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No. 3, 1981



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

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HEIGHTENING OUR VIGILANCE AND MAINTAINING POLITICAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ORDER AND SAFETY WELL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] A revolution is only of value when it has the strength to protect itself. The revolutionary experience of many countries has proven that it is very difficult to seize political power but it is many times more difficult to maintain revolutionary power once it has been won. The success or failure of a revolution lie in whether or not the revolutionary power that was won is maintained. For this reason, after the revolutionary government is established throughout the country, the foremost task of the working class and laboring people, who are led by the communist party, is to constantly heighten their vigilance and maintain political security and social order and safety well. Our party and state have attached particular importance to maintaining political security and social order and safety because only by performing this work well is it possible to insure the victory of socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

Over the past 5 years and more, ever since the South was totally liberated and the entire country began advancing to socialism, our people, under the wise leadership of the party, have recorded many achievements in the maintenance of political security and social order and safety. Constantly heightening their revolutionary vigilance, the people's public security forces, along with our entire army and all our people, have defeated many espionage and psychological warfare schemes and activities of the enemy. We have thwarted acts of sabotage and attempts to foment rebellion and promptly suppressed many reactionary organizations. We tracked down, annihilated and routed groups of remnant enemy forces and confiscated many weapons and much equipment of the enemy. We assembled for transformation elements that could cause political and criminal harm. We actively eradicated reactionary cultural goods and eradicated social ills. As a result, political security has been maintained and social order has been stable.

However, there are some shortcomings and weaknesses on the political security and social order and safety front. In some cases, the fight against the enemy has not been waged in a timely or effective fashion. There are still many weaknesses in the effort to protect the economy and protect socialist property. Hoodlums and gangsters who harm the life and property of the people have still not been thoroughly

eliminated. In some localities, the situation surrounding social order is still complex.

The above mentioned situation has its objective causes in the aftereffects of many years of war, the remnants of neo-colonialism and the many difficulties still being encountered in production and everyday life. However, as regards subjective causes, shortcomings on our part have also been responsible for this situation. Within the party and among the people there are still persons who do not have a deep understanding of the crafty and insidious scheme of the enemy. Many persons do not recognize the complex, arduous and decisive nature of the struggle against the espionage and psychological warfare activities of the enemy. The spirit of revolutionary vigilance of some cadres and people has not been heightened. In the struggle against the enemy, there are still manifestations of rightist thinking. Economic management and social management are lax in many respects. In the struggle against professional hoodlums, thieves, murderers, speculators and smugglers, we have lacked the determination to constantly take the offensive in order to thoroughly eliminate them. We have not launched a widespread and strong mass movement to maintain political security and social order. The combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat has not been fully mobilized in the fierce struggle to thwart every scheme and activity of the enemy.

If these shortcomings and weaknesses did not exist, we could have won many larger victories on the political security and social order front.

Today, our country is at peace but war could break out at any time.

Following their defeat in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have become increasingly ailed in a pervasive crisis, thus causing the crisis of imperialism to become increasingly serious. However, the U.S. imperialists have not abandoned their ambition of playing the role of international gendarme, have not abandoned their sinister scheme concerning our country. The U.S. imperialists are the enemy of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution. They are making every effort to assemble forces and create tensions in each region and trying to win back positions that they lost and maintain their remaining positions. Frustrated, the U.S. imperialists have played the China card in order to implement their counter-revolutionary global strategy.

The reactionary clique of big country expansionists and hegemonists within Chinese ruling circles is collaborating with imperialism to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, oppose the revolutionary movement and world peace. They have revealed their true nature as traitors of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are the immediate, dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese revolution and the dangerous saboteurs of the world revolution.

The Chinese reactionaries have been publicly pursuing a hostile policy toward Vietnam. They used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackeys to unleash a war on the southwestern border of our country and then brazenly started a war of aggression on our country's northern border. At present, they are massing troops along our country's northern border and regularly commit acts of provocation and instigate military conflicts while

frantically committing acts of sabotage within our country by means of many different kinds of economic sabotage, espionage warfare and psychological warfare.

As regards economic sabotage, the Chinese reactionaries are pursuing a policy of embargo and economic sabotage against our country. They have distorted the economic policies of our party and state, sabotaged production and sabotaged prices and the market, thereby causing our people to encounter difficulties in their daily lives, creating an attitude of dissatisfaction, creating an unstable economic situation and undermining our people's socialist construction.

In the espionage war, they have inserted commandoes, reconnaissance personnel and spies into our country to collect information on the various aspects of our country's situation and organize acts of sabotage. They have made contact with agents of theirs inserted into our country long ago and organized them into a spy network to gather information on every aspect of our situation. They are using various types of reactionaries, provoking decadent and dissatisfied elements and establishing various forms of opposition organisations in order to build underground forces to serve as their lackeys.

In the psychological war, they have been spreading malicious rumors, distorting and attacking the line of the party, discrediting the leaders of our party and state, creating an attitude of suspicion and encouraging persons to flee the country in a vain attempt to paralyze the revolutionary will of our people, create an unstable political situation and eventually foment rebellions within our country.

The Chinese reactionaries look for every way to undermine our national solidarity, sow divisions between the people and the party, between our people and the peoples of fraternal Laos and Kampuchea and between our country and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and isolate us from the other countries of the world.

All of the methods employed by the Chinese reactionaries in their economic war, espionage war and psychological war are designed to weaken our country so that they can carry out their scheme of aggression and big country expansionism and hegemony.

The U.S. imperialists, although defeated by our army and people, have not abandoned their scheme of committing aggression against our country. They have coordinated with the Chinese reactionaries to use Thailand as a place for assembling, supporting, training and equipping Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao spies and reactionaries to be inserted into the three countries of Indochina. The other imperialist and capitalist countries are also conducting espionage activities, collecting intelligence information and attempting to undermine the Vietnamese revolution.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionaries, are waging a war of economic sabotage, an espionage war and a psychological war against our country. In essence, they are waging a very malicious and comprehensive war of sabotage, a war to sabotage us politically, militarily, economically, culturally, socially and diplomatically, in a vain attempt to cause our country's political, economic and social situation to become unstable, weaken us, foment rebellion and, when the opportunity arises, commit aggression against our country.

In the face of the collaboration of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists with the imperialists and the other international reactionary powers in order to intensify the war of economic sabotage, the espionage war and the psychological war against the Vietnamese revolution, what must we do? We have no other choice but to heighten our revolutionary vigilance and maintain political security and social order and safety well. We must recognize who the enemy is, learn their schemes and methods, promptly retaliate against and defeat every act of sabotage and resolutely protect the achievements of our country's revolution.

The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Maintaining political security and social order is an extremely important task" of our party and state. The resolution of the congress stated: "We must effectively prevent and determinedly struggle to defeat every scheme and act of imperialist and capitalist spies; promptly and determinedly suppress active saboteurs; thwart every scheme of the exploiting classes and reactionaries to raise their heads and start trouble; make every effort to struggle against the other types of criminals; take positive steps to eradicate social ills; and prevent and reduce social accidents to the lowest possible level."

Maintaining political security and social order and safety is the revolutionary work of the entire party, the entire army and all the people. One of the factors determining the success of this work is upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the working people and launching a strong mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland. It is necessary to coordinate educational, economic, organizational, administrative and legal measures in order to mobilize and guide the masses in exercising their right of socialist collective ownership so that everyone is the conscious master of his place of resident and his place of work and participates in building strong agency and enterprise security forces, neighborhood security forces and people's security teams. We must keep abreast of the situation on each street, within each hamlet and within each village and take the initiative in attacking counter-revolutionaries and other criminals. We must build an information-liaison system and revise the procedures for submitting reports and requesting instructions to insure that we keep abreast of the situation surrounding political security and social order and safety on a daily basis and promptly resolve every important, pressing problem.

The struggle against spies and reactionaries must be intensified. We must promptly suppress active saboteurs. At the same time, we must transform those elements who pose a threat to our security and order.

The struggle against the psychological war of the enemy must be intensified. We must promptly provide good political and ideological education so that everyone clearly sees the harm of the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy. We must launch a strong mass movement to struggle against and expose elements who participate in psychological warfare activities. We must conduct thorough investigations and determine who is spreading malicious rumors, distortions and fabrications and promptly suppress hostile elements. We must wage an active struggle to defeat every scheme of the enemy to divide and sabotage us.

The work of protecting the party, protecting the government and protecting the armed forces, which includes protecting the line and protecting ourselves ideologically and organizationally, must be improved to insure that we are internally pure and that our rear area is strong and stable.

In conjunction with developing production, special importance must be attached to protecting production, improving market management, closing every loophole and not allowing the enemy or decadent elements to sabotage or violate socialist property. At the same time, importance must be attached to protecting production forces and protecting the socialist production relations.

We must be determined to eradicate the activities of professional hoodlums, aggressive gangsters, thieves, murderers, swindlers, counterfeiters, speculators and smugglers. It is necessary to eradicate social ills, reduce the number of accidents and manage public order well. Compliance with the laws and regulations on traffic order and safety and public order must be put on a regular basis. We must establish an orderly, civilized, happy and wholesome style of life.

We must take positive steps to provide jobs for the people, compel persons who are able to work to work and manage and transform those persons who must be transformed locally.

In order for the maintenance of political security and social order and safety to achieve good results, we must develop the leadership role of the party, the right of collective ownership of the masses and the management effectiveness of the socialist state. We must closely coordinate the revolutionary initiative of the masses with the professional work of the specialized agencies (the people's public security agency, the people's control agency and the people's court). We must employ the combined strength of every force and make coordinated use of every available measure in order to actively build our forces, provide effective prevention, mount an offensive and constantly remain on the offensive in order to annihilate and rout counter-revolutionaries and other criminals.

In the effort to carry out the task of maintaining political security and social order and safety, the people's public security force plays an especially important role. It is an essential tool of violence of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat state, is the key, assault force on the front of maintaining political security and social order and safety. We must make every effort to build a people's public security force that is pure and strong in every respect and accelerate the mass movement to protect the security of the fatherland; thwart every intelligence and espionage scheme and activity of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists and capitalists; and promptly suppress the various types of reactionaries and other criminals.

In order to meet the requirements of the revolutionary situation and tasks in the new stage, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and improve the quality of the people's public security force. We must constantly strengthen the people's public security forces so that they are politically strong, skilled in their profession, tightly organized, highly disciplined, proficient in science and technology

and equipped with modern, specialized equipment. It is necessary to improve the work procedures and improve the leadership and command activities of the various public security levels. We must improve the education, management and training of public security cadres and soliders. We must build people's public security forces that are pure and strong in every respect, heighten their revolutionary virtues and their political and professional qualities and insure that they successfully complete every task assigned to them. Appropriate importance must be attached to the district public security forces because the district is a comprehensive and complete leadership level.

The village and ward public security forces and the agency and enterprise security forces play an extremely important role. These are semi-specialized forces that directly engage in combat, directly launch the mass movement to protect the security of the fatherland and resolve on the spot security and order problems at installations in accordance with the tasks and authority stipulated by the state. For this reason, we must intensify the buildup of these forces, wholeheartedly help them, inspect and supervise them and create every possible favorable condition for the basic level public security forces to fulfill their task.

The main factor determining the success of the effort to maintain political security and social order and safety is the absolute, direct and comprehensive leadership provided by the party. The various organizations of the party must firmly control this work. The entire party, the entire army and all the people must have a truly deep understanding of the schemes and activities of the enemy to oppose and undermine the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage. It is necessary to scrupulously implement the resolution of the party and the policy and laws of the state concerning the maintenance of political security and social order and safety. Socialist construction must be closely linked to protecting the socialist system, protecting the fatherland. The maintenance of political security must be closely coordinated with the maintenance of social order and safety.

To firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must closely coordinate the organizational and constructive function of the dictatorship of the proletariat with its function of suppression by means of violence. We must fully display the spirit of determination, caution, objectivity and thoroughness and heighten our vigilance in order to prevent infiltration by malicious elements, guard against deviations and not falsely accuse persons. We must combine severity of punishment with clemency, suppression with education and transformation. Suppression and punishment must be strict, timely, directed toward the right persons and carried out in exact accordance with policy and the law. Education and transformation must be positive, persistent, profound and thorough. In the present situation, it is necessary to clearly recognize which objectives and areas are of key importance in order to formulate specific combat plans for each type objective and each area.

In the recent past, as a result of strengthening the party's leadership of the maintenance of political security and social order and safety, many localities have recorded achievements worthy of enthusiasm. In particular, Quang Ninh Province, a province that lies along our country's northern border, has recorded many achievements in protecting the security of the fatherland. The advanced localities

and units of Quang Ninh have gained much valuable experience in maintaining political security and social order and safety. Binh Lieu District, a heroic unit, together with the districts of Hai Ninh, Dong Trieu and Yen Hung have employed many flexible forms of activities to unite and establish close coordination among the forces of the public security sector, the army and the local youth organization, which have joined efforts with the people to accelerate production, stabilize living conditions and build a widespread and strong people's security network that has apprehended many groups of intelligence agents and commandos, uncovered and stopped many cases of theft, speculation, smuggling and illegal border crossings. Hong Gai City, the town of Ha Tu, the Deo Nai Mine, the Cao Son Mine and so forth have coordinated activities, protected production, managed vehicular traffic, established the new style of life, overcome negative phenomena and maintained order and security at public places. The Quang Ninh people's public security sector, a heroic unit, has, in a creative spirit, scrupulously complied with the resolution of the party on maintaining political security and social order and safety and recorded many achievements in this work. The experiences of Quang Ninh can be of use to other places. Other places must research the experiences of Quang Ninh in order to protect the security of the fatherland well within their locality.

Maintaining political security and social order and safety is one of the important and pressing jobs of the entire party, the entire army and all our people at this time. By firmly adhering to the line and policy of the party and state, heightening our revolutionary vigilance and waging a resolute struggle against spies, counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, we will surely record tremendous achievements in the work of maintaining political security and social order and safety.

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CSO: 4209/301

GREETINGS MESSAGE FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY TO
THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

OW221543 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 22 Feb 81

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Mar 81 pp 7-8--Hanoi Domestic version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific
DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 035, 23 Feb 81, pp K1-K2]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the VCP, the Vietnamese working class and people, we wish to extend
to the 26th Congress of the glorious CPSU and, through the congress, to the
communists, working class and entire fraternal people of the Soviet Union, our
warmest greetings.

Progressive mankind follows with great interest the 26th Congress of the CPSU a great event
in the political life of the Soviet working class and people and an event of great
significance for the whole international communist and workers' movement.

In the past 63 years or more, under the leadership of the great CPSU founded and trained by
Lenin, the Soviet working class and people have recorded one success after another in
socialist construction and national defence, turning the Soviet Union into the mainstay of
the socialist community and peace and the source of confidence of nations. The Soviet
Union has made the most important contribution to changing the face of the world today and
making the balance of forces more and more favourable to peace and revolution and unfavourable
to imperialism and international reaction.

Under the clearheaded leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade
L.I. Brezhnev, the Communist Party, the working class and the people of the Soviet Union
have used their energy and creative talents to successfully build a developed socialist
society, thus constantly increasing and strengthening the economic and defence potentials
of the Soviet people, constantly raising the Soviet people's material and cultural living
standards and enabling Soviet science and technology to attain new heights. With the
successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan worked out by the 25th CPSU Congress,
the Soviet working class and people have made new and very important steps forward in
building the material and technical bases of communism.

On the diplomatic front, abiding by the Leninist foreign policy, the Soviet Union has
wholeheartedly supported the revolutionary struggle of the world's people while making
many initiatives to preserve peace, promote detente, improve the international atmosphere
and counter the warmongering forces. The international prestige of the Soviet Union
has continually risen.

All members of the Vietnam Communist Party and the entire Vietnamese working class and
people consider the successes of the Soviet Union as their own. From the bottom of their
hearts they wish the CPSU, the fraternal Soviet working class and people the successful
implementation of all the tasks to be laid down by the 26th congress in order to take the
Soviet Union quickly and vigorously to communism.

Bear comrades, in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors over the past several decades as well as in their present endeavours to build socialism and defend their homeland against Beijing's big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, the Vietnamese people have always received from the Communist Party, government and people of the Soviet Union vigorous support and great all-round assistance in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Communist Party and the entire Vietnamese people, we express our sincere and deepest gratitude to the fraternal Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union.

We note with immense pleasure that the great friendship, militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation between our two parties and states have entered a new stage of qualitative development with the signing of the Vietnam-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation, and have constantly strengthened and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is the foremost factor to ensure success for the Vietnamese people's revolution.

The Vietnam Communist Party and the entire Vietnamese people will do all in their power to make the loyal and unblemished relations between our two parties and peoples everlasting. They are determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet people in fighting for the complete victory of the socialist and communist ideals.

May the 26th CPSU Congress be crowned with brilliant success.

Long live the glorious CPSU!

Long live the great USSR!

Long live the great friendship, militant solidarity and all-sided cooperation between the parties and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 4209/301

GREETINGS OF COMRADE LE DUAN AT THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

OW241545 Hanoi VNA in English 1525 GMT 24 Feb 81

[Item in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 9-11--VNA version previously published in FBIS Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Vol III, No 037, Supplement No 002 "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," 25 Feb 81, pp 21-23]

[Text] With boundless joy, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam attends the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin, the militant vanguard of the international communist and workers' movement. On behalf of the communist working class and the people of Vietnam, I would like, from this solemn forum, to convey to the congress and, through it, to the glorious CPSU and the great Soviet people our warmest greetings.

"We greatly rejoice at the fraternal Soviet People's brilliant achievements which Comrade Brezhnev vividly brought out in his political report. Thanks to the extraordinary efforts and creative talents of the Soviet people under the clear-sighted leadership of the CPSU headed by esteemed Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, an outstanding leader of the party and the state of the Soviet Union and a prominent activist of the international communist and workers' movement, the Soviet Union has greatly increased its economic and defence potential over the past five years, the national economy has made an important advance, and the people's living standards have become constantly improved. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has said: 'The current five-year plan has a worthy place in the history of the heroic cause of the Soviet people who are firmly advancing to communism.'

"Carrying out a Leninist foreign policy, the Soviet party and state have made tireless efforts towards international peace and security. They have put forth many initiatives to further the process of detente and disarmament and have resolutely countered adventurous moves of the bellicose imperialist forces in collusion with the reactionary forces within the Beijing leadership. All through its activity, the Soviet Union has always wholeheartedly supported the just cause of the peoples struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Soviet state emerging with the slogans 'Peace for All Peoples' and 'Freedom for the Oppressed Peoples', remains the firm bastion of peace and the reliable buttress of the world revolution.

"Each success of the Soviet Union on the road of communist construction gives pride and hope to freedom-loving people. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will surely take the Soviet state to higher peaks while strongly encouraging communists and justice-loving people on all continents. The Communist Party and the people of Vietnam sincerely wish the fraternal Soviet people success in implementing the resolution of this historic congress, making the Soviet Union richer and stronger and advancing the cause of peace and revolution on our planet.

"Earth-shaking events have taken place in the world over the recent past proving the continuous irrefutable advance of the three revolutionary currents. The socialist system with the Soviet Union as its mainstay has grown in scope and strength and continues to play a decisive role in the evolution of human society. Dictators of the worst kinds, abetted by international reaction, have collapsed one after another. From the ashes of these bloody regimes have emerged states governed by the people which have opted for a society without human exploitation. Even within the stronghold of capitalism, working class and democratic movements are developing with unprecedented vigour.

"In sheer contrast to the radiant reality and bright future of the revolutionary and progressive forces is the gloomy picture of imperialism and Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. In their position of weakness, they are getting closer together, knocking together alliances and trying to counter-attack the revolutionary forces in an attempt to regain their lost positions. This is a major cause of the present hotbeds of tension in the Middle and Near East, in southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. Imperialism and international reaction are also attempting to intervene in the internal affairs of socialist Poland. Nevertheless, this is merely an illusion: that nation's struggle for self-liberation and for the building of a new life in line with socialism is an historical inevitability. Socialism is now invincible. The socialist system is unbreakable. For all their perfidious schemes and brutal actions, imperialism and its henchmen can never reverse this situation. United under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we will win new and more brilliant victories for the cause of national independence, for socialism and for the consolidation of peace."

"Dear comrades, The October Revolution has opened up the greatest epoch in human history. The aspirations of nations to advance to socialism are developing into vivid realities. As time goes by, this truth will glow more and more brilliantly than ever. Following the road of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people have wrested back their most precious independence, freedom and national reunification, steering their country into the era of socialism, the most splendid era in the nation's history.

"Realizing the law of history and proceeding from the characteristics of the country, the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam charted the line of socialist revolution, the basic content of which is to firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship, bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the key one--build a regime of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, a new culture and a new generation of socialist people with a view to building a rich and strong socialist Vietnam having a modern industrial and agricultural economy, a powerful national defence, an advanced culture, science and technology, and a happy and civilized life for its people.

"With those guidelines, the Vietnamese people have eagerly engaged in national construction, transformed and developed the economy in order [to] quickly, vigorously and steadily develop socialism in the country. But the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles, who regard a reunified and socialist Vietnam as an obstacle to their policy of expansionism and hegemony in Southeast Asia, have publicly carried out a policy of hostility towards Vietnam. They provoked war at our southwestern border by proxy of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan in Kampuchea, then blatantly waged a war of aggression on the northern border of our country.

"Deeply imbued with Comrade Ho Chi Minh's words: 'Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom', the Vietnamese people responded firmly and smashed the southward drive of the Beijing expansionists, firmly maintaining national sovereignty and defending peace and stability in the region.

"At present, the Vietnamese people are faced with enormous tasks: building socialism while remaining prepared to fight and defend the country. In spite of boundless difficulties, the Vietnamese people are determined to successfully take on these historical tasks, and together with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea will give a darker hue to the glorious banner of national independence and socialism, worthily contributing to peace and revolution in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

"To follow Lenin's path, to unite and cooperate fully with the Soviet Union that is the consistent line of our party and state. The treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has led the pure comradely and fraternal relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union to a new stage of development both in breadth and in depth.

"Acting on the order of the heart and the brain', the Soviet brothers and sisters have reserved for the Vietnamese people their strong support and great and effective assistance in national construction as well as in the defence of our socialist motherland.

"I wish to take this opportunity to express once again the sincerest and deepest gratitude of our entire party and people to the great Soviet Union for that noble proletarian internationalist sentiment.

"Also on this occasion, we warmly thank the other socialist countries, the communist parties, the national liberation and peace movements all over the world for their wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's just cause.

"The Communist Party and the people of Vietnam will forever firmly raise the banner of solidarity with the Soviet Union upheld by Comrade Ho Chi Minh and pledge to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet comrades in translating into vivid reality our pure ideal: socialism and communism.

"Eternal glory to the party of the great Lenin!

"Long live the fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and all-round cooperation between the two parties and peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

"Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS AND THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 12-17.

[Unattributed article]

[Text] All mankind has been attentively following the 26th Congress of the CPSU. The communists and progressive people of the entire world view this congress with boundless joy over the brilliant achievements of the land of the Soviets. The report delivered to the congress by L.I. Brezhnev painted a living picture of the steady advances of Soviet industry, of the outstanding discoveries and inventions by Soviet scientists, of the tremendous harvests in the fields of the rural areas of the Soviet Union and of the huge projects that have been and are being carried out in the fatherland of the great Lenin.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU is the congress of creative labor, is the place focusing the intelligence and energies of the more than 17 million party members and the several hundred million Soviet people who are moving toward new pinnacles in communist construction. It is also the congress of peaceful construction, a congress that opens new horizons for the struggle by the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The report by L.I. Brezhnev as well as the other documents of the congress are of tremendous theoretical and practical significance. The achievements of the Soviet people over the past 5 years and the rich experiences of the CPSU in every area of perfecting developed socialist society and building the material-technical bases of communism were summarized; the strategy and tactics regarding economic and social development during the years from 1981 to 1985 and until 1990 were set forth. The documents of the congress are the concretization and enhancement of the concept of developed socialism, are an important contribution to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The imperialist and reactionary forces, who are the enemies of peace and revolution, have been following the 26th Congress of the CPSU with hearts filled with anger; at the same time, they have been unable to conceal their concern over the power of the Soviet Union and the increasing influence of the Soviet Union in the world. They have fabricated such arguments as "the Soviet economy is weak and in crisis," "the threat from the Soviet side" and "Soviet hegemony." However, all of their

arguments have been rejected by the truth. The documents adopted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU reflect the stability and continuous development of the Soviet economy, the large scale and the depth of communist construction and the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and illuminate the close relationship between the concepts of "peace" and "socialism."

The land of the Soviets has experienced periods of development filled with extremely glorious challenges. The Soviet Union virtually completed its socialist construction in the late 1930's and completed the construction of developed socialism in the mid-1960's. Developed socialist society marks a stage of development that conforms with the laws of the formation of communism and is the stage in which socialism develops on the basis of itself and in which the laws and strengths of socialism have all the conditions needed to have an impact in every field of social activity. It is a long stage in which it is necessary to perform extremely complex tasks, such as building the material-technical bases of communism; insuring the production of a full supply of ordinary products; bringing the two forms of socialist ownership of the instruments of production closer together and eventually merging them; abolishing class boundaries and gradually eliminating the important differences between the cities and the countryside, between mental labor and manual labor; molding the new man and so forth.

During the years in which socialism has developed on the basis of itself, the land of the Soviets has made strong progress in all areas of building the material and technical bases of communism. The production forces of society have achieved a new level of quality. The scientific-technological revolution has developed in both depth and breadth and changed the face of all fields and sectors of production. Soviet science has now occupied the dominant positions within the key fields of knowledge. In the 1970's as the report of L.I. Brezhnev stated, the gross social product increased by 167 percent between 1970 and 1980, industrial output value increased by 178 percent, agricultural output value increased by 123 percent, fixed assets increased by 216 percent, national income for consumption and accumulation increased by 155 percent and the social consumption fund increased by 182 percent.

These are the results of the new economic strategy set forth at the 24th Congress and the 25th Congress of the CPSU: developing the economy in depth, placing primary emphasis upon returns and quality and considering improving the living conditions of the people to be the center of practical work within the economic field.

The recent tenth 5-year plan (1976-1980) was an important element in the implementation of this economic strategy.

During the past 5 years, the Soviet Union allocated 105.4 billion rubles for the social consumption fund, an increase of 134 percent compared to the ninth 5-year plan. This broadened the economic base in order to implement the rights of the people as stated in the Constitution, such as the right to an education, the right to free medical care and the right to material security when old. Actual income per capita has increased by 13.3 percent.

One matter to which foremost attention has been given is the construction of housing. The state invested 1.5 billion rubles more than projected in this work, that is, a total of 87.2 billion rubles. During the 5 years, the people had 530 million square meters of housing to use. More than 50 million persons received new homes. Nearly 80 percent of urban dwellers have separate apartments.

The bases of these achievements are the overall development of the economy and the strengthened domestic production forces. Compared to the previous 5-year plan, national income increased by 400 billion rubles, industrial output value increased by 717 billion rubles and agricultural output value increased by 50 billion rubles.

Some 635 billion rubles were invested in the national economy. Fixed assets increased by 1.4 times. More than 1,200 large industrial enterprises were put into production, including some very important projects that meet high requirements, such as the A-to-ma-so [Vietnamese phonetics] Plant in Volgaden, the Leningrad Nuclear Power Plant and the largest hydroelectric power plant in Europe at Da-po-ro-gio [Vietnamese phonetics] and U-go-le-go-ro-xoo [Vietnamese phonetics]. In particular, the working people of western Siberia recorded outstanding achievements: during the 5 years, they more than doubled the production of petroleum and increased the production of natural gas by nearly 4.5 times. The more than 3,000 kilometer Baikal-Amur (BAM) Railroad is continuing to be constructed.

Agricultural production has developed strongly. More than 170 billion rubles were invested in agriculture, that is, 27 percent of the total capital invested in the national economy. The electricity supplied to agricultural labor has increased 1.4 times. The centralization and specialization of agricultural production and the agro-industrial alliance are deeper and encompass many more areas. As a result, during the 5 years, cereal grain income averaged 205 million tons per year for the first time. In 1980, cotton output was nearly 10 million tons.

Consumer goods production increased by 21 percent, with the production of goods for everyday life and cultural activities increasing by 41 percent, and both the variety of products and their quality were improved.

On the basis of scientific and technical advances, the returns from production increased markedly. Social labor productivity rose by 17 percent.

During the past 5 years, the other areas of the country also developed strongly. The socialist system of democracy has been fully developed. The various nationalities of the Soviet Union are a great, united, friendly family. The strength of the national defense system has been maintained at the necessary level.

As L.I. Brezhnev evaluated the plan, "this 5-year plan occupies a worthy position in the history of heroic deeds by the Soviet people." The achievements that have been recorded prove that the land of the Soviets is making strong progress in every area. These achievements are even more outstanding when viewed against the background of the gloomy situation of the capitalist economy, which finds itself in a serious crisis and unable to avoid its inherent maladies of economic decline, inflation and unemployment.

Of course, not everything in the national economic development of the Soviet Union has gone smoothly. There are more than a few difficulties and shortcomings but they are difficulties and shortcomings encountered in the course of development. The 26th Congress of the CPSU forthrightly addressed these difficulties and shortcomings. During the past 5 years, only the 2 years 1976 and 1980 were relatively favorable for agriculture; many large mineral mines became depleted and the basic centers of the mining industry moved to the east and north during harsh weather and at high costs; the management and planning mechanisms, work methods and the discipline displayed in implementation do not meet modern requirements. Despite this, the Soviet economy has always been stable and has constantly developed. It can be said that throughout the post-war period, that is, for the past 35 years, real income has never declined, rather, it has constantly increased.

As it enters the 1980's, the land of the Soviets possesses economic, scientific, technical and military potentials that are stronger than ever before and has a large corps of highly qualified cadres. In a spirit of well-founded optimism, the CPSU and the people of the Soviet Union face new, expanding horizons. The 26th Congress of the CPSU decided to continue, during the 1980's, the implementation of the economic strategy of the Soviet Union, the highest objectives of which are to constantly improve the material and cultural living standards of the people and create the best possible conditions for the comprehensive development of everyone. For the first time, the basic guidelines on the economic and social development of the Soviet Union are not only for the next 5 years, but for the next 10 years as well. In the eleventh 5-year plan (1981-1985), the main task is to further improve the welfare of the Soviet people on the basis of stabilizing the development of the national economy, accelerating scientific and technical advances, shifting the economy to development in depth, making more efficient use of the production potentials of the country, fully economizing on every form of wealth and improving the quality of work.

The actual potentials and prospects of the economy permit the Soviet Union to set forth within this plan the task of more strongly shifting the entire national economy to the matter of improving the welfare of the people. In his report to the congress, L.I. Brezhnev said: "Real concern for real persons, for the needs of the individual, this is the starting point and the end point of the economic policy of the party." This reflects the truly humanitarian nature of the Soviet social system, a society that exists for the sake of man, and shows that the CPSU always adheres to the fundamental law of socialism. On the other hand, it is also a pressing need of the development of the national economy itself, is a strong moving force stimulating the enthusiasm for work and the social activities of the masses.

The documents of the congress stipulate that, in the next 5 years, national income will increase by 18-20 percent and the real income per capita will increase by 16-18 percent. The average monthly wage of manual workers and civil servants will increase by 13-16 percent and is projected to reach 190-195 rubles per month by the end of the plan. The income of farmers from the public economy will increase by 20-22 percent. The social consumption fund will increase by 20 percent. Living conditions will be improved and a fuller supply of conveniences will be provided; it is projected that 530 million-540 million square meters of housing will be in use by the end of the plan.

The commerce sector, the public food and beverage sector, the services sector and the communications sector will be developed even more. While stressing the need to improve the welfare of the people, the CPSU is not only giving attention to the quantity of grain, food products and industrial goods supplied to the people, but also advocating a positive impact upon the formation of reasonable needs and aesthetic tastes.

Among the various economic tasks designed to improve the standard of living of the people, the CPSU has established improving the supply of grain and food products as the foremost task. A separate grain and food product program has been established in order to insure the development of agriculture and the agricultural support sectors, strengthen all of the sectors of the national economy that perform the tasks of purchasing, storing, transporting and processing agricultural products and accelerating the production of the food products industry and the food commerce sector. Here, the agro-industrial-grain consortiums play the important role and must be managed as a single bloc. Under the present conditions of the Soviet Union, supplying grain and food products to the people is an extremely complex problem in view of the fact that natural conditions are not always favorable for agriculture and livestock production, the country's territory is vast and its population is widely scattered. Therefore, the agro-industrial-grain consortiums must not only develop in depth, but must also be developed in a balanced and well coordinated manner. The Soviet Union has always attached very much importance to investing in agriculture. Whereas agriculture accounted for 20 percent of the expenditures of the national economy under the seventh 5-year plan, 23 percent under the eighth 5-year plan, 26 percent under the ninth 5-year plan and more than 27 percent under the tenth 5-year plan, this percentage is lower under the eleventh 5-year plan. It is projected that agricultural output will increase at the annual average rate of 12-14 percent and meet the norm of 238-243 million tons of cereal grains. The average annual rate of increase is 40 million tons (the previous rate was 38 million tons). The output of meat must at least reach 18.2 million tons.

The CPSU has also attached very much importance to the individual subsidiary economy. The Central Committee has issued a resolution setting forth supplementary measures designed to develop this economy.

Tremendous importance has been attached to development of consumer goods production in order to supply additional high quality goods to the people. In this plan, the production of group "B" must develop at a higher rate (the projected rate of increase is 27-29 percent) while the production of instruments of production is projected to increase by 26-28 percent.

Under the present conditions of the Soviet Union, it is no longer possible to develop the economy in breadth. Therefore, the national economy can only move strongly forward on the basis of development in depth, of improving the efficiency and quality of production and work. It has been projected that the entire economy will have been reoriented along these lines by the end of the 1980's. This change will be closely linked to accelerating scientific and technical advances, finding all sources of reserve resources, making more efficient use of existing production capabilities and practicing full economy with every available resource. At the same time, it is necessary to improve working conditions, increase the productivity

and creativity of labor and reduce the amount of strenuous, manual labor and unskilled labor.

The congress maintained that in order for social production to achieve high final results, it is necessary to modernize the basic industrial sectors, that is, the metallurgy sector, the machine manufacturing sector, the chemicals sectors, the communications-transportation sector and, most importantly, the fuel and energy sector, so that these sectors become the moving force behind greater economic and social progress. It is projected that, under this 5-year plan, industrial output will increase by 26-28 percent and, by the year 1985, the Soviet Union will be producing 620-645 million tons of crude oil (including condensed gas), 770-800 million tons of coal, 1.55-1.60 trillion kwh of electricity, 150-155 million tons of fertilizer and so forth.

The congress decided to increase investment capital by 12 to 15 percent during the next 5 years; the total investment in capital construction is projected to be 711-730 billion rubles with labor productivity in construction increasing by 15-17 percent. The congress established the tasks of increasing the returns from investment capital, maintaining the construction rate, avoiding the decentralization of capital, promptly putting projects into production, making full use of production capacity and modernizing and supplying more equipment to existing projects. New construction will only be carried out when necessary.

Another important issue with regard to the Soviet national economy is the need to improve the distribution of production forces on the basis of continuing to carry out specialization and accelerating the balanced development of the economies of the united republics and the various economic areas within the framework of the unified national economy. Under this 5-year plan, the economic potentials in the eastern areas will be increased and the production-territory consortiums will be developed even more. Following the completion of the Baikal-Amur Railroad, the area around Baikal-Amur will be developed.

Of the series of tasks that have been established, the main task is to achieve a new level of quality throughout the management system, primarily for the purpose of coordinating the achievements of the modern scientific and technological revolution with the tremendous strengths of developed socialism. As the congress pointed out, it is necessary to heighten the role of planning as the central element in socialist economic management and insure that every plan norm is well coordinated and balanced and more fully reflects and stimulates the development of production, the returns from production, higher labor productivity, the economization of worktime and the economization of material wealth. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the economic system and revamp the organizational structure of management by correcting the decentralization of management among the various ministries, correctly coordinating management by sector and management by territory, improving the coordination of the central agencies, sectors and localities, implementing a system of strict economy, developing and strengthening the cost accounting system, improve the standardization of every product, widely apply various forms of incentives for high productivity, strengthen the role played by financial-credit levers, improve the price system and improve the quality of statistics and inventory work. It is

necessary to mold a workstyle designed to organically link the attitude of strict compliance and the spirit of discipline with initiative, boldness and resourcefulness, with determination to achieve the major objectives that have been established, with the attitude of criticizing shortcomings. The program for improving the economic system and the style and methods of leading this economy represents a further development of the Leninist science of management, primarily the principle of democratic centralism.

Communist construction is the voluntary and creative undertaking of millions of persons under the leadership of the party. For this reason, the congress stressed the need to strengthen the leadership role of the party and increase the ownership role of the masses, of the collectives of laborers and of the mass organizations in the performance of the economic tasks of the eleventh 5-year plan. With this plan, a new and heroic chapter is being opened in the glorious annals of communist construction in the land of the Soviets.

Our people have a high evaluation of the achievements of the fraternal Soviet people and the contributions made by the land of the Soviets to the cause of peace and revolution in the world.

As a result of the extraordinary efforts and the creative talents of the Soviet people, the land of the Soviets has, under the wise leadership of the CPSU and after ten 5-year plans, become the leading superpower in the world with powerful economic and military might and a constantly improved standard of living. At present, the national income of the Soviet Union in 5 days equals the national income of the Soviet Union in all of 1928, that is, the year before the first 5-year plan. At present, a 1 percent increase in the industrial output of the Soviet Union equals its entire industrial output for the year 1928. The Soviet Union produces one-fifth of the industrial output of the entire world and leads the world in the production of steel, petroleum (including condensed gas), iron and manganese ore, coke, mineral fertilizers, cement, steam and electric locomotives and a number of other products. Whereas the Soviet Union was once 50 to 100 years behind the developed countries of the West, today, many of the industrial indices of the Soviet Union are equal to those of three or four developed industrial countries combined and exceed those of the United States.

In keeping with the Leninist foreign policy, the party and state of the Soviet Union have struggled tirelessly for international peace and security and proposed many initiatives that stimulate the process of detente and disarmament while determinedly retaliating against the adventurous actions of the bellicose imperialist powers collaborating with the reactionary powers within Beijing ruling circles. The specific proposals designed to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen international peace and security set forth by L.I. Brezhnev in his report to the congress, such as broadening the measures of mutual military trust, including in the Far East, maintaining security in the Persian Gulf region, continuing to negotiate with the United States concerning the limitation of strategic weapons, establishing an international commission to prevent nuclear disaster and so forth, clearly reflect the desire of the Soviet Union for peace.

In all of its activities, the Soviet Union always attaches importance to strengthening the community of socialist countries and wholeheartedly supporting the just cause of the nations struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Today, the Soviet Union is the firm pillar of world peace and revolution, is the dependable base of nations.

For this reason, every victory of the Soviet Union in the course of communist construction is a source of pride and hope to the peace and freedom loving nations of the world. To the Vietnamese, the strong support and tremendous, effective assistance of the Soviet Union is a very important factor insuring the victory of the work of building and protecting the country. On behalf of our party and people, Le Duan delivered an address in which he congratulated the Soviet communists on their 26th Congress, expressed our gratitude to the party and people of the fraternal Soviet Union and stated: "Following the course of Lenin, uniting and cooperating in a comprehensive manner with the Soviet Union are the immutable line of our party and state."

With even greater joy over the achievements of the Soviet Union and even greater confidence in the bright prospects for communist construction in the Soviet Union resulting from the 26th Congress of the CPSU, we shall make an even greater effort to strengthen the friendship and the pure relations between the parties and peoples of our two countries so that they are forever beautiful.

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IMPROVE THE CONTRACTUAL SYSTEM IN AGRICULTURE

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[Text] During the past 20 years, although cooperativized agriculture in the northern part of our country has developed, it has done so at a slow pace which is not commensurate with our capabilities in terms of land, manpower and investments in the building of material and technical bases. This aspect of agriculture, therefore, has failed to meet the demands for grain, foodstuffs, raw materials for industry and farm produce for export. The number of good cooperatives still represents less than 30 percent of the total and the remainder--over 70 percent--still rate average or poor. A point to ponder: Our peasants are very diligent, experienced and well versed in production techniques, but why has production developed slowly? There have been many causes--objective and subjective--for this state of affairs, and these causes have existed for many years. We must pay attention to and study the organization and management of agriculture, especially the management system, of which contract is the key problem as far as the current production work of cooperatives is concerned.

I. Improve the Contractual System in Cooperatives

For a long time now, our agricultural cooperatives have usually applied the system of "three contracts" with production units. This contractual system is based on three quotas: output quota, expenditure quota and workpoint quota, with the output quota being the most important. According to this system, a production unit bears collective responsibility to the cooperatives for the finished products. If the production unit overfulfills its quota, it will be entitled to a bonus equal to 80 percent of the surplus output. If it fails to fulfill its quota, it will be liable to a penalty equal to 50 percent of the output shortfall. This, in fact, is a system of contract for product quotas applied by cooperatives to production units. The production units then contract out work to each laborer on the basis of established labor norms and workpoint standards. Everyday, after a cooperative member has finished his shift, the production unit chief will inspect and verify the amount and quality of his work so as to compensate him. Anyone who works well, that is, meets the quality standards and overfulfills his work quota, will be commended and granted extra workpoints. Anyone who fails to meet the quality standards and his work quota will have to do compensation work

or have his workpoints reduced. This contractual system has proven effective, especially in those frontrank cooperatives which have carried out the division of labor and fostered close cooperation among different areas of work in entire production units and in the cooperatives as a whole. The most serious weakness of this contractual system, however, has been its failure to mesh the responsibility and interests of the laborer with the results of production, that is the finished products of the cooperative. In practice, therefore, this system has encouraged laborers to run after the volume of work and the vastness of acreage. It has even encouraged people to claim credit for work not done so as to win more workpoints without paying attention to the quality of work and the finished products of the collective. Among cooperative cadres themselves, sloppiness in work, corruption, exaggeration of workpoints, and so forth, have been reported. The management of the cooperatives' daily operations is characterized by red tape and subsidization; the management apparatus is unwieldy.

Whether production is carried out mechanically or manually, a race for workpoints will adversely affect the results of production in the collective by slowing down the development of production and limiting output while rapidly and substantially increasing the number of man-days. This is an acute contradiction which has kept the income of cooperative members low. It is precisely because of this that laborers, in one way or another, have re used to pay attention to the work they have to do for the collectives, and have adopted a negative attitude toward labor, thus diminishing labor intensity and productivity. In this case, we cannot accuse cooperative members of lacking voluntariness. The fact is that, with their income dependent on workpoints and based on low man-day pay (a man-day is worth over 1 dong in the frontrank cooperatives only; it earns about 0.5 dong in the average cooperatives, less in the poor ones), they are compelled to look for other sources of income to live. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that the number of days and hours actually worked by cooperative members for the collectives has been small. For the same reason, the land of the cooperatives (the per capita area of which is too small in our country) and the existing material and technical bases of the collectives (which are still poor) have not been adequately exploited to create more products per area unit.

We already know that in agriculture the work process does not occur in parallel with the product-making process. The fruits of the labor of cooperative members participating in production for the collectives come only after the harvest. It is precisely because of this reason that the most difficult and complex problem in the organization and management of production in cooperatives is how to make the workers feel concerned about the finished products of the collectives.

Over the past 20 years, the operational and organizational conditions of our cooperatives have undergone many changes while the system of contractual management has remained unchanged, thus curbing the development of the collective economy. Therefore, it is imperative to shift from the former system of contracting out work with bonuses and penalties determined by workpoints--which is in fact a contractual form based on the working time--to the system of contracting out product quotas for groups of laborers and

individual laborers who are responsible for the finished products before the collectives and who will either receive bonuses or be fined in the form of products. This is a progressive system of contractual management that enables the cooperatives, in their present conditions and regardless of their performance ratings--be it good, average or poor--to vigorously develop production and guarantee the harmonious combination of the three interests (the interests of the laborer, the collective and the state).

This new contractual system must be implemented on the basis of firmly maintaining the system of collective ownership over production materials. Those who accept contract quotas must carry out production activities in accordance with the production plans, technical processes and norms set by the cooperatives; and the finished products will be under the control of the collective.

The new contractual system makes production units and all workers in the cooperative feel really concerned about the final outcome of production; it encourages everyone to enthusiastically engage in productive labor for the collective, improve productivity and increase output, thus turning out more products for society.

This new contractual form has, in reality, been applied on a relatively widespread basis to winter crop production in many cooperatives in the northern part of our country. As a result of this, in recent years winter crop production has developed rapidly in terms of cultivated area, yield and output, making a considerable contribution to increasing the volume of grain and food. This new contractual method is also being flexibly applied with good results to the production of short-term industrial crops--jute, peanuts, sugarcane and soybeans--and a number of long-term industrial crops--tea, resinous trees, mulberry and so forth. Recently many localities have also applied it to rice production.

Though enforced with varying intensity and methods, the implementation of this new contractual system in the recent crop seasons, especially the 1980 10th-month crop season, has brought about good successes in many respects, as clearly indicated by increased production and the upsurge of the mass movement for productive labor.

Rice production has rapidly increased in terms of cultivated area, yield and output. In the 1980 10th-month crop season, as the northern part of our country was seriously hit by typhoons and floods, rice yield was only 18.8 quintals per hectare. But, in spite of serious natural calamities, Haiphong scored an average per-hectare yield of more than 23 quintals because most of the cooperatives there had applied the new contractual system on 20 to 100 percent of their 10th-month rice areas; and the 10th-month rice area there, though having been retransplanted over and over again, still increased by 1.2 percent over the previous year. The city's total grain output for 1980 increased by 6.3 percent over 1979 and by 4.2 percent over 1976--the years with bumper crops. Thanks to this, Haiphong fulfilled at an early date its grain obligation, turning over to the state 23,299 tons of grain--299 tons in excess of the quota. Particularly, in Do Son District

where most of the cooperatives had contracted out product quotas, rice output in the 1980 10th-month crop season increased by 1,372 tons (over 1979) and the district was the first to fulfill its grain obligation. Each collective there received 82 extra tons of rice in its distribution quota and the average monthly individual rice ration (excluding the amount a cooperative member kept after having fulfilled the contracted product quota) increased by 3 kg.

Generally, rice yields in cooperatives where this new contractual system has been practiced, such as in Haiphong, Vinh Phu, Nghe Tinh and elsewhere, increased. The increments ranged from 4 to 5 percent for cooperatives with a poor rating; from 15 to 20 percent for those with an average rating; and from 30 percent up for those with a good rating. Rice output in these cooperatives also increased from 10 to 15 percent over the previous year. Meanwhile, our national rice output has for many years increased at an average rate of about 1 percent. These facts clearly testify to the impact of the new contractual system in agriculture.

The new contractual system has encouraged all cooperative members to produce more; and no one is running after workpoints as before. This system is attracting the vigorous participation in productive labor of all the work forces in the countryside (including main and secondary workers, students, cadres, military personnel, industrial workers and civil servants on leave, retirees, people who formerly switched from production to trading business, and others). The cooperatives' apparatus that is indirectly engaged in production, has been streamlined (the number of cooperative members not directly engaged in production has dropped by 30 percent in Thuy Nguyen District, Haiphong). Instead of working 5 to 6 hours a day as before, cooperative members now put in 8 to 9 and at times, 10 to 12 hours a day. Therefore, all production activities--from planting to tending and harvesting--in cooperatives that "contract out product quotas" to workers have been completed from 10 to 15 days earlier than before, thus unfailingly meeting the crop cultivation schedule. Everyone has worked hard and closely followed technical processes. Land has been exploited satisfactorily; and the cultivated area has increased through crop multiplication. Cooperative members have tilled the land carefully, insured sufficient water, transplanted properly sized seedlings at the optimal density, retransplanted those that died, made full use of all sources of fertilizer (they have even exchanged rice for more nitrogen fertilizer from the state), and promptly and carefully reaped the rice crop. This has resulted in good rice yields and high output. Materials and labor have been used thriftily and effectively, thus lowering production costs.

Generally speaking, in those cooperatives where the "contract out product quotas" system is implemented, the families of war invalids and dead soldiers and families without support have been given contracts on a priority basis and favorable conditions have been created for them to satisfactorily fulfill their quotas, thus ensuring them a higher income. Various sectors and trades within the cooperatives have been maintained and developed. More youths have gone to discharge their military obligation than required by

the planned targets. Coordination among the consolidation of organization, the strengthening of the cadre body and the practice of "contracting out product quotas" to groups of laborers and individual laborers have further strengthened organization, promoted internal solidarity and improved cooperative-state relations.

These results have helped further consolidate the cooperatives and prompted cooperative members to produce zealously and become more attached to the collectives. The new production relations in the countryside, far from being weakened, have been further consolidated. The collective ownership of the means of production and the management and distribution work of cooperatives have been strengthened. The material and technical bases of the collectives have been increased and put to better use. Instead of being disrupted, the division of labor and cooperation in work have been effectively practiced in strict accordance with the actual conditions of production installations. This has helped develop the superiority of collective labor and, at the same time, has made it possible to satisfactorily exploit individual efforts in the process of developing collective production. The bulk of products turned out, that is the volume of production achieved according to contracted quotas, has been entirely placed under the control of the collectives to be uniformly distributed within the cooperatives. The amount of above-quota products turned out by and, consequently, awarded to cooperative members has represented only a small portion of the total output.

Reality has shown that, with our agricultural production still depending mainly on manual labor and with our mechanical production facilities remaining negligible, there is no other way to increase agricultural labor productivity and crop yields than to make the fullest use of all sources of labor in the countryside, foster the habitual industriousness of the peasants, enhance the sense of responsibility of all people and induce everyone, in his own interest and in the interests of the collective and society, to pay attention to the results of his labor. In the current conditions, all this has been promoted in the process of implementing the "contract out product quotas" system.

Obviously, the form of contract for product quota is not a method of individual production but a mode of collective labor. It is imperative to implement the "contract out product quotas" system in agriculture in order to meet the demand for production development and to serve the interests of the laborer, the collective and the state.

II. Implement the New Contractual System in Agricultural Cooperatives

Each cooperative is responsible for its own production and business. Therefore, it has the right to choose between the system of contracting out work (with bonuses and penalties determined by workpoints) or the system of contracting out product quotas (with bonuses and penalties determined by products) to groups of laborers or individual laborers. A cooperative can make its choice according to the discussions and decision of a congress of its members. The upper echelon must not force it into or prevent it from choosing one system or the other.

In this article, I will discuss only the implementation of the system of "contracting out product quotas" to groups of workers and especially to individual workers in agricultural cooperatives.

As explained earlier, the implementation of this new contractual system has enabled us to effectively overcome the weaknesses of the system of contract for work, weaknesses which have arisen from the failure of this system to directly mesh the laborer's interests and obligations with the finished products. Thus, the system of contract for product quotas is considered as a new development and a more progressive method which helps improve and develop instead of clashing with the contractual system already implemented for a long time in all agricultural cooperatives.

To implement this new contractual system, all cooperatives must firmly grasp and correctly apply the following principles:

1. They must uniformly and closely manage and satisfactorily use the means of production of the collective (such as land, machinery, draft animals, supplies and other assets) in strict accordance with the guidelines, plans and norms of the collective. They must oppose all practices that may cause damage to the means of production of the collective. They must not scatter the means of production of the cooperative and allow cooperative members to use them in an arbitrary manner. They must not hinder the use of the material and technical bases of the collective nor impede the efforts to increase them. They must not obstruct the introduction of advanced science and technology into production.
2. The cooperative must manage and organize the division of labor in a rational manner so as to satisfactorily develop collective labor while effectively bringing into play the labor of individual cooperative members and their families in crop cultivation, livestock breeding and other production activities. In implementing the contractual system (including bonuses and penalties), it is necessary to make the people engaging in every operation of the production process feel united with one another and concerned about the final results.
3. Units and individuals working under contracts must carry out production in accordance with the plans (of the province, district and village), with the set production plan and crop cultivation pattern (namely production orientations), and with the crop cultivation schedule, technical standards and production processes set by the cooperative. Contract quotas must be set in a rational manner so as to encourage cooperative members to enthusiastically engage in labor, apply technical progress and make use of all the potentials (including materials and labor) of their families for increasing productivity and output; and at the same time, to insure the interests of the collective.
4. The cooperative must successfully control all products that fall under contract quotas so that distribution can be carried out uniformly in accordance with a general plan.

Attention must be given to insuring the harmonious combination of the three interests. It is necessary to pay attention first of all to the interests of workers, to increase the income and capital accumulation of the cooperative and at the same time, to insure satisfactory fulfillment of the obligations to the state. Unless the workers' interests are properly considered, they will not feel encouraged to carry out production for the collective with enthusiasm and consequently, the interests of the collective and the state will suffer.

Bonuses and penalties must be applied in such a way as to encourage cooperative members to actively engage in productive labor. Bonuses and penalties should be paid chiefly in kind, depending on the type of products; but the settlement of bonuses and penalties in other forms is not ruled out.

5. We must develop the initiative of the cooperative and the right to mastery of the collective of cooperative members in all spheres of activities; and must struggle against commandism and coercion that run counter to the principles of free will, mutual benefit and democratic management.

In "contracting out product quotas" to groups of workers and individual workers, the managerial board must assume responsibility before the collective for the finished products on the entire cultivated area of the cooperative. Production teams will be chiefly responsible for the finished products on the land areas allotted to them by the cooperative under the "three contracts."

On this basis, production teams and other specialized teams of the cooperative must undertake work operations that can be carried out more effectively with collective labor and that have a direct impact on the production process of a whole area and the cooperative's plan.

The preparation of seed (rice seed for an example)--from production to selection, storing and germination--must be carried out by seed preparation teams of the collective so that good seed can be obtained for the fulfillment of the cooperative's production plan. Meanwhile, the transplanting and tending of seedlings can be assigned either to production teams or to cooperative members on a contractual basis. The preparation of some types of food crop seed (such as sweet potato and potato seed) can also be similarly assigned.

The tilling of the soil should generally be carried out by the collective; but this rule is flexible and in some cases, it can be assigned to cooperative members' families if the specific conditions of each area and each cooperative permit. In cooperatives located in the lowlands where machinery and draft cattle are collectively owned, mechanical plowing will be carried out by the cooperative and cattle plowing will be the job of production teams. In the midlands and mountainous regions where many cooperative members' families have their own cattle, land tilling will be carried out by both the collective and cooperative members on a contractual basis.

The collective will undertake to supply fertilizer (both organic and inorganic) according to set norms, carry out irrigation work on ricefields, prevent and control harmful insects and diseases, and protect the crop.

Cooperative members who "contract product quotas" will undertake all other activities such as sowing, transplanting, field tending and harvesting; and they will be responsible before the collective for the finished products on the areas allotted to them under contracts, with bonuses or penalties to be administered depending on whether they exceed or fall short of the contracted output quotas.

In livestock raising, cooperatives should study ways to apply the various forms of contracts for product quotas in the most effective manner possible. For a long time now, in raising meat hogs, collectives have had to use 3-6 kg of paddy to produce 1 kg of meat on the hoof--not to mention the costs of housing and pigsties and other expenditures. If this task is contracted out to their members, the cooperatives will need only 4 kg of paddy to raise 1 kg of meat on the hoof and will be able to dispense with other expenditures involved in concentrated breeding. Two forms of contracting out hog breeding to cooperative members have now emerged. Under the first form, the cooperative turns over piglets and feed to cooperative members families for raising and collects the products later. Under the second, the cooperative turns over to cooperative members families plots of land set aside for the production of feed and piglets. In this case, the cooperative members families will have to carry out the two tasks of producing feed and raising meat hogs and of delivering to their cooperatives an amount of meat on the hoof as determined by the contracted quotas.

Wherever electricity and animal feed processing machines are available, production units should assume the production and processing of feed and supplying it to the cooperative members families who raise hogs under contract for their cooperatives according to the first contractual form. Those cooperatives which lack the necessary material bases for animal feed processing may contract out livestock raising to cooperative members families according to the second contractual form.

Whatever the form used in contracting out livestock raising to cooperative members families, it is better for collectives to produce and supply young animals to their members than to let the latter assume this task themselves.

The system of "contract for product quotas" in our agriculture is still a novelty and a task in which we do not yet have much experience. For this reason, there are still many knotty points and hitches that need to be overcome.

We must find a reasonable solution to the problem regarding the length during which a special plot belonging to a cooperative may be contracted out to its members. Some people fear that allowing a cooperative member to work on a plot of land for several crops and years in succession may transform this cooperative-owned land into the private property of the contractor. But if we contract out a plot of land to a cooperative member just for one crop season and give him a different plot in the next, the contractor may not have enough confidence to invest in the intensive cultivation of the land and

may strive only for short-term gains, thereby failing to achieve high productivity. If we allow cooperative members to use the land under contract for 2, 3 or 5 years at a stretch, they may confidently and substantially invest in intensive cultivation so as to obtain the highest possible productivity and yield per area unit. The contracted output quota for each crop season must be determined according to the actual material and technical conditions.

During the recent harvest, some localities compelled cooperative members to bring their products to the collective's yards, while some allowed them to take their products home. Generally speaking, wherever conditions permit (that is, wherever electricity, farm machines and yards are available), the harvested products must be gathered in the storage facilities of production units. In those places where such conditions are lacking, cooperative members should be allowed to bring their products home. In either case, measures must be taken to ensure that the quantity and quality of the products turned in must be in strict accordance with the contracted quotas set by the cooperatives.

At present, bonuses are being granted and penalties imposed in many different manners. The granting of cash bonuses equal to 80 percent of the output surplus value and the imposition of cash penalties equal to 50 percent of the output shortfall value as has been the practice up to now are no longer appropriate. Those cooperatives applying the system of "contracting out product quotas" to laborers now levy penalties on contractors equal to 100 percent of the value of the output shortfall. Concerning bonuses, some cooperatives offer cash rewards equal to 100 percent of the value of the output surplus, some only opt for 80 to 90 percent of the value. At this juncture, cooperatives may decide for themselves how much to give as bonuses. Generally speaking, a bonus equal to 100 percent of the output surplus value will be a strong stimulant prompting laborers to engage in production enthusiastically. Cooperatives can use a portion of the cash generated by the output surplus achieved under the general production plan or appropriate part of the bonus fund to reward those production units (including specialized units and collectives of laborers participating in concentrated work) credited with good production achievements as well as production unit cadres so as to mesh their supervisory responsibilities with the finished products.

Is it true that this new contractual system should not be applied in the frontrank cooperatives which have carried out production work well on a regular basis and that it should be practiced only in the average and poor cooperatives? Reality in Nghe Tinh Province has shown that even a frontrank cooperative capable of effective production work can increase crop yields, the cultivated area and output and reduce shortcomings and weaknesses if it applies this new contractual system. In the average and poor cooperatives (such as the Doan Xa Cooperative in Haiphong), the application of the new contractual system has helped rapidly boost crop yields, the cultivated area and output. Particularly in those cooperatives where the workforce and land have been made too little use of for a long time, the implementation of the system of "contract for product quotas" has helped achieve an extraordinary

development in production. In those cooperatives having an average standard of production management, however, the introduction of this new system has led to some errors. But these errors have been few and have not resulted in the practice of granting unconditional contracts as has often occurred in those cooperatives where the management standard of cadres is too low.

An error that has frequently occurred in the application of this new contractual system is that a number of cooperatives have given out contracts to members and let them do whatever they wish. As a result, the contractors follow neither plans and programs, nor the production orientations of the cooperatives. This practice, unless it is overcome right from the start, will give rise to phenomena that will run counter to the objectives of the new contractual system.

The quotas for cultivated areas, productivity and output have not been properly established in many cooperatives. Quotas that are set too low benefit cooperative members but incur losses to the cooperative. On the other hand, quotas that are set too high discourage cooperative members, prompting them to cancel the contracts. In the past many cooperatives have selected the year with the largest production output as the basis for setting productivity and output quotas and cooperative members have fulfilled or over-fulfilled them. Generally, it is appropriate for productivity and output quotas to be set on the basis of the progressive average of production results of 3 or 4 preceding years. This will be both profitable for the cooperative and encouraging to the workers.

Many operations assigned to the collective have been carried out sloppily, often with the quantitative, qualitative and completion time requirements not met. This has adversely affected the operations that follow and consequently reduced crop yield and output. Harmony must be achieved among the various cultivation activities assumed by the collective so as to create conditions for the contractors to carry out the activities that follow in a satisfactory manner and achieve high productivity and output.

Contracting out product quotas to production teams (in the crop cultivation sector) without close guidance will adversely affect the activities of other sectors. Conversely, given proper contract quotas and good guidance, the new contractual system will help develop crop cultivation, livestock breeding and other trades vigorously.

Implementing "product-based contracts" in agriculture is a new problem facing us. Therefore, close guidance is needed to ensure good results. Lax guidance will result in problems and errors. Naturally, errors are difficult to avoid in the initial stage. In view of this, it is necessary to organize training courses to help cadres firmly grasp the objectives and principles as well as the contents and methods of the new contractual system so that they can offer concrete guidance in its implementation.

It is necessary to classify ricefields and assess the productivity and output of each of them in a careful manner so as to set appropriate contract quotas.

Basic production teams as well as specialized work teams must be firmly consolidated. Cadres in charge of these teams must go to work early and retire late like cooperative members so that the contractual system will be carried out with good results.

The provinces and districts must provide close guidance and supervision. The district level must be consolidated so that it can effectively guide the implementation of the new contractual system at the grassroots level. Unless the district fully grasps the new contractual system, it will only hinder the activities of the grassroots level.

Through the implementation of this new contractual system, we will be able to streamline the managerial apparatus of the cooperatives by reducing the number of persons not directly engaged in production from its current level of 10-12 percent to 4 percent as prescribed. Concerning the various financial systems and norms, a study must be made to rescind unnecessary regulations, reduce paperwork and concentrate on giving as much support to production as possible.

In the process of implementing the contractual system in cooperatives, regular inspections must be made to promptly detect and correct errors.

To do this in an objective and accurate manner, we must, as a matter of course, firmly grasp the objectives, principles and contents of the new contractual system.

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THE GRAIN PROBLEM IN THE YEARS AHEAD

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[Article by Ho Viet Thang]

[Text] Grain, a special consumer good, is one of the basic needs of the people. To our country, grain is of decisive importance in the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland. V.I. Lenin once said: "No socialist country in which workers and farmers control political power can exist if this country, through the joint efforts of workers and farmers, does not create a stockpile of grain capable of insuring a supply of food to industrial workers and creating the ability to send tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers to places where the Soviet government needs them." "Without these reserves, the state government is nothing. Without these reserves, the policy of socialism is nothing more than an aspiration."(1)

As soon as political power was won, our party and President Ho fully concerned themselves with the grain problem and led the people in accelerating the production of grain while promulgating policies designed to mobilize farmers to fulfill their grain obligation. These actions made an important contribution to the victory of the war of resistance and the building of the country.

Over the past several years, our country's grain production has increased slowly, increased at a rate slower than the rate of population growth. In 1965, our country had a population of 35 million and produced 10.56 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, an average of 300 kilograms per capita; in 1965, the North had a population of 18 million and produced 5.6 million tons of grain, an average of more than 300 kilograms per capita. In 1979, the country had a population of 52.5 million and produced 13.94 million tons of grain, an average of 265 kilograms per capita. Thus, in 15 years, the population increased by 17.5 million but grain production only increased by about 3.5 million tons. In 1980, the grain output of the provinces of Nam Bo increased by nearly 800,000 tons compared to 1979 but many large areas in the Red River Delta and former Zone 4 suffered crop failures, consequently, the grain output of the entire country was only about 14 million tons. Thus, in the past 5 years, the grain output of the entire country increased by 500,000 tons, an average of 0.8 percent per year, while the population grew at a rate of 2.6 percent. The average amount of grain per capita in 1980 was 265 kilograms, about the same as in 1979 and 10 kilograms less than in 1976.

Grain production has increased slowly due to many reasons. The amount of farmland under the cultivation of grain has virtually not increased at all, the amount of cropland has increased slowly, crop yields have virtually remained the same and, at many places, have recently shown a tendency to be declining.

While the output of grain within society is still small, the distribution of grain within society, despite many advances in this area, is still marked by many shortcomings.

Because the scope of the supply of grain is constantly increasing and the need for grain is increasing but the quantity of grain available to the state is limited, the state can only meet the grain needs of the armed forces, laborers and persons who eat with their families and the vast majority of the working people within the non-agricultural areas, the needs of production, processing, livestock production and the new economic zones, subsidies for areas stricken by natural disasters or enemy attacks and so forth.

In recent years, the state has carried out the task of regulating the supply of grain and distributing grain, sending grain from places that have a surplus or relative surplus of grain to places experiencing a shortage of grain; our farmers have eagerly fulfilled their grain obligations to the state. Between 1976 and 1979, an average of 350 kilograms of grain per hectare of farmland was mobilized throughout the country; the Red River Delta has mobilized 621 kilograms per hectare, the Mekong River Delta has mobilized 320 kilograms per hectare, former Zone 4 has mobilized 318 kilograms per hectare and the remaining areas have mobilized from 220 to 270 kilograms per hectare. During the past 4 years, the entire country has mobilized 48 kilograms per year per person in agriculture; the Mekong River Delta has mobilized 80 kilograms, the Red River Delta has mobilized 60 kilograms and the other areas have mobilized from 20 to 40 kilograms. In 1976 and 1977, the mobilization of grain achieved rather good results throughout the country but subsequently declined. In the Red River Delta, the mobilization of grain is carried out smoothly and the plan is usually completed; however, difficulties are encountered in the Mekong River Delta.

A major shortcoming in the distribution of grain in recent years has been the fact that distribution has been in the nature of subsidies based on averages and has not been fair or reasonable. The state has had to incur losses in order to maintain the grain supply price for troops, cadres, manual workers and persons who have direct economic ties with the state; this is a correct practice but, for a long time, the state has also incurred losses in order to supply grain to persons who do not have economic ties with the state, which is unreasonable. This practice has created the thinking of relying upon the state. In addition, the purchasing, processing and use of subsidiary food crops are less than what they should be; many places, although they do not lack grain and although the market price of grain is not high, still encounter difficulties in the distribution of grain. The management of grain is still lax and characterized by loopholes, thereby causing the loss or spoilage of much grain.

These weaknesses have caused the shortage of grain to become even worse. Even in 1976, a year in which we had bumper harvests and mobilized much grain, the state had to import

a large quantity of grain in order to meet needs. In subsequent years, due to lower levels of purchasing and the limits on the importation of grain, the antagonism between the supply of grain and the demand for grain has become increasingly sharp.

To virtually resolve the grain problem, it is necessary to insure that society has a stable supply of grain, one adequate enough to support the lives of the people, develop livestock production, supply raw materials for industry and provide some reserves. To accomplish this, the state must have an average of 300 tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, per capita per year in order to meet the needs of society. This does not include the need for reserves, a need which is binding upon every country, especially our country, a country that frequently experiences natural disasters and enemy attacks. Thus, in view of our present population, if we are to maintain an average of 300 kilograms of grain per capita, not to mention the need for reserves, our country must produce at least 15 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, in 1981. And, to merely maintain this average in 1985, we must produce at least 18 million tons. The above mentioned consumer demand is predicated upon the need to carry out the mobilization of grain well and to redistribute grain between places with surpluses and places experiencing a shortage. If the mobilization and distribution of grain are not carried out well, there will still be areas that have very much grain and areas that lack grain.

In addition to the needs of farmers, the state must supply grain, at varying prices, to each and every person not engaged in the production of grain. If the state is to supply grain to the 16.5 million persons in the non-agricultural sector plus meet the needs of state-operated processing and livestock production, provide subsidies to areas stricken by natural disasters and enemy attacks and fulfill other obligations, it must have approximately 4 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, at its disposal. This is the present need. In the process of industrializing the country, the labor and the population within the non-agricultural sector will increase and the needs of livestock production and processing will also increase; this situation will demand that the state have a larger quantity of grain. To accomplish this, industry and the other economic sectors must have a stronger impact upon agriculture so that agriculture has the strength to meet the country's rising need for grain.

At present, how can we overcome our difficulties with grain in order to avoid famine in a number of areas and reduce the difficulties encountered in the daily lives of troops, manual workers and civil servants? In addition to very large efforts on the part of the state, it is of immediate, pressing importance that everyone make full use of every condition and potential that lies in our arable land, labor and capital and make every effort to intensify the production of grain and practice thorough economy in the use of grain. Farmers must make an effort to produce additional grain and troops, manual workers, civil servants and everyone in the non-agricultural sector must also try to produce additional grain. If every laborer in our country produces an additional 10 kilograms of grain each year, society will have an additional 200,000 to 300,000 tons of grain each year. And, if we reduce grain consumption of all forms by 1 to 2 percent per year, we will provide an additional 200,000 to 300,000 tons of grain. The effort made by each person will be small but the combined effort of the entire country will produce major results. If the entire country tries to improve the situation, we will surely overcome our difficulties with grain.

In the years ahead, we must endeavor to successfully resolve the grain problem. The 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee affirmed: "The most important task at this time is to highly mobilize all the people and the entire army in order to accelerate agricultural production, forestry and fishing with a view primarily toward providing a stable supply of grain and food products while supplying many raw materials for the food products industry and the consumer goods industry and rapidly increasing the sources of export goods."

In keeping with this spirit, Council of Ministers' resolution number 09/CP on the grain policy also confirmed: solving the grain problem is the task of the entire party, all the people and the entire army, of every sector and level. Depending upon their function, every sector and level has the responsibility of helping to stimulate the development of agriculture and having a good impact upon the distribution and circulation of grain while producing some grain. The resolution establishes four basic elements in the task of resolving the grain problem: accelerating production and producing much more grain for society; making every effort to mobilize surplus grain among farmers; implementing a distribution system that is fair, reasonable and economical; establishing a new division of labor throughout society and practicing planned parenthood. These four elements are closely related to and support one another; the most important, most decisive element is developing production.

We must endeavor to quickly achieve an average of 300 kilograms of grain per capita per year. This is both a pressing requirement and a realistic goal. Because, in 1965, our country achieved an average of 300 kilograms of grain per capita and, with the 7 million hectares now under the cultivation of grain, we can achieve an output of 15.6 million tons of grain if we achieve an average nationwide yield equal to that of 1976 (22.3 quintals per hectare). At present, the state is encountering numerous difficulties. To achieve the goal stated above, we must endeavor to resolve problems in many areas and have the efforts of everyone in the country.

In the immediate future, we must continue to research and improve the management policies and regulations designed to provide incentive for farmers to accelerate the production of grain and food. While improving the policies and regulations on the organization and management of agriculture and the organization and management of cooperatives, it is necessary to implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor well so that farmers and cooperative members not only concern themselves with the number of days worked, but are also fully responsible for and closely linked to the quantity and quality of products produced by them.

It is necessary to make appropriate investments in strengthening the material-technical bases of agriculture. Importance must be attached to resolving the fertilizer, water conservancy and seed problems in an efficient manner for the key grain production areas in order to insure high yields, stable harvests and a high output of commodity grain; at the same time, we must concern ourselves with resolving the difficulties of areas in which production is not stable. At a time when we do not have the ability to improve and harness nature, it is important that we look for every way to utilize the advantages of nature, of the soil, allocate crops in an efficient manner and coordinate the use of machinery, manpower and the experiences and traditions of the people in production in order to limit the harmful

effects of nature to the lowest possible level, insure stable crop production, insure stable harvests and insure high economic returns.

We must accelerate and improve the planning of land and crops on a nationwide scale and within each microclimatic area on the basis of a sound scientific foundation in order to allocate crops in an appropriate manner that results in high yields and a high output. We must give priority to intensive cultivation in the key rice and subsidiary food crop growing areas. We must coordinate intensive cultivation, companion cropping and the expansion of the amount of area under cultivation for grain crops, food crops, industrial crops and medicinal crops in order to develop the sources of grain and food, supply raw materials to industry and provide export goods.

The production process is followed by mobilization and distribution. Production is the foundation of circulation, is the material premise for carrying out the mobilization and distribution of grain. Conversely, if the mobilization and distribution of grain are carried out well, they have a positive effect in stimulating production. Recently promulgated Political Bureau resolution number 25/NQ-TU and Council of Ministers' resolutions 09/CP and 134/CP on the grain policy are designed to provide incentive for farmers to produce with peace of mind and enthusiasm, develop every potential that lies in the land and their labor, develop upon existing conditions, make every effort to practice intensive cultivation and companion cropping, clear land and restore fields, expand the amount of area under cultivation and produce much grain; at the same time, they implement a fair and reasonable system for the mobilization and distribution of grain and a strict and economical system on the management and use of grain.

In keeping with the spirit of the new policy, the state is mobilizing grain in three ways: collecting taxes, purchasing grain at directed prices through two-way contracts between the state and farmers and purchasing grain at negotiated prices. Of these three ways, the first two represent stable amounts per unit of farmland per year and are in effect for the next 5 years.

Paying agricultural taxes is an obligation binding upon every farmer in and outside cooperatives. Every farmer who uses farmland has the obligation to pay the stipulated tax. Anyone who fails to pay taxes violates the law. Anyone who fails to pay taxes no longer has the right to use cropland. In accordance with the tax policy, those who have much, good cropland and a high income pay high taxes; those who have little, poor quality cropland and a low income pay low taxes; those who refuse to produce, who abandon poor quality cropland and allow fields to become overgrown must pay the same taxes paid by those in the surrounding area who have cropland in production and realize normal harvests.

Purchasing grain at directed prices in accordance with two-way contracts is part of the stable obligation. The state supplies to farmers at directed prices a number of agricultural materials for production, such as draft power, fertilizer, petroleum products, building materials, consumer goods, etc. Farmers have the responsibility of selling to the state the quantity of grain required in their contract.

The economic contract system between the state and farmers emphasizes the obligations of both sides: on the one side, there are the obligations of the state agencies, that

is, of the state-operated factories and enterprises, the economic management agencies and the organizations that purchase agricultural products and supply materials of the state on all levels, especially the district level, to agricultural production and the lives of farmers; on the other side, there are the responsibilities of farmers and agricultural production units in insuring the successful implementation of the state plan. This economic contract system is an important part of socialist economic management, is a practical and concrete way to tighten the direct economic ties between the state and the class of farmers and is a living expression of the party's line concerning the alliance between workers and farmers.

In the South, the majority of farmers still engage in private production and farmers have long been accustomed to "buying everything but selling only a portion"; however, the two-way contract system has been implemented well at many places, not only in the collective economy, but the private economy as well.

In addition to the two above mentioned forms of grain mobilization recorded in the stable obligation, the state also uses negotiated purchases. Council of Ministers' resolution 09/CP states: "After fulfilling their grain obligations to the state, farmers are free to use and circulate the surplus remaining grain."

At a time when agriculture still includes a private, decentralized production component, the circulation of some commodity grain on the market is an objective necessity. For more than 1 year, by using negotiated purchases, the state has mobilized a rather large quantity of grain. In the North, the use of negotiated purchases is limited because the vast majority of grain is mobilized under stable obligations and at directed prices. In the South, however, especially in the Mekong River Delta, where the use of two-way contracts has not developed, the majority of grain is mobilized through negotiated purchases through various forms of purchases in cash, product trade or purchases and sales at high prices.

With the stable grain obligation policy and the other policies within the field of distribution and circulation, the mobilization of grain is changing for the better. To insure that the state controls the majority of commodity grain, eventually becomes the master of the market, and can take the initiative in distributing grain in an increasingly improved manner to meet the needs of socialism, we must attach importance to the following several matters:

--We must continue to perfect policies in order to provide stronger incentive for the development of production and motivate farmers to enthusiastically fulfill their grain obligations to the state.

--The various sectors and levels, primarily cadres and party members, must clearly recognize the pressing nature of the grain problem at this time, have a clear understanding of the production incentive policy and the grain policy of the party and government and be determined to lead and organize the masses in accelerating production and implementing the grain policy well. In the purchasing of grain, we must closely coordinate the collection of taxes, purchases under two-way contracts and purchases at negotiated prices in order to mobilize grain well and reduce the bother caused to the people.

--We must develop an increasingly diverse commodity fund in order to include more products in the trade with farmers in the purchasing of grain and agricultural products. An effort must be made to develop the sources of goods of both the localities and the central level and establish an increasingly diverse commodity fund in order to insure the success of purchasing activities and meet the production and daily requirements of farmers.

--As regards the South, where private agricultural production still predominates, the commodity grain on the market is abundant. This is fertile ground for dishonest merchants, speculators and hoarders to compete with the state and cause disruptions on the market. For this reason, in order to mobilize grain well, we must resolutely punish dishonest merchants, speculators and hoarders and implement grain market management on the basic level; at the same time, we must adopt many truly flexible forms of organization and measures and create the conditions for farmers to easily sell grain, purchase supplies and goods and collect their money.

--Besides the grain produced within the collective and private sectors, we must make an effort to develop more and more state farms that produce grain so that the state can control an increasingly large quantity of grain.

--Finally, to mobilize grain well, we must closely coordinate the mobilization of grain with the acceleration of production, socialist transformation within agriculture and the building of the political and organizational base in the countryside. As production develops and the amount of grain within society becomes increasingly abundant, agricultural transformation develops well and the supply of commodity grain within the countryside becomes increasingly large; as the political and organizational base within the countryside becomes increasingly strong and we become increasingly skilled in organizing the purchasing profession, the results of the mobilization of grain will become increasingly high and the state will control more and more grain so that it can fully and promptly meet the rising needs of the country.

In accordance with the new grain policy, the general guideline for the distribution of grain is to eventually abolish distribution in the nature of sweeping subsidies, which has hampered the development of production, and implementing fair and reasonable distribution based on the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. On the basis of this principle, the grain distribution system consists of the following several primary elements:

The persons within the non-grain production sector can be divided into three main groups:

--The first group consists of the workers within the state sector (the armed forces, the manual workers and civil servants of the state-operated installations and joint public-private installations and so forth) and their dependents, whose primary sources of income are wages, subsidies, tuitions and so forth from the state; persons for whom the socialist system is responsible for giving special attention and care, such as war invalids, the families of war dead, families who have contributed to the revolution and so forth; and the elderly, the disabled and orphaned children who have no place to live. The persons in this group are eligible for the supply system based on directed prices and ration standards for each type labor and age group.

--The second group consists of collectives and individuals who have stable economic contracts with the state and are regularly supplied grain at directed prices based on the results of the execution of their economic contracts. Laborers (private and collective) who have processing contracts with the state, contracts to deliver products to the state and so forth, such as laborers who raise industrial crops, laborers in the artisan and handicraft trades, laborers who produce salt, laborers who harvest agricultural, forestry or marine products, laborers who mine minerals, laborers who serve the state in construction and transportation, laborers who serve as purchasing agents or business agents, laborers in the various service trades and so forth who fully implement their economic contracts with the state are supplied grain at directed prices for themselves and their dependents in accordance with the ration standard for each occupation. If, for reasons that are not legitimate, the contract is not completed, the grain supplied to these laborers can be reduced by an amount commensurate with the results of the implementation of their contract and, if they exceed their contract, they can be sold additional grain as a bonus.

Persons who do not have regular, stable economic contracts are supplied with grain in a reasonable manner depending upon their specific situation.

--The third group consists of persons in free trades and persons who do not have or do not yet have direct economic ties with the state through economic contracts; the state will sell grain to these persons at guaranteed business prices depending upon its capabilities.

In the grain production sector, it is necessary to implement good grain distribution within the cooperative. If the income in grain of war invalids, the families of war dead, families who have served the revolution and other persons eligible for the preferential policy is low, the cooperative must distribute additional grain to them. If the grain of the cooperative is inadequate for this purpose, the state will sell enough to compensate for the difference. Persons in the subsidiary trades of cooperatives who work under contract or sell products to the state must also be distributed grain by the cooperative. This quantity of grain is computed as part of the cooperative's grain obligation. If the cooperative does not have enough grain to distribute some to these persons, the state will sell it additional grain on the basis of the quantity of products delivered by the cooperative to the state.

In addition, the state must have a system for supplying grain to the new economic zones, a subsidy and temporary allocation system for areas stricken by natural disasters or enemy attacks, for poor working families who are encountering difficulties in their everyday lives, etc.

To insure that the mobilization and distribution of grain are carried out well, it is necessary to manage the grain market and prevent speculation and the illegal sale of grain as well as other negative phenomena in grain distribution and circulation. To stabilize the grain market, the grain sector must gain control of the vast majority of commodity grain so that it can distribute it in an organized and planned manner to meet the needs of society (in addition to the grain regulated and distributed by cooperatives and farmers). We must broaden the socialist commerce network, institute direct purchases and sales with farmers and implement the system of purchases and

sales at two prices well so that the state controls more and more sources of goods and can insure stability in the distribution of grain to persons who are distributed grain by the state.

In the immediate future, it is necessary to manage the rice dealers and mill owners who are permitted by the state to produce and do business so that these persons do a good job of circulating grain within the locality. In the management of the market, we must closely coordinate educational, economic, administrative and organizational measures, closely coordinate the activities of the grain sector, the tax sector, the public security sector, the military, the economic management sector and the administrative management sector and, at the same time, rely upon the masses at installations to expose and promptly punish speculators and hoarders who illegally sell and transport grain and the theft of grain from the state.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 628.

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SOME EXPERIENCES DRAWN BY THE CON DAO FISHING ENTERPRISE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 34-38 and 54

[Article by Do Chinh]

[Summary] According to the author these experiences consist of determining suitable production orientations; making capital investments in depth to fully tap the enterprise's existing production capacity; concentrating investments on major activities such as purchasing fishing equipment, repairing boats and buying spare parts; applying the system of giving out contracts to collectives and the payment of wages on the basis of labor; satisfactorily resolving the relationship among the three types of interests; and organizing and managing labor in accordance with new, suitable regulations.

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COMMENTARY: A GLORIOUS STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR NATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 39-40

[Text] Ten centuries (981-1981) have passed since Le Hoan routed the Tong aggressor army and firmly protected our country of Dai Co Viet. That song of triumph has resounded through a long period of history, resounded throughout the country and within the heart of each of our people.

The House of Tong, after conquering many surrounding countries, became the largest feudal, imperial power in Asia at that time and arrogantly sent its army to commit aggression against our country. They thought that they could occupy our country "in an instant" and annihilate us as easily as "snapping a dry twig." They threatened to cut our country down.

However, our army and people, tightening their ranks under the command of Le Hoan, immediately carried out a lightning-like strategic offensive and dealt the enemy "thundering blows before they could cover their ears," even in the border provinces and in the mouth of the river on the frontline. In 1 month, March of 981, our army won three major victories of decisive significance: it routed the navy of Luu Trung at Bach Dang, annihilated the main force troops of Hau Nhan Bao at Chi Lang and drove off and annihilated more than one-half of the troops of Tran Khan To at Tay Ket. Enemy corpses filled the river and were piled high on the ground.

The Tong aggressor army had been routed! Having suffered a very painful defeat, the Tong king was forced to issue a "ceasefire" order; "we sent an envoy to inform them that Luu Trung, Gia Thuc, Vuong Soan and Trung had fallen ill and died, that Soan was killed at Ung Chau and that Ton Toan Hung was killed and left behind." (1)

Why did the war to protect the fatherland that was fought by our people in 981 and led by Le Hoan end in such a resounding, rapid victory? The precise answer to this question comes from Tran Hung Dao, the brilliant military strategist who lived closer than we to the time of Le Hoan:

"The Dinh and Le Dynasties, using good and kind persons, made the South strong at a time when the North was tired and weak; there was unity from top to bottom and solidarity of all the people, and they built defenses to defeat the Tong army."

Tran Hung Dao considered war to primarily be a test of strength between two systems. The House of Tong, although large, began to show the signs of weakness in its non-ending wars of aggression and its reactionary policy that did not have the support of the people at home. The country of Dai Co Viet, although small, was in an ascending position. A prosperous system with an advantageous position triumphed over a declining system. This was the basic factor that led to the victory of the war to protect the fatherland during the earlier Le Dynasty. Today, this same factor explains why we were able to win victory over the U.S. imperialists and why the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, although faced with many difficulties, has still been able to win victory over the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists.

On the basis of the assassination of King Dinh and a number of difficulties being encountered by the Dinh Dynasty, the House of Tong quickly concluded that "An Nam is in a state of internal rebellion" and the people are divided, thus, it was a time to "start trouble." However, they made a mistake. In contrast to China, where "murdering one another" is a way of life, the Vietnamese ethic is to unite with one another in order to survive. In the face of the Tong aggressor army, our people united as one to fight the enemy. The cheer "long live the king" shouted by the soldiers, officers and generals of the imperial court in honor of Le Hoan's ascension to the throne reflected the "use of good and wise people" and the determination of all our people to fight. Tran Hung Dao considered Le Hoan's ascension to the throne in the face of the peril to the country to be a manifestation of the united will of all the people. This united will of the army and the people, of the imperial court and of hundreds of families, this "unity from top to bottom and solidarity of all the people" created a tremendous strength with which to overwhelm the aggressor army. Tran Hung Dao considered the unity of the people to be the basic factor that led to the victory over the Tong pirates. This basic factor also led to victory by our nation in the war of liberation as well as in the subsequent wars to protect the fatherland.

Tran Hung Dao also proposed "building defenses in order to destroy the Tong army." He said that the foreign aggressors could be crushed as a result of building the country and building the national defense system. Our country, which possessed the strong spirit of an entire people arising to be the masters of their land, strengthened the centralization of power during the Dinh Dynasty to include a strong superstructure and attached importance to defending the country, especially to building an army capable of protecting the country. The army of the central state was a strengthened army that had a unified organization.

The enemy's army was twice as large as our army but not strong. Our army was small in size but highly organized and well trained, had resourceful leaders and had the strength of a prosperous system, of unity from top to bottom, of indivisible solidarity among the people; it was stronger than the enemy's army and, with this strength, it carried out a rapid strategic offensive that defeated the "decisive speed" strategy of the enemy and rapidly crushed the aggressor army in the very first battle, on the frontline of the country.

History has turned a page but not ended. The lesson of 1,000 years which Le Hoan learned and Tran Hung Dao reviewed, which has been continuously handed down to generation after generation, which has been developed upon and enhanced, is the

lesson that led to historic Dien Bien Phu, to the victory in the great war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and to the defeat of every malicious scheme and trick of aggression of the Beijing expansionists, the new but also very old enemy of the people of Vietnam.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dai Viet su ky toan thu, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Book 1, p 168.

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COMMEMORATING THE 1,000TH ANNIVERSARY OF LE HOAN'S VICTORY OVER THE TONG AGGRESSOR ARMY: LE HOAN'S DEFEAT OF THE TONG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 41-45

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] In the winter of 979, Dinh Tien Hoang and his son, Prince Dinh Lien, were assassinated by the servant Do Thich. The Dinh Dynasty was encountering many difficulties. Internally, hostile feudal powers were engaged in schemes to overthrow the dynasty. Externally, from the south, the traitor Ngo Nhat Khan was leading more than 1,000 Cham Pa warships northward with the intention of plundering the capital city of Hoa Lu. Nearly all of these ships, however, were sunk in a typhoon. The threat from the south was thus eliminated.

In the north, the weakness of the Dinh Dynasty did not go unnoticed by the Tong Dynasty, which constantly spied on our country. In June 980, Hau Nhan Bao, the Tong general in charge of Ung Chau (Quang Tay) sent a letter to the Tong king in which he stated: "The king of An Nam and his son, Lien, have been killed and the country has almost been lost. This might be a good time to send local troops to attack and take the country. If we fail to act now, we might miss the opportunity entirely." (1)

In July of that year, not wanting to miss this opportunity and taking advantage of the element of surprise, the Tong king, instead of having Hau Nhan Bao come and explain his plan further, immediately granted him the fiefdom of Giao Chau and sent to him an ambassador together with Ton Toan Hung, Khich Thu Tuan, Tran Kham To, Thoi Luong and Luu Trung to mobilize cavalry troops and supplies and assemble forces from the provinces of Ung Chau, Ninh Chau, Quang Chau and so forth and make urgent preparations for sending troops to invade our country.

One month later, in August of that year, the Tong king ordered his troops into battle and, at the same time, sent his ambassador, Lu Da Ton, to deliver a letter to us, which read in part: "Our imperial dynasty, a benevolent dynasty with a legacy of peace and prosperity, will soon conduct a ceremony to distribute fiefdoms and wishes that you do us the pleasure of paying us homage so that you may avoid disgrace and

avoid causing us trouble, thus making it necessary for us to cut you to pieces and raze your cities, at which time it will be too late for you. Do you barbarians want to migrate to the islands and see the House of Minh Duong Bich Ung? Would you like to take off your grass shirts and put on the embroidered clothing of the mountain tiger? Will you join with us? To refuse our invitation would be a crime. We are preparing our cavalry and troops and putting our weapons in order; if you submit, we shall let you go; if you disobey our order, we are determined to fight. Whether you join us or not, whether you fare well or poorly, the choice is yours to make."(2)

The Tong king ordered his army into battle. The above mentioned letter was not only a call to surrender, but also a way to intimidate the Dinh Dynasty before the Tong army entered our territory. The House of Tong proclaimed itself to be an "imperial dynasty," a "great nation," to be civilized and viewed others as "inferiors," as "barbarians"; however, their words and actions were those of "small men." The ambition of the "celestial court" was very large but their intelligence was very limited. As a result of showing their authority in order to intimidate others, the "celestial court" only caused others to disdain them.

In July 980, before the Tong ambassador arrived in Hoa Lu and having received information that the Tong army was about to invade, the queen mother, Duong Van Nga, gave Le Hoan the responsibility of making preparations to fight the aggressors. We correctly predicted the plan and acts of aggression of the Tong imperial court.

The destiny of the fatherland was threatened. Queen Mother Duong Van Nga ordered that the royal tunic be given to Le Hoan and asked him to be emperor. This decision by Duong Van Nga reflected the determination of the entire country to unite in resistance against the foreign aggressors. Le Hoan's "proclamation of self as emperor" before he sent his troops into battle expressed the desire for independence of our entire nation. The shouts of "kill the barbarians" raised by our soldiers in response to the appeal by General Pham Cu Lang to "respect the Ten Ways, generals and the emperors and then go into battle"(3) was synonymous with the shouts of "determined to win."

In October 980, when he received the letter from the Tong king, Le Hoan prepared to send his army into battle and sent ambassadors Giang Cu Vong and Vuong Thieu To with a letter to the Tong court, a letter purportedly from Dinh Toan, asking permission to succeed to the throne of his father. The tone of the letter was very polite, even compliant. The purpose of the letter was "to delay the attack by the Tong army"(4) in order to gain time to prepare our forces. On the other hand, by displaying a desire to maintain peaceful relations between the two countries, our side showed even more clearly the just nature of the war to defend the country that we had to fight.

The letter from the Tong king to the Dinh court contained the following question: "Will you surrender and become a province of the Tong or do you want your entire country to be destroyed?" Le Hoan's letter was sent in the name of Dinh Toan in order to indirectly respond to this question; however, the letter also stated: "We await your order to surrender and become a fiefdom"(5), that is, the letter also "requested that the king bestow a fiefdom." Meanwhile, Le Hoan formally became

emperor and changed the title of the dynasty. The Tong court then had to send another ambassador to explore the situation and practice extortion once again. This time, Le Hoan forthrightly rejected every arrogant demand by the Tong court, which was waiting for just such a signal to send its troops to "punish" us.

War broke out.

In the spring of 981, following one land route and one sea route, the Tong army launched a heavy attack on our country. The land force, commanded by Hau Nhan Bao and Ton Toan Hung, attacked from Ung Chau (Quang Tay) through Lang Son. The naval force, commanded by Luu Trung, attacked our shores from Quang Chau (Quang Dong).

These land and naval forces "agreed to send their troops into battle at the same time" (according to the Tong historian) and planned to coordinate with each other and lay siege to the capital Hoa Lu. However, as soon as they began to invade our country's territory, the enemy's forces were fiercely fought by our army. The commanding generals of both of the enemy's forces were worried and anxiously awaited information from each other because the victory or defeat of one force would have an important impact upon the victory or defeat of the other. When the naval force of the House of Tong, commanded by Luu Trung, reached the Bach Dang River, they saw that stakes had been inserted in the river bed to block their warships. These stakes not only told the enemy that we had been prepared for a long time, but also signalled to them that Le Hoan, the "defense commander" (6) of our forces, was waiting nearby for them. These stakes across the river were not only an obstacle to impede them, but also a means to create favorable conditions for our army to fight the enemy from the river and its banks. Luu Trung could not forget that more than 40 years earlier, naval forces of Nam Han were annihilated by Ngo Quyen on similar stakes inserted in the Bach Dang River. After fighting savage battles on the river and suffering heavy losses, a terrified Luu Trung abandoned the plan to coordinate with the land force and ordered the remaining Tong warships to withdraw to the sea.

After defeating the naval force of Luu Trung, Le Hoan led his army to Lang Son. There, having been continuously blocked by our local forces from the outset, the ground force of the House of Tong commanded by Hau Nhan Bao and Ton Toan Hung advanced slowly as a result of suffering heavy losses and because they had heard about the naval force of Luu Trung. Le Hoan sent a number of soldiers pretending to be defectors to Hau Nhan Bao to lead their troops into the Chi Lang area. Our troops launched a strong attack and annihilated the Tong army. The Tong general Hau Nhan Bao was killed. Many other Tong generals were captured. The troops remaining in the rear, who were commanded by Ton Toan Hung, fled back to their country in panic.

In addition to the two above mentioned forces of the House of Tong, another Tong force, commanded by Kham To, reached Tay Ket (near Khoai Chau District in Hai Hung Province on the left bank of the Red River) and was probably going to follow the water route through the mouth of the Thai Binh River. "Kham To had heard that the naval force had been defeated and been sent back to China. The king (Le Hoan) sent generals to pursue and attack them; the troops of Kham To suffered a heavy defeat, more than one-half of them were killed, their bodies covered the ground; the generals Quach Quan Bien and Trieu Phung Huan were captured and taken to Hoa Lu." (7)

Our brilliant victory forced the Tong king to issue a ceasefire order.

In the war of resistance against the Tong, the most noticeable factors were the will and ability of our nation to defeat every aggressor army, regardless of how large or powerful they might have been. Trieu Khuong Dan (Tong Thai To) overthrew the House of Hau Chu, established the House of Tong in 960 and launched a campaign to "conquer the East, the West, the North and the South," to destroy Nam Duong, Ngo Viet, Nam Han, Hau Thuc and Bac Han and unify China. In late 976, Tong Thai To died and Tong Thai Ton (Trieu Khuong Nghia) took his place. When they sent troops to invade our country, the House of Tong was the powerful ruler of the largest feudal state in Asia at that time.

At that time, our country was encountering towering difficulties in many areas. However, the nation was united, the country's position was strong and its national defense forces were being strengthened. The Dinh court never failed to keep abreast of the scheme of the House of Tong against our country. When they learned that the enemy was about to invade, the Dinh generals and court officials were united in their determination to fight. By abdicating her right to the throne, by giving up her own son's right to the throne and placing the royal tunic on Le Hoan, Duong Van Nga symbolized the indomitable spirit of the nation of Vietnam. This is the spirit of Vietnam, the source of Vietnam's strength.

As soon as they stepped foot on the territory of Vietnam, the Tong enemy met with determined resistance by our army and people in the mountain and coastal localities, met with the force of the "people's battlefield" based on the foundation of the solidarity of the nation of Vietnam.

Exactly 1,000 years ago, the foreign aggressor not only had to fight our main force units, but also fight a very large force of civilian soldiers who were an important part of the armed forces of Vietnam that were formed in that ancient time.

When talking about "Giao Chau," the Chinese feudalists frequently referred to the sacred "mountain god" and "river god" of this land. They were referring to the treacherous terrain of Vietnam, which is part of the battle position used to defend the country. Our position with regard to forces and our terrain combined with Vietnamese strategic talent multiplied our strength in defending the country many times. This was why Hau Nhan Bao died at Chi Lang, Luu Trung fled in panic from the mouth of the Bach Dang River and, in the pages of the glorious history of Vietnam, the names of rivers and mountains, such as Bach Dang, Chi Lang and so forth, are closely associated with national heroes. The strength with which we defend the country is the "strength of the entire country."

In this war of resistance against the Tong, the highlight was the outstanding strategic talent of Le Hoan.

Ngo Quyen was the first national hero of Vietnam to defeat the Chinese feudalists aggressors at the gateway to the country, the Bach Dang River.

Le Hoan was the first national hero of Vietnam to defeat both a land force and a naval force of the Tong aggressor army at two forward positions of the fatherland.

From Hoa Lu, Le Hoan sent a major force to the Bach Dang River and then rapidly redeployed his forces to Chi Lang and then down to Tay Ket. In March 981, by means of a number of battles fought with lightning-like speed, Le Hoan swept the Tong aggressors from our country and won total victory.

Winning victory over the aggressors in forward areas of the fatherland and in a short period of time: this was a correct, wise and bold strategic decision by Le Hoan, one based on a firm grasp of the enemy's situation and ours.

The Tong expeditionary army, although large, was very disorganized because it was assembled from many different military regions in Ung Chau, Ninh Chau and Quang Chau. The Tong generals of this expeditionary army had different personal ambitions, interests and localities and were jealous of one another, so much so that they did not obey one another. This caused difficulties for them in the implementation of the plan for coordination, not only between the ground and naval forces, but also among the components of each force. According to the Tong historian "Hau Nhan Bao advanced his troops first, Toan Hung stopped at Hoa Bo for 70 days to wait for Trung but, despite constant urging from Nhan Bao, did not advance."(*)

By fully assessing the internal situation of the Tong generals and the abilities of our army and people, Le Hoan, using the treacherous terrain of Lang Son to block the advance of the ground forces, led his great army in defeating the naval force of the Tong first and then attacked the ground force of the House of Tong.

The naval force of Luu Trung was defeated and forced to flee and the ground force of Hau Nhan Bao lost its foothold, thus, they were like a bird with one broken wing and the disruption of their plan for coordinated action made it impossible for them to withstand the punishing blows delivered by our great army.

Thus, Le Hoan used the concerted forces of our army to attack the weaknesses of the enemy and annihilate each decentralized component of the Tong expeditionary army. By skillfully utilizing the terrain at Bach Dang and Chi Lang and using the guerrilla method of fighting in order to slip into places and stage ambushes, Le Hoan implemented the unique style of Vietnamese fighting that was later summarized by Nguyen Trai in the saying: "Using one-half the strength and achieving twice the results."

The land and naval forces of the Tong army at Chi Lang and Bach Dang were defeated and the secondary force of Kham To at Tay Ket, having heard the news of the defeat, fled. Although he became emperor, Le Hoan still personally led his troops into battle against the enemy, not only at Bach Dang and Chi Lang, but at Tay Ket as well. The historian Le Van Huu wrote: "Le Dai Hanh...captured Quan Bien and Phung Huan (two Tong generals) as easily as deceiving a child, as ordering a slave; in less than a few years after the border situation had become quiet, neither the House of Han nor the House of Duong fared better."(8)

As regards the Tong court, the defeat of the Tong expeditionary army thwarted the grand plan of the Tong king to "conquer the South." A letter sent by the Tong king to the Dinh court in August 980 read in part: "Now, the continents and the seas are well and at peace, Giao Chau is still yours, far at the end of the earth, actually lying beyond the five borders like a place for an extra limb, a limb that has been

injured but whose injury is being ignored. Therefore, it is necessary to end your dark ignorance in order to become imbued with our civilized beliefs, will you?"(9)

Thus, the Tong king considered "Giao Chau" to be the only rock impeding the chariot of domination by the House of Tong from annexing primarily the neighboring countries considered by them to be "barbarian." They wanted to turn these countries into provinces of China in order to push further ahead in their ambition to "rule the world."

However, ironically for the "celestial court," the first war of aggression against Vietnam (981) pushed the House of Tong down a path of decline.

The ambition of "conquering the South" was thwarted but not extinguished. In late 1076, the Tong army once again sent troops to invade our country. Tragically defeated on our Nhu Nguyet River defense line, they were forced to withdraw their troops. Subsequently, the House of Tong was seriously threatened by the countries of Lieu and Ha, invaded by the country of Kim and ultimately annihilated by the House of Nguyen. Having "sown the wind" in Vietnam, the House of Tong had to "reap the storm" in China, even within their own palace.

The war of resistance against the Tong aggressor army in 981 is a glorious page in the history of our nation. Le Hoan, a national hero of Vietnam, was not only an eminent military scholar, but also an outstanding diplomat who applied a determined and flexible foreign policy in the diplomatic relations with the House of Tong.

After winning victory, Le Hoan paid special attention to building the country and, under the Le Dynasty, our country's economy began to develop. Le Hoan was the first person to organize a planting ceremony to express the king's concern for agriculture. Under the early Le Dynasty, many canals were dug and many rivers were dredged.

Le Hoan made a tremendous contribution to our nation's work of defending and building the country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dai Viet su ky toan thu, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume I, pp 160-167.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

- The Tong history, Book 188, excerpt from annotation in Dai Viet su ky toan thu, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume I, p 302.

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RESEARCHING TRADITION: THE COMBAT TRADITIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF OUR NATION IN PROTECTING THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 46-50

[Article by Nguyen Luong Bich]

[Text] From the time of Tan Han, all of the powerful feudal dynasties of China committed aggression against Vietnam and succeeded one another in the scheme to place Vietnam on the map of China and use Vietnam as a springboard to attack and occupy the other countries in Southeast Asia. Through the ages, from the time of the Trung Sisters, Mrs. Trieu, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Quoc Tuan and so forth to the time of Le Loi and Quang Trung, our nation constantly fought the enemy, sometimes fighting wars to protect the fatherland and sometimes fighting wars to liberate the nation; generation after generation tirelessly continued the fight and sacrificed their flesh and blood for the raison d'etre of the nation, thereby thwarting every scheme of the Chinese feudalists.

As a result of fighting wars to protect the fatherland for generations, our nation accumulated many valuable experiences and established the tradition of tenacious resistance against foreign aggression, thereby developing "good plans for defending the country" (Tran Quoc Tuan). These "good plans for defending the country" have been the factors assuring victory by our nation in the wars fought in our history to protect the fatherland.

The first plan is to expand the strength of the people ("increase the people's strength"), which Tran Quoc Tuan emphasized as the plan to "develop deep, strong roots." (1) "Expanding the strength of the people" means increasing the strength of the people in all areas: the economy, the national defense system, politics and culture so that the people are powerful and have the material and spiritual strength needed to build and defend the country. Since antiquity, our nation has combined the building of the country with defending the country: building the country so that they have the strength to defend the country and developing the economy in coordination with strengthening the national defense system in order to successfully defend the country. During the periods of Dinh, Le, Ly and Tran, the country was powerful, the standard of living of the people was high, the country was prosperous and the army was strong; therefore, we twice won total victory over the Tong and three times won total victory over the Nguyen. At the start of the 15th Century, in the face

of the scheme of aggression of the House of Minh, the House of Ho actively made preparations for a war of resistance, strengthened the national defense system, accumulated many weapons and built an army numbering hundreds of thousands of men, one larger than the enemy army; yet, they were still rapidly defeated because they did not know how to "expand the strength of the people," as a result of which the people were poverty stricken and disunited.

The realities of our country's history have shown that it is extremely necessary to attach importance to the plan of "expanding the strength of the people," considering it to be the plan of foremost importance, the plan that makes the country prosperous and the army strong and insures success in building and defending the country. Nguyen Trai, the great national hero of the 15th Century, once said:

"There is no other way to develop a strong army
Than by serving the public interest."

That is, there is no plan to make the country prosperous and the army strong if it does not serve the interests of the people. The feelings held by Nguyen Trai for the country are the feelings held by our people in all ages. Therefore, expanding the strength of the people and improving their material and spiritual lives are a decisive factor in winning victory in a war to protect the fatherland and, at the same time, are a factor that insures the survival and development of the nation.

The second plan is for the entire country to join forces. The hero Tran Quoc Tuan called it the "pure force of the nation." (2) "The entire country joining forces" means that the entire country is united as one and joins together to build and defend the country. Early in their history, the Vietnamese developed the spirit of unity and, through the ages, this spirit became a very beautiful tradition: unity of the various strata of the people, unity of the various nationalities within the country, unity between the army and the people, unity between officers and men and unity among leaders. This tight and broad unity created for our nation a tremendous strength that aggressors, regardless of how aggressive and bellicose they might be, have been unable to conquer.

"The entire country joining forces" also means that the entire country shares the same feelings. Only by sharing the same feelings is it possible to join forces, only by achieving unanimity is it possible to achieve coordination. On this basis, our forefathers established a good system of "all the people serving as soldiers." With the strength of the entire country joining forces, of the entire country sharing the same feelings, of all the people being armed, every enemy has been defeated. When talking about the victories over the Tong army and the Nguyen army in wars to protect the fatherland during the dynasties of Le, Ly and Tran, Tran Quoc Tuan emphasized: "In the period of Dinh Le, using good and kind persons, the South became strong but the North was exhausted and weak, the South was united, the people were indivisible, defenses were built and, as a result, the Tong army was defeated... When the House of Ly began, Ly Thuong Kiet was employed to attack Kham Chau and Lien Chau, reaching all the way to Mai Linh several times; he succeeded because he knew how to fight. At Toa Do and O Ma Nhi, they surrounded the enemy on all four sides because the king and his subjects shared the same feelings, because they were in harmony, because the entire country joined forces; enemy prisoners were captured and destiny was fulfilled." (3)

In the war to protect the fatherland against the Minh aggressor army at the start of the 15th Century, the House of Ho only concerned itself with recruiting large numbers of troops, not with motivating and organizing the forces of all the people to fight the enemy; therefore, only the army participated in the war, not the people. As Nguyen Trãi observed, there were "100,000 troops" with "100,000 different feelings," consequently, defeat for the House of Ho was inevitable.

The experience of the victories and defeats in the various ages proves: every age that gave light attention to the plan of "the entire country joining forces" and which only concerned itself with increasing the number of troops and weapons did not have the strength to fight enemy aggressors. In the war to liberate the nation, although the conditions did not exist at the very outset for implementing the plan of "the entire country joins forces" as they did in wars to protect the fatherland, on the momentum of development and the constantly increasing scope of this war, the war of liberation assumed more and more of the characteristics of a war to protect the fatherland and, when the war of national liberation implemented the plans of "expanding the strength of the people" and "the entire country joins forces," it rapidly ended in victory.

The third plan is to motivate all the people to be ready to sacrifice their lives for the country. The heroic character of a nation is embodied in the willingness of every citizen to die for the country when the country is in peril. When there is no heroic spirit, when there is no willingness to fight the enemy, when there is fear of the enemy and cowardice in the fight against the enemy, an army of hundreds of thousands of men is useless. At a very early date, the Vietnamese people were very deeply conscious of their national independence, were close to their compatriots and families, close to their birthplace and country and were filled with love for one another in the feeling "crepe covers the vanity." This deep awareness and these strong feelings inspired our people to fight with determination, to bravely sacrifice their lives for the interests of the fatherland, for the survival of the nation. Therefore, ever since enemies first invaded our country, our people have tenaciously fought them, have been determined to fight and win; our people have fought every aggressor, regardless of how large, powerful, aggressive or cruel they might have been. Young men and young women, the elderly and children have stood beside one another fighting the enemy; everyone has shared the same spirit of willingness to sacrifice their lives for the country and determination to fight until not the shadow of one enemy remains in our country.

The spirit of being willing to sacrifice one's life for the country is a factor determining the victory of every war against aggression. The oath taken by the Truong Sisters and Mrs. Trieu to save the country; the oath taken by Le Loi and Nguyen Trãi to be unyielding against the enemy; the urgent words spoken by the elderly general Ly Thuong Kiet who, at 85 years of age, asked to go fight the enemy; the words "kill the barbarians" which the people during the Tran Dynasty tattooed on their bodies and so forth were brilliant manifestations of our forefathers' spirit of sacrificing one's life for the country. This spirit has always been cultivated in many ways. Le Thuong Kiet's poem "Nam quoc son ha" which he read in the middle of a battle on the frontline, Tran Quoc Tuan's poem "Hich tuong si" which he delivered to his troops, the Binh Than and Dien Hong conferences held by the Tran Kings and so forth strongly bolstered the spirit of the army and the people of sacrificing their lives for the country.

The fourth plan is to know the characteristics of other persons, know oneself and display high vigilance. Despite the fact that their means of communications and liaison were limited and many difficulties were encountered in intelligence and reconnaissance activities, our forefathers still managed to fully assess the enemy situation before war broke out. They not only knew the forces, level of development, capabilities, strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, but also knew how the enemy was preparing for war, how they would attack, what kind of persons the enemy generals were and what the weaknesses of each enemy general were. When Nam Han planned to invade our country, Ngo Quyen knew, before they attacked, that the enemy could only attack by sea in order to enter the Bach Dang River and knew that the enemy general "Hoang Thao was a silly child." (4) With this knowledge of the enemy, Ngo Quyen deployed his forces on the basis of the characteristics of the mouth of the Bach Dang River and, in the Bach Dang battle alone, Ngo Quyen routed the enemy army and brought the war to a quick conclusion. Only by knowing the characteristics of others, knowing oneself, knowing the enemy and knowing ourselves is it possible to adopt correct guidelines for our actions, possible to establish suitable strategy and tactics in order to win victory over the enemy.

Keeping oneself concealed, protecting secrets, guarding against spies and displaying high vigilance are very important. Because we have a large enemy next to us, an enemy who is constantly spying on us and always eager to invade and annex our country, our people have an even deeper understanding of this requirement, consequently, foreign enemies have rarely had an accurate assessment of us. Whenever and wherever the enemy attacks, they are malicious, cunning and sneaky, they generally employ many schemes designed to deceive us politically and diplomatically in a vain attempt to rapidly and easily attack and occupy our country. If we are not vigilant, we can very easily lose our country to them. The loss of the country to An Duong Vuong of the House of Thuc in the 3rd Century B.C. was a bloody lesson. As a result of the An Duong Vuong incident, our forefathers in subsequent generations were very vigilant and did not allow foreign aggressors to deceive us ever again. Our forefathers were not only vigilant before a war occurred and while it was in progress, but were also vigilant after a war had been brought to a victorious conclusion. One half century after Ly Thuong Kiet had defeated the Tong, King Ly Nhan Ton advised before his death: "We should repair our weapons, be vigilant and not violate our orders." (5) In this spirit of vigilance, our nation has, over the past 1,000 years and more, thwarted every insidious scheme of enemy aggressors.

The fifth plan is to fight the enemy with military forces in coordination with fighting the enemy politically and diplomatically. This is an objective requirement of a war against aggression, especially a war of our people to protect the fatherland. In all of the wars that they fought to protect the fatherland, our forefathers achieved this coordination well; they fought the enemy with military forces and fought the enemy diplomatically and politically. Frequently, we have had to fight the enemy diplomatically before fighting them militarily.

Militarily, the fact that the two countries of Vietnam and China are neighbors and share a rather long border creates advantages for the side launching the attack and created initial difficulties for the side on the defensive. The attacking side can cross the border easily and deeply penetrate the territory of the opposition. Under the conditions that existed in ancient times, the defending side had very little

ability to stop an attack and rout an offensive by the opposition at the border. This was because it was impossible, at that time, to deploy hundreds of thousands of main force troops along the border, local forces were unable to resist attacks from the outside and the forces of the imperial court could not be deployed rapidly to rescue them. However, we still had miraculous strategies for winning victory over the enemy. When we first went to war, we usually employed the strategies of "using few forces to fight many," "using weakness to fight strength," "using guerrilla forces to triumph over regular forces" and driving the enemy into the lowlands in order to annihilate them. However, regardless of the method of fighting employed by the enemy, it was of basic importance that we maintain an offensive position, that we fight the enemy from a position of strength and that we eventually concentrate our forces and use strengths to fight weaknesses in order to win total victory and bring the war to a conclusion. If we did not take the offensive, if we merely remained on the defensive and tried to remain within the cities in order to fight the enemy, we would have surely suffered defeat and not defended the country. This was the case in the war of resistance waged by the House of Ho.

In addition to the basic plans mentioned above, there was one very important factor encompassing each of these plans, namely, the role played by the guidance of war. In wars to protect the fatherland, it was not one leader, but the state that guided the war. The state was a leadership collective headed by the king, high ranking officials and high ranking generals who guided the state and guided warfare. In the history of our country, when the leading forces were united and in agreement, wholeheartedly served the country, displayed heroism, were determined to fight the enemy, knew how to implement plans for defending the country and knew how to establish a corps of talented generals who were both scholars and soldiers, were resourceful and courageous, the guidance of a war to protect the fatherland was surely successful. To the contrary, when the enemy invaded us but the leaders of the state were afraid, were not united or in agreement, did not dare to fight the enemy and adopted an attitude of surrendering to the enemy, the country was lost to the enemy regardless of how large our army was or how strong our generals were. Therefore, the role played by the state in guiding a war to protect the fatherland is extremely important. If the state is weak, if it makes mistakes in its guidance of a war, the effort of the people to defend and build the country will fail.

Applying the "good plans for defending the country" found in our nation's tradition of resistance against aggression to modern day circumstances, our people, under the leadership of the party, have won victory over many large aggressors, including the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, and will win victory over any aggressor who dares to touch the beloved Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume II, p 80.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., Volume I, p 146.

5. Ibid., Volume I, p 257.

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THE DIALECTIC OF TRADITION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 50-54

[Article by Professor Ha Van Tan]

[Text] Tradition is a very broad term. However, what is national tradition: what are the contents, structure and parameters of national tradition? These are also very broad matters. One universal concept limits national tradition to the disposition, qualities, psychology, capabilities and styles of activity of a national community or, more correctly stated, of the majority of the members of a national community as they have formed through history.

One can also include in tradition what is incorrectly behavior(1), that is, social behavior or cultural behavior. Such bourgeois scholars as Melville Herskovits(2) and Ralph Linton(3) maintain that culture consists entirely of behavior or consists only of behavior. Other scholars, such as Radcliffe Brown(4) and Lowie(5) consider culture and tradition to be synonymous. I do not agree with these viewpoints; however, one can consider behavior to be an important part of tradition. In actuality, social behavior can only be formed within an environment, within a specific set of circumstances and over a period of time, that is, in history. Some persons have used the term traditional behavior; however, if behavior is viewed as collective in nature and as a standard, it is, as something communal, the above mentioned term is superfluous.

These few aspects alone are enough to show us that national tradition is formed under specific natural, social and historic conditions and handed down from one generation to the next.

National tradition is the tradition of the national community. National tradition is communal in nature and bears a class imprint. When researching national tradition, we cannot fail to give attention to the relationship between these two characteristics. The outstanding qualities that are considered to be the essence of the nation generally have their origins among the laboring masses, the oppressed classes. However, on the basis of the historical point of view, we know that during their period of ascendancy, when their interests were still consistent with the interest of the national community, the ruling classes participated in the creation of the outstanding traditions of the nation in addition to the working people. For example, there was

the spirit of patriotism of the aristocracy during the Ly and Tran Dynasties in the wars to defend the country in the 11th and 13th Centuries. Conversely, bad habits, generally considered to be the habits of the ruling class, have influenced the working people to varying degrees.

Even within the oppressed strata, we do not only find beautiful qualities, rather, because of the limitations of history, of the age, we also find bad habits, bad patterns of behavior and negative attitudes. In many cases, these characteristics are also handed down through many generations and become tradition.

As a result, when talking about tradition, attention must be paid to the fact that there are good traditions and bad traditions.

President Ho Chi Minh wrote very clearly about this point: "Backward habits and traditions are also a major enemy that secretly impedes the progress of the revolution. We cannot suppress them, rather, we must transform them in a very cautious, very patient and very long-range manner." (6)

Backward tradition is bad tradition: it is "a major enemy." However, when the persons who adhere to these traditions are not an enemy, but working people, we cannot suppress them, but must transform them in a careful and long-range manner.

Bad traditions and good traditions are the two opposing elements within national tradition; both are formed in the communal history of the nation on the basis of specific natural and social conditions and both are affected by the communal and the class nature of the nation.

The nation of Vietnam, through the process of struggling against nature and the process of social struggle, has created for itself valuable traditions. Above everything else, there is the tradition of ardent patriotism. "Since antiquity, whenever the fatherland has been invaded, this spirit has become intense, has taken the form of an extremely strong and large wave, has swept across every peril and difficulty and has drowned all traitors and country-robbers." (7) There is the tradition of unity, love and mutual help, the tradition of "crepe covers the vanity." There is the spirit of diligent, steadfast labor, the tradition of "one sun, two frosts," of "turning a bowl of sweat into a bowl of rice." There is the love of peace, the importance attached to ethics, the tradition of "using charity and justice to triumph over brutality and replacing barbarity with love of mankind." The knowledge that our forefathers had concerning a war to defend the country, productive labor, the principles of man, the natural environment of Vietnam, medical science, geography and so forth have been handed down and developed upon by generation after generation. History has given us a storehouse of fine, rich traditions in many areas and we can be very proud of the fact that we have inherited and developed upon them under the new conditions that exist. However, history has also given us traditions that have caused serious harm.

The economy of our nation has always been an economy based on agriculture. The masses of the nation (in the terminology of Marx: die Masse der Nation) are primarily farmers. The level of production of agriculture is low and agricultural production is decentralized. The small farmer style of production encompasses everything.

The commodity economy is underdeveloped. This situation cannot help but affect man's view of the world, his view of life, the way he deals with others and his status as a member of society or as the main element of society, of the nation.

Allow me to cite a few examples:

In history, the Vietnamese village culture embodied the rudiments of the nation and the national culture. However, behind the bamboo fences of villages, we also found negative factors that impeded the progress of society. Vietnamese rural democracy during the feudal period was a positive value compared to many other countries in the East; however, it also embodied many negative factors and was a "communal house democracy" controlled by a strict class structure. Some persons maintain that the village in Vietnam has always been closely linked to the country and is not, as Marx described the communes of India, a "separate kingdoms." However, there is also the saying "the laws of the king are subordinate to the laws of the village." The principle "the laws of the king are subordinate to the laws of the village" has played a positive role in history. This role was positive because it preserved the community and caused the village to become the nucleus of the strength of resistance against the feudal state, to be the bulwark of resistance against foreign aggression from the North, against assimilation by China and in defense of the national spirit; together with the virtues "if a son is better than his father, the family has good fortune" and "a husband and wife who bail together can empty the sea," it expressed the reaction by the laboring people to "the three social bonds" of the Confucian scholars of Chinese feudalism. However, it also played a negative role by causing each village to become a closed, isolated entity and causing the "laws of the village" to become another yoke around the necks of the peasants, in addition to the "laws of the king."

Today, in socialist construction, the small community attitude that "the laws of the king are subordinate to the laws of the village," which originated in small villages whose vision was restricted by the bamboo fences that surrounded them, is playing an even more negative role. The narrow, "small farmer" attitude, which developed on the basis of the ownership or occupation of small pieces of cropland and small-scale, decentralized production down through history, is impeding our progress. One of its origins is the loss of the private ownership of cropland; however, various forms of small-scale production still persist and, as a result, a basis still exists for the development of this attitude.

Some persons consider traditional Vietnamese culture to be an open culture. Actually, there is no culture of any nation that has not, in the long course of history, incorporated some influences from the outside. Such incorporation is a need if a culture is to survive. However, considering openness to be a special characteristic of Vietnamese culture in order to compare it with other cultures is an observation lacking in objectivity. As regards the nation of Vietnam, the need to fight foreign aggression throughout its history in order to survive eliminated some of the isolation between one small community and the next but also increased the lack of openness to the outside. In the past, it was a natural reaction to draw back in order to defend oneself. Objectively speaking, this reaction had both positive and negative aspects to it. However, today, in the new age, we all realize that

isolation is no longer suitable. To protect our national independence as well as develop the national culture and build socialism, the expanded relationships within the international community, especially within the socialist community, must be strengthened. Thus, it is also necessary to overcome the behavior of "withdrawing within oneself" which formed in the course of history and, in the final analysis, is a result of the influence of the "native village" attitude.

The above are a few examples designed to emphasize that, in the process of the development of nations, both good and bad traditions are formed and patterns of communal behavior develop that embody both positive and negative factors, factors that are positive at one point in time but negative at another or factors that were once positive but have today become negative.

This is the dialectic of tradition. The dialectic of tradition is also evident in the special characteristics of tradition itself. One basic characteristic of tradition is stability and permanence. Tradition is something that forms in history and is handed down from one generation to the next. Without stability, without permanence, something cannot be considered tradition. A tradition is formed under particular socio-historic conditions; however, a tradition can sometimes be carried on when these conditions no longer exist. This holds true for good traditions as well as bad traditions. For example, the attitude of the small farmer persists for a long time after large-scale production has been established. At that time, tradition has a life of its own. It is a manifestation of the permanence of tradition.

However, this permanence is only relative. This means that traditions can decline and disappear. Traditions usually disappear when the conditions that gave birth to or supported them can no longer be maintained. Due to the permanence or the "inertia" of tradition, traditions can live longer than these conditions but they cannot live forever. It is at that time that a break in tradition occurs. Therefore, instead of allowing this break to occur, we must inherit and develop upon good traditions. On the other hand, under the new conditions of society, new traditions are being born. This birth is not rapid but, over time, these traditions become fixed, become permanent, (that is, become relatively permanent).

The permanence of tradition is relative, is changing, the speed of which depends upon the time; however, this absolute is a characteristic of tradition, one that we must recognize in order to develop upon good traditions and transform bad traditions.

To develop upon good traditions, it is not enough to merely issue appeals, perform propaganda work and conduct educational activities, rather, it is necessary to create the social conditions for supporting these traditions. With regard to bad traditions, we must examine the social conditions that have supported them to determine whether or not they still exist. The only basic step that can be taken is to transform these conditions.

Although traditions belong to the national community, the persons who practice traditions are individuals, groups or large or small collectives within the national community. If a tradition is manifested in an irregular manner among individuals,

groups or collectives, it will be developed upon or decline in an irregular manner. This is because the conditions supporting the existence of individuals, groups or collectives within the community are not always the same. Attention must be given to the social conditions of the individuals, groups or collectives within the community in order to be able to develop upon fine traditions or nurture the rudiments of new, fine traditions. We must be vigilant against partial breaks in tradition and must prevent this phenomenon from becoming a total break in tradition. For example, diligent labor is a fine tradition of our people; however, if the organization within a collective is not good, this tradition will gradually erode, laziness and the lack of discipline in production will emerge and they will gradually become a habit; when production conditions have been reorganized, this habit can still have an impact for some time because it has begun to become permanent and is relatively independent in nature.

However, when we say that the ability of tradition to change is absolute, we do not mean that the only change that tradition can take is to decline. When we say that a fine tradition of the nation has been maintained until the present day, this preservation of tradition encompasses change. However, this change is change in the direction of enriching the contents of tradition under the new conditions of history and society. For example, today, the tradition of patriotism continues to be developed; however, it is closely linked to love of socialism and the proletarian international spirit. This is not only an external closeness, but also truly represents a change in the content of patriotism, one that has caused it to go beyond the bounds of old-style patriotism. Developing upon the fine traditions of the nation will enrich them in the new age and bring their strength to bear in supporting the revolution.

As regards bad traditions, which must be called what they are, namely, traditions, we must also realize their strength as traditions; at the same time, however, we believe that we can transform them, even though this will be "long-range" work requiring "patience" and "caution" as taught by President Ho Chi Minh.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comportement in French, Behavior in English and Pabegenue in Russian.
2. M.J. Herskovits: "Man and His Work," New York, 1948, p 154.
3. R. Linton: "Studying Man," New York, 1936, p 288.
4. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: "White's Viewpoint Concerning a Science of Culture," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF HUMANISTS, 1949, Volume 51, p 510.
5. R.H. Lowie: "An Introduction to Cultural Humanism," New York, 1937, p 17.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Nang cao dao duc cach mang, quet sach chu nghia ca nhan," [Upholding Revolutionary Ethics and Sweeping Away Individualism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 14.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, pp 484-485.

THE PATH TO INEVITABLE VICTORY IN AFRICA: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE CLOSELY LINKED TO SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 58-64

[Article by Van Hien]

[Text] More than one-half century ago, President Ho Chi Minh, while searching for the path of national salvation, had an opportunity to visit Africa and witness firsthand the suffering and shame of his brothers on that continent under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism. Having progressed from patriotism to socialism, he clearly saw that a proletarian revolution was necessary in order to achieve national liberation. Today, national independence closely linked to socialism has become the truth of our times. This is the path that led the Vietnamese to glorious victory. It is also the path that has been chosen by many African countries.

Africa, a large continent measuring 30 million square kilometers, constitutes one-fourth the land mass of the world and is nearly 100 times larger than our country; its population equals 10 percent of the world's population. Africa, which is rich in natural resources, has 98 percent of the diamonds and platinum, 95 percent of the chrome, 78 percent of the vanadium, 67 percent of the gold, 33 percent of the cobalt, 20-22 percent of the uranium, 16 percent of the copper and 10 percent of the petroleum reserves of the world. As regards agricultural products, Africa produces 80 percent of the world's perfume, 60 percent of its cocoa, 46 percent of its dates, 22 percent of its peanuts and so forth.

The African continent consists of many nations with different cultures and traditions and many different economic forms; as many as 50 countries live under different socio-political conditions. Over the past several centuries, all the nations of Africa experienced aggression, occupation, partition, domination and cruel exploitation by imperialism and colonialism. For this reason, the tradition of struggling against the domination by colonialists to win independence and freedom is shared by all the countries on this continent. In the space of only 20 years, 50 of the 58 African countries won political independence to one degree or another; they constitute one-third of the members of the United Nations and one-half the members of the non-aligned countries. However, political independence is only the beginning. To achieve true independence, the countries of Africa must also sever their economic ties with the monopolistic corporations of the western countries that are continuing to bind them. Lenin pointed out the ability of countries that have a

backward economy to advance to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. At present, more than 10 of the countries in Africa, after winning political independence, have declared that they have selected the socialist path of development.

Recently, a delegation from our party and government led by Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Political Bureau and vice premier, visited the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and eight other African countries (1), which measure about 7 million square kilometers, one-fourth the continent of Africa, and have a population of 85 million, one-fifth the population of this continent. Of these countries, five were once colonies of France, two were colonies of Portugal and one was a colony of Italy (for a short period). The paths followed by these countries to independence and freedom have also been different: some countries experienced long armed struggles and some, after being granted their independence by the colonialists, experienced many upheavals in order to eradicate reactionary elements that were lackeys of the imperialists and put true and progressive patriots into power. In this process of struggle, a united bloc, an alliance of workers, farmers, patriotic and progressive soldiers, youths, intellectuals and so forth were formed. In many countries, new style political parties have emerged with platforms based on scientific socialism, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These countries are Angola, where "the strategic objective of the MPLA, the labor party, is to build a socialist society after passing through the transitional stage of the people's democracy..." (proceedings of the MPLA-Labor Party Congress held from 4 to 10 December 1977); Benin, where the People's Revolutionary Party "is the vanguard party of the socialist revolution" and advocates "building a people's democratic society and eventually building a socialist society in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism" (the Statutes of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party); Mozambique, where the FRELIMO Party has declared: "The party is armed with revolutionary theory," with "Marxism-Leninism," with "scientific socialism" and "the party will always apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of the development of the class struggle" in Mozambique (Samora Moises: report at the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO, February 1977). These countries also include the Congo, where the labor party has declared its adherence to Marxism-Leninism (the Statutes of the Labor Party of the Congo) and Madagascar, which has officially adopted the Malgache socialist revolutionary platform.

In recent years, the countries in Africa that are following the socialist path have recorded noteworthy achievements. In many countries, large or medium size industrial plants left behind by the old regimes have been nationalized. Within agriculture, many reforms have been instituted for the purpose of limiting the ownership of cropland by feudalists and both cooperatives and state farms have been established. In the social field, concern is being shown for the living conditions of manual workers and the laboring people; many advances have been made in the public health, education and housing sectors, many hospitals have been constructed, illiteracy has been wiped out and the distribution of housing and land for the construction of housing to the laboring people is more equitable. In political life, attention has been given to establishing agencies elected by the people; the various strata of manual workers, farmers and intellectuals are participating more and more in the work of the state.

In foreign affairs, these countries are pursuing a policy of non-alignment and are anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, both old and new, anti-racism, anti-apartheid and anti-zionism. With the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, they have relations of unity, friendship and cooperation.

Then, compared to the countries that have fallen within the grip of neo-colonialism, the path that lies before these countries is stable and beautiful. However, the difficulties they still face are very numerous and very large. The key, urgent question is: how can a thorough people's national democratic revolution be carried out on the basis of a backward economy, underdeveloped production forces, a weak definition of classes, remnants of the colonial system and even remnants of the feudal system with its very complex mixture of tribes and religions and build the material-technical bases of socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development? Through meetings and conferences, we have found that our friends there are concerned with a number of extremely important matters related to the strategy and tactics employed to carry out the task of building their countries in accordance with the path of socialism and protecting their countries. These include building and strengthening the vanguard party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, building the people's army and protecting the country; building a revolutionary government that is for the people, that serves the people; formulating economic construction plans, resolving the difficulties in economic management and fighting corruption and bureaucracy; and training a corps of cadres.

The majority of these countries are still isolated and under heavy pressure from the imperialist powers and domestic and foreign reactionaries. These powers want to prevent the influence of the revolution from spreading to positions they still occupy. Each hour of each day, the colonialists and racists in South Africa are waging an undeclared war deep within the country of Angola. In socialist Ethiopia, there is still the threat of intervention in the Ogaden and Eritrea by neighboring countries. In Senegal, the colonialists sent mercenaries to attack the capital Cotonou in early 1977 in a vain attempt to annihilate the leadership of Benin and re-establish their rule.

The imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, are making every effort to implement their neo-colonialist strategy in Africa. Their objective is to continue to reap huge profits on this continent. The United States increased its direct investments in Africa from 370 million dollars in 1957 to 2.397 billion dollars in 1975. Africa supplied the United States with 72 percent of its cobalt, 51 percent of its manganese, 43 percent of its antimony and 14 percent of its copper. The United States also imports from Africa diamonds, columbite, palm oil, long cotton fibers, etc. The profits earned by the United States are much larger than U.S. investments in Africa. The United States does use a portion of these profits to reinvest in this continent. The method of operation of the United States is designed to encourage the formation of a bourgeoisie and middle class in the countries of Africa who are closely linked to U.S. business sectors.

When the colonialists were forced to withdraw from a number of countries in Africa, they took with them much machinery and withdrew their technical specialists, thereby posing major difficulties to the newly independent countries. At present, some

countries are still rather heavily dependent upon the western countries economically, scientifically and technologically.

On the other hand, the Beijing reactionaries are making every effort to collaborate with the imperialists in order to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the African countries. Hiding behind the label of "revolution," they have sent money, specialists and aid to a number of African countries even though their reactionary face has been exposed through the "cultural revolution," through the "three worlds theory," through their support and assistance of the UNITA clique against the people of Angola and through their war of aggression against Vietnam. They have deceived and looked for ways to bribe the cadres of a number of sectors, especially sectors that they are able to help. Therefore, in addition to persons with actual experience who clearly see the betrayal by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and recognize the threat they pose, there are also persons who are vague about the true nature.

At a time when the countries of Africa must resolve the theoretical and practical problems raised by their revolution in the course of its development, the revisionists and bourgeois theorists are loudly propagandizing about new theories of development and the third path of development in a vain attempt to separate these countries from Marxism-Leninism and the path of development toward socialism. However, in the present age, with the strength of the three revolutionary currents and the irreversible decline of the imperialists and reactionaries, the progressive countries in Africa that have selected the socialist path will surely achieve fine success. Of course, the path that lies before them is a winding, twisting path; however, our age is the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, an age in which the socialist system is playing the role of the decisive factor in the development of the society of man. For this reason, the ability of the progressive African countries to achieve socialism is constantly increasing. The fervent aspiration of the people of these countries is for national independence, comfort, happiness and peace so that they can build prosperous countries. As the leaders of these countries become more determined and mature, the peoples of these countries will, with the tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of the proletariat in the countries that have won victory, surely successfully build socialism and protect their countries. To date, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have helped to build 1,200 economic units, sent many specialists and trained many cadres to help these countries. During the past several years, the volume of economic trade between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the countries of Africa has increased seven-fold. Much machinery and equipment and many means of transportation have been sent to Africa to help these countries develop their industry, improve their agricultural production and develop their natural resources, thereby helping to gradually eliminate their economically underdeveloped state. In particular, the Republic of Cuba has not even spared the shed of blood in making direct contributions to the liberation and construction of the countries in Africa.

Against this background, the visit to the countries of Africa by our delegation in late 1980 confirmed the unity and support of our people with and for the struggle of the peoples of the countries of Africa, strengthened every aspect of the relations

between the SRV and these countries and contributed to the common struggle of the people of the world for peace and friendship among nations. In each country, we stated the desire and determination of the Vietnam Communist Party and the government of the SRV to develop the good relations between our country and these friendly countries in accordance with the following principles:

--Constantly strengthening our militant solidarity and mutual support and assistance in the work of building and protecting the country for the sake of the interests of the people of each country, for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world;

--Developing bilateral cooperation in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields and in the exchange of specialists and experiences in fields in which each party is capable and developing these relations on the basis of respecting independence and sovereignty and in the spirit of fraternal cooperation and the proletarian international spirit;

--Working together to support and help the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and West Sahara, the Palestinians and all peoples struggling for the right of self-determination and independence; abolishing every form of rule by imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, racism, zionism and apartheid; strengthening the unity and relations between the peoples of the countries of Indochina, Southeast Asia and the other countries and the peoples of the countries of Africa;

--Strengthening the coordination with one another in the common struggle of all countries in the non-aligned movement with a view toward gaining control of the natural resources of each country and establishing a new, fair and equitable international economic order;

--Coordinating in the struggle for international peace and detente, achieving military disarmament, solving international disputes through negotiations, opposing the imperialists and the expansionists and hegemonists, who are intensifying the arms race, strengthening their military alliances, creating a tense international situation and threatening the peace and security of nations.

This correct policy has been warmly welcomed. The leaders of the various countries have made heartfelt statements about Vietnam, statements that reflect the deep feeling of the people of Africa for the heroic struggle of our people, for the great President Ho Chi Minh and for our glorious Vietnam Communist Party.

The trust that our African friends have in us is absolute. Exchanges filled with mutual trust took place between Vo Nguyen Giap and the leadership of the countries mentioned above; the strategic and tactical issues of each country were discussed, important international issues were discussed and agreed upon and the experiences of the people of each country in construction and combat were exchanged. One leader emphasized: "We have complete trust in you and rely upon you for advice."

Our African friends respect and trust us because the Vietnamese have fought, died and defeated every enemy aggressor and are making every effort to build socialism and protect their country, because our party has more than one-half century of experience in struggle under the two banners of national independence and socialism

and has led our people to victory after victory, because we were led by the revered President Ho Chi Minh, whose great undertaking shall live forever in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese and the other oppressed peoples of the world.

Vietnam has completed the people's national democratic revolution and is advancing from a backward economy to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. Although our specific conditions differ, there are very close similarities between ourselves and our friends: we share the same ideal, have the same principal tasks and face many difficulties; in the years ahead, both we and our friends must resolve many similar problems. However, compared to them, we have fewer difficulties and more advantages.

Our friends admire us, are grateful to us, trust us and rely upon Vietnam as a firm base. In the several decades of our victorious struggle to liberate the nation and complete the democratic national revolution throughout the country, we gained some valuable experience in party building, in correct strategy and tactics, in building the United National Front, in building the armed forces and winning victory over enemy aggressors, in building the proletarian government, in restoring and developing the economy and the culture. Whereas in past years we made a glorious contribution to the cause of liberation of the African nations and other nations by means of the victory of our struggle for independence and freedom, today, by making every effort to successfully build socialism in our country, we shall again make a noteworthy contribution to the construction of the countries of these peoples on the path to socialism. This is a great undertaking, one which Vietnam, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, will have the honor of helping to bring to total victory. This will be a firm base for cooperation in many fields between Vietnam and the friendly countries of Africa. In the immediate future, although we do not have many materials to trade with them, the sharing of the experiences of each side will be very useful and will help to tighten the existing unity and friendship between our country and these countries. Facts have proven that the Vietnamese specialists sent to Africa to help our friends in the fields of public health, education and several areas of agriculture, such as water conservancy, wet rice cultivation and so forth are considered to be very good by our friends, who now wish to strengthen these ties; we are also ready to broaden our relationships in other fields, where possible. As for ourselves, we must redouble our efforts to learn the strengths, the good points and the beautiful aspects of the African countries that have tropical climatic and land conditions similar to ours, have leading sectors in agriculture or industry that are more developed than ours, such as the production of industrial crops (coffee, cocoa, *Anacardium occidentale*, palm oil and so forth) or the technology of petroleum exploration and development.

The recent visit to Africa and the Middle East by the delegation from our party and government was designed to help implement the foreign policy of the Vietnam Communist Party as set forth in the resolution of the 4th Congress: totally supporting the struggle of the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, and racism for national independence, democracy and social progress; strengthening the unity, friendship, cooperation and mutual help in every field between our country and the developing countries; making positive contributions to the struggle of the non-aligned movement against the policy of aggression and monopoly of the imperialists in order to protect their

independence and freedom, regain perpetual control of their natural resources and establish a new international economic order based on respect for national sovereignty.

The fine success of this visit confirmed that Vietnam has very many close friends in Africa. Many countries in Africa and the Middle East, together with a number of other progressive countries in Asia and Latin America, are helping to strengthen and broaden the world socialist system, thereby making a positive contribution to changing the comparison of forces between the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace and the forces of imperialism and reactionaries of all types. We have found close allies in these countries. The above mentioned diplomatic victory is, at the same time, a defeat for the policy of the imperialists and international reactionaries of trying to isolate and divide Vietnam from the other countries of the world. However, as our African friends said: "a luta continua! Vin-ceremos!"--the struggle continues! We shall surely be victorious.

Statements Filled with Admiration by Our Brothers

"It is a great honor for us to stand in the same fighting trench as the people of Vietnam."

Ali Nasir Muhammad, first secretary of the Socialist Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers and premier of the People's Republic of Yemen (Aden, 11 November 1980)

"To the people of Madagascar and our friends, Vietnam is sacred."

Didier Ratsiraka, head of government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar (Tananarive, 14 November 1980)

"Your struggle has inspired the nations of the world."

Samora Moises, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique and chairman of FRELIMA (Maputo, 15 November 1980)

"The struggle filled with sacrifices of the Vietnamese people is a bright example for all nations."

Haile-Mariam Mengistu, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and chairman of the Party Organization Committee (Addis Ababa, 30 November 1980)

"The significance of the struggle of the Vietnamese goes beyond the borders of Vietnam; it is related to the destinies of the colonial nations and is of universal significance."

Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and first secretary of the Guinea State Party (Conakry, 1 December 1980)

"The people of black Africa, the people of the world feel close to Dien Bien Phu, to the victories of the people of Vietnam over the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the other aggressive powers."

Mathieu Kerekou, president of the People's Republic of Benin and chairman of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party (Cotonou, 7 December 1980)

"The victory of Dien Bien Phu was truly the starting point of the victories of the people of Africa in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism for national independence."

Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo and chairman of the Congo Labor Party (Brassaville, 9 December 1980)

"The people of Angola feel close to the people of Vietnam because the struggle of the Vietnamese will forever be a source of inspiration to the people of Angola and the people of Africa."

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of MPLA-Labor Party (Luanda, 12 December 1980)

"To Algeria, Vietnam is always a bright example. Algeria shall forever support Vietnam in every field."

Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and first secretary of the FLN Party (Algeria, 17 December 1980)

FOOTNOTES

1. Madagascar, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Guinea, Benin, the Congo, Angola and Algeria.

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THE POST-MAO STAGE OF MAOISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 81 pp 65-70

[Article by Le Xuan Luu]

[Text] Countless events have taken place over the past several years within China! Following the death of Mao Zedong, the post-Mao rulers re-examined the sentences handed down during the "cultural revolution," restored cadres who were once suppressed, re-explained some of Mao's doctrines, re-evaluated a number of events, such as the "cultural revolution," re-evaluated the contributions and role of Mao Zedong in Chinese history and so forth and set forth new domestic and foreign policies. Are these positive changes in the economic, political and social life of China? In the post-Mao stage of Maoism, what is different and what is not?

The post-Mao rulers in Beijing have never considered Maoism to be a tragedy requiring "de-Maoization" and the return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. The actions they have taken and are taking are designed to support their sinister schemes. Following several decades of struggle, the people of China won victory in the democratic revolution and, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, achieved initial results in the socialist revolution. However, Maoism then carried out a "great leap forward" under the "three red flags"; this brought China to the brink of collapse and was followed by the "great proletarian cultural revolution" which, in essence, was a counter-revolutionary upheaval that trampled upon the spirit and fiber of hundreds of millions of persons, smashed the political and organizational systems of the party and the state apparatus and destroyed the results of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, thereby bringing chaos to the politics and the economy of China. Although horribly poisoned for decades, in the face of the brutal situation of the country, the people of China had to raise their voices, demanding the re-evaluation of Maoist ideology, the Mao-style party, Mao-style socialism and the Mao-style dictatorship of the proletariat. In the face of this situation, the post-Mao rulers were forced to salvage Maoism by "cleaning it up" in order to support the "four modernizations" and turn China into the number one superpower in the world by the end of this century. Under this "strategy," they hoped to create nationalist desires and a situation characterized by unity and stability. For this reason, they have "cleaned up" Maoism and played the game of "democracy." They re-examined the sentences handed down during the

"cultural revolution" and declared that the barbarous oppression that took place during the "cultural revolution" was a mistake and would never be repeated; they have promised that the major campaigns that once turned the country upside-down would not be carried out again; they have restored the activities of the state and social systems, especially the organizations in the state apparatus related to the economy; and they have restored social management by means of the law. They have strengthened the prestige of the party by restoring principles and regulations to party life and discipline to the corps of party members.

While having to "rectify" a number of mistakes made by Mao, they have also added several "new points" to their domestic and foreign policies. And, to explain these "new points," they could not use the ideological vestiges of Mao. On the one hand, they have had to re-explain several of Mao's arguments to be consistent with their policy; on the other hand, they have had to "criticize" the arguments of Mao that now pose obstacles to their efforts. However, despite taking these steps, they have never severed their ties with Maoism. As everyone knows, Maoism is big nation chauvinism, big country hegemony. Its political objective is a powerful China that rules the world. This objective primarily has the purpose of seizing power for an individual or group, seizing absolute power to be shared with no one and controlling the army, the party and the state in order to rule the country and, on this basis, achieve hegemony for China and hegemony for Mao and the clique in the world.

The path and the measures selected to achieve this hegemony are to masquerade as Marxist-Leninists, rely upon the prestige of socialism, find ways to impose their thinking and line, rally forces, establish alliances in order to oppose their enemies, struggle against other factions in order to seize power and making sweeping and cruel use of violent methods in coordination with using every possible cunning and treacherous tactic and using others to destroy their opposition.

The above mentioned strategic objective and primary measures of Maoism remain unchanged in the post-Mao stage. The present rulers in Beijing have never severed their ties to the ideology of great nation chauvinism and big country hegemony. The "ideology of Mao Zedong" is still the theoretical foundation of the Chinese system. In an interview with the Italian journalist Yo-ri-na Pha-la-xi [Vietnamese phonetics] in mid-September 1980, Deng Xiaoping said: "We recognize his (that is, Mao's) mistakes" and "have presented the mistakes made by Chairman Mao in his final days to the people"; "however, we will surely continue to adhere to the 'thinking of Mao Zedong.'" That which is "new" and "different" compared to the time when Mao was still alive is that they have "revised" and "changed" some of the arguments and methods of work of Mao by means of clever tricks and measures which they believe are more effective for achieving the true goals of Maoism, expansionism and hegemony. They have incorporated a number of their own new measures in the thinking and line of Mao. They have revised Maoism in an extremely pragmatic fashion so that it suits their new policies and measures.

This situation has caused them to act in contradictory ways: they have not carried out "de-Maoization" and must still brandish the banner of Mao; however, they must "criticize" Mao and revise Maoism. They say that Mao, the individual, made mistakes

and even committed major crimes but Maoism is still a correct philosophy. They cannot say that Maoism is a tragedy to the Chinese because this would mean that the system established by Mao can no longer be maintained and that they themselves would immediately lose all the "confidence" of the people, even though this "confidence" has been seriously eroded. They evaluate Mao as "70 percent correct and 30 percent incorrect" and reduce the seriousness of the crimes committed by Mao by explaining these mistakes as being the responsibility of the collective or the "Gang of Four." When re-explaining the doctrine of Mao, their defense is that they are "purifying the thinking of Mao Zedong that was blurred by the Gang of Four"! However, they have still had to revise Maoism and "criticize" Mao. In the past, when Mao needed the "cultural revolution," needed to propel the people of China into a pervasive factional battle in order to topple his opponents, Mao adopted the theory of "continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the theory that "class struggle determines everything" and use it as the ideological basis of his domestic policy. Now, however, the successors of Mao wish to achieve stability and unity in order to carry out the "four modernizations," consequently, they have re-explained this theory, saying that the class struggle has not ended by is not to be promoted as much as it once was and that the "four modernizations determine everything." In the past, Mao sought to bring about a "great leap forward" by means of the "three red flags" line, by means of self-reliance and the labor of hundreds of millions of Chinese; today, the successors of Mao have replaced the great leap forward with the "four modernizations." On the one hand, they are exploiting the labor of nearly 1 billion Chinese; on the other hand, they are relying completely upon imperialism, upon investments and technology from the United States, Japan and the other imperialists to carry out the "four modernizations." In order to persuade those who do not agree with them and those who oppose them, they adopted the theories that "practice is the highest standard of truth" and that "a black cat is as good as a white cat as long as it catches rats." In the past, Mao smashed the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat and threw out the law; now, they have advocated "perfecting the political system." However, it is through this so called step of "perfecting the political system" and under such very "revolutionary" slogans as "collective leadership," "not allowing one person to simultaneously hold the two highest positions within the party and the state" and "rejuvenating the corps of cadres" that they purge and eliminate one another. They promulgate laws to protect their positions as victors in these struggles for power. They are re-explaining some of the arguments of Maoism concerning the relationship between politics and technology. They have abandoned "politics as commander-in-chief" and the belief that "the thinking of Mao Zedong is a spiritual atomic bomb" and have placed emphasis upon economic construction and technology. They have re-explained the relationship between objective laws and subjective factors, saying that it is impossible to crudely apply objective laws, especially economic laws. They have revised Mao's theory on the role of the super-structure vis-a-vis the infrastructure, re-explained the relationship between ideology and organization, etc. At the same time, they have made changes in their economic policy and measures.

They must re-examine some of the viewpoints in the ideological vestiges of Mao because these viewpoints are impeding their actions. They must "criticize" Mao and "revise" Mao in order to elevate themselves, deceive the masses, gain prestige and, in particular, support the struggle to eliminate their opponents because they were once closely linked to the line, policies and work of Mao.

Their actions mentioned above are nothing more than artful tricks devised in a situation marked by many economic difficulties, political chaos, moral decay and opposition by the masses, cadres and party members; at the same time, these actions are products of pragmatism, of the objectives of great nation expansionism and big country hegemony that they seek to achieve.

Looking at the "new" points and the "changes" in the domestic and foreign theory and practice of the present Beijing leadership, one thing stands out: they reached the limit of pragmatism, of betrayal and reaction when they decided to join with the imperialists in order to find capital and technology with which to carry out the "four modernizations," thereby opening the door to infiltration by foreign capitalists, to the restoration of the bourgeoisie at home and stimulating the development of the private economy; this became even clearer when they began looking for ways to establish a comprehensive military alliance with the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, in order to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the three revolutionary currents in the world.

It can be concluded that there are no basic differences in Maoism between the time of Mao and the post-Mao stage. The only difference is the tactics related to the methods for achieving their objectives, not the objectives themselves. This difference is closely linked to the political needs of the post-Mao rulers and is a child of pragmatism. The "cat" theory is nothing more than an addition to Maoism as it was practiced during the period of Mao, an alliance with the bourgeoisie, the imperialists and the other reactionary powers and the further stimulation of opportunistic trends within the communist movement in order to achieve the strategic goals of Maoism. However, this addition only serves to more fully reveal the corrupt nature of Marxism in the post-Mao stage.

The true identity of the post-Mao leadership is quite clear: reactionary bourgeois nationalism combined with political pragmatism. This identity has been expressed in their domestic and foreign policies. These policies cannot serve as a political or ideological base for stability, for the unity of cadres and the people and for strengthening the system in accordance with their desires.

Their democratic game cannot dilute the cruel and reactionary nature of the bureaucratic, military dictatorship policy of the ruling apparatus because all power is still concentrated in the hands of a group of persons in the upper echelons of the military and high ranking government officials, a group that was formed through factional struggles to eliminate one another. The so called communist party is still a tool of the leadership clique, not a vanguard unit of the working class because the right of this class in China to lead the country has been taken away.

The post-Mao leadership cannot achieve stability, cannot unite the people of China nor can they create internal unity in order to carry out the "four modernizations." This is inevitable because struggling for power and eliminating one another continue to be the essence of Maoism.

The present leadership is a coalition of factions struggling against one another for power. They are in agreement with regard to big nation chauvinism, expansionism and hegemony, with regard to the viewpoint of making China the number one superpower in the

world in order to rule the world, with regard to opposing Marxism-Leninism and socialism, with regard to the argument that world war is unavoidable, etc. However, there are certain differences among them with regard to the line and measures for achieving these objectives; in particular, each faction wants to control power because all of them are expansionists and hegemonists. They are now engaged in a sharp struggle over three issues: the attitude toward the "cultural revolution," the attitude toward the ideological vestiges of Mao and the attitude toward the lines and measures for achieving the "four modernizations." The comparison of forces among the various factions forces them to establish temporary coalitions with one another; however, coalition is followed by struggle and then another coalition; this maneuver, which is repeated time and time again, is a law in their internal relations. As soon as round one ended, Deng and his faction prepared for round two at the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party by putting the Lam Buu clique and the Gang of Four on trial. The trial of these persons was a trial of the "cultural revolution," a trial of Mao; however, Deng must still convict and get rid of persons who had ties with Mao, were promoted by Mao during the "cultural revolution" and are now opponents of Deng.

Whereas stabilizing and uniting the people and achieving internal unity are difficult, the path to be followed to achieve the "four modernizations" is also filled with difficulties and contradictions. How can they take a "great leap forward" from a backward economy that collapsed in the "cultural revolution," an economy that is seriously imbalanced and is characterized by low labor productivity, difficult living conditions and high unemployment? The greatest difficulty of the Chinese leadership at this time is determining under which guidelines to carry out the "four modernizations." They have no clear answer to this question. In a speech to social activists on 16 May 1980, the editor-in-chief of HONG KY Journal declared: "We say that we must follow China's path of socialist modernization but this path has not been clearly charted. We say that we are building socialism under the conditions of China, but these conditions are not clear."

In the "four modernizations," they have given priority to modernizing the national defense system. Can they modernize the national defense system and modernize the economy at the same time? In view of the fact that their economy is still backward, how can they modernize the national defense system? Their only choice is to rely completely upon the imperialists. However, this is not easy, either, because the imperialists are not ready to supply all modern military and national defense technology to China without calculating the long-term consequences. Moreover, if they rely upon the imperialists, how can they become the number one superpower in order to rule the world? The war of aggression against Vietnam carried out by the Beijing reactionaries in early 1979 with a military force of 600,000 men only lasted 1 month but affected many areas of life in Chinese society. Besides awakening the people of China politically, the economic consequences of this war of aggression have also been rather severe. This is one of the reasons why the Chinese leadership has been forced to revise the "four modernizations" plan.

In carrying out modernization by relying upon the imperialists, the factors of capital and technology are extremely unstable. They hope to borrow from the imperialist countries from 100 to 150 billion dollars; however, they have only borrowed about 30 to 35 billion dollars so far, partially because the imperialists find themselves in a

pervasive, inescapable crisis and are encountering towering difficulties and partially because they have the long-range concern that China might become an opponent of theirs if they help China to become an economic and military superpower.

Although the interests of the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists are the same in some areas, they differ in other areas. Therefore, the imperialists are not ready to supply everything and do everything desired by the Beijing authorities. As for the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, whereas they once served as the poor friend of the imperialists, they are now seeking a comprehensive alliance with them, including a military alliance, in order to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and socialism, fight the revolution in other countries and so forth. This has exposed their traitorous and reactionary identity to the people of China and the people of the world. Even within Beijing ruling circles, there is a struggle over how to work with the imperialists.

In actuality, the collaboration between the Beijing reactionaries and the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, is becoming increasingly close and comprehensive; however, there are antagonisms between them and each side has its own ambitions.

Relying upon the imperialists in order to carry out the "four modernizations" will not be as easy or simple as the present rulers in Trung Nam Hai wish. Of course, by collaborating with the imperialists, serving as the counter-revolutionary assault force and squandering the natural resources of the country, they can obtain some capital and technology and retool and increase the material and technical bases of the economy and national defense system to some extent. However, in view of the facts that their economy is very backward and seriously imbalanced and their culture, science and technology are underdeveloped, even if they receive capital and technology from the imperialists, they cannot easily put them to use or immediately take the "great leap forward" they desire. The country of China has a number of noteworthy natural resources, but, over the long range, these resources are not enough to allow them to meet the needs of building the country and meet the requirements of the imperialists in order to acquire capital and technology while supporting the other reactionary powers, as they frequently do in order to win political support.

Over the past several years, they have taken a number of measures to bring about economic development; they have encouraged bourgeoisie, who have been repaid for the property confiscated from them in past years, and overseas Chinese to invest capital in businesses; they have placed emphasis upon joint enterprises with capitalists at home and abroad; they have set aside a number of areas near Hong Kong, Macao and Shanghai for foreign capitalists to establish production installations; they have changed the mode of economic management, loosely managing the free farmers in the subsidiary trades and the merchants at rural markets, etc. If these measures continue to be broadened, the adverse consequences of them will truly be difficult to measure. The development of the private economy, the development of the market economy, the "opening the door" to infiltration by foreign capitalists and spontaneous activities will increase the threat of the destruction of all the bases of socialism that the people of China built in the early years of the People's Republic of China. The widespread incorporation of monopolistic capitalism within the production field will push the Chinese economy into the orb of the international division of labor of

capitalism and, as a result, make it impossible for China to avoid other tragic economic, political and social consequences.

The economic measures mentioned above might lead to intense economic activities but, in the end, they will only serve the interests of the domestic bourgeoisie and foreign monopolistic capitalists, seriously harm the interests and the standard of living of the working people and destroy the rest of the achievements that the people of China struggled to record.

All of the measures that the post-Mao rulers have employed in the past several years reflect the reactionary nature of Maoism in the post-Mao stage.

It is hard to see anything that resembles a positive change in their actions, not to mention anything that might indicate a return by them to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of scientific socialism. Through their actions, Maoism has shown itself for what it really is, anti-communism.

Time will be their judge. Their reactionary domestic and foreign lines, positions and policies have been and are having tragic consequences for the people of China and the revolutionary people of the world. Their bankruptcy is inevitable because the Chinese have a long history of struggle and will surely arise and cast aside every sinister power in order to follow the bright path of our times.

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