citizens.

Within the hamlet and village, a village system of democracy or, as Marx said, a "farmer democracy (also called the communal style of democracy) is also rather clearly preserved."

The nation of Vietnam was born early in history and fully satisfies both functions: nation-people and nation-state. Both of these functions are extremely important. Vietnam is first a political community and its consciousness as a nation coincides with its national consciousness. The patriotism, spirit of national pride and the sense of independence of the Vietnamese were constantly strengthened and developed because the "fatherland was divided," "the customs of the North and South were different."

A unified state and centralized authority were extremely necessary; they would play the role of organizing and coordinating the flood control work of the localities (dikes) and, in particular, the role of organizing national defense work in a country constantly threatened by the aggression and expansionism of China. As a result, the emperors in Dai Viet could not permit the fragmentation of the country into many independent territories in the style of the European landlord system. Even during the periods of Ly and Tran, we saw the emergence of an aristocracy based on bloodlines which received from the hands of the emperors fiefdoms and plantations; however, these fiefdoms did not constitute separate European style territories nor could they be "handed down in perpetuity." In the Le period, these plantations had been disbanded. However, in contrast to China, the emperor system had no large landowner class that was strong enough to serve as its firm foundation. The states of Van Lang and Au Lac were the first states not to be under the system of local leaders. In the Ly and Tran periods, the country of Dai Viet had a stratum of an aristocracy based on bloodlines (a small stratum). From the Le period onward, the state had a class of medium and small landowners. The Dai Viet states during the period of Ly and Tran and the period of Le and Nguyen were distinctly different. These states were not the same as the feudal states in Europe or China. They were "Asian style" states but, besides an aristocracy based on bloodline or a class of medium and small landowners, there was also an increasingly large bureaucratic system and standing army (from the Ly to the Le and Nguyen periods). The uniqueness of the Dai Viet centralized empire was that it not only had to manage a bureaucracy and army, but also a sea of somewhat autonomous villages.

In this situation, the state could only adopt a flexible attitude by pursuing a domestic and foreign line of a dual nature (such as flexibility in the foreign policy toward China was two-sided in nature; paying homage to China while still being truly independent); on the one hand, the state apparatus (the bureaucracy) was used to gradually limit the decentralized nature of the structure of the hamlets,

villages and localities; on the other hand, this apparatus had to be flexible in order to be consistent with the system of hamlet and village democracy. Besides the village of the people was the administrative village; the "village," therefore, is a dual purpose organization (the village of the government and the village of the people) in traditional Vietnamese rural society.

Bureaucracy is deeply ingrained in the nature of the state.

The sense of community is deeply ingrained in the nature of the village.

Bureaucracy from top to bottom and village democracy from bottom to top became intertwined and inseparable and accommodated each other. The traditional Vietnamese character is one of compromise, of reaching accommodation. This character created a special relationship between the village and the state with "the laws of the king yielding to the laws of the village" (in the long run, however, the village had to obey the laws of the king on taxes, corvée labor and military service!). The village democracy of the small farmers was blockaded within a bureaucratic apparatus (extending from the village to the imperial court); this gave birth within the village to a stratum of bullies (who usually emerged from within the middle peasants and higher strata) and the nature as bullies of the officials in the village.

The sense of community is a strength while the bureaucratic nature and the bully are a weakness of a traditional small farmer society within the framework of an "Asian mode of production."

The small farmer style of life and psychology became deeply ingrained in and created the principal characteristic of the national psychology. These are a "sentimental" lifestyle and psychology (thinking mostly on the basis of affection) involving a fondness for compromise based on half-way measures, as a result of which society experienced no major internal conflicts but also made progress slowly. The state (and the people) usually selected security ("living in harmony is most important") over social progress (all social progress usually causes a disruption of the balance that had been established). The village-country life gave birth to "devotion and obligation" (devotion to the village, obligation to the state) but it also gave birth to vision that does not go beyond the bamboo hedge, to a tendency to only work in a small-scale manner, to an unfamiliarity with looking ahead, with looking around oneself, with working in a large-scale manner; it caused us to bear insults and accept the harsh vagaries of the Asian natural and social environments.

Part III

In advancing to socialism, building a new system, a new economy and a new culture with new persons, we have inherited both the glorious aspects and the burdensome aspects of past villages and states.

When a people only support themselves through farming, they cannot help but be poor. We must also learn the forestry and ocean fishing trades and learn how to conduct trade on a large-scale at home and abroad.

to accomplish this, we must gradually carry out socialist industrialization and, along with this, the process of socialist urbanization with an increasingly strong working class that is truly the foundation of the DRV and leads the country along the path of socialist progress and prosperity.

We must overcome the bureaucratic nature of the state apparatus and the "bullying" nature of hamlet and village officials and truly build a socialist democratic system or, in the words of our party, establish the right of collective ownership of the Vietnamese working people.

Knowing how to maintain the essence of tradition, eradicating the poisons of Chinese feudalism and colonialist imperialism, incorporating the very best of the culture of mankind and daring to make revolution (building industry and establishing the right of collective ownership of the people), these are our new national traits, traits that have created a new tradition of Vietnam since the August Revolution.

7809

C30: 4209/266

METHODOLOGY IN THE TEACHING OF THE FINE TRADITIONS OF THE NATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 61 pp 34-36

[Article by Hoang Ngoc Di]

[Text] Part 1

The teaching of the fine traditions of the nation has long been placed within the scope of the teaching of ethics and, to some extent, the scope of a number of activities in the field of art and the field of building the new lifestyle. We must raise this matter in a more comprehensive fashion in the formation of the socialist character of today's Vietnamese.

Against the background of socialist construction, the teaching of national traditions involves teaching the cultural heritage of the nation and the national color of the socialist character through the creative expression of everyone in labor and combat as well as everyday life.

The teaching of national traditions must bring to everyone beautiful knowledge and sentiments of a national color in order to help them to express themselves in a way that reflects the smooth combination of modern culture and the very best of the nation and to heighten their sense of national pride and sense of responsibility to contribute to the progressive culture of mankind. As our culture becomes increasingly modern, our ability to develop the national nature of our culture becomes increasingly large. Conversely, as the national nature of our culture becomes increasingly profound, its ability to "make its own contribution" to the cultural storehouse of mankind becomes increasingly strong because mankind recognizes a cultural value not only on the basis of its "utilitarianism," but also attaches very much importance to the uniqueness with which it is expressed. This is even more important when production has become able to satisfy many consumer needs and things are selected on the basis of their uniqueness and artistic form.

With cultural exchange among nations becoming as widespread and strong as it is today, teaching the fine traditions of the nation is the most important measure in blocking the decadent influences of bourgeois culture and protecting the nation as an entity that has the strength needed to exist and develop. For this reason, in the educational reform programs in the developing countries, the teaching of national tradition is a matter of special importance.

Part 2

Any long standing tradition of the nation that is taught to the people of the present must be a spiritual strength of the nation, one capable of being incorporated in the new culture as a new value. It no longer retains its original form even though, in some cases, such as traditional songs and ancient works of art, nothing is changed from an objective point of view. However, when it is accepted by present day man as a source of inspiration, as a means for satisfying spiritual needs and even as a strength of the soul, it becomes a relatively new value that everyone in any nation that is building socialism or adheres to the socialist ideology can accept and admire even though, in some cases, it is impossible to precisely copy some customs and habits. All that remains are its various forms of expression, that is, the way it is expressed in the psychological characteristics of the nation, in the language and style of the nation, that is, the national character.

This principle is very important in the selection and perfection of the nation's traditions because it prevents bigoted nationalism. At the same time, it provides the ability to select numerous tradition of the nation that can be enhanced, not only the tradition of fighting the enemy. Importance must be attached to the various types of traditions: fighting the enemy to defend the country, creative labor, social intercourse, culture and art and so forth. From the point of view of teaching man, cultural, literary and art traditions have the most profound impact because they embody the essence of the other traditions and are strong in expression, in ability to transmit even means of expression. The enhancement of all of the various traditions will create the national heritage of the new culture and the new man.

Part 3

To teach tradition in a truly thorough manner, that is, to turn traditions into the qualities of the new man, into the factors of every cultural creation, we must coordinate three factors: intelligence, feelings and action.

With regard to intelligence, we must be able to employ scientific, aesthetic and ethical persuasion based on the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, must compare the cultural values of the same type of different nations, must analyze their strengths and unique aspects and must, at the same time, point out their similarities in meaning. It must be realized that this is not an easy chore (such as comparing national music with modern music, for example). We must combat the non-historic tendency in the selection and explanation of traditions and must, at the same time, combat conservatism in the presentation and teaching of traditions.

Feelings are a decisive aspect in the stability of the teaching of tradition. Scientific persuasion is a premise in education even though the factor of feelings does play a role; however, in order to have a profound impact as regards the acceptance of something by man, we must find ways to remold and express traditions in artistic images. We must, on the basis of the aesthetic tastes of modern day man, find ways to transmit traditions that create the strongest possible feelings. For example, under the old system, statues of national heroes were erected, the costumes, shape and color of which were symbolic of the system. Today, however, the statues of similar personalities must have suitable shapes and arrangement that create an impression,

primarily of the spiritual strength of man and the new system that erected them. Without art, it is difficult for traditions to permeate man; moreover, without art, traditions can erode with each passing day.

With regard to actions, traditions must be the new customs and habits, must control labor and creativity, must infiltrate modern art. Admiration for national heroes must be expressed through holidays, through caring for their grave sites, monuments and vestiges. The tradition of kindness must be expressed in our daily habits and contacts. The new man must live with tradition in order to accept tradition in a firm and solid manner.

Part 4

In order to successfully select and perfect traditions, it is necessary to firmly grasp Marxist-Leninist philosophy and have a highly modern cultural level, consequently, it is impossible to achieve the impact of the teaching of all of the fine traditions of the nation all at once; this work requires a process of serious scientific research. However, in the teaching of tradition, importance must also be attached to all of the various categories of persons to be taught, beginning with the very young, and the traditions of the nation must serve as the foundation for the formation of the world view and the comprehensive scientific knowledge of these persons.

The world view determines the tendency of the personality. The world view is the system of viewpoints, beliefs and ideals through which man develops attitudes toward reality around him. The world view is based on philosophy but does not consist only of abstract categories such as philosophy; it is the system that generalizes intelligence, experience and feelings and reflects the special characteristics of man's social life. If the young, who are growing up in an environment to which they are very close, are guided so that they accept the cultural factors inherent within this living environment in a conscious and selective fashion, they will accept these factors in a very firm manner.

It is necessary to incorporate national traditions in the contents of song and music and in the conversation within families and child care centers. Traditions must be manifested on holidays within localities, death anniversaries, funeral ceremonies and wedding ceremonies within families, within hamlets. Attention must be given to repairing and preserving historic vestiges, cultural ruins and the cemeteries of war dead within localities and this must become a custom of the people and of the local schools, become a source of pride of the youths and teenagers within the locality. In other words, it is necessary to create the conditions for children to immerse themselves in the fine traditions of the nation when they begin to learn the elementary aspects of the culture under the close guidance of adults. The "half-native, half-foreign" phenomena among some youths and teenagers in the cities and even in a few rural areas are proof of a serious shortcoming in education; the light attention given to teaching tradition, primarily the cultural tradition of the nation.

For a long time, we have only concerned ourselves, although not completely, with researching the nation's cultural and art traditions in order to support artistic

creation. We are still giving light attention to teaching these traditions in a systematic and thorough fashion as indispensable factors in the kindergarten and general school curricula and in the activity programs of the Youth Union, the Teenagers' Unit and the Children's Unit. Among youth collectives, especially in industrial and agricultural areas, the teaching of tradition is also weak. Even in the teaching of patriotism, we only popularize the experiences and tradition of "our forefathers fighting the enemy." Now, in addition to teaching the tradition of patriotism, we must also select values pertaining to lifestyle and art. If, in these fields, we do not see things that are good and national in character, the national inferiority complex will continue to exist and the tendency to accept things that are foreign in a manner not based on principle will continue to develop.

The enhancement and teaching of the fine traditions of the nation must be raised in a manner commensurate with their importance in the socialist style of life in our country today.

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CSO: 4209/200

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 36-39 and 50

[Article by Phong Chau]

[Text] In 1980, looking back on the major developments in recent history and on the basis of the revolutionary struggle by the nation of Vietnam, we can confirm that many revolutionary traditions have been established. The adjective "revolutionary" emphasizes the new stage of development of our nation's traditions.

The Vietnamese revolutionary tradition is, above everything else, a tradition that has been formed over the past 50 years, from the time that the Vietnam Communist Party raised its banner and began leading the people in an uprising to "save the country, save their homes, save themselves." Fifty years are a very short period of time compared to the thousands of years of history of the nation. However, in this short space of time, our nation has experienced many extremely important historic events. In 1930, the Vietnamese communist party was born, thereby marking a decisive turning point in the revolutionary movement and in the political life of the country. In 1945, the victorious August Revolution ushered in a new era, the era of independence and freedom of the fatherland, the era of socialism in our country. In 1975, the yoke of imperialist domination was smashed and the fatherland became totally independent and reunified. The 15 years from 1930 to 1945 were a continuous struggle to win national independence. The 35 years since 1945 have been years of continuous fighting to protect and preserve our national independence. Once persons who had lost their country, our people arose to become the masters of their country and have defended every bit of soil of the fatherland.

The Vietnamese revolutionary tradition was profoundly and eloquently expressed in the national liberation revolution. This is the tradition of not yielding in the face of the armed might of the enemy, of being wholeheartedly loyal to the party, of giving one's life for the revolution, of patriotism, of placing the interests of the fatherland above everything else:

"He died kissing the banner of the party

He died giving his weapon and ammunition to someone else, forgetting his pain."(1)

It is the tradition of bravely attacking the enemy during the years of the resistance against the French, the resistance against the United States and the resistance against

Chinese expansionism and hegemony: "He who has a weapon, must use a weapon; he who has a sword, must use a sword," "every round of ammunition is a dead enemy soldier," "aim directly at the enemy and fire" and "cling to the enemy and attack them"; the tradition of unity of all the people in fighting the enemy: "Unity, unity, broad unity; success, success, sweeping success," "the South and the North are one," "the army and the people are like fish and the water," "let the rear area emulate the frontlines," etc.

It is the cultural tradition of the "sound of singing drowns out the noise of bombs" of the optimistic masses who were confident in the victory of the revolution despite deprivations, difficulties and dangers. This tradition originated in the movement to write poems, write articles, and perform plays of the political prisoners at Hoa Lo, Son La, Lao Bao and Con Dao, in the movement of the National Defense Army to post notices on blackboards, walls and bamboo lattice, to spread information by word of mouth and to inscribe poems on the butts of rifles and in the cheers of the citizens in the resistance against the French. The bombs and shells of the U.S. imperialists did not drown out the songs, the cultural voice of our people. The people opened classes in mines and trenches for their children and conducted supplementary education classes for adults within the hamlets, even at battle positions during operations. Cam Binh Village (in former Ha Tinh province) was the target of U.S. bombs 40 times but still steadfastly adhered to the slogan "production is the lock, culture is the key."

The above mentioned military, political, cultural and other revolution traditions mentioned above also bear the deep, rich imprint of each locality: the fiery land of Vinh Linh, the steel-like land of Cu Chi, tenacious Viet Bac, the unyielding Central Highlands and so forth; these traditions also bear the unique imprint of each unit: the delta military corps, which operated at will behind enemy lines, the Truong Son Military Corps, which ruled the high mountains and the dense jungles, the Red Star Air Force Group which attacked the enemy in the blue skies and so forth.

In the national liberation revolution, each village, each unit and each sector developed its own revolutionary tradition. We have summarized these to some extent. We must recount the service, the achievements of those persons who fell, of those persons who are lying peacefully in the war dead cemeteries and of countless persons still alive who are continuing the struggle for the glorious socialist fatherland.

From the bloody period of the Nghe Tinh Soviet, the period of the democratic front, the Nam Ky Uprising, the Bac Son Uprising and the intense Do Luong Uprising to the 1945 August Revolution and then through the three successful wars of resistance against France, the United States and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, our people have inherited and highly enhanced their forefathers' traditions of patriotism, democracy and unity.

The dominant theme of Vietnamese revolutionary tradition is revolutionary heroism. Under the light of the great truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," acts of heroism have called for greater acts of heroism. Heroes can be found in every age group, in every region of the country, in every segment of the population. There are heroes in extraordinary work and heroes even in commonplace work. Soldiers at enemy posts have secretly supported cadres in the enemy rear area;

young shock women have built roads across the Truong Son Mountain Range; and revered mothers have piloted ferries taking troops across rivers under heavy enemy bombings. The acts of heroism of these persons are both examples and starting points for other persons. The enjoying together of revolutionary heroism constantly heightens the soul of man and is the yeast that creates traditions. During the difficult hours of the nation and in the face of the bright examples set by other members of their units, traitors, cowards and the timid are denounced, loyalty and bravery are awakened and hatred of the enemy burns brightly. The Vietnamese revolutionary tradition was born in the actions of millions of such persons, born quietly without any great fanfare.

With the Russian October Revolution, mankind shifted from the system of capitalist slavery to the system of socialist and communist collective ownership. The Russian October Revolution placed the working class in the center of the age and awakened the mass of workers and all oppressed and exploited people to arise in a struggle to win the liberation of their class, win national independence and freedom, win dignity for man and win the right to be the masters of their own destinies. Among the nations that arose in accordance with the line of the Russian Revolution was the nation of Vietnam. Our people steadfastly followed the line on the proletarian revolution set forth by President Ho. Today's victories of the Vietnamese revolution are a result of that line. The revolution has also existed and developed under the light of this line. Therefore, the new essence, the bright and hard diamond of revolutionary tradition is the ideology of the working class, is Marxism-Leninism.

This new essence has created totally new revolutionary traditions: the tradition of militant solidarity with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world, that is, the tradition of considering "proletarians everywhere to be brothers," the tradition of uniting with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the tradition of uniting with Laos and Kampuchea, two countries for which "our feelings run deeper than our feelings for the countries of Hong Ha and Cuu Long." This new essence has caused the nation's tradition to acquire many new values. Through numerous revolutionary movements, challenges and struggles in the new age, the tradition of patriotism has become the tradition of loving socialism, the democratic tradition of the commune enhanced to become the tradition of collective ownership, etc. The laboring masses of today consciously write their own history and will surely enhance the traditions of the revolution even more. This new essence has caused the strength of national traditions to be multiplied many times. In an address delivered in commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the birth of Nguyen Trai, the great hero of the nation of Vietnam in the 15th Century, Vo Nguyen Giap highly evaluated the art employed by Le Loi and Nguyen Trai to lead wars, their art of skillfully combining political, military and diplomatic attacks on the enemy, of attacking the enemy with the forces of all the people and with the national army, of coordinating attacks by the partisan army with uprisings by the masses and sympathizers; he stated: "Our party has inherited and raised this strategy to a new pinnacle and developed it into a 'complete strategy' with tremendous strength to triumph over every enemy."

In fact, only in the new age, as a result of the smooth combination of Marxism-Leninism with the extraordinary revolutionary energies and the boundless creativity of the people, could our party successfully implement this brilliant "complete strategy" and triumph over the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarmes.

Vietnamese revolutionary tradition embodies the great strength of the nation and the tremendous strength of the age.

Vietnamese revolutionary tradition was formed by the generations that lived during the age of Ho Chi Minh and were directly educated by the communist party and the leader Ho Chi Minh. Vietnamese revolutionary tradition is the product of the age of Ho Chi Minh. During the past 50 years, the Vietnamese have steadfastly struggled under the two banners of national independence and socialism brandished by the Vietnam Communist Party. The generation that preceded the 1945 August Revolution, together with Uncle Ho, cleared the way, overcame countless difficulties and perils and led the people in an uprising to seize political power. Since then, all the people have lived in an atmosphere of freedom, lived under the direct guidance of the party and Uncle Ho. Uncle Ho "cleared the way hour by hour"; when "Uncle Ho told us to go, we went; when he told us to win victory, we did." (2) The path of the revolution was charted by the party and Uncle Ho and, in response to Uncle Ho's call, countless generations have eagerly followed this path. Since the day that he departed from us, we have made every effort to implement the teachings in his sacred Testament.

Our 4,000 years of history are marked by many glorious ages: the age of building the country of the Hung Kings, the age of defending the country and recording earth-shattering feats of arms during the dynasties of Dinh-Le, Ly, Tran, Le and so forth; however, the age of Ho Chi Minh marks a great turning point for the nation: our people are truly the masters of society and the country and are consciously building a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man, a society of prosperity and happiness. The road might still be long, still be winding and covered with obstacles, but we shall surely reach our destination.

Through the long process of education and training, our party has trained tens of thousands of outstanding cadres and trained numerous generations of new persons who live a life based on ideals, based on ethics and are wholeheartedly "loyal to the party, filial with the people and ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism."

Over the past 50 years, having accepted the ethics of Uncle Ho, our people would "rather have died than be enslaved" and have "completed every task, overcome every difficulty and won victory over every enemy."

The spiritual values, the noble qualities and the "precious metals of knowledge, confidence and practical communist action" (3) of one generation have been handed down to the next, thereby creating the glorious traditions of the age. Each generation has either been active within the same movement or fought within the same trench and all have experienced the joys and sadness of the nation and have the same desires, beliefs and experiences. Through our revolutionary traditions, each succeeding generation has contributed to creating the imprint of the national community and has borne within itself the many beautiful colors of this imprint.

Revolutionary tradition is a bright flame in the hearts of the soldiers on the combat and production fronts, is a sacred torch to be handed down to the next generation. We are extremely proud of the noble traditions of our people in this glorious age of Ho Chi Minh. Our friends rejoice over and our enemies are terrified

by the imposing feats of arms of the Vietnamese. This is eloquent proof of the invincible, tremendous strength of Vietnamese revolutionary tradition.

Under the leadership of the party, the traditional revolutionary heroism of our people in the cause of saving and defending the country will become revolutionary heroism in the work of building socialism and protecting the beloved fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. To Huu: "Tho To-Huu" [The Poems of To Huu], People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 134.
2. Ibid., p 83.
3. Va-dim Pet-che-nep [Vietnamese phonetics]: "The Revolutionary Continuity of the Generations," SOCIAL SCIENCES Journal, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, French version, No 2-1979, p 253.

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CSO: 4209/266

THE WAR OF INFRINGEMENT, PROVOCATION AND SABOTAGE OF CHINA IN THE BORDER AREA OF
OUR COUNTRY OVER THE PAST 2 YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 40-44

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thieng; a report on this item was carried by Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese on 2 March 1981 and published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 042, 4 Mar 81, pp K2-K4]

[Text] Since being defeated in the large-scale war of aggression (February 1979), the Chinese authorities have committed more than 4,000 acts of armed provocation along our country's northern border. As of late August 1980, they were still occupying 34 positions and groups of positions in four provinces, Lang Son, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen and Hoang Lien Son, compared to 12 positions prior to 17 February 1979. The majority of these positions are of economic or military importance, some are hills, some lie nearly 2 kilometers within our territory and some cover hundreds of hectares of cropland.

At present, the Chinese side regularly maintains five military corps in the area near the border and 15 divisions are massed along our country's border. They have expanded and built many road systems from the hinterland directly to the points along the border and even to points within the territory of Vietnam that they are still illegally occupying. Together with expanding their roads and air fields, they are accelerating the shipment of weapons and means of war to the south. They are strengthening and expanding their military bases on Hai Nam Island and the Paracel Islands of Vietnam, which are being illegally occupied by them. They are continuously making demands concerning the Spratley Islands under Vietnamese sovereignty. The reactionary Chinese authorities have gone so far as to urge a number of concerned governments to start disputes with us over territorial waters. At present, China has about 300 large and small military vessels operating in the South China Sea. In 1980 alone, armed vessels and boats of theirs engaged in more than 6,000 acts of provocation, reconnaissance and sabotage to disrupt the normal operations of Vietnamese fishermen in their own territorial waters. It can be said that the border situation between our country and China, especially in the North, is one of a constant state of medium and small-scale hostilities and one that could easily develop into a large-scale war of aggression. This proves that the Chinese authorities, although bitterly defeated, have never abandoned their scheme of hegemony and expansionism concerning Vietnam and Indochina. Their acts of sabotage along the eastern border, the southwestern border and the northwestern border and, in particular, their

continuous war of infringement, provocation and sabotage along our country's northern border are an important part of their counter-revolutionary strategy to "sabotage us politically, militarily, economically and diplomatically and impede our people's socialist construction in a vain attempt to weaken and annex us in order to carry out expansionism and hegemony in Southeast Asia." (1)

Because they are near our country, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have looked for every way to take advantage of the geography in order to wage a war of sabotage against our country using armed forces and attacking us through psychological warfare. Geographical conditions have created neighborly relationships, both in peace and war, a situation which depends upon the intentions of the Chinese ruling class, throughout the thousands of years of history of the two countries.

In contrast to the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists who came here from distant lands, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are immediately next to us. The people on both sides of the border share family ties or ethnic ties and are close neighbors. At many places, the people on either side of the border once had close relations: they raised crops in the same fields, took firewood from the same forests, shopped at the same markets, drank water from the same rivers, raised buffalo in the same fields, etc. From geographical ties, social relations, (ethnic, religious, production and so forth) and family relations have emerged. Today, the Chinese reactionaries are using these relationships to achieve their counter-revolutionary objectives and oppose the interests of the peoples of both countries.

One of the tricks employed by the Chinese reactionaries over the past 2 years has been to use relatively small armed forces, generally of company size or less, to infiltrate and launch attacks on our territory. When it is necessary to occupy important points or in order to commit relatively serious crimes, they use forces of battalion or regimental size, such as they did in the attack on and occupation of Hill 1392 in Xin Man Village, Ha Tuyen Province, in October 1980. The objectives of these acts of armed encroachment are to kill our compatriots, destroy their crops and rob them of their property or to occupy cropland, raise crops on it and occupy hills of military value. At the same time, they have actively engaged in acts of spy and espionage warfare. In March 1980, the deputy commander of the Van Nam Military Region admitted that China lacked very much information along the Vietnam border and demanded that very many agents be sent back to Vietnam to conduct reconnaissance and gather information. Practically all of the Chinese agents that have been arrested by us have stated that they came to Vietnam to spy and gather information.

A very important measure of the enemy over the past 2 years has been to intensify the psychological war in a vain attempt to weaken the will to fight of our compatriots and cadres. They use psychological warfare as a strategic measure, as an important part of their overall policy of insanely and continuously undermining our country. Their psychological war involves distorting and undermining the domestic and foreign lines and policies of our party and state. They use leaflets, loudspeakers along the border and espionage agents and lackeys who sneak into our country to distort the lines and policies of our party and state. The Chinese reactionaries fabricate all sorts of stories to attack and discredit the leaders of our party and state. Their tricks are to divide our people, divide our party,

provokes the lower echelons into opposing the upper echelon, provokes the people into opposing their leaders in order to sow the seeds of resistance and lay the groundwork for them to infiltrate and sabotage our country. They distort and openly attack the nationalities policy and the policy regarding the border area of our party and state. They pretend to protect Sino-Viet friendship in order to distort and poison the relations between the two countries. They change black into white, turn truth into falsehood in a vain attempt to cause everyone to mistakenly think that it is not the Vietnamese but the Chinese reactionary authorities who are concerned with the friendship between Vietnam and China. To perform this insidious work, the reactionaries in Trung Nam Hai have used the name of President Ho Chi Minh. They pretend to extoll President Ho in a vain attempt to defend their undermining of Sino-Viet relations. Deserving of attention is the fact that they extoll President Ho in order to discredit the present leadership of our party and state. They shamelessly maintain that it seems that our party has undergone a change in nature between the period of President Ho and the present period.

They have used Hoang Van Hoan as a tool in the psychological war against our country. Used his waning strength and his serpent-like tongue to distort the lines and policies of our party and state, especially with regard to Sino-Viet relations. They established a traitorous so called revolutionary organization, including armed forces, and put the traitor Hoang Van Hoan at its head. The so called "crop protection army" is a part of this organizations. This army specializes in acts of sabotage in the border area of our country, sometimes going deep into the hinterland to collect intelligence information or infiltrating our agencies and mass organizations and "lying in ambush" waiting for the opportunity to take action. This army consists of the most reactionary persons selected from among the Vietnamese of Chinese ancestry who fled to China. Of course, these persons are rather well versed in the various aspects of our situation in the ethnic minority areas and the border area. In essence, this is an "army of Vietnamese" being used by the Chinese reactionaries to fight Vietnamese. The policy employed by the colonialists and imperialists in past years was: using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, using Indochinese to fight Indochinese; this is the same policy being pursued by the Chinese reactionaries now.

The special characteristic of the psychological war being waged by the Chinese reactionaries is that they always hide behind the labels of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Phenomena such as an army of aggressors attacking the territory of another country while singing the "Internationale," marching under the "red flag" and carrying a talisman with the inscription "sea of humanity tactic" are very rare in history. Hour after hour, day after day, hundreds of enemy loudspeakers along our country's border loudly broadcast songs created in the past years by the two countries. And, there is no shortage of songs that are falsely presented as songs about revolution, Marxism-Leninism, socialism and friendship. However, the actions of the Chinese reactionaries are total contrary to everything expressed in these songs. The psychological warfare of the enemy reaches the point of the absolutely ridiculous when they try to explain that the reason for their more than 4,000 armed operations and infringements into our country during the past 2 years as designed to protect crops on their side of the border!

In their psychological warfare activities, the Chinese reactionaries are closely collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers. In 1980, the CIA supplied to China 100 million dollars compared to the 80 million dollars they supplied to Radio Free Europe. As a result, whereas Beijing Radio had only two broadcasts per week in Vietnamese prior to 1978, it has seven in 1979 and eight in 1980. Along their entire border with our country, they have erected 20 wired radio stations that regularly broadcast in Vietnamese and in the languages of the ethnic minorities in Vietnam. They have sent into our country a very large quantity of leaflets written in Vietnamese coordinated with distorting public opinion, spreading provocative rumors and attempting to create chaos, sow division among the nationalities and sow the seeds of rebellion.

The basic elements of the psychological war of the Chinese reactionaries are deception, distortion, villification, enticement, bribery, division and creating an attitude of suspicion, anxiety and fear or at least an uneasiness in production and work. Their wicked objective is to sabotage the basic factors that create the invincible strength of our country's revolution, of the socialist construction and protection of the fatherland of our people. These factors are the correct line and policies of our party, the resolute and wise leadership of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, headed by the revered General Secretary Le Duan, the fighting strength of the heroic people's army, the unshakeable solidarity of the great family of fraternal nationalities within the beloved country of Vietnam and, in particular, the closeness among the ethnic minorities in the area of our country's northern border, who have existed for generations as a wall along the frontline of our fatherland, blocking attacks by the aggressor armies of China.

Of course, the psychological war and the spy war of Chinese expansionism and hegemony, which are designed to undermine our country in every respect, are being carried out throughout our country, even on an international scale. However, the border area is the frontline position of our fatherland, is the first threshold through which the northern aggressors must pass in order to make their long and criminal march into the south. As a result of this special position, smashing the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy and thwarting their spy war activities immediately within the area along the northern border are an extremely important part of the task of defeating the enemy's war of infringement, sabotage and provocation in the area along our northern border.

The Chinese reactionaries, obstinately pursuing a hostile policy toward our country, have refused each of our peace initiatives, even rejected our proposals concerning the cessation of armed activities during the New Year's Tet. Turning right into wrong, they falsely accused us of infiltrating their territory in order to cover up their crimes. Why are the Chinese reactionaries constantly causing disruptions and launching attacks in the area along our country's northern border? It is because they are pursuing a policy of big country expansionism and hegemony. By looking at the border situation between China and all of the countries surrounding it, everyone can clearly see that the expansionist and hegemonist nature of the Chinese authorities determines the provocative and aggressive nature of their border policy. The Chinese reactionary authorities have never expressed the sincere desire to resolve border issues with any country. In the early 1960's, they signed border treaties with several countries, such as Burma, Nepal and so forth; however, this was only a tactic designed to soothe relations with these places while their efforts could be focused

elsewhere, not designed to truly resolve issues. Their consistent policy has been to always make unreasonable territorial demands, thereby making the border issues between their country and other countries issues that have not been resolved. When they lack the conditions they need, they consider these issues to be issues in dispute. When they have the conditions they need, they use these issues as a pretext for acts of provocation, for starting bloody conflicts and even for acts of aggression, such as the aggression against India in October 1962 and against us in February 1979.

Thus, the so called disputed border issue fabricated by the Chinese side is nothing more than a potential pretext to be used by them at any time they see fit to support their reactionary domestic and foreign policies. Consequently, the border policy of Beijing is in total violation of the legal nature of the national border between Vietnam and China. They have turned the Sino-Viet border into a place of bloody disputes. They have committed many crimes against our people in the border area. The scheme of the Chinese authorities is to use war to resolve the border issue. In essence, this is a crude trick to use the border issue to achieve their counter-revolutionary objectives. Because, "if military interests are the basis upon which national boundaries are determined, there will be no limit to territorial demands."(2)

How long do the Chinese reactionary authorities intend to maintain this situation? History has proven that wherever we find reactionary nationalism, chauvinist expansionism and clever schemes of imperialists and international reactionaries, border issues arise and usually become issues in dispute, issues causing conflicts that last for decades, sometimes even for centuries. Deserving of attention is the fact that virtually all territorial disputes along borders have occurred in Asia, Africa and Latin America at places that were once colonies of the western colonialists.(3) The border between Vietnam and China is also in Asia but it is the only border of the several borders between China and the countries surrounding it that has been acknowledged by international agreement, consequently, it is of international legal value. Despite this, the Chinese authorities have regularly violated this border. The ruling clique who succeeded Mao in Beijing and call themselves socialists carried out a war of aggression against our country, a war that started with a mass attack along the entire border in February 1979. This was a serious violation of our country's independence and sovereignty and a crude violation of the legal value of the border between the two countries.

Over the past 2 years, the Chinese authorities have continued to pursue a provocative border policy and have in no way expressed any intention to change or abandon their scheme to commit aggression against and annex our country. They have only changed their tactics and tricks, not abandoned the expansionist and hegemonist nature of their policy. To us, the past 2 years have been years of continuously fighting against the war of encroachment, provocation and sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists along our country's border. To the Chinese authorities, they have been 2 years of insane encroachment, provocation and sabotage that have been constantly retaliated against. This reflects the just cause and the high spirit of vigilance of our army and people. We must continue to display high vigilance, maintain combat readiness and crush every war of encroachment, provocation and sabotage by the enemy along our country's border, thereby protecting every piece of soil of our fatherland. At the same time, we are determined to denounce before public opinion the scheme of the Chinese reactionary authorities to trample upon the aspirations for

peace of the peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and China in a vain attempt to use the border issue for a prolonged campaign of sabotage to weaken our country, eventually commit aggression against and annex our country and achieve their dream of hegemony over Vietnam, Indochina and Southeast Asia.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duang: "Lam chu tap the-noi dung co ban cua Hien phap moi" [Collective Ownership-the Basic Theme of the New Constitution], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 12-1980.
2. K. Marx: "The Second Manifesto of the Central Committee of the International Workers' Federation on the Franco-German War," 9 September 1870.
3. In South America, there are several border disputes on land and at sea that have lasted for more than 100 years but have still not been resolved.

In western Europe and North America, the bourgeois national states were formed after rather thoroughly abolishing the feudal order, consequently, in these regions, borders are relatively clearly defined. Conversely, the western imperialists and colonialists left behind "less than democratic"(Lenin) borders in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is one of the reasons for the present outbreak of border disputes.

There are other regions that once had "less than democratic" borders but which have not experienced territorial border disputes. They are the borders between the countries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the borders of the socialist countries in eastern Europe and the borders of the Indochinese countries. These are truly eloquent proof that only socialism can resolve border issues in a manner consistent with the "aspirations and sentiments of the people."(Lenin)

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CSO: 4209/266

BUILDING THE VIETNAMESE SOCIALIST STYLE OF LIFE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 45-50

[Article by Thanh Le]

[Text] Every society has its own style of life. A society can only be considered stable when it has established its own style of life. Feudal society had the feudal lifestyle. Capitalist society has the bourgeois style of life. Socialist society must have the socialist style of life.

The socialist lifestyle is the crystallization of the social and economic development of the socialist system. Once it forms, the socialist lifestyle has a strong, reciprocal effect upon the development of society and man.

What Is Lifestyle? The Basic Characteristics of the Socialist Lifestyle

The concept "lifestyle" is very much broader than the concept "standard of living" and these two concepts differ in nature. "Standard of living" only indicates the material and cultural levels enjoyed by man while "lifestyle" primarily indicates the activities of man. Totally different lifestyles can be practiced under the same standard of living. The socialist countries in Europe and the developed capitalist countries have standards of living that are nearly the same but their lifestyles are opposite. Meanwhile, the living standards of the socialist countries at this time might vary but their lifestyles are the same.

Simply stated, lifestyle indicates how man lives, why he lives, what he does and the behavior patterns of his life. For this reason, lifestyle, in substance, not only encompasses living conditions, but involves all the various forms of activities of man in the process of producing material and spiritual wealth as well as in the socio-political and family-daily activities field.

Lifestyle is not restricted to the spiritual motives of actions, to the way we feel and think, to only things that lie within the realm of consciousness because lifestyle not only encompasses the realm of consciousness, but also realms that lie outside consciousness.

Nor can lifestyle merely be considered ordinary "daily activities" or external phenomena. When talking about lifestyle, we are talking about the basic characteristics

that reveal the nature of the activities of man. When talking about lifestyle, we are also talking about the concept of man concerning life, that is, about his world view. The concept "lifestyle" as well as the concept "mode of production" reflect the general aspects of a given socio-economic form. These general aspects are, of course, reflected in specific aspects, in the lifestyle of each class, of each social group, of each individual.

When talking about lifestyle, we must talk about all the various fields of activity in the life of man in the basic areas of social and personal life: labor; family-daily activities; social-political activities; cultural-spiritual activities, with labor being the most basic activity; however, labor is also tremendously influenced by the other activities. If, when we talk about lifestyle, we limit ourselves to the form of expression of personal tastes (such as style of food and dress, for example), we do not have a full understanding of the concept of lifestyle.

The basic characteristic of the socialist lifestyle is socialist collectivism. Personal life cannot be separated from social life. The condition that determines the comprehensive and harmonious development of each individual is the oneness between the individual and the collective, between the individual and society. Collectivism is the essence of social life as well as personal life in socialist society; the collective in socialism is a collective of working persons who have freed themselves from domination by a small number of exploiters and parasites, a collective that lives and acts by its own means. Such a collective is a prerequisite to every individual developing himself in a comprehensive manner. Therefore, a totally new relationship gradually forms between the individual and the collective: every individual has a responsibility to the collective and the collective has a responsibility to every individual. It is in this sense that collectivism is the decisive characteristic of socialist lifestyle. This characteristic is reflected in all of the various fields of life in socialist society.

Another basic characteristic of the socialist lifestyle is the initiative and creativity of the individual within the community of collective ownership of the working people. Of course, man need not wait until socialism in order to engage in creative activities. History has given us very many examples of creative labor to change nature and society to achieve the objectives of man. However, it is clear that only socialism provides the conditions for initiative and creativity to arise in a natural manner from the production conditions of society and become an attribute of the millions of members of society, not merely a special privilege of a few individuals. In societies that have exploiting classes, the working people, that is, the majority of the population, do not have the conditions needed to effectively participate in socio-political or cultural-spiritual activities, even within the field of their labor, but are also deprived of initiative for a very simple reason: they do not produce products using their own instruments of production and do not produce for themselves. As Marx profoundly analyzed in the "1844 Thesis on Political Economy," they do not feel that they are persons when they work, only feel that they are persons when they are away from their work. Even within the field of daily activities and family life, a field long considered to be the most private, persons are still controlled by material and spiritual forces that are the opposite of the nature of man.

Strictly speaking, socialist collectivism and individual initiative and creativity are not two separate characteristics, but one characteristic consisting of two closely linked parts. These two parts can have different modes of coordination within each field of activity of man but they are always organically coordinated in every field. Because, socialist collectivism is the social form of the development of individual initiative and creativity, and individual initiative and creativity can only develop within the community of collective ownership of the working people.

The characteristic consisting of two closely related parts, namely, socialist collectivism and individual initiative and creativity, is the line between the socialist lifestyle and the lifestyles opposing it: the bourgeois lifestyle which has individualism as its end objective and the Maoist style "concentration camp communism." Both of these lifestyles are hostile toward and destroy the individual while restricting the development of society.

The Dialectical Relationship Among the Basic Aspects of the Socialist Lifestyle

The socialist lifestyle is an entity consisting of closely related parts.

First, there are the activities involved in labor. Within the socialist style of life, labor is considered the most important, the highest value. In contrast to the old societies, in which labor was degrading, in socialist society, labor regains its original value as the essence of man. Labor is not only a means whereby man supports his own existence, but also becomes a need of man. Man recognizes the value of labor by satisfying his legitimate needs, primarily his need for creative labor.

Man's awareness of the value of labor is most clearly seen in the degree of satisfaction with his labor. This is determined by many different factors: the concern for the material and spiritual interests of the worker, the specifics of the work being performed, the capabilities that each type of labor yield for the physical and spiritual development of man and the suitability of each specific type of labor to the individual characteristics of each specific laborer. As a result, in order for the worker to become increasingly satisfied with his labor, it is necessary to take a series of educational and organizational steps, such as raising the level of mechanization of labor, heightening the creative nature of labor, organizing labor in a scientific manner, heightening the aesthetic nature of labor, etc.

In the field of daily activities and family life, the socialist lifestyle of man differs from the lifestyle of the old societies. The concept "daily activities" encompasses the entire field of the daily activities of man outside production, labor and socio-political life. It is closely linked to restoring and developing the strength and energy of man, to the reproduction of the race, to the initial socialization of the young generations (the teaching and rearing of children), to the self-improvement of man. In the old societies, daily activities are only designed to carry out the "reproduction" process of man. Socialism, while fulfilling this function, brings a new quality to the daily activities of man and develops the individual in a comprehensive and harmonious manner. For example, relaxation and entertainment are not only designed to restore the energies expended in labor, but are also a means for developing man. The same is true in consumption. The socialist

lifestyle has its own mode of consumption, one which differs from the bourgeois mode of consumption as well as from "revolutionary asceticism." The bourgeois mode of consumption is consumption merely for the purpose of consumption, only the consumption of endless material goods. "Revolutionary asceticism" limits every legitimate need of man so that man becomes impoverished and withered. In socialist society, consumption has the purpose of providing the necessary conditions for the life of man (food, shelter, clothing, travel and so forth) in order to develop the creativity of man. Not only is importance attached to material consumption, but spiritual consumption is also strongly developed and sometimes precedes material consumption. Little attention is not given to satisfying the material needs of man; however, the socialist lifestyle does reject the evaluation and self-evaluation of individuals on the basis of their material wealth, on the basis of their material circumstances.

The efficient use of idle time is a matter to which particular importance is attached in daily activities under the socialist style of life.

In the socialist style of life, the family is improved in terms of both its structure and its functions. The primary feature of the structure of the socialist family is the equal and fair relationships within the family, which are contrary to the dogmatic and paternal nature of the old style family. In terms of its functions, excluding its reproductive function, which has been the function of all styles of families since antiquity, the most important functions of the socialist family are not the economic functions of old style families but the functions of teaching their children and developing the character of each member of the family.

In the socialist style of life, it is impossible to ignore the socio-political activities of man. The highest objective of the socio-political activities of the working persons in socialist society is to insure that the working people play the dominant role in managing every aspect of social life. In other words, these activities, in substance, implement the system of socialist democracy. The most vivid expression of this system is the unity between the rights and obligations of the citizen.

In the field of cultural-spiritual activities, the socialist style of life is primarily manifested in the unity between the socialist ideals of the individual and the goals of the development of socialist society. The working people are insured of having the conditions they need to take advantage of the cultural and spiritual achievements recorded by mankind in the thousands of years of history. There is no definite cultural level and can be no cultural innovation.

In the cultural-spiritual activities of the socialist way of life, highly cultured relations or relations of a highly cultured nature become rules of behavior of everyone. The various forms of contact among persons are very diverse: personal meetings, contacts in the process of collective creativity, the process of consuming spiritual values (attending theatrical productions, museums and so forth). From these contacts, persons disseminate to one another ethical, cultural and spiritual values as well as standards of behavior. However, the contacts among persons are not always positive in nature, but are sometimes negative. In the first case, these contacts are relations of a wholesome and rich spiritual content that cause persons to become

more beautiful, more intelligent, more altruistic. In the second case, they are relations involving deception and selfishness in which persons use and demean one another. Developing cultured relations is an indispensable requirement of the socialist style of life. At the same time, it is necessary to struggle against the lack of culture in the relationships among persons because it adversely affects the ethical atmosphere of society and the development of persons themselves.

All of the above mentioned fields of activity of man are closely related to one another and, in actuality, they combine to form the unified entity that is the socialist way of life. However, in socialist society, especially during its initial stage, when we lack the complete base needed for every activity of man to reach a high level of development, attention must be paid to the fact that labor is the activity that continues to play the most basic role.

To establish the socialist style of life qualitatively, we can and must establish quantitative norms that reflect, as fully as possible, every basic aspect of our lifestyle. This system of quantitative norms can be divided into five groups: labor, welfare and daily activities, education and culture, the health of the people and socio-political activities; of course, these norms must be consistent with economic and social planning.

Establishing the Socialist Lifestyle in Our Country

The socialist lifestyle in our country is a matter with which many persons are concerned. Having set forth and resolved the questions concerning each of its components (the question of forging the socialist attitude toward work, the question of teaching revolutionary ethics, the question of establishing families of the new culture and so forth), we have reached the point of raising the matter of the socialist style of life in all of its aspects.

At present, it is impossible to say that our country lacks any factor of the socialist style of life; however, it is also impossible to say that we have a complete socialist lifestyle. The building of socialism in our country, although only in the initial stage, has created the conditions for the socialist lifestyle to gradually emerge and, in actuality, manifestations of this style of life and this lifestyle itself are in the process of forming.

The history of the development of socialism has shown that the socialist style of life cannot be formed all at once, but involves a lengthy process. During the initial period, when socialism must repel fierce attacks by enemies both foreign and domestic, when the material and technical bases are still few in number and the cultural level of the vast majority of the population is still low, the conditions do not exist for the socialist lifestyle to reflect all of its special characteristics. It would be naive to state that there could still be a socialist style of life, even a communist style of life, without having the material and technical bases of socialism and without the vast majority of the people having a relatively high cultural level. It would also be a mistake to say that we should wait until socialism has its material and technical bases and the cultural level of the masses is rather high before talking about establishing the socialist style of life. The first mistake leads to actions based on idealism and the second leads to a passive

attitude; both are harmful to socialist construction, in general, and the socialist style of life, in particular.

In order for a society that is advancing from a backward economy, a society that has experienced more than 30 years of continuous war with the serious aftereffects of this situation, a society that was once profoundly influenced by the small-scale production style of life, the style of life of "neo-colonialism," to create for itself a socialist style of life, extraordinary efforts are required. We cannot only build the new, but must also wage a fierce struggle against the old style of life, against the infiltration or revival of the bourgeois style of life, against negative phenomena within society. Therefore, protecting, building and spreading the socialist style of life demand a thorough and comprehensive struggle in the effort to spread the new and eradicate the old, the backward and the outmoded by means of every available educational measure, political measure, legal measure, cultural measure, and so forth in order to support a great cause: the building of socialism and communism.

As a result, when raising the matter of establishing the socialist style of life in our country, we must make an extremely clear evaluation of the situation surrounding the style of life in our society at this time in order to reach necessary conclusions and, on this basis, enact appropriate plans and measures. This is work that is related to many sectors and many persons, work that can only be carried out through collective effort.

In this work, we have very large advantages in our favor. The socialist style of life has been incorporated in the agenda of the party and state. The fraternal socialist countries have learned very much concerning theory as well as practice with regard to this matter. In our society, many positive factors have been and are emerging in both outlook and action, factors that can serve as a firm foundation for building the Vietnamese socialist style of life.

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THE DONG NAI STATE-OPERATED RUBBER CORPORATION GRADUALLY COORDINATES THE THREE INTERESTS(*) WELL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 51-55

[Article by Le Sac Nghi]

[Text] The rubber state farms of the Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation, which were formally rubber plantations owned by French bourgeoisie, were nationalized following the total liberation of the South. At present, the corporation has 15 rubber farms with more than 30,000 hectares under cultivation, including 19,000 hectares of rubber trees that are being harvested and 12,000 hectares of newly planted rubber trees. In addition to the state farms, the corporation also has four latex processing plants. The corporation employs 21,000 manual and office workers.

When it first took over management of the plantations, the rubber tree plantings of the Dong Nai Rubber Corporation had been seriously damaged by the war. Within the processing plants, equipment and machinery were broken and no spare parts were available. Some workers had gone elsewhere to work and those who remained were exhausted. The rubber trees had been harvested to the point of exhaustion and 60 percent of the trees were between 30 and 72 years old. The indiscriminate harvesting policy pursued during the years of the war and the "minimum investments, maximum profits" policy of the capitalists had serious consequences.

Of the four latex processing plants, three had been constructed in 1926 and had become outmoded; they lacked spare parts and only had about 30 percent of their capacity remaining. Means of transportation and roads were in a state of serious disrepair.

The area of operation of the corporation was too large and its farms were scattered about five districts (Xuan Loc, Tan Phu, Phong Nhat, Chau Thanh and Long Thanh); therefore, communications and the organization and management of production and business posed many difficulties.

When our state took over its management, the entire corporation had 5,000 workers, 75 percent of whom were women, the majority of whom were older women in poor health who had many children. Practically all of the young workers who were in good health and were highly skilled had been conscripted by the enemy in previous years. Nearly

85 percent of the housing and the public projects related to the material and spiritual lives of the manual and office workers of the corporation was destroyed in the war. The living conditions of workers were very poor and unstable.

In the face of this situation, the pressing requirement was that the corporation restore and rejuvenate the rubber tree plantings that had become exhausted and old and restore the production capacity of the four latex processing plants. While transforming the old production relations and building the new production relations, the corporation built new production forces while training and utilizing the old corps of workers in order to develop their inherent potentials and create for them the new spirit of working in production as the owners of their enterprises.

The coordination of the "three interests" in the production process of the corporation was embodied in the guidelines for restoring and developing production, in the management of business and in the use of economic levers. The coordination of the "three interests" in production has had the effect of strongly encouraging the masses to participate in management, accelerate production and achieve higher economic returns in the work of the corporation.

While restoring and developing production, the Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation has given its attention to reorganizing and redistributing labor in an efficient manner and specializing labor in order to achieve increasingly high labor productivity. The organization of labor, the specialization of production and the management of production in accordance with a unified plan throughout the corporation require that all production work be performed under quotas. This is an objective requirement of coordinating the three interests: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual producer. However, within each production system (the clearing of land and the planting of new trees, cultivation, the harvesting of latex and the processing of latex) specific quotas are required. In its effort to coordinate the three interests and in order to gain experience, the corporation conducted pilot projects in the payment of piecework wages, the payment of wages under quotas, the payment of grade 5, grade 6 and grade 7 monthly wages and the use of awards and bonuses.

Clearing land and planting new trees in order to rejuvenate rubber tree plantings and replace old trees with new, high yield trees were the production guidelines established by the corporation at the very outset. Under these guidelines, when recruiting labor for the clearing of land and the planting of new trees, the corporation immediately organized this labor into state farms instead of taking the circuitous route of giving some land to them to work privately and then gradually organize collectives. The method of operation of the corporation not only reduced the capital investments that had to be made by the state, but also reduced construction time and quickly stabilized the organization of production and the living conditions of laborers. During the years from 1976 to 1978, with the labor, land, equipment and supplies provided by the corporation, the Cam Duong, Xa Bang, Ong Que and Cu Bi State Farms began clearing land and planting new trees by hand. At first, the state farms supplied grain and food and paid manday wages to their workers; however, labor productivity did not increase, the land clearing plan was not fulfilled, the corporation had to compensate for large losses, workers encountered difficulties in their daily lives and they did not work with enthusiasm. In 1979, gaining experience

from previous years, the corporation allowed the farms to implement contracts based on quotas. In the clearing of land, the contract quota is 400 dong per hectare; upon the completion of this work, each portion of it is tested and accepted and unlimited bonuses are paid for all work over and above the quota.

After land is cleared, the planting of new trees must be done in the proper season and new trees must be planted on all land that is cleared in order to avoid having to restore fields. In the planting of new trees, the corporation applied the practice of direct-planting in fields in place of the former practice of raising trees in nurseries and waiting until they are larger before planting a main crop. After 1 year, the state farms select good trees for grafting in order to develop high yield strains. The contract quota on the grafting of large trees is 120 trees per day with a survival rate of 95 percent. Many skilled workers have a productivity of 320 trees per day with a 100 percent survival rate. The average monthly wage of each worker is from 100 to 120 dong with some workers earning 300 dong. The trees must be cultivated for 5 to 6 years before latex can be extracted from them. During the period, the contract quotas insure that trees are cultivated well and grow rapidly. At first, the corporation contracted with each worker to cultivate 2.5 hectares of trees, with the land between the rows of trees lying fallow. Because it did not know how to make coordinated use of this land between tree rows, tall grasses grew during the rainy season and overpowered the young trees and, during the dry season, the dried grass posed the danger of fire. On the basis of this situation, the corporation decided to practice inter-planting and established regulations requiring that each laborer be in charge of 1 hectare, cultivate 470 rubber trees well and, depending upon the quality of the soil, turn in 400 kilograms to 1 ton of grain to the state farm each year. The form of contracts based on quotas on the inter-planting of grain on land cleared for the cultivation of rubber trees benefited the state, the collective and the individual producer in a practical way. As a result, the rate at which land was cleared and new trees were planted increased relatively rapidly. During the period from 1976 to 1979, by means of coordinating manual labor with mechanized labor, the Dong Nai Rubber Corporation cleared and planted land equal to 45 percent of the land it had under cultivation in 1976. Only 5 to 10 percent of these trees died and had to be replanted and the roots of the trees planted in 1976 have now penetrated to a depth of 1.8 to 2 meters in the soil. This proves that the trees have been growing rapidly and can begin to be harvested soon. The rubber farms completed their plans on the planting of new trees and met the requirement of rapidly replacing the plantings of rubber trees that had become too old. In 1979, as a result of inter-planting, the corporation harvested 4,948 tons of corn and 106 tons of paddy; each worker family earned an additional 300 kilograms of grain. The Xa Bang Farm harvested 1,475 tons of corn, 7 percent more than required under its plan, and many families at the farm harvested nearly 5 tons of grain.

In 1976, the corporation instituted piecework wages for the extraction of latex. This system of piecework wages, however, was a failure; workers concerned themselves only with output and disregarded technical regulations, thereby causing rubber tree plantings to rapidly become depleted. To correct this situation, the corporation began sending workers to extract latex in specific seasons and implemented output quotas with progressive bonuses based on these quotas and technical regulations for each group of plants, each age group of trees and each variety of trees; bonuses are

divided into output bonuses, technical bonuses and manday bonuses. With regard to output, the harvesting quotas based on the age of the tree and the amount of fertilizer applied to trees each year are more specific: from rubber trees that are at the age at which they produce vigorously (from 21 to 30 years old), no more than 250 to 270 kilograms of latex are extracted from each group of trees (a group of trees is the number of trees harvested per unit of area); from trees that are still young and trees that are almost old (from 8 to 20 years old and from 31 to 50 years old), an average of 200 kilograms of latex per group of trees is extracted. The implementation of quotas based on the method mentioned above made it necessary for rubber workers to closely link the use of efficient harvesting techniques with cultivation in order to achieve high yields. The workers that extract rubber only work 5 hours in the morning each day; the rest of their workday is spent doing other jobs. At the latex processing plants, final-product piecework wages have been implemented. This practice makes it necessary for the various elements of the production line to be closely coordinated. Before the establishment of contract quotas, the highest level of production ever achieved at the Dau Giay Latex Processing Plant was only 6.8 tons of product per day; now, the plant regularly processes from 7.8 to 8 tons per day, production costs per ton of product have declined and product quality has been markedly improved.

The Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation has created every possible condition for making efficient use of labor under the specific circumstances of the rubber growing sector. The corporation deploys its labor on the basis of the 8 hour administrative workday but, depending upon the season and the work to be performed, work hours are suitably arranged to insure high labor productivity and good economic returns. For example, workers who do weeding work when the sun is high so that the weeds die; workers who raise crops and graft trees work early in the morning and in the evening, etc. This method of working has yielded practical benefits for society, for the collective and for the individual production worker. On the other hand, it has raised the sense of collective ownership and the spirit of responsibility of each worker concerning the specific task assigned to him.

To insure that everyone works with enthusiasm to accelerate production and raise his labor productivity, the Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation, in addition to teaching politics and ideology and providing incentive by means of many different forms of wages, awards and bonuses, has also taken steps to develop crop and livestock production in the collective sector and the worker family sector, thereby creating the conditions for improving the life of workers. In addition to expanding the inter-planting of grain crops, the corporation has decided to develop livestock production. The collective cattle herd of the corporation grew from 234 head in 1978 to 401 head in 1979. Attention has also been given to vegetable production and pisciculture at the Cam Duong, Cu Bi, Xa Bang, Binh Ba, Dau Giay and Cam My Farms. The corporation has provided incentive and created favorable conditions for cadres and manual workers to organize crop and livestock production within their families. At the Ung Quay, Cam Duong, Cu Bi and Xa Bang Farms, which have good land, workers work after hours or on their days off or use subsidiary labor within their families to produce additional crops. At places that lack land, workers use the pieces of land along roads and streams to raise corn, beans and so forth. The activities designed to increase food and livestock production have become a widespread mass movement at the corporation and have helped to stabilize the living conditions of

cadres, manual workers and office workers. In 1979, the families within the corporation harvested 202 tons of paddy and 5,000 tons of corn, cassava, sweet potatoes and beans of various types and raised 10,262 hogs, 617,000 chickens and ducks and 282 head of cattle.

In order to create favorable conditions that enable workers to engage in production with peace of mind and have time for relaxation, study and entertainment, the corporation has organized a network of child care centers at all farms and enterprises which consists of 24 child care centers attended by 933 children and 30 kindergartens with 120 children attending each. Since October 1979, 100 percent of the costs of the child care centers have been paid by the corporation. Enough level I and level II schools have been opened for the school age children of manual and office workers. In addition, the corporation pays the tuitions of all of the students attending the level III "work-study" school organized by the corporation. The corporation has given its attention to resolving, in a fundamental manner, the housing problem of cadres and workers. In only 4 years, the corporation constructed 174,949 square meters of permanent and semi-permanent housing and 61,817 square meters of temporary housing. Each cadre and manual worker of the corporation has an average of 16 square meters of housing.

The corporation has also given its attention to caring for the spiritual life of cadres and workers. In addition to literary, art, sport and physical culture activities, the corporation has established a library for the entire corporation and separate book cabinets for each farm and enterprise. The farms that are clearing and planting new land have clubs equipped with books, magazines and public televisions.

The protection of health and the implementation of disease prevention sanitation based on plans has reduced the incidence of illness among the cadres and workers of the corporation. The new socialist style of life has begun to be established. Security, order and social safety are being maintained.

During the past 4 years, the Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation has overcome many challenges and difficulties and exceeded the primary norms of its 5-year state plan; in particular, it exceeded its plan in every respect in 1979.

Compared to the norms of the 5-year plan (1976-1980), in 4 years (which ended in late 1979), the corporation completed 79.9 percent of its rubber production plan and 79.3 percent of its plan concerning contributions to the state. Labor productivity has risen at an average annual rate of 36.7 percent. The corporation completed and exceeded its 1980 state plan and its 1976-1980 five year plan.

The fact that the corporation has exceeded its plan in every respect and exceeded some of its quotas has resulted in much profit for the state, raised national income, increased the funds of enterprises and benefited production workers in a practical manner. In 1979, in addition to the profit turned over to the state, the corporation provided more than 1 million dong to establish the three funds: the production development fund, the award and bonus fund and the welfare fund.

Also encouraging is the fact that the corporation has, in recent years, trained 21,000 manual and office workers, stabilized the living conditions for workers and

their 40,000 dependents, selected 4,200 progressive laborers, trained 720 management cadres, accepted 6,000 new members into the Trade Union, trained 400 Trade Union team chiefs and built a tight and effective organizational, leadership, management and educational system to lay the foundation for establishing a corporation that manages 100,000 hectares of crops.

The struggle to record the achievements mentioned above represents a major effort on the part of the party organization, the Trade Union organization, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Union, the management organization and the cadres, manual workers and office workers of the entire corporation. They are the result of a correct method of leadership, of knowing how to combine immediate interests with long-range interests, combine the interests of society as a whole with the interests of the collective and the individual production worker under very difficult circumstances in order to stimulate the development of production.

Experience has shown that at those places within the corporation that know how to closely and smoothly coordinate the three interests, workers enthusiastically endeavor to complete their production task well. Clearly, showing concern for personal interests and closely linking personal interests to the interests of the collective and all of society are indispensable principles in economic management. Teaching and motivating workers to display enthusiasm in productive labor are necessary; however, attention must be given to providing appropriate material incentive. Conversely, if emphasis is only placed upon the material interests of the producer but appropriate attention is not given to teaching ideology, to developing the spirit of collective ownership or to showing workers that their vital interests are organically linked to the interests of the collective and society, it is difficult to heighten the revolutionary zeal and the enthusiasm for work of workers and maintain them on a permanent basis. The management experience of the Dong Nai Rubber Corporation has shown that only by giving full attention to the interests of the individual production worker is it possible to raise labor productivity, accelerate production and, on this basis, benefit the collective and all of society.

The above are only the initial results of the effort to coordinate the three interests at the Dong Nai State-Operated Rubber Corporation. Generally speaking, however, the coordination of these three interests is limited within the corporation because some areas of the corporation's production organization and business management have not been improved in a comprehensive and well coordinated manner. All of the cadres, manual workers and office workers within the corporation must work together to display a strong spirit of collective ownership and make every effort to constantly move forward.

FOOTNOTES

- * The interests of society, the interests of the collective and the personal interests of the production worker.

IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: THE TRUTH

Hanoi *TAI CHI CONG SAN* [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 56-58

[Article by Phan Lang]

[Text] Listen to and ask the opinions of the lower level instead of being conceited and arrogant.

Ho Chi Minh

Due to the correct method of selecting cadres of our party and state, the persons in charge of each sector, each locality, each unit, agency and so forth are, generally speaking, persons who possess knowledge, foresight, experience in their work and the necessary ethical qualities consistent with the tasks assigned to them. Therefore, it can be stated at the outset that every cadre in charge who also holds a work position and is recognized by the masses as their leader usually has correct opinions or, in other words, usually reflects the truth in a specific manner and, even when he makes a small mistake, it still embodies some of the truth. Because, if it did not, if his "opinions" were completely incorrect and contrary to the truth, the organization of which he is in charge would surely become quite disorganized and this cadre would, sooner or later, be unable to retain his position.

However, in the relationship between the person in charge and the lower level, there are matters to which we must give thought.

Marxism-Leninism presents correct viewpoints concerning the relationship between the subjective understanding of man and objective truth, between relative truth and absolute truth. Every comrade in charge, regardless of how deep his intelligence might be, must constantly supplement and enhance his knowledge by listening to and selecting opinions of the masses (which usually exist in the form of "crude gold" rather than "pure gold"). Because, only in this way can the person in charge come into contact with objective truth and handle in an increasingly correct, precise, comprehensive and satisfactory manner questions, especially new questions, raised by life. Le Duan has pointed out that the leadership cadre must "give attention to and truly respect the opinions of others and calmly listen to the opinions of the masses, even when they do not endorse you; display a tolerant attitude toward others and a

high spirit of self-criticism as well as the willingness to admit to mistakes and the determination to rectify them; these are the indispensable virtues of a leader." (1) In this light, there is no reason not to agree with the famous words spoken by Goethe: "Friends, theory is dry but the tree of life is forever green."

Compared to what we know, is everything that we do correct? No, it is not.

A leader of ours once said: in our cadre work (assignments, promotions, salary increases and so forth), we have done a very good job but are still only correct 90 or 95 percent of the time.

not only in the field of human affairs but in other areas as well, it is very rare for the "opinions" of the person in charge to be 100 percent correct from the very outset. And, if we admit that errors are very difficult to avoid, what reason is there for us not to recognize that the lower level has opinions it wishes to express to the person in charge concerning a decision and that this is normal, not something that should be called a "negative phenomenon."

However, in our present lives, such incidents are actually happening and they are not isolated: some comrades give very little attention to listening to "feedback," exclude all "feedback" that does not support them and show an unwillingness to accept different opinions and even retaliate against persons who express different opinions. The relationship between the person in charge and the lower level should be a two-way street; at some places, however, it is a one-way street, a street that runs from the upper level to the lower level while traffic in the opposite direction is prohibited by a red light or a yellow light.

even though they recognize that the "tree of life is forever green," when this tree gives them a fruit, some persons in charge turn their back and ignore it. How unusual! In such a situation, the gap between the "opinions" of the cadre in charge and objective truth only becomes increasingly wide.

Behind the relationship between the "opinions" of the person in charge and the "opinions" of the lower level is the broader relationship between the leader and the masses. Concerning this relationship, in addition to the principle that "the people are the creators of history," Marx also gave us valuable teachings. He often said that very many persons come into life with a Raphael (2) within them. The communist system must be organized in such a way that its members who have the talent of a Raphael can become Raphaels. Marx had a very high evaluation of the potentials of man and also placed very high demands upon man with regard to independent thinking, subjective dynamism, creativity and the confirmation of one's existence in life.

Within our corps of cadres, there are comrades who like to emphasize the virtue of "purity," like the lower echelon to merely accept their opinions unconditionally, to merely be students, not "teachers," even in fields in which they are better versed than the leader; such cadres demand that the lower level be "meek," "obedient" and "easily led." Of course, if their opinions were "pure," the truth would not make any difference; however, in more than a few cases, persons are praised not for serving reason but for serving the commander, sometimes in a very ludicrous manner: as soon as the commander finishes making a statement about which he knows nothing at all, several of these "purists" are seen nodding their heads in agreement!

Meanwhile, other persons who have a definite attitude toward things and hold opinions that might not be able to be used immediately and which would be very good to discuss but which do not lie within the orb of thinking of the person in charge, especially when these persons do not present their opinions in a flexible manner, are not only "undermined" but are soon labeled "unpure" as well.

Are these several comrades A, B, C and so forth "good," "gentle mannered" and "pure" or are they, as it frequently turns out, merely displaying these qualities in order to conceal a lack of intelligence, dullness, ineffectiveness, laziness and even tricks? When we delve into the specifics involved in personnel affairs, we still here such bells pealing and not all of these bells are cracked.

Once a person in charge becomes unwilling to listen to the opinions of the lower level or only listens to them in a "form for form's sake," perfunctory manner so that he can then say and do exactly as he wants, his collaborators and the lower level will, sooner or later, no longer want to contribute their opinions to him! If not quickly corrected, this situation will not only make it very difficult to talk about upholding the right of collective ownership, but will also rapidly lead to arbitrariness and authoritarianism and shatter internal unity.

There is another consequence that is also very deserving of concern: the distance from the person in charge only thinking that his opinions are correct while showing disdain for the opinions of the lower level to the emergence of persons who only know how to smooth-talk and flatter the person in charge is a very short one.

These kinds of persons are harming their cadres in charge in two ways.

One day, a certain cadre was sent by his superiors to research the actual situation in a certain locality. When he returned, his number one concern was as follows: to present a few gifts to his cadre in charge in an attempt to determine on which "channel" his political views were or, more clearly stated, to paint the picture that already existed in his commander's mind or which his commander wanted to see. Having determined which wave length his commander was on, he then rearranges the details of his trip accordingly and produces a report that is on the same "frequency," a report that lends weight to the thinking of the person in charge of his agency even though the actual situation and the opinions of this cadre concerning this situation might be very different.

As a result, if he is not alert, this cadre in charge has an even stronger reason for clinging to his own "opinions," which might no longer be consistent with the very rapid development of life. And, if this comrade only listens to these kinds of reports and does not personally check the contents of the report against the actual situation, after only a short while of living in such a cloud of deception, his "opinions" will become increasingly incorrect and increasingly divorced from objective truth.

The second error committed by these smooth-talkers and flatterers is that they not only obstruct the hearing and vision of the person in charge, but also corrupt the cadre in charge of them.

a number of comrades, when they first assume their position of responsibility, are very humble. However, it is only necessary to spend a short amount of time in this environment of flattery and to be constantly told by flatterers that they are "skilled" at everything, they have "a profound understanding" and are "totally correct" for these comrades to become completely different persons, to become complacent and self-satisfied.

The opposite situation has also occurred. If cadres in charge are conceited and arrogant, have contempt for the lower level and help to create a group of flatterers around them, once this group does emerge, it has a reciprocal impact by putting the person in charge in a situation in which he virtually loses his importance and becomes increasingly remote from the realities of life.

Therefore, listening to the opinions of the lower level is an aspect of democratic centralism, is a requirement in the nature of a principle of persons in charge. Because, only in this way can they increase their intelligence, bring their thinking increasingly close to the truth and constantly increase the effectiveness with which they work.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duang: "Cach mang xa noi chu nghia o Viet-nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su that Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 433.
2. Raphael was a famous Italian painter in the late 15th and early 16th Centuries.

THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC UNION

Hanoi TAI CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 59-64

[Article by X. Borisov]

[Text] The transferable ruble is the most important element of the monetary-financial system of the CEMA member countries. Established by the fraternal countries following joint-voluntary negotiations, it emerged in the international arena as a totally new style of currency unit, one unprecedented in world monetary practice.

what led to the emergence of the transferable ruble; to begin with, it was developed due to the need to more effectively support the rapid development of the economic relations among the fraternal countries. And, to accomplish this, it was necessary to shift from the old bilateral payment system to a more complete system--multi-lateral payments. In July 1963, the conference of the first secretaries of the communist and worker parties and the government leaders of the CEMA member countries and the 18th session of CEMA endorsed the draft of the Agreement on Multi-Lateral Payments by means of the transferable ruble and the draft of the Statutes of the International Economic Cooperation Bank. In October, the treaty was signed and, on 1 January 1964, the new multi-lateral payment system based on the transferable ruble was put into effect.

In the Joint Program on the socialist economic union, the transferable ruble is considered the international socialist collective currency of the CEMA member countries and has the task of fulfilling its functions (as a measurement of value, a means of payment and a means of accumulating capital) in a manner consistent with the tasks of the separate stages of development in order to accelerate and improve the cooperation and development of the socialist union. The socialist nature of the transferable ruble is based on the general laws concerning socialist construction, communist construction and the leadership of the national economies of the fraternal countries as well as on the main principles used as the basis for international trade among the fraternal countries: socialist internationalism; respecting national sovereignty, independence and national interests; not intervening in internal affairs; practicing total equality; and mutual benefit and assistance in the spirit of comradeship.

On this basis, all of the countries and organizations that have and use the transferable ruble have equality and similar rights; this is clearly the opposite of the measures

and style of operation of the capitalist world. In the capitalist world, the use of the dollar as the primary currency reflects the dominance and tendency toward aggression of the imperialist circles and the plundering and conquering of relatively weak countries and nations.

The collective nature of the transferable ruble is most evident in the fact that this currency is the result of joint efforts by the CEMA member countries, which established it to serve their common interests and achieve common objectives. The transferable ruble cannot be used without collective agreement, without the adoption of resolutions by the collective. Every matter concerning monetary, payment or credit policy related to the transferable ruble is discussed and decided collectively by the community of all participating countries; moreover, every country has an equal right (each country has one vote) regardless of the extent or scope of its participation. This viewpoint helps to develop optimum solutions that are acceptable to all sides with attention to the interests and capabilities of the entire socialist community as well as each country that is a member of this community.

In terms of its economic nature, the transferable ruble is an international currency used primarily to support the circulation of money and the making of payments among the countries within the community. It is not circulated within these countries. The collective monetary unit of our community bears the common name of the currency of the first socialist country in the world for the purpose of historic continuity and tradition.

The transferable ruble is only issued by the International Economic Cooperation Bank through the payment for commodities and services or through the granting of credit. At the same time, the transferable ruble is put into circulation in order to make payments and the continued circulation of the transferable ruble among the various countries is only carried out through bank accounts (not cash); therefore, the transferable ruble is not circulated at cash anywhere. It has a separate method of computing exchange rates compared to the other foreign currencies.

The transferable ruble serves its function as a measurement of value primarily when contract prices are set in transactions among the CEMA member countries; as we know, these prices are set on the basis of world prices minus the harmful influences of the unstable factors of the capitalist market. In addition, the transferable ruble is used to evaluate jointly constructed projects and used in a number of other fields of economic cooperation. Thus, through this collective currency, it is possible to compare the values of different commodities on different markets and create the conditions for trade at equal prices among countries.

On the basis of negotiated contract prices and the commodity guarantees of contracts, the purchasing power of the transferable ruble is, to a large degree, pre-determined during the stage of coordinating plans, when making preparations for and signing 5-year trade agreements and the annual protocols on the circulation of goods. As a result, it is insured in advance that the circulation of money among the countries will be consistent with the actual changes in material-commodity values among the various countries; objectively, this eliminates the possibility of the transferable ruble being issued without being guaranteed and the possibility that it will be circulated without being controlled.

The transferable ruble serves its function as a means of payment in all cases of payment for goods and services supplied by the countries to one another or when making payment for credit that was granted. Here, the collective currency, when transferred from one person to another pays for trade transactions among the various countries just when it is necessary to make payment by means of other units of currency. Thus, when fulfilling this function, the transferable ruble serves as a real world currency supporting payment transactions among the CEMA member countries.

Payment for the entire circulation of goods among the CEMA member countries is made in the transferable ruble. The costs of transportation, construction services, insurance and tourism are computed in this currency.

In order to fulfill its international payment function, the procedures concerning the use and circulation of the collective currency stipulate that this currency is "transferable," that is, every country has the right and ability to use the transferable rubles it has to pay any other country that participates in the system by transferring the necessary amount from one bank account to another.

The "ability to be transferred" of the transferable ruble is widely used by the CEMA member countries on a daily basis. In the International Economic Cooperation Bank, every country has a unified account in transferable rubles used to make payments to all the other member countries and each country makes payments from this account. Moreover, the capital within this unified account can be transferred to it by a number of other countries but can still be used to pay completely different countries. If, in this process of making payments, one country incurs a debt and this debt is not considered a debt to separate countries but is established as a joint debt in transferable rubles of this country to the collective banking agency, the International Economic Cooperation Bank, this debt must be paid in subsequent transactions. As a result of this mechanism of transfer, the transfer of money among the various countries is more rapid, the means of payment are fewer and the need for credit is less.

In the process of implementing the foreign economic relations of one country or another, temporary surpluses of money can develop. In this case, the transferable ruble fulfills its function as a means of accumulating capital. The international credit relations among the CEMA member countries develop on this basis.

In contrast to the old bilateral payment system, the use of the transferable ruble permits the implementation in practice of the principle of multi-lateral balance in the supply of commodities and the making of payments. When signing trade agreements and other economic agreements, one country or another balances its revenues and expenditures by means of the transferable ruble not with each separate trading partner but with all of its trading partners. Moreover, in contrast to the old bilateral payment system, under which actual goods were traded for other goods and the currency that was selected for payment was only a unit of calculation designed to record the volume of goods supplied to one another, now, every trade service or economic service must be compensated and paid for in this actual currency, the transferable ruble.

Therefore, when keeping its account in the transferable ruble, it is not at all necessary for each country to want to be in balance with regard to its payments to the other

CEMA member countries. In fact, one country can have a surplus in its foreign trade and non-trade payments, including credit, while another country has a deficit. The balancing of these payments is accomplished through the process of regular payments in transferable rubles and through the use of credit, which is extended by the International Economic Cooperation Bank when necessary. As a result, the ability to trade with one another is fundamentally broadened.

Facts have proven the vitality and effectiveness of the transferable ruble as the unit of international currency of the CEMA member countries. It regularly insures the making of payments among the various countries and the development of international credit on the basis of equal prices and fairness and stimulates the planned flow of goods and services on the world socialist market while stimulating the implementation of the national economic plans of the fraternal countries. In the 16 years that the transferable ruble has been used in payments among the CEMA member countries, the annual volume of payments among these countries has increased from 22.9 billion transferable rubles in 1964 to 114 billion in 1979, that is, an increase of more than five times compared to the year when the new system was first implemented.

The use of the transferable ruble in payments among the countries is of special significance in the present situation, in which the world capitalist monetary system is experiencing a profound and prolonged crisis. As a result of their ability to regularly make all kinds of payments to one another without using the dollar or the other capitalist currencies, the CEMA member countries have insured the circulation of an independent currency on the international socialist market and firmly protected this circulation against the crises that are shaking the capitalist countries.

The actual task of carrying out payment services in the transferable ruble has been assigned to the International Economic Cooperation Bank, the first joint banking agency in the world of the socialist countries. This same bank also performs the task of granting short-term loans in transferable rubles to the member countries and, in a number of cases, even short-term loans in convertible foreign currencies of capitalist countries. The International Economic Cooperation Bank is renowned as a prestigious international banking agency. At present, the total transactions handled by the bank on a daily basis exceed 1 billion transferable rubles. In the space of only 16 years, the total amount of payments made to one another by the member countries in this collective currency are 841 billion transferable rubles and the total number of transactions in convertible foreign currencies amount to 568 billion rubles. Also during this period of time, the bank has supplied credit of more than 54 billion convertible rubles and a net profit of nearly 222 million convertible rubles.

At present, the International Economic Cooperation Bank is supplying credit in two forms, credit with a repayment date and payment credit.

Credit with a repayment date (which can be as much as 3 years) provides the capability for a trade surplus and insures that the borrower has the conditions needed to use natural resources more effectively. This form of credit encourages increased exports and an increase in the circulation of goods among the countries.

Payment credit is designed to provide necessary money when there are temporary interruptions in the making of payments to one another, interruptions that can occur

in the process of trade or the process of providing services to one another. This form of credit usually requires repayment in the space of 25 to 30 days in the currency of daily income of the borrower.

The interest rate policy of the International Economic Cooperation Bank has been fundamentally improved by abandoning the granting of interest free loans and increasing the role played by interest rates in order to stimulate the more effective use of borrowed money. At first, the granting of interest free loans was reduced and later totally eliminated. At present, depending upon the form and duration of loans, the interest on loans in the transferable ruble is from 2 to 5 percent annually, not 0.9-1.5 percent as before. However, a preferential standard is applied for Mongolia and Cuba of 0.5-1 percent and 0.5-2 percent annually.

The credit priorities and advantages established for the underdeveloped countries are a supplemental means for developing the economies of these countries. By this method, the credit and interest rate policies of the International Economic Cooperation Bank help to gradually bring the levels of economic development of the CEMA member countries closer together.

The International Economic Cooperation Bank is an open international financial-monetary organization, that is, is an organization in which other countries can also participate. The organizations and banks of countries that are not members can also use the services of the bank. At present, the bank has relationships with and makes transactions with more than 300 of the largest banks in the world.

The granting of medium and long-term credit for joint measures by means of assembling sources of material-technical and financial forces of cooperating countries is carried out by another collective banking agency of the CEMA member countries, the International Investment Bank, which was established in 1970.

The amount of capital contributed by this bank so far is 1.0713 trillion transferable rubles. This makes it one of the largest banking agencies in the world. The major portion of the capital contributed by this bank--70 percent--has been in the form of the transferable ruble. At the same time, in order to purchase a number of pieces of equipment and licenses on the world market, 30 percent of this capital has been in the form of convertible foreign currency of capitalist countries.

The main purposes of the International Investment Bank are to make every effort to stimulate the development of and intensify the economic cooperation among the socialist countries, to assemble and mobilize many more sources of money for capital construction and to coordinate the use of these sources of capital.

One of the most important standards used by the International Investment Bank in the granting of loans (medium term loans of up to 5 years and long-term loans of up to 15 years) is the concern of all or a few of the member countries of the bank for a project to be constructed with money borrowed from the bank. This concern must be expressed in a willingness to accept the products of the enterprise to be built as well as in supplying machinery, equipment and materials for its construction. Another standard is insuring that the productivity of the project to be constructed with

borrowed capital will be high and that the returns from invested capital will also be high. Under this objective, the International Investment Bank uses its sources of credit primarily to retool, expand and re-equip operating enterprises.

As a result of the activities of the International Investment Bank, the scope of the use of the transferable ruble as a means of payment and credit has been fundamentally broadened because the majority of the medium and long-term loans granted by this bank are in this currency. Whereas, before the establishment of the International Investment Bank, the transferable ruble was only used to grant loans for the circulation of goods among the CEMA member countries, now, it is also used as a tool for granting medium and long-term investment capital loans. This new quality of the transferable ruble has created a new capability for making more effective use of the financial-monetary system of the fraternal countries for the purpose of accelerating and developing the socialist economic union.

At present, all of the CEMA member countries and even Yugoslavia, although it is not a member, are receiving credit from the International Investment Bank. By the end of 1979, credit had been extended for 65 projects. In order to retool and build these projects, the bank has supplied 3.2 billion transferable rubles in credit.

All of the credit provided by the International Investment Bank is for a specific objective; primarily, it is to supply capital for construction in key production sectors. During the years of operation of the bank, 76.1 percent of the total credit that has been extended by the bank has been used to develop the fuel-energy industry, 11.3 percent has been used to develop the machine manufacturing sector, including electronic technology, 6 percent has been used in the development of the metallurgy sector and 6.6 percent has been used in the development of the other industrial sectors.

Among the projects constructed with capital borrowed from the International Investment Bank are the following: the expansion and retooling of the "Ta-to-ra" [Vietnamese phonetics] Automobile Plant in Czechoslovakia; the electrification and upgrading of the railroad in Hungary, the expansion of the production capacity of the largest enterprise producing heavy drop forges, the Drop Forge Federated Enterprise in the GDR; the construction of the "No-vo-vo-lun" [Vietnamese phonetics] Specialized Technical Equipment Plant in the Soviet Union; the retooling and expansion of the Sheepskin Cleaning Plant in Mongolia; the restoration (retooling) of enterprises damaged by the 1977 earthquake in Romania; the supplying of highly productive tool and brake cable production equipment to the "Pon-lo-mo" [Vietnamese phonetics] Plant in Poland and many other projects.

The largest joint project for which the International Investment Bank has supplied capital has begun to operate, the huge "Union" Pipeline, which was constructed through the joint efforts of the CEMA member countries. Some 43 of the total number of projects for which the bank has granted loans have been put into production and are producing products. During the period from 1971 to 1979, these projects exported goods to the member countries of the bank totalling 5.5 billion transferable rubles.

The financial-monetary system that has formed among the CEMA member countries is consistent with the interests of planned economic cooperation, insures price parity

in payments and guarantees the equality of each participating country. At the same time, and this requirement has been stressed at the various meetings of CEMA, it is necessary to further improve this system, strengthen the role played by the transferable ruble and broaden the scope of its use in order to more effectively carry out key cooperative tasks set forth in a collective manner, stimulate the fulfillment of mutual commitments and insure prompt and uniform financial-monetary support of large-scale projects constructed through joint effort.

This is of special importance because the CEMA member countries have set forth and are implementing long-term cooperative projects in extremely important fields of the national economy. The implementation of these projects demands the mobilization of large sources of materials and large financial-monetary sources and the maximum use of the payment and credit capabilities of the transferable ruble system as well as the close coordination of financial and monetary measures in order to promote the coordination of national economic plans, the development of specialization and cooperation in production and the improvement of the organization of foreign trade relations and other foreign economic relations.

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THE WORLD SITUATION AT THE START OF THE 1980'S

Hanoi [AF CHI CONG SAN [COMMONIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 81 pp 69-70

[Unattributed article]

[Text] As we enter the 1980's, the world situation is undergoing many changes. In the face of the growth and the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents, the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, are frantically assembling forces in order to launch a counter-attack, intensifying the arms race and creating a cold war atmosphere. The reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles, in collaboration with the imperialists, are actively opposing the world revolutionary movement. For this reason, the struggle between the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and the imperialist and international reactionary forces has become fierce, sharp and complex. Many questions have been raised: what is the present balance of power in the world? Is the world on the brink of war? Can the forces of revolution continue to maintain their strategic offensive position?

The imperialist and reactionary forces have launched a very fierce counter-attack but their capabilities are limited because they are in a weak and defensive position and because the antagonisms among them are sharp.

In early 1980, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of the Afghanistan issue to create tensions in U.S.-Soviet relations in a vain attempt to undermine detente and threaten the peace and security of nations. They pushed western Europe and Japan into the arms race. They have strengthened their military forces in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, established many new military bases in the Indian Ocean region, the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and the Persian Gulf and, at the same time, set forth a so called "new nuclear strategy," which has the purpose of intensifying the arms race in a vain attempt to regain superiority in strategic weapons over the Soviet Union. In mid-September 1980, under U.S. pressure, the NATO countries, while preparing to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in central Europe, conducted military maneuvers on an unprecedented scale, from Norway to Turkey, to make a show of force, provoke the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and intimidate the national liberation and social progress movements everywhere.

On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists have continued to "play the China card" and oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the world revolution by stepping up the

delivery of some technical supplies and military equipment to China and signing a series of agreements on aviation, maritime and commercial cooperation with China.

Why has the United States decided to intensify the arms race, create a cold war atmosphere and create conflicts at many places in the world? It is because the United States wants to rescue its economy from the prolonged crisis and improve its weakened political position; regain military superiority over the Soviet Union and create a position of strength from which to negotiate with the Soviet Union; re-establish U.S. control over western Europe and Japan; and repulse the world revolution, beginning with blocking the national independence movement in the Middle East-Persian Gulf region in order to protect the petroleum interests of the imperialist countries.

However, the counter-offensive of the United States is being waged from a defensive, weakened position, consequently, the United States cannot achieve its objectives but will only cause the U.S. economy to continue to decline, to continue to be in a state of crisis.

The economic-financial crisis of the United States is becoming increasingly worse. Due to declining production, the industrial output of the United States in 1980 declined 0.4 percent compared to 1979. Many important industrial sectors, such as the iron and steel industry, the automobile industry and the construction industry, incurred losses. Inflation in the United States continues to run at double digits: 13.5 percent; the number of unemployed has risen to 8.5 million, nearly 2 million more than in 1979. The U.S. budget has been a deficit budget ever since 1960, with the deficit for 1980 amounting to 59 billion dollars (in 1979, the deficit was 27.7 billion dollars); meanwhile, U.S. military expenditures for 1981 are slightly less than 200 billion dollars. The internal antagonisms of the United States as well as the antagonisms within the ruling group are acute. Watergate-style scandals continue to occur. The crisis of confidence and the crisis of the system itself are continuing to grow. The number of voters who participated in the recent election was the lowest since 1948 (52.3 percent). The prestige of the United States in the world has constantly declined. The Reagan administration faces extremely complex questions. The "great beginning" called for by Reagan is nothing more than a piece of demagoguery.

The United States has been intensifying the arms race in a vain attempt to win back superiority over the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union is more powerful than ever before. The U.S. imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries must recognize this strength and fear the increasing influence of the Soviet Union in the world.(1)

The United States has been trying to alleviate these antagonisms and re-establish its control over the other countries in the capitalist world but the balance of power within the capitalist countries has changed rapidly. The United States is not only unable to successfully compete against products that require much labor, such as ready-made clothing, shoes and electronic equipment, but has also lost its superiority in the production of such products as large aircraft, large electronic computers, integrated circuits and so forth. The dollar is continuing to lose value. The continuing trade deficit of the United States vis-a-vis its allies has created a

tense situation in trade relations between the United States and these countries. The "commercial war" and the "monetary war" are occurring on a continuous basis. Due to competition for markets, raw materials and fuels between the United States and its allies, deep disagreements have developed concerning the policy toward the developing countries. The countries of western Europe and Japan have continued to strengthen their relations with the Arab countries and court the Palestinian Liberation Organization while not responding to the economic blockade of Iran proposed by the United States. Also because of their own economic interests, these countries have cautiously responded to the U.S. policy on the arms race and the cold war in East-West relations. France and West Germany automatically resumed high level talks with the Soviet Union. Through the meetings of the NATO bloc, the Common Market and the high-level conference of the seven industrial countries at Venice, the sharp antagonisms between the United States and the countries of western Europe and Japan concerning numerous basic economic, political and even military issues were evident.

The U.S. imperialists have been "playing the China card" to oppose the Soviet Union, oppose peace and socialism. However, because both the United States and China are in weak and defensive positions and want to take advantage of each other to meet their own requirements, their collaboration, although posing difficulties to the revolutionary movement and causing a complex situation, cannot help the United States resolve any of the major difficulties it faces in the world and cannot provide much help to Beijing in its scheme of expansionism and hegemony. The struggle for power among the ruling groups in Beijing continues to be a sharp struggle.

The setbacks in the effort to implement the "four modernizations" line has caused the internal antagonisms of the Chinese reactionaries to become even deeper. The highly ambitious four modernizations plan set forth at the first session of the 5th Chinese National Assembly (February 1976) has been revised twice in 2 years and is meeting with defeat. All plan norms (set forth for 1980) have had to be adjusted downward; steel from 60 million tons to 40 millions tons, grain from 400 million tons to 320 million tons and so forth. Due to their ambitions regarding expansionism and hegemony, the thinking of taking a leap forward and skipping stages is still a characteristic of their adventurous economic plans. They cannot create "rebellion" in the world, only in China. According to admissions made by the Chinese press, only one-third of their party members support the line of the ruling circles. The living conditions of the people are miserable, thereby increasing dissatisfaction within the country. Deserving of attention is the crisis within the Chinese army. In foreign affairs, the Chinese reactionaries have intensified their effort to oppose the revolution; in particular, they have persuaded the ASEAN countries to oppose Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and undermined the trend toward negotiations between the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indochina. However, the ASEAN countries are becoming increasingly aware that the threat of Chinese expansionism and Beijing's support for fascist organizations within these countries are harmful to the security of these countries themselves and the security of the region.

Although they have had to overcome many difficulties and complex problems in the course of development, the socialist countries and the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world have constantly been on the offensive and have become increasingly strong.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have continued to grow and have developed their role as the base, as the firm pillar of revolution and world peace. The Soviet Union successfully completed its 10th five year plan and has begun its 11th five year plan with greater economic and national defense potentials than ever before. The other socialist countries have recorded important achievements in building the material-technical bases of socialism or developed socialism. The countries of CEMA are entering a new stage of cooperation based on the socialist union in well coordinated projects in the five most important economic fields: energy, raw materials, fuels, machinery, grain and consumer goods production and communications-transportation.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are always brandishing the banner of peace and continuously proposing diplomatic initiatives that attack the scheme of the imperialists to create a tense situation, promote the arms race and resume the cold war. The initiatives on reducing tensions in Europe and military disarmament, on the Afghanistan issue and on the Persian Gulf have won the sympathy and support of widespread opinion in the world, partially divided the ranks of the imperialist countries and isolated the Beijing reactionaries. The campaign of the U.S. imperialists and China against the Soviet Union in the world and over the Afghanistan issue is being defeated.

The countries within the socialist community have displayed even greater unity and oneness of mind, have closely coordinated and have resolutely protected the Soviet Union, the Afghanistan revolution and the Kampuchean revolution while taking the initiative in the struggle for the peace and security of all nations.

Taking advantage of the economic difficulties of Poland, the imperialists have been looking for ways to intervene in Poland in a vain attempt to bring about peaceful change from within. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are helping Poland to overcome its difficulties, repulse counter-revolutionary activities and protect socialist Poland.

The national independence movement, although undergoing complex changes, such as the political upheavals that occurred in Jamaica, Bolivia, Guinea Bissau and Upper Volta and the Iraq-Iranian war, has continued to develop in breadth and depth and is becoming ever more closely linked to socialism.

In the recent past, the region from Southeast Asia through South Asia to western Asia has been the region in which the greatest changes have occurred, the revolutionary movement has developed the strongest and the imperialist and international reactionaries have suffered the heaviest defeats. Although they have pursued numerous plans to undermine the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina, especially concerning the Kampuchean issue, the militant solidarity among the three peoples of Indochina and the alliance of the three countries of Indochina with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are stronger than ever before, consequently, the situation in Southeast Asia has changed for the better. In South Asia, with the rise by Mrs. Gandhi to premier, India has adopted a strong policy of peace, independence and non-alignment and actively and closely coordinated with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; this is a new factor in the formation of the Asian people's front against the policy of expansionism of China and Sino-

American collaboration in Southwest Asia. With the help of the Soviet army, the people of Afghanistan have protected their independence against intervention by foreign countries. The victory of the Afghanistan revolution is irreversible. The Iranian situation is continuing to develop in a manner that is disadvantageous to the imperialists. All of the tricks employed by the United States, such as economic embargo and military threats, have not intimidated the Iranian people. The United States is using the Iraq-Iran war to increase its military presence in the region.

In the Arab region, as a result of the bellicose and aggressive policy of Israel, the separate peace between Israel and Egypt that was engineered by the United States is being obstructed. The Arab countries are deeply divided. The anti-imperialist forces, which consist of Syria and the "hard line" countries, have taken the position of relying upon assistance from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order to continue their fight. The recently signed Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria is a positive factor in the situation in the Arab region.

Despite every trick of the imperialists and the reactionaries, the influence of socialism has continued to grow among the nationalist countries. The trend among the progressive nationalist countries of advancing to socialism, (Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Nicaragua) is continuing to grow. The struggle of the national and progressive forces in Central America and the Caribbean against the U.S. imperialists has undergone new developments. The present vanguard of this struggle is the Salvadorian revolution, which is constantly developing and strongly shaking the backyard of the United States. In South Africa, the emergence of the Republic of Zimbabwe was an important turning point in the history of the struggle by the tribes of South Africa against white colonialism and racism in South Africa and was a tremendous inspiration to the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa. The political changes in Suriname (Latin America) and Liberia (Africa) brought about by young officers, changes of a national, anti-imperialist nature, are new phenomena deserving of attention.

The non-aligned movement has also undergone new changes. The reactionary, lackey forces of imperialism and the Chinese expansionists have been scheming to steer the movement away from its anti-imperialist direction; however, their forces have been divided. The forces of revolution and progress, having played a positive role at the 6th High-Level Conference at Havana, have helped the movement to maintain its guideline of opposing imperialism and colonialism, both old and new.

The struggle by the developing countries against economic exploitation by imperialism to win the right to control their own natural resources is an important part of the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The economy of imperialism is becoming increasingly crippled by crisis and the imperialists are putting more and more of the heavy burden of this crisis upon the underdeveloped countries, consequently, the antagonism between the imperialist countries and the nationalist countries is becoming increasingly deep. The defeat of the global negotiations on development and international trade questions in 1980 caused many nationalist countries to harbor no illusions concerning the course of negotiating with the imperialists in order to establish a new world economic order.

under the impact of the system of socialist countries and of the national independence movement, the international communist and worker movement has continued to grow. Deserving of attention is the fact that the communist parties within each region have held regional conferences to exchange opinions concerning matters of common interest with a view toward coordinating their strategy and uniting their actions in the struggle for the common objectives during each period of time. This trend is constantly growing (such as the conference of European communist parties held in April and November 1980, the conference of northern European communist parties held in June 1980 and the conference of central American and Mexican communist parties held in November 1980).

The communist parties in many western European countries and Japan have become important political forces and are playing an increasingly large role in the political lives of these countries. All communist parties are united on the issue of maintaining peace, detente and military disarmament. The life and realities of the class struggle in the capitalist countries have caused many parties to adopt a more positive stand toward the struggle against Sino-American collaboration against the United States and concerning the Afghanistan and Kampuchean issues.

The insane counter-attack by the imperialists and reactionaries only serves to reveal their defensive, defeated position in the face of the strategic offensive of the three revolutionary currents. Their aggressiveness only serves to reveal their bellicose, reactionary nature, reveal the decisive nature of the struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" on a world-wide scale. At the start of the 1980's, the balance of power is continuing to shift in a manner favorable to the forces of peace and revolution and the basic trend is that the three revolutionary currents of the age are becoming increasingly strong while imperialism and the reactionary powers are increasingly showing themselves to be beset by antagonisms that cannot be resolved. Peace and detente are irreversible trends.

To be sure, the imperialist and reactionary powers still have many dangerous schemes and actions to be employed to promote the arms race and create a tense situation, with the thrust of their effort directed against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba and the other revolutionary and progressive countries. Progressive mankind must be vigilant. However, the imperialists and the reactionaries cannot easily return the world to the cold war of the 1950's. At that time, the U.S. imperialists still had superiority in nuclear weapons, still had absolute economic and financial superiority and the dollar ruled the capitalist world; the world socialist system was only beginning to be formed. Today's situation is fundamentally different. The forces of revolution and peace have grown tremendously. The balance of power in the world has tilted against imperialism and the reactionary powers.

The world capitalist economy is mired in serious crisis in contrast to the 1960's when the capitalist economy was developing at a high rate. The schemes and actions of the imperialists and the reactionaries to resume the cold war can only cool East-West relations to a certain degree and for a certain period of time, can only pose certain difficulties to the revolutionary movement at some places in the world but cannot reverse the trend of peace and detente, of revolution in the world.

The ability to maintain peace is a real ability. Today, war is no longer a way for the imperialist countries to free themselves from economic crises, no longer a way to

divide the market, to take over colonies, consequently, there are only the "commercial war," the "textile war," the "TV war" and so forth among the imperialist countries. The arms race is no longer a factor that stimulates the entire imperialist economy, but only a factor that stimulates a small portion of modern industry, such as the missile industry, the nuclear bomb industry and so forth, and only serves the interests of a small group of powerful capitalist financiers and leaders of the industrial-military complex. If they wish to unleash a war against the socialist system, the imperialists absolutely must give consideration to the powerful might of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries and of the forces of peace and revolution in the world; such a reckless war would amount to nothing more than suicide to capitalism. However, the imperialists and international reactionaries will do everything in their power to create a tense situation, create a state of war and create conflicts at one place or another in order to divide the forces of peace and revolution, intervene in internal affairs, conduct subversive activities, etc.

The socialist countries and the forces of peace and revolution are constantly brandishing the banner of peace, pursuing a policy of preventing war and defeating every scheme of the bellicose imperialists and reactionaries to undermine the peace. This policy has emerged from the humanitarian nature of socialism, from the interests of the world revolution because, under the conditions of peace and detente, the offensive position of the world revolution is stronger than ever before. Peace and revolution are always closely linked to each other. When peace is maintained in the world, the revolution in each country continues to develop in accordance with its inevitable laws. The new decade will surely lead to very large and profound changes in the world, changes that benefit both peace and revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the speech by Haig to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate on 12 January 1981 and the commentary by New China News Agency on 19 December 1980.

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