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No. 8, 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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PEOPLE'S COURTS AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW

BK080800 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 1-6

[Article by Pham Hung, chief justice of the People's Supreme Court--capitalized passages published in boldface. This translation previously appeared in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 196, 9 Oct 81, pp K4-K9]

[Text] Strengthening the socialist legal system is an urgent requirement of our revolution to improve the state's management efficiency and to ensure the laboring people's right to collective mastery. As organs responsible for the preservation of the socialist legal system, people's courts must develop their role in the struggle to prevent and counter crimes and illegal activities.

The Causes of Crimes and Illegal Activities

During the period of transition to socialism, it is necessary for our party and state to struggle actively to prevent and counter all crimes and illegal activities. This is because crimes and illegal activities are negative manifestations which can cause adverse effects in many respects -- political, economic and social -- and at times can even endanger national security.

Since our country moved into the period of transition to socialism, together with other sectors, people's courts have recorded many great successes in maintaining political security and social order and safety. Crimes and violations of the law, however, have not yet been eradicated and remain serious. This is because the counterrevolutionary forces in both parts of our country still have not resigned themselves to defeat and are seeking to oppose and sabotage our revolution and overthrow our people's administration, despite the victories won by our revolution. These include henchmen of the imperialists and Chinese expansionists, remnants of the former puppet army and administration or of various exploiting classes who refused reeducation, and elements of other antisocialist organizations.

It is also because our country, which is advancing to socialism from small-scale production and bypassing the period of capitalist development, has had to go through a long process of transformation of small-scale production at a time when the small producers and the petty bourgeoisie are still heavily affected by casual and liberal thinking and individualism.

Meanwhile, in the south, the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeois traders, still maintain very deep and broad relations with the small producers. As a result, its capitalist-oriented entrepreneurial methods and influence constitute a tremendous obstacle to economic and social management. In addition, U.S. neocolonialism has left behind in our society such types of men as professional killers and robbers, ruffians and other depraved youths, and so forth.

Taking advantage of the difficult situation in the country to engage in illegal activities, the offenders have caused great losses to the state, disrupted the market, and further worsened the people's livelihood. Besides these elements, there are persons who, without concern for dignity, have allowed themselves to engage in illegal activities.

We still encounter many shortcomings in economic and social management. This is due to inexperience and laxity in this work and to the fact that our economic and social policies and systems are still heavily affected by management red tape and the practice of indiscriminately granting subsidies which leave many loopholes conducive to illegal activities. This is also because the socialist legal system has not yet been improved, attention has not been fully paid to carrying out propaganda and education on law enforcement, and crimes and illegal activities have not been dealt with strictly and justly on many occasions.

Therefore, the struggle to prevent and counter crimes and illegal activities in our society remains a protracted and complex struggle. That struggle cannot be separated from efforts to improve our economy and society, achieve large-scale socialist production, shape a new type of socialist man, and develop and consolidate the state's management system.

Some persons claim that the present state of crimes and illegal activities has actually stemmed from difficulties encountered by people in their daily life and that as long as these difficulties remain, it is impossible for us to struggle effectively against all manifestations of negativism in society. This is an incorrect idea. Naturally, a difficult life is the breeding ground but not the cause of negative manifestations. Despite the fact that great difficulties still exist in their daily life, the great majority of our people still implement all major policies of our party and state in a scrupulous manner. It is true that there are people who have violated the law. However, offenders of serious crimes are usually not those affected by difficulties in their daily life but, on the contrary, are degenerate and debauched persons who want to enjoy pleasure and enrich themselves through illegal means. In view of this, it is necessary for us to affirm that under all circumstance, every citizen must scrupulously abide by the law and that any act of violation against the law must be dealt with strictly and justly. The contention that crimes and illegal activities -- which are inevitable manifestations -- should be treated with leniency is a big mistake because it will bring about laxity in the struggle against all manifestations of negativism in society, thus hampering our efforts to build the economy and improve the people's livelihood.

Thanks to the implementation of the party's resolution on improving distribution and circulation and to the efforts made by many localities to satisfactorily combine the three interests since last year, the laborers have been encouraged to perform their work satisfactorily and progress has been made in production. Negative manifestations in economic activities have dropped gradually, and social order has been further improved in any locality where progress has been made in the economic field and effective measures have been adopted to maintain security and order. Thus, it is obvious that we can achieve good results in the struggle to prevent and counter all crimes and illegal activities.

The Role of People's Courts in Implementing the Constitution and Enforcing Law

The law and the people's courts must serve as an instrument of the working people in the struggle against all manifestations of negativism in social activities so as to transform the old society and build a new one. Lenin said that due to certain conditions under the system of proletariat dictatorship, we still have to resort to suppression and coercion, and that it is "illusory" to think that negative manifestations in society can be solved merely through education and motivation. He pointed out that during the period of peaceful construction, people's courts must serve as a "typical symbol" of suppression and coercion.

This is because in that period the working people would not use their armed forces but their courts to suppress counterrevolutionaries. At the same time, coercion is also necessary in dealing with those who fail to respect the law. Lenin also observed that, unlike the bourgeois courts, the courts under the system of proletarian dictatorship are also vested with another important task -- to provide "education on discipline." This is because to punish criminals also means to educate them through the juridical process. People's courts are also duty-bound to educate the public on how to abide by the law and follow the principles governing all social activities. One of the causes of our failure to deal with a number of crimes and illegal activities strictly and justly in the recent past was because we have failed to resort to coercion, adopt a correct standpoint on the educational effectiveness of the juridical process by courts, combine education with coercion, and acknowledge that coercion is also a necessary measure to deal with those defying the law and enhance discipline in society.

As an effective instrument of proletarian dictatorship, people's courts must strive to implement the policy against counterrevolutionaries correctly by PUNISHING ALL COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY MASTERMINDS, CULPRITS AND DIEHARDS SEVERELY. With regard to ordinary criminals, they must SEVERELY PUNISH ALL PROFESSIONAL HOOLIGANS, RECIDIVISTS, OFFENDERS OF ORGANIZED CRIME, HEADS OF EVILDOERS WHO HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THEIR POSITIONS AND POWER TO ENGAGE IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES, AND OFFENDERS OF SERIOUS CRIMES. In the face of the present situation, to carry out our revolutionary tasks, it is necessary for us to punish severely all counterrevolutionaries and traitors and mete out appropriate punishment to plunderers of socialist property, speculators, smugglers and professional hooligans. In addition, because law violations committed by state cadres and personnel have usually inflicted great harm on society, it is necessary for people's courts to mete out appropriate punishment against those involved in corruption through illegal dealings with the bad elements or by abusing their positions and authority to bring state materials and goods to the "free" market, as well as to extort bribes and oppress the masses.

Much has been said about the punishment meted out to criminals by people's courts, but there has been no settlement by them of civil disputes which have occurred frequently in all domains of the people's life and relate to the protection of the system of socialist ownership. The settlement of civil disputes will ensure that economic transactions and services in society are carried out scrupulously. It will help protect socialist production relations, the collective and state interests and the citizens' legitimate rights. It will also contribute to establishing and protecting correct and healthy social relations, especially family relations. At present, because of this erroneous concept, there have been many cases of state or collective interests being violated without the responsible managerial organs paying attention to protecting them. Conversely, there have been many instances in which responsible organs have not paid due attention to protecting the citizens' legitimate rights. This concept has been reflected most commonly and seriously in failure to understand and apply the principle that EVERY CITIZEN IS EQUAL BEFORE LAW. There have been many cases in which, out of favoritism and sympathy for law offenders, out of "consideration" for their past achievements, and out of fear of the decline in the influence of organs or of discrediting emulation exploits by units or localities, legal offences -- sometimes even by cadres -- have not been dealt with or have been dealt with improperly. Therefore, to overcome this situation, the new Constitution, besides specifying this important principle, carries the following stipulations: "ANY ACT ENCROACHING UPON THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE OR THE COLLECTIVE AND THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF CITIZENS MUST BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW" (Article 127) and "VICTIMS OF LAW VIOLATIONS ARE ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION" (Article 73).

Holding fast to the policy of opposing and eliminating negativism in our society, people's courts have carried out their activities in two directions: Firstly, through the trial of cases of law violations, they have helped state organs correct their shortcomings because such shortcomings provide objective conditions for crimes and other acts of violation of law to be easily committed and to thrive.

In the course of their juridical activities, people's courts have strived to draw upon the causes of and conditions for crimes and other acts of violation of the law so as to urge responsible organs to correct their shortcomings. Such a procedure has helped to improve economic and social management by the state and to protect the citizens' legitimate interests. Secondly, people's courts have directed part of their activities to the setting up of trial-reconciliation organizations in lower-level localities. Experience clearly shows that the prompt settlement of minor disputes and conflicts among the people is very necessary to prevent small matters from becoming acute contradictions that will result in protracted lawsuits or criminal law cases. Therefore, since 1963, people's reconciliation organizations have been established in lower-level localities. In many places, these organizations have performed their tasks well, and the number of lawsuits and criminal cases to be tried by people's courts have decreased. Based on this experience, the Constitution stipulates that APPROPRIATE PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS SHALL BE FORMED AT THE GRASSROOTS TO DEAL WITH MINOR BREACHES OF LAW OR DISPUTES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW (article 218). If appropriate people's organizations are formed and if the duties of people's committees, mass organizations and the people's courts in setting up, improving and managing these organizations are clearly defined, the people will participate enthusiastically in managing state and social affairs, and everyone will scrupulously comply with the law.

Ensure That Juridical Work Is Accurate and Timely

In trying criminal law cases, if the offenders escape punishment by mistake or if the punishment meted out to them is inappropriate, these dangerous elements might continue their acts of violation of law. Conversely, if innocent persons are unjustly punished, their political life, their freedom and their honor will be seriously violated. Moreover, their wrong punishment will have an adverse effect on their families. Nothing can compensate them for the mistakes made by the juridical organs, even though such mistakes are corrected subsequently. As for trials of civil cases, if they are wrongly judged, the state and collective property and the citizens' legitimate interests will not be guaranteed.

To ensure that people's courts are truly organs of justice, we must, first of all, have a body of qualified and good judges to carry out juridical tasks. Judges must be absolutely loyal to the socialist fatherland and the revolution, firmly maintain the standpoint of the working class and thoroughly understand the party and state's views, line and policies. They must have experience in social activities and be exemplary in all respects and determined to struggle to defend the party and state's policies. They must possess adequate cultural and legal knowledge. The professional standards of a judge will be very limited if he does not hold firm to legal dialectics, principles and systems. He may have experience in settling some definite kinds of trials, but he will be at a loss to deal with difficult, complicated cases.

Exercising the laboring people's right to collective mastery vis-a-vis the juridical work, PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS can participate in trial sessions by people's courts and have the same powers as judges. The participation of people's assessors in trial sessions will help make the judgment accurate because they are close to the people in their production and other activities. Following the trials, they will widely popularize the sentences passed by people's courts among the people in order widely to develop the educational effect of the courts among the people, to develop the educational effect of the courts. Generally speaking, people's assessors have played their role satisfactorily. Many of them, however, have not yet made arrangements so that they can get away from their work to participate in trials, and some organs have also not created conditions for people's assessors to perform their duty. On the other hand, because of their limited knowledge and also because judges have not paid attention to helping them, some people's assessors have not yet developed their role in the juridical work.

The public security force, people's organs of control and people's courts have the common duty to prevent crimes and acts in violation of the law, but each of these three services has its own function. The public security force is in charge of investigation; people's organs of control are responsible for controlling investigations, approving prosecutions and checking on juridical work; and people's courts are entrusted with conducting trials. All three services must fulfill the common requirement in the struggle against criminal offenses, which is to punish offenders in accordance with law. To ensure the fulfillment of this requirement, the law stipulates PROSECUTION PROCEDURES ON INVESTIGATIONS, ARRESTS, SEARCHES, TRIAL, AND THE EXECUTION OF SENTENCES PASSED. In these prosecution procedures the function and work relations between the three services, as well as the rights and obligations of citizens, have been defined clearly. Therefore, each service must implement these procedures scrupulously. If the stipulations on prosecution procedures are considered merely a formality, this shortcoming often results in harmful consequences such as illegal arrests and house searches, slow investigations and trials, inadequate punishment and so forth. The three services must coordinate their actions in order to carry out the common task, but in the course of their coordination, each service must fulfill its own function correctly. In particular, they must not cover up each other's illegal actions.

In investigating, prosecuting and trying criminal cases, the public security force, people's organs of control and people's courts must ensure that the accused exercise the RIGHT TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. Only when the accused are allowed to produce evidence and present arguments that can prove that they are innocent or that they are only responsible to a certain extent for the crimes they have committed will the judgment be objective and accurate. It is stipulated in the new Constitution that the accused is guaranteed the right to defense. This right must be guaranteed by other rights accorded the accused. Thus, the accused has the right to know the offense he has been prosecuted for; the right to be informed that he is authorized to defend himself prior to interrogation; the right to present documentary proof and submit requests; the right to receive bills of indictment; the right to defend himself or resort to the help of a lawyer or a people's pleader to justify in his trial; and the right to say final words before a verdict is reached. Under our regime, pleaders help protect socialist law because they help the courts carefully examine cases brought to trial and accurately apply the law. Therefore, they must work sincerely and wholeheartedly. They must not distort the truth or resort to illegal tricks to help those who have committed offenses escape punishment. Such practices as putting words in the mouth of an accused person to get a confession, using force to get a confession and refusing to listen to pleading statements must be avoided because they violate the accused's right to defense and make trial procedures inaccurate.

Accurate investigation and prosecution will create favorable conditions for people's courts to conduct trials. However, to rely on this supposition to maintain that the duty of people's courts is merely to "LEGALIZE" what the public security organs or people's organs of control have concluded means failing to identify the actual role of these courts. This is because people's courts, with their juridical functions, must reexamine all the details of each case in a court session and are only allowed to rely on the results of that court session to decide on the sentence. Courts must not allow themselves to be shackled by the views of public security organs or people's organs of control but must base their decision on the objective truth and the law. In view of this, the holding of court sessions is one of the most concentrated activities of people's courts, and to consider the holding of court sessions as a mere formality means failing to identify the role of people's courts correctly. It has been stipulated in the Constitution that: "IN ADMINISTERING JUSTICE, JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS ARE INDEPENDENT AND SUBJECT ONLY TO LAW" (Article 131). This regulation is very necessary because it clearly defines the RESPONSIBILITY of the judges and people's assessors as performing their duties according to law and without being controlled by any external influence.

On the other hand, effort must also be made by the state to prevent any organization or individual from interfering in the work of the judges and people's assessors, thus making it impossible for them to administer justice in accordance with law. People's assessors enjoy the same powers as judges and, because people's courts make decisions by a majority, judges are not allowed to impose their views on people's assessors.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VCP over the state has been specified in the Constitution. Therefore, it is incorrect to think that the party is not allowed to direct or should not direct the work of people's courts just because "in administering justice, judges and people's assessors are independent and subject only to law." On the contrary, it is necessary to reaffirm that only by placing them under the party's leadership can people's courts perform their duties satisfactorily. It is the duty of our party to help the state strengthen itself and develop its role. Therefore, the party is compelled to pay attention to directing all people's courts in implementing its juridical policy and line, educating their cadres on their viewpoints, stand and guidelines in support of various political tasks, developing their organization, and appointing competent and honest cadres to serve as judges while inspecting their activities through various party and mass organizations. Because the party would not do the work of the state, it is necessary for all judges and people's assessors to perform their duties always in a satisfactory manner. As specified in the party's statute, all party members and party organizations must administer the law scrupulously. In view of this, any form of pressure by any party member or party organization to compel judges and people's assessors to administer justice not in accordance with the law is a violation of the party's statute.

At present, despite the efforts made by the people's courts to develop their effectiveness, their success is still limited. This is due to their failure to perfect law in certain aspects, improve the professional skills of their cadres, and strengthen and improve their organization adequately. These problems, however, will be solved under the direction of the party in order to make it possible for people's courts to develop their role effectively.

CSO: 4209/22

THE LEGISLATIVE AND SUPERVISORY FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

BK061405 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 7-9

[Article by Phan Trung Ly--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 195, 8 Oct 81, pp K7-K9]

[Text] In our system of state organs, the National Assembly is defined by the Constitution as "the highest organ of state authority." It is an organ that symbolizes the integrated willpower and the right to socialist collective mastery of our people.

We must help strengthen the activities of the National Assembly in order to enable it to fulfill the tasks and function of supreme supervision over the implementation of the Constitution and laws.

Legislation Is an Important Function of the National Assembly

In our society, the National Assembly in particular, and state organs in general, are tools of the working class and the laboring people. The vital task of the National Assembly is to institutionalize, through state laws, the party line and policies, and to make sure that they are applied in the people's daily life and scrupulously carried out by all cadres and the people.

Legislation is a very important function, because only through legislation can the people's willpower be transformed into laws. Lenin said: "The willpower of a state must be symbolized by law defined by the authorities. Otherwise, the word 'willpower' is just a hollow sound that merely moves the air." [TAP CHI CONG SAN note: V.I. Lenin: Complete works (in Russian) the Progress Publishing House, Moscow, vol 32 p 340]

Legislation is the first link that creates conditions for "the state to manage society according to law and constantly strengthen socialist law" as stipulated in Article 12 of the Constitution.

Legislation is the most important method of formulating the laws of our nation. The nature of legislation is to establish in laws what has been stipulated in the Constitution. This, however, does not mean that everything specified in the Constitution must be turned into specific laws. The legislative function of the National Assembly only allows the inclusion of the most general and important stipulations in the Constitution into legal documents of the highest legal validity (after the Constitution). Therefore, the legislative function has defined heavy responsibilities for the National Assembly: All state stipulations of the state are aimed at adjusting social relations in order to "strengthen the socialist law and closely systematize all activities of the state organs so the latter truly respect the people's right to collective mastery, ensure their interests, and require that every citizen fulfill his obligation and abide by the law" [TAP CHI CONG SAN note: "Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of Delegates," the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1977, p 68].

Implementing its legislative function, the National Assembly has passed many important laws, thus contributing greatly to strengthening the socialist law. In general, however, the adopted and promulgated laws have not met the requirements of the people's daily life. In our society, there still exists the following phenomenon: Many matters which must actually be specified by laws have been defined only by nonlegal documents. As a result, their legality is limited and the forcefulness of laws has not been fully developed.

The present struggle to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland requires our state to urgently build a legal system and amend and supplement all systems and regulations which are no longer suitable to the new situation of the revolution.

To systematize the building of that legal system, it is imperative to draft specific plans for making and supplementing the law; specify clearly the direction of formulating important laws in a definite period of time; outline nomenclatures of laws to be prepared by specific organs; and set the deadlines for their passage.

In the years ahead, in addition to passing laws on the organization and activities of state organs, it is necessary to prepare and urgently pass laws that will ensure and develop the people's right to socialist collective mastery, and laws which are necessary for economic management and the strengthening of economic activities. In this connection, special attention must be paid to formulating laws on adjusting relations arising from the planning of the national economy. In order to contribute to making the state plan truly "a second platform of the party," the National Assembly, along with promulgating the state plan in the form of a law, must urgently formulate a law on planning the national economy. Only laws (and not the present nonlegal documents) which consist of fundamental, stabilized and uniform rules and which are of a principled character have the necessary legality to systematize planning work so that the system of responsibility for implementing the state plan can be strictly observed.

Moreover, actuality requires that in a short period of time the legislative work must meet the demand for necessary laws and adjust social relations in the various aspects of life.

After the National Assembly adopted the new Constitution, its legislative work has become even more important and the task of implementing its legislative function is even greater.

The Supervisory Function of the National Assembly

If legislation is aimed at transforming the state willpower into law, then supervision is a very important link to ensure that this willpower, once it becomes law, will be implemented in the people's daily life. The Constitution has entrusted the National Assembly with this important function.

The supervisory function of the National Assembly stems from the people's right to socialist collective mastery. The significance and nature of the supervisory function of the National Assembly is based on the system of socialist collective mastery. In our country "the National Assembly is the highest representative body of the people" (Article 82 of the Constitution). Representing the people, the National Assembly exercises the state authority, the National Assembly elects and removes from office top leaders of the state apparatus which are responsible and accountable to the National Assembly.

The supervisory work of the National Assembly is an important part of the improved system of control, inspection and supervision of the socialist state.

The National Assembly supervises all activities of state organs so as to ensure the scrupulous implementation of the Constitution and laws. The National Assembly's supervisory work is a coordination of supervisory organs and supervised organs which join forces to scrupulously implement the party line and policies and the legitimate aspirations of the people.

The National Assembly's supervisory task is aimed at stimulating various state organs to carry out their defined functions and tasks correctly and to fully develop their roles and abilities.

The National Assembly's supervision over state organs is manifested most clearly in the sessions of the National Assembly. At these sessions, the National Assembly hears various organs present their reports and discusses and comments on these reports. It pays special attention to matters on how the party's line and policies are applied in the people's daily life, and to what extent party and state organs respect and develop the people's right to collective mastery.

During the period between the two regular sessions of the National Assembly carries out its supervisory function through the nationalities council and its standing committees. These committees carry out their activities in accordance with the authority and tasks vested in them by the National Assembly. These standing committees have no independent supervisory function; they can only help the National Assembly carry out this function in each specific domain. Facts have indicated that the form of activities of various standing committees of the National Assembly is indispensable, diversified and continuous.

At present, our National Assembly has not yet established many standing committees as there are still many matters related to the scope and practicality of their activities to be discussed. But, in general, the existing standing committees have made great efforts in helping the National Assembly exercise its supervisory authority. The important change in the activities of these committees is the transfer from general activities to specialized matters. They combine the supervisory method of making reports with on-the-spot investigations and studies. Thanks to this change, the various matters brought up have been studied more thoroughly and extensively. As a result, the recommendations which are raised are more practical and effective.

The National Assembly carried out its supervisory task through the activities of each individual deputy. The most important activity of National Assembly deputies is the satisfactorily use of their right of questioning. This right and the duty of state organs to answer questions have been specified in the constitution and the law of organization of the National Assembly. To implement these stipulations scrupulously is to practically contribute to improving the management of the socialist state.

The National Assembly's supervisory function is of special importance. Therefore, the National Assembly has established the Legislation Committee to help it carry out its supervision over the implementation of the Constitution and laws.

In order to achieve concrete results in the supervisory tasks of the National Assembly, the National Assembly and the Council of State, within a given period of time and depending on the contents of the party's resolutions, formulate specific supervisory plans, establish supervisory requirements and targets for each period of time and share a system of responsibilities for state organs in implementing resolutions presented by the National Assembly in the course of its supervisory task.

ESTABLISHING STABLE, CENTRALIZED COMMERCIAL FORESTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 10-15

[Article by Phan Xuan Dot]

[Text] For more than 20 years, we have been making many efforts to manage and protect the forests, start new forests and harvest tens of millions of cubic meters of lumber and many types of other forestry and special products to meet the needs of building the country and export needs. The rate of afforestation has developed rather rapidly and the quality of planted forests has become increasingly high. An inventory of the forests showed that, in the space of 20 years (1961-1979), the North planted 710,000 hectares of forests (as of 1979, there were still about 310,000 hectares of original forests); under the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the entire country planted more than 500,000 hectares (an average of 100,000 hectares per year). In particular, the movement of the people to plant trees in keeping with the appeal by President Ho has yielded tremendous and practical results.

However, in the process of establishing and protecting forests, we have not avoided shortcomings. The laws governing the reproduction of forest resources demand that the harvesting and use of forests be closely linked to the protecting and establishment of forests. In our country, the natural production ability of the forests each year is about 12 million to 15 million cubic meters; in actuality, however, we harvest and use as many as 25 million to 30 million cubic meters of timber and firewood each year (this includes 5 million cubic meters harvested by the state in accordance with its plan; the people, agencies and army units harvest 20 million to 25 million cubic meters per year). The harvesting of a quantity of forestry products twice as large as the quantity being naturally produced by the forests together with lax management, slash and burn cultivation, backward harvesting practices (cutting good trees to let poor quality trees regrow) and so forth have destroyed hundreds of thousands of hectares of forests, caused the forests to lose their ability to regrow, seriously depleted forest assets and affected the ecology and ecological balance.

We stand at a crossroad: either we can continue to operate in the same old fashion, allow the forests to become even more depleted and soon find ourselves facing greater difficulties in the supply of forestry products and difficulties with the environment or we can immediately become determined to change the way we operate along the lines of developing forestry in a comprehensive manner based on the central task of

re-establishing stable, centralized commercial forests and carrying out planned harvesting with a view toward effectively creating large sources of raw materials with which to meet the needs of production, consumption and exportation. Of course, we will select the path of establishing stable, centralized commercial forests.

I. The Inevitable Need To Establish Stable, Centralized Commercial Forests

Establishing stable, centralized commercial forests means establishing forest raw material areas that are of sufficient size, have large reserves and a large output, are centralized, are highly productive, have a short production cycle, produce products that are relatively uniform in terms of specifications and quality and are convenient for harvesting and industrial processing. In other words, it means establishing forest areas that have high overall productivity and yield large business returns. After replanning these forests and readjusting the natural distribution of species within them and the percentage of canopy and the composition of planted trees to be efficient, these forests must eventually become stable in terms of their boundaries, size, output, quality and yield in order to provide a permanent, continuous and stable supply of products in accordance with the plan of the national economy; at the same time, we must always maintain and utilize the other roles played by the forests.

Forest land is an object of labor as well as an instrument of production and the most basic asset in creating forest natural resources and forestry products; therefore, establishing stable, centralized commercial forests also means establishing tracts of land that are stable in terms of their size and fertility because the fertility of forest land is the factor that determines forest yield and, at the same time, reflects the level of intensive cultivation of the land and the use of the forests. The establishment of stable, centralized commercial forests must first be based on the requirement of establishing an efficient allocation of planted species and the requirements of initiating intensive cultivation and improving the soil so that the forests always produce a high yield and output while creating a stable eco-system. The practice of using the forests by harvesting them to the point of depletion depletes the fertility of the soil and leads to opposite economic consequences.

The advantages of our forests are that they grow rapidly and produce a large amount of wood each year; however, the actual timber yield is very low (an average of only 2 cubic meters per hectare per year), the output in wood products is not high and this output is decentralized, being found primarily on high mountains and steep mountain sides where many difficulties are encountered in harvesting. At some places, 600 to 700 dong must be invested in roads to harvest 1 cubic meter of wood. At present, we are harvesting about 2 million cubic meters of timber each year but must harvest this timber on millions of hectares because the yield per hectare is only 3 to 5 cubic meters. If we established commercial forest areas with an average output of 100 to 200 cubic meters per hectare, we would only need about 100,000 hectares of forests (with a 10 to 12 year production cycle) to harvest 1 million to 2 million cubic meters of wood per year. It has been estimated that in the next 10 to 15 years (the wood use target is 0.5 cubic meter per capita per year), the entire country must have from 35 million to 40 million cubic meters (raw materials for paper and textile fibers: 20-25 percent; plywood and veneering: 30-40 percent; milled

lumber: 35-40 percent; and hardboard: 10 percent). This does not take into consideration other needs, such as the needs for firewood, tre and nua bamboo, special products, pharmaceuticals and so forth. As regards firewood for the people, we need tens of millions of cubic meters each year. At present and for a long time to come, coal and firewood will continue to be the main fuels used by the people. Many developing countries are also attaching very much importance to the renewable source of energy in the forests by hybridizing and planting varieties of trees that grow rapidly in order to meet the pressing need for firewood in everyday life. On the other hand, processing by industrial methods not only requires a large and stable supply of wood and other forestry products, but also imposes strict demands regarding specifications and quality. As a result, only by improving the natural forests and planting new commercial forests by means of effective technical and management measures is it possible to create sources of raw materials with which to meet the requirements of production, consumption and exportation.

The establishment of stable, centralized commercial forests will also create the conditions for facilitating the management and protection of forests, closely linking the regrowth and the planting of forests with harvesting and processing, closely linking processing installations to sources of raw materials, permanently stabilizing production sites and, on this basis, establishing complete forestry-agro-industrial federations with the economic infrastructure needed to support the production and the daily lives of the forest workers and the people living near the forests.

In summary, establishing stable, centralized commercial forests is the inevitable course to follow in the process of building and developing the forestry trade from small-scale production to large-scale production, from the use of forests primarily on the basis of nature to effectively re-establishing forests on the basis of correctly applying the laws that govern the growth of forests and biological laws with a view toward achieving optimum economic goals and developing the worthy position of the forestry trade in the building of the economy and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

II. The Specifics Involved in Establishing Stable, Centralized Commercial Forests

Establishing stable, centralized commercial forests first of all involves establishing forests that have a high yield and output and yield high economic returns, involves insuring that each unit of area, each element in the structure of the forests yields economic value. In other words, it involves reorganizing the forests in terms of both their form and their content and efficiently rearranging the composition of the forests in order to achieve optimum economic goals and provide the best possible protection against the elements. As a result, the specifics involved in the establishment of stable, centralized commercial forests are primarily expressed in the structure of the forests:

--Commercial forests that are developed from natural forests;

--Man-made forests that result from the improvement or replanting of natural forests or the planting of forests on land where forests have never existed;

--Centralized forests of localities that provide raw materials and fuels and household tree stands of the collectives of cooperatives and of the people.

The three above mentioned components of the commercial forests are to be established on a permanent and stable basis in commercial forestry areas that are under the business management responsibility of state-operated forestry units, collectives and the people and are to be closely coordinated within the scope of the district.

In the immediate future as well as over the long range, an efficient forest structure must first of all meet the forestry product needs of domestic consumption and exportation.

a) Although the natural forests in our country at this time that have rich or average reserves are not large, they do occupy an especially important position in export activities. As a result, the planned harvesting of the natural forests in order to produce a large quantity of forestry products for exportation as well as having an impact upon the regrowth of forests and rapidly planting forests are designed to further develop upon the strengths of the natural forests that lie within the general economic strategy of the entire country. Here, it is necessary to establish a good relationship between harvesting forests and improving and developing them. We should not allow the shortcomings in the old, backward methods of harvesting that have damaged the forests to prevent us from strongly raising the matter of harvesting the forests. In its correct scientific meaning, the harvesting of forestry products encompasses the improvement and development of the forests. As a result, the basic guideline in the development of the natural forests in the years to come is boldly applying economic-technical measures in order to convert the natural forests into stable, centralized commercial forests in conjunction with accelerating the harvesting of forestry products for exportation.

b) Man-made forests are established on the basis of improving depleted natural forests or planting new forests on fallow land and barren hills. Generally speaking, improving forests and replanting new forests are the most positive and effective ways to create sources of raw materials in accordance with industrial requirements. The general trend of modern forestry now that the level of the processing and use of wood has been raised is to place primary emphasis upon improving the natural forests in order to replant species of trees that grow rapidly, have an average hardness and diameter, bear high yields and have a short production cycle. If investments are made in intensive cultivation, these species of trees can produce from 200 to 400 cubic meters per hectare and grow at an annual rate of 20 to 40 cubic meters per hectare. In our country, we are fully capable of establishing forests with similar yields if we make appropriate investments.

Planting forests on fallow land and barren hills is extremely difficult and very costly (because it is necessary to employ many different measures, primarily improving the soil before planting). Therefore, concerted investments must be made during the initial years in order to fully replant commercial forests in areas that have pressing requirements (both economic and environmental) and places that have relatively favorable communications conditions, for example, sandy coastal

areas and hilly areas planned to supply lumber and firewood to the cities, towns and industrial complexes.

An efficiently structured man-made forest must have the following product structure: lumber of large sizes for capital construction, plywood, veneering, small pieces of wood for the production of paper, fiber, matches and pencils, wood for mine beams and various types of firewood. Particular importance must be attached to the various types of precious wood and special products that are an export strength, such as pitch pine, cinnamon, anise, *Mallotus philippinensis*, *Mayata* and so forth. The forest structure must be efficiently balanced between evergreen and deciduous trees, between trees that are harvested over a long cycle and trees that are harvested over a short cycle in order to create sources of raw materials that meet the rapidly rising needs of industry and create a stable eco-system for each microclimatic area.

c) The raw material and fuel forests of collectives and the tree stands of the people, of agencies and of schools occupy a very important position in that they help to complete the structure of the commercial forests of the entire country. In order to balance supply with the need for forestry products, it is first of all necessary to balance supply with the need for wood within each district, necessary to accelerate the planning of forests through the assigning of land and the assigning of forests in order to create raw material forests and family use forests within each village, cooperative, state farm, agency, school and so forth. The trees that are planted primarily consist of species that grow rapidly, have a short production cycle and produce a large quantity of firewood. The seed sources and experiences of the locality should be used in establishing special product forests that are suited to each area.

Although there is not much open land in the lowlands, the experience of 20 years of afforestation has clearly shown that if the planning of afforestation is based on coordinating agriculture, forestry, water conservancy, communications and the full use of land around homes and in area and plot embankments, we can establish forests that are very rich and diverse and that yield very large economic returns. Many districts and cooperatives in the lowlands and along the seacoast have developed creative ways to establish sources of raw materials for industry, small industry and the artisan trades within the locality, sources that annually produce much wood and firewood to meet the needs of the local people. In this way, if each district planted about 2 million trees at decentralized sites each year, it would realize an output of wood similar to that produced on 1,000 hectares of forests. Trees planted along field embankments to block the wind will also produce from 1 to 2 cubic meters of wood and 2 to 4 steres of firewood per hectare of farmland per year without affecting the amount of area in agricultural production.

III. The Basic Measures for Establishing Stable, Centralized Commercial Forests

1. Investments in depth are the basic method for achieving the goal of establishing stable, centralized commercial forests. Commercial forests are synonymous with high yield, pure forests that have favorable conditions for management and cultivation and for high yield harvesting and low production costs. These forests must be

intensively cultivated, consequently, we "must consider investments in afforestation the same as investments in the construction of new mines, must eventually cultivate forests as we do gardens." (1) Toward this end, concerted investments in the early establishment of raw material areas of high economic value must be closely linked to intensive cultivation on each unit of land and of each specific species. To begin with, priority must be given to forests producing large pieces of lumber for exportation, forests producing raw materials for the paper and textile industries, forests producing raw materials and special products of high export value, such as pitch pine, cinnamon, anise, *Mallotus philippinensis* and so forth. To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to conduct investigations and re-evaluate all resources, including forest reserves, the quality of forests and the potential of land, and, on this basis, to conduct planning and formulate plans for improving and establishing comprehensive, stable forests that are consistent with the actual capabilities and conditions of our country.

2. Combining forestry and agriculture is a method of intensive cultivation and an efficient mode of business. In the past, because agriculture and forestry were separated, disputes frequently occurred over forest land and land used to raise grain in the mountains and the midlands. The result was that the forests were seriously damaged but grain production did not increase and arable land was eroded due to the lack of forests to provide protection. "Closely combining forestry with agriculture and the processing industry even within each cooperative, state farm and forestry site within each district, each area in the mountains, the midlands and along the seacoast (2) will not only resolve the antagonism mentioned above, but will also closely link forestry to agricultural production and the processing industry within the scope of the district. This coordination can be established on the surface of land and in each canopy of the forest in order to make thorough use of the potential of land and climate and create an ecological balance. Facts have shown that by growing grain on improved forest land during the first two to three seasons and growing a companion crop for the next few years, it is still possible to achieve average yields of 0.7 to 1 ton of grain (in paddy equivalent) per hectare. Various types of special products, pharmaceutical products, *Agaricus rhinocerotis*, *Auricularia polytricha* and so forth or livestock being raised in the forests can develop well and produce a high income per unit of area. Of importance is the need to develop a correct and effective form and method of coordination in each area and locality; establishing coordinated agro-forestry models is an important guideline in developing forest assets.

3. Our country has 275 districts that have forests (180 districts have 10,000 or more hectares of forests). Therefore, intensifying the development of forestry on the district level is an extremely important requirement in managing the forestry business and protecting forests.

We advocate the improvement of a number of economic incentive policies with a view toward creating the conditions for the districts to endeavor to properly fulfill their forestry-agricultural management function or their agro-forestry management function. The important matter here is the sources of capital for developing the forests. To date, this capital has primarily been supplied by the state through capital construction investments. From now on, by "using the forests to develop the

forests" and implementing a policy of collecting revenue from the sale of standing trees in place of the policy of taxing forestry products in order to re-establish forests, we will gradually overcome the need for subsidies, eventually establish sector-wide cost accounting, practice strict economy in harvesting and, at the same time, have additional sources of capital for district budgets.

The policy of assigning land and assigning forests to working people implements their right of collective ownership in managing, protecting and developing the forests. Through this policy, the state encourages cooperatives to accelerate their harvesting in accordance with plans and planning and complete their delivery of primary products to the state; the secondary products, grain crops and special product crops that are harvested as a result of making full use of forest land are used by the collective and cooperative members. The state provides incentive for cooperatives to develop forests they establish by harvesting forestry products on improved and replanted forest land (in accordance with state planning); at the same time, it has broadened the scope of loans to cooperatives for the development of forests.

Work in the forestry trade is strenuous work and forestry workers and cooperative members work under extremely difficult and arduous conditions at a time when the very low prices of wood and the very low prices paid for planting forests cause forestry sites and cooperatives to constantly operate at a loss. As a result, it is necessary, in the immediate future, to fundamentally improve the entire system of forestry product prices so that they compensate for the materials that are used and the labor that is expended and provide a profit in order to create an atmosphere of enthusiasm among forestry production workers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "NHAN DAN Newspaper," 22 July 1976.
2. The resolution of the 2nd Party Plenum.

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CONCERNING THE THREE INTERESTS: THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY, THE INTERESTS OF THE COLLECTIVE AND THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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[Article by Phan Thanh]

[Text] In socialism, there is a unity of three interests: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual.

The interests of society are not the simple sum of individual interests. Karl Marx said that society is the "product of the impact that persons have upon one another"(1) and that society is a community of individuals who are closely linked by means of many political, economic, cultural and social relationships determined by ownership relationships.

Socialist society is a community of individuals who are closely linked by collective ownership relations, which are based on the public ownership of the instruments of production. Here, the interests of society are to constantly strengthen and develop the socialist production relations and continuously broaden, expand and develop production in accordance with the requirements of the basic economic law: "Satisfying the rising material and cultural needs of all of society better with each passing day by continuously developing and perfecting production on the basis of the system of collective ownership and a modern system of science and technology."

The individual under socialism is not an individual who acts on his own, who is separated from other persons and who is in opposition to society as is the case under the system of private ownership, rather, individuals are closely linked together and closely linked to society by means of the public ownership of the instruments of production.

The interests of the individual lie in participating in the ownership of the instruments of production and having the right to use these instruments of production in a manner consistent with their capabilities; in participating in management in the production process; and in enjoying the fruits of collective production on the basis of the specific contribution made by the individual.

The individual is linked to society by means of organization, not directly, but through the intermediary elements of an organizational system. In production, these elements

are the economic units within which each individual is closely linked to other individuals to form an organized collective that is assigned specific tasks and functions. For this reason, besides the interests of society and the interests of the individual, there are also the interests of the collective. The interests of the collective are to expand and develop the production capacity of the unit, strengthen and perfect the organizational and cooperative relationships within the unit with a view toward making the unit's collective a highly efficient collective production force, improve the working and living conditions of the collective and create the conditions for it to complete its production task well.

The above mentioned concepts of the three interests are determined by the objective position occupied by society, the collective and the individual within socialist production relations. Only by defining the three interests in a manner consistent with the objective position of these three entities is it possible to correctly establish the relationship among the three interests.

Once this has been established, the three interests are clearly identical to one another. This is evident in the following areas:

First, they are the prerequisite for one another.

The interests of society are identical to the interests of the collective because the strengthening of socialist production relations makes it possible for each production unit to be strengthened in terms of its organization and management and results in each unit operating in a wholesome manner that complies with regulations and policies. The development of socialist production forces and social production makes it possible for each unit to be fully supplied with capital, materials, machinery, equipment and parts. The growth of society's wealth gives each unit the ability to improve the working and living conditions of its collective of workers. The interests of society are also identical to the interests of the individual because, when the above mentioned interests of society are satisfied, the right of the individual to participate in ownership and to use the instruments of production is upheld, no individual faces the threat of falling victim to exploitation or unemployment and every individual has a base upon which to develop his abilities and strengths and has the conditions needed to satisfy his needs.

The interests of the collective are identical to the interests of society because the development of production by the unit's collective enables it to contribute more and more products to society, the strengthening of the unit's organization and management help to strengthen socialist production relations and the improvement of the welfare of the collective helps to improve the overall welfare of society and reduce the burden borne by society. The interests of the collective are identical to the interests of the individual because the development of the collective's production and the good organization and management of the collective are prerequisites to the individual developing his ability to work; the improvement of the working conditions of the unit creates the conditions for individuals to work better; and the improvement of the welfare of the collective helps the individual to improve his living conditions.

The interests of the individual are identical to the interests of society and the interests of the collective because, when the right to work of the individual is guaranteed and the individual's skills are developed, the individual will help to create much wealth for society and enrich the collective; when the individual is appropriately compensated for his work (in a manner consistent with the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor), the individual works with greater enthusiasm and creativity in order to help to develop social production.

Secondly, they have a reciprocal impact upon one another as the independent elements of an entity do.

The relationship among the three interests is a perfect relationship not because these three interests are one, but primarily because they are different, because they occupy different positions but have a reciprocal impact upon one another and act as one another's base.

The position of the interests of society is determined by the existence of the system of public ownership of the instruments of production. This system causes the interests of society to play the dominant role. The interests of society are not the sum total of the interests of collectives and the interests of individuals, rather, these three interests are combined interests and the interests of society are viewed as a part of them. The interests of society control each interest. K. Marx said: "Only within a community can there be individual freedom." (3) Translated in economic terms, we can say that "only by satisfying the interests of society is it possible to satisfy the interests of the individual." President Ho said: "In the socialist and communist system, a system of which the working people are the masters, everyone is a part of the collective, occupies a certain position and contributes labor to society. Therefore, individual interests lie within the interests of the collective and are part of the interests of the collective. When the common interests of the collective are satisfied, the conditions exist for satisfying the personal interests of the individual." (4) If socialist production relations are not strengthened, if production is not developed and if the wealth of society is not increased, the interests of the individual, such as a job and the needs of everyday life, cannot be satisfied and production units do not have the conditions needed to develop their production and business.

The position of the interests of the collective is determined by the inevitable nature, in terms of organization, of the collective. The interests of the collective are not the interests of individual collectives that are separated from one another as guilds are nor are they the interests of an arithmetic unit that is added to the interests of society as though the interests of the collective were a quantity incorporated in the common interests of society. They are the interests of a cell of the social economy. The satisfying of the interests of the collective have an impact in many areas upon the interests of society and helps to improve the interests of society both quantitatively and qualitatively. The interests of the collective also are not the total of individual interests or of components of individual interests. The interests of the collective are the interests of the entire unit as a whole, consequently, they cannot be divided. Every individual enjoys the interests of the

collective not as a person to whom something of collective interests is distributed, but as a member of the collective who participates in the interests of the collective.

The position of the interests of the individual is determined by the position of the individual in society. According to the viewpoint of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, the ultimate objective of the liberation of society is the liberation of the individual. The objective of communism is to build a society in which each individual is able to satisfy his needs more fully with each passing day and, as a result, develops in a free and comprehensive manner. Therefore, the interests of the individual are the ultimate objective of production. The interests of the individual are not the interests of each individual person detached from society and the collective as under the system of private ownership nor are they the interests of individual arithmetic units that are added together to form the interests of society. Every individual is a unit but a unit is closely linked to the collective and society by means of diverse social relations. When the interests of the individual are satisfied, these social relations are consolidated, strengthened and developed and the interests of society and the interests of the collective are also enhanced. Because, in this case, the individual becomes even more closely linked to the collective within economic, political, cultural and social relations. When the individual sees himself as a true master, he will make every effort in his work for the collective, for society. It is in this manner that the prediction of K. Marx and F. Engels is realized: "The free development of each person is the prerequisite for the free development of everyone."(5)

Implementing the three interests involves concretizing the effort to uphold the right of ownership of the working people throughout the country, within each locality and at each installation, involves coordinating ownership by the community and by each person.

Thirdly, the unity of these three interests lies in the fact that each entity, that is, society, the collective and the individual, embodies all three interests.

Society directly embodies the interests of society. However, with public ownership of the instruments of production, the interests of society are also the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual. They are not the direct interests of the collective and the individual but interests in which the collective and the individual participate through intermediary relationships. The public ownership of the instruments of production is a direct interest of society, is an interests of society. However, through the transfer of instruments of production to collectives and individuals for use, society converts its interests into the interests of the collective and the individual. Society owns the instruments of production not for the sake of the interests of society but for the sake of the interests of the collective and the individual. Thus, society embodies all three interests, embodies the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual.

The collective directly embodies the interests of the collective. Viewed from the perspective of a cell of society, the interests of the collective are also the interests of society. Viewed from the perspective of being a collective of individuals

who have been reorganized, the interests of the collective are also the interests of each individual. The development of the production of the collective by means of using all of the potentials of the unit, for example, is not only in the interest of the collective, but also in the interest of society and the interest of the individual. The collective directly embodies the interests of the collective; at the same time, through intermediary elements, it also embodies the interests of society and the interests of the individual. By delivering products to society, the collective satisfies the interests of society; by establishing award and bonus funds and increasing the wage fund, the collective satisfies the interests of the individual; by developing production, the collective insures that the individual has work to perform. Thus, the collective embodies all three interests: the interests of the collective, the interests of society and the interests of the individual.

The individual directly embodies the interests of the individual but the interests of the individual as a member of the collective and society always embody the interests of society and of the collective. Even the satisfying of the needs of the individual, which, at first glance, only appears to be related to the interests of the individual, is actually also in the interest of society. When the daily needs of the individual are satisfied, the energy expended by the individual in his work is restored and nurtured. This energy is part of collective labor and social labor. Therefore, the interests of the laborer here are also the interests of society and the collective. These interests are satisfied through the intermediary element of satisfying the interests of the laborer. Thus, the individual also embodies all three interests: the interests of the individual, the interests of the collective and the interests of society.

The unity of the three interests as presented above is a basic characteristic of the system of collective ownership. However, this unity of interests also embodies, rather than excludes, antagonisms.

The needs of society are to constantly strengthen production relations and develop production in order to satisfy the constantly rising material and spiritual needs of society and its members. These are the needs of a large community viewed in its entirety. These needs are never the same as the needs of the collective and the needs of the individual. On the basis of its own needs, society must frequently concern itself primarily with the interests of the whole, with the basic and long-range interests of all of society. Consequently, it is possible for antagonisms to develop between the interests of society as a whole and the immediate interests of the collective and the individual. These antagonisms can sometimes become sharp, especially in cases in which society has no correct measures for maintaining the objective unity of the three interests.

The need of the collective is to fully develop its capabilities in the areas of organization, management, materials and capital in order to develop the unit's production in accordance with the functions and tasks assigned to it. However, this need of the collective is not always consistent with the interests of society. Because, on the basis of its own particular needs, a unit can sometimes pursue its own narrow interests to the detriment of the interests of society. The needs of the collective are not always consistent with the interests of the individual. Because, on the basis

of the needs of the collective, a unit might sometimes request that individuals work harder, might reduce the amount of manpower on one job in order to provide more manpower on another job, thus making it impossible for the individual laborer to adjust promptly or create an imbalance among the production development fund, the welfare fund and the award and bonus fund. An antagonism between the interests of the collective and the interests of society can become sharp when the collective falls victim to the partialism and localism of guilds. An antagonism between the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual can become sharp when the leadership of the unit is impetuous and bases its actions on subjective considerations.

The needs of the individual are the needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care, education, transportation, entertainment, cultural activities and the indispensable condition needed to satisfy these needs, work as a means of earning a living. Examined from the point of view of each individual, these are purely individual needs. These needs might not always be consistent with the interests of society and the collective. In particular, when the daily needs of the individual far exceed the supply capabilities of society, far exceed the contribution made by the individual to the collective and society, when the labor of the individual does not meet the requirements of society and the collective and is not commensurate with the remuneration from society and the collective, the interests of the individual will be in sharp conflict with the interests of the collective and the interests of society.

The unity of the three interests is an objective inevitability, is an objective law of the socialist economy. However, this unity does not occur automatically, rather, it is implemented through the management activities of the state, the representative of all of society, with a view toward overcoming the antagonisms mentioned above.

When this unity is maintained, the social economy develops in a wholesome manner. In opposite cases, the development of the economy is impeded and the economy can stand still or decline, even be undermined.

The unity of the three interests is usually broken when one of the three interests is overemphasized to the detriment of the other two. In actuality, two completely opposite cases have occurred: either attaching too much importance to the interests of society and giving light attention to the interests of the collective and the interests of the laborer in purchases, the fulfillment of obligations and so forth or heavily emphasizing the interests of the individual and the collective, as has been the case in the deviations of some enterprises in the implementation of independent production plans and plans for the production of subsidiary products, etc. Both of these cases lead to the undermining of the unity of the three interests, consequently, they harm all three interests and, in the end, destroy the moving forces behind economic development.

Facts have clearly shown that when too much importance is attached to the interests of the state and the interests of the individual are harmed, the antagonism between the interests of the state and the interests of the collective and the individual becomes so sharp that the individual and the collective lose interest in production and, in the end, the state also fails to realize its interests. A specific example of this is the establishment of low purchasing prices that are seemingly in the favor of the state but which, in the end, result in the state not being able to make purchases.

Facts have also clearly shown that when too much importance is attached to the interests of the individual and the interests of the collective, even though the individual and the collective might realize a small, immediate gain, because the interests of the state have been harmed, the overall production conditions of society are not improved and might even deteriorate, thereby harming the interests of the collective and the individual as well.

Maintaining the unity of the three interests creates a combined moving force that stimulates the development of production. Establishing a unity of the three interests means implementing the principle "that which benefits society also benefits the individual and the collective and vice versa."

When the interests of society are guaranteed, it means that favorable conditions have emerged for the overall economic development of society. This is the strongest source of stimulation for the development of the production of all of society. It is a guarantee that the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual will be more fully satisfied with each passing day. When the interests of the collective and the individual are satisfied, each collective and each individual is more interested in production and is more closely linked to society in every relationship. This creates tremendous motivation, motivation that is manifested in enthusiasm for work, in creativity in work, in smooth coordination and cooperation in work, in the emulation movement of the collective. It is a force that directly stimulates the development of production at installations.

This force is formed on a society-wide scale, at each economic installation and within each individual; these forces have a reciprocal effect upon one another and create the force of collective ownership in all areas: the individual, the collective and society. By realizing his interests in a manner closely linked to the interests of the collective and the interests of society, every individual is truly a master, is fully conscious of the rights and obligations of a master: being the master in his creative labors, being the master in management at the installation and being the master in the fulfillment of obligations to society. The same holds true with each collective, and it becomes united in its role as true master at the installation with the awareness that it is one of the masters of the social community. The same holds true with regard to society; through the state, it exercises its mastery over all of its activities, not for the sake of the interests of an abstract community, but the interests of a social community in which there is harmonious coordination of the interests of society with the interests of each collective and each individual. For this reason, Le Duan pointed out: "In the system of collective ownership, the interests of all of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer are one and the same. This oneness among these three interests is a basic characteristic of the system of socialist collective ownership and is a very important moving force in building the new society, developing the economy and accelerating production."(6)

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume II, p 540.

2. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 24.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels: "German Ideology," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 89.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 105.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 51.
6. Le Duan: "Hien phap moi, hien phap cua che do lam chu tap the xa hoi chu nghia," [The New Constitution, the Constitution of the System of Socialist Collective Ownership], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 12.

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THE SCIENTIFIC NATURE OF THE NEW FORM OF CONTRACTS AT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

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[Article by Hong Giao]

[Text] The salient feature of the new form of contract at agricultural cooperatives is that it creates a strong moving force for the productive labor movement. This force arises directly from the stimulation of the interests of the individual; however, the origin of this force is not the separate activities of individuals, but the new relations in collective labor. Therefore, analyzing these new relations is necessary in order to gain a clear understanding of the nature of the new contracts.

I. From Piece-Work Contracts to Product Contracts

The new form of contract is called the product contract to differentiate it from the old form of contract, the piece-work contract. Thus, in the new form of contract, are there piece-work contracts and, if so, why have they been changed to product contracts?

To begin with, the new contracts as well as the old contracts implement the "three contracts" system of cooperatives as regards the basic production units. The "three contracts" for production units (the output contract, the material costs contract and the workpoints contract) are a form of product contract for collectives.

Piece-work contracts for groups or individuals is a method of organizing the labor within the production unit in order to implement the "three contracts" of the production unit. The piece-work contract, which is based on quotas and piece-work wages with appended bonuses and penalties, closely links the labor performed by the individual to the results of work and to remuneration, consequently, it has the effect of providing incentive for work. However, piece-work contracts were not implemented correctly and, in fact, could not be easily implemented under the circumstances of decentralized agricultural production involving primarily manual labor and a low level of management. For this reason, only a few advanced cooperatives were able to implement these contracts well; at these cooperatives, the superior nature of collective labor was displayed primarily on the basis of the piece-work contract system.

Of course, the piece-work contract, which had inherent drawbacks, only linked the labor performed by the individual to the final product in an indirect manner. This occurred because of the specialization of labor by job; each type of labor was associated with a specific job and the final product was the result of the labor performed in all of the jobs along the production line. Under these conditions, if sole emphasis was placed upon organizing specialized units, as actually occurred, thus weakening the role played by the basic production unit and failing to establish cooperation in labor, the laborers in the various jobs become totally separated from one another, each person only knows his job and, as a result, the attitude of "chasing after workpoints" develops and no one is concerned with the final product. On the other hand, under piece-work contracts, labor was measured on the basis of the work day; if labor quotas and wages were not reasonable, the practice of "awarding workpoints for work not performed" developed and this attitude gave rise to the guild mentality in collective labor and to averaging in labor and distribution.

It was in this situation that the contract for families emerged in a spontaneous fashion. This contract was also called the "household contract" because it directly linked the labor and the interests of the individual to the final product; therefore, it provided rather strong incentive for production. However, because it was not based on carefully calculated contract quotas and because, under this contract, all jobs in the production process were turned over to families, the specialized division of labor within the production unit was abolished. Production became decentralized and unorganized and collective production relations were weakened.

The product contracts with labor groups and laborers, which were established in accordance with Party Secretariat directive number 100, are a new form of contracts based on summarizing the experiences and innovations of the various localities and applying scientific knowledge in the organization of labor and the payment of wages with a view toward improving and perfecting the contract system.

The special characteristic of the new contracting mechanism is that it coordinates piece-work contracts with output contracts per unit of land in order to assign contracts to individual laborers or groups of laborers. This method of contracting has created new relationships within the contracting mechanism:

First, whereas piece-work contracts only created an indirect link between the labor performed by the individual and the final product, the coordination of an output contract and a piece-work contract for groups of laborers or laborers creates a direct relationship between the amount of labor performed and the final product. The person who accepts such a contract not only concerns himself with the amount of work that must be completed, but must also concern himself with harvesting a specific output from the land for which he accepted the contract. In order to meet the output quota of his contract, the laborer must calculate the amount of labor to be performed, giving attention not only to the total amount, but also showing special concern for the quality of labor. The direct link between the amount of labor performed (both its quantity and quality) and the final results of this labor is established in the process of the labor performed by the person accepting the contract.

Secondly, under the new contracts, remuneration is still based on the amount of work contracted for and a specific number of mandays. However, the income per manday is

not only dependent upon the completion of the amount of work called for in the contract, but also dependent upon the fulfillment of the contract output, consequently, income per manday can rise or fall depending upon the amount of output produced. If the required output is not met and, as a result compensation must be paid, the income per manday declines. This serves the function of a penalty and expresses the material responsibility of the laborer to the final results of products. If the contract output quota is exceeded, the laborer receives part of the extra output produced, and this serves the function of a bonus. In addition, the product that exceeds the contract output quota is also the result of supplemental investments made by the person who accepts the contract.

Whereas bonuses and penalties were closely linked to piece-work contracts, now, they are separated from the contract and closely linked to the output. The income per manday of the laborer has the significance of a basic wage that is enough to replenish the energies expended in labor, consequently, it insures that the laborer engages in production with a feeling of security; the possibility of exceeding the contract output as well as the possibility of falling short of the contract output encourage the laborer to raise his labor productivity in order to guarantee his basic income and earn supplemental income.

Thirdly, in order to implement product contracting with groups of laborers and laborers and remunerate them in the manner analyzed above, it is essential to establish specific, accurate quotas for each different field in order to lay the basis for granting and accepting contracts.

On the basis of these quotas, it is possible to establish a relatively accurate number of mandays required and the value of each manday to serve as measurements of the amount of labor expended and for use in distribution in accordance with labor. Only with these measurements is it possible to carry out product contracting in a correct manner, clearly define the obligations and interests of the individual, smoothly combine the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual and eliminate averaging in labor and distribution.

Fourthly, when accurate quotas and an accurate measurement of labor (the manday) are established, they provide the basis for carrying out a division of labor and assigning fields in a planned manner consistent with the labor capabilities of each person and each family so that someone is responsible for each field and the work performed in it. By establishing reasonable quotas in order to assign contracts to laborers, the decentralization and fragmentation of fields that results from assigning fields on the basis of averages (some near some far away, some of poor quality and some of high quality) is avoided. The close link established between labor and land for each person and each field permits the laborer to display initiative and creativity in the production process and guarantees the results of agricultural production.

In view of the characteristics mentioned above, the new contracts are in the nature of product contracts. They are different from the old contracts but, instead of negating piece-work contracts, they demand and create the conditions for the improvement of piece-work contracts as a basis for product contracts. If importance is not attached to calculating specific quotas and correctly calculating the measurement of labor,

that is, the manday, the new contracts will easily become contracts in name only and still fail to eliminate the use of averages in labor and distribution. On the other hand, although the new contracts involve a mode of contracting for individuals and families, they are not the same as the "household contracts" of past years. If we think that the new contracts only serve to legitimize "lax contracts" and are merely designed to stimulate personal interests, if we do not set correct labor quotas and if we do not specialize labor, decentralization will result.

The new contracts reflect the creative application of product contracts within agriculture, create material concern on the part of the laborer for the results of the labor performed by everyone and tap the spirit of responsibility, the initiative and the creativity of everyone in collective labor, consequently, they develop the strength of collective labor, become a strong moving force in productive labor and further improve the socialist production relations within agriculture.

II. Organizing Cooperation in Labor on the Basis of a Division of Labor in Order To Utilize Final Product Contracts

The process of agricultural labor consists of many different jobs divided into various stages and the product only assumes its final form when the production process has been completed. However, the final product is not the result merely of the last stage of work, but the result of all stages in the work process. Therefore, if product contracts are only utilized in one stage, even if it is the final stage, the stage of harvest, they are still piece-work contracts. On the other hand, if a contract is assigned for all of the various stages in order to closely link them to the final product, the laborer must undertake the entire production process himself and the specialized units are abolished, thereby decentralizing production.

Thus, how is it possible to utilize final product contracts for groups of laborers and laborers without falling into decentralization?

In the process of agricultural labor, there are some jobs for which labor is more highly equipped with technology and which require the specialization of labor, the organization of labor into specialized units and teams on a cooperative or production unit scale. In the crop production sector, these jobs are seed production, the preparation of fields, irrigation, drainage, the processing of fertilizer, insect and disease control and so forth. In the livestock production sector, they are the production of breeding stock and feed, veterinary activities and so forth. These jobs represent the level of technological development of agricultural labor and are directly linked to the material-technical bases of the cooperative and the specialized technical systems of the state (seed farms, tractor stations, farmland water conservancy corporations and so forth). These jobs play the role of determining the level of centralization of production and production technology.

Directly linked to the final product and the stage in which the final product is formed are the stages of sowing and transplanting, fertilizing and harvesting; in livestock production, these stages are the various stages involved in raising livestock. In the crop production sector at this time, these jobs are primarily performed with rudimentary hand implements. In these jobs, the work skills of the individual and the diligence of the individual are of decisive significance in the final results of

the production process. For this reason, these jobs must be assigned to individuals (families) or small groups and directly linked to cropland.

Final product contracts for groups of laborers or individual laborers can be used in three stages--sowing and transplanting, fertilisation and harvesting--by means of assigning product contracts on the basis of quotas per a specific amount of farmland. As regards the labor of the specialized units and teams that perform one of the "five jobs," the contracts that are used are work volume contracts that are based on quotas and are closely linked to the final product by means of bonuses and penalties based on the percentage of the output completed under the contract that these teams and units are supporting.

This method of dividing the process of labor and implementing contracts creates the structure of a worksite style of division of labor in which the labor in the "three jobs" assigns contracts to individuals (families) or groups of laborers who are under the control of the "five jobs"; the labor in the "five jobs" of the specialized units and teams contracts with the "three jobs" and is under the inspection of the "three jobs." The jobs within these two systems are combined with one another on the basis of the principle of cooperation based on a division of labor so that the different jobs are performed either one after the other so that the "results of the labor of one person or group is the starting point of the labor of another person or group" or carried simultaneously so that they supplement one another and all labor is coordinated within a unified process of labor. In this division of labor, the labor in the "three jobs" is a component of collective labor and the final product is the result of the entire labor of the collective.

Thus, instead of abolishing the specialized division of labor, the final product contract has the specialized division of labor as its premise. By this means, the final product is implemented and, at the same time, the structure of the division of labor becomes efficient and consistent with the level of technical development of agriculture in the present stage.

Therefore, when using product contracts, it is impossible to only think about assigning contracts for the "three jobs" to laborers, rather, it is first of all necessary to perfect the division of labor, to strengthen the specialized units and teams in conjunction with organizing the groups or households accepting contracts; at the same time, the system of contracts for both the "three jobs" and the "five jobs" must be implemented well by means of contracting methods that are different but are closely linked to the final product. If light attention is given to managing and implementing contracts for the specialized units and teams that perform the "five jobs," it will be impossible to make good use of material-technical bases and create the conditions for labor and labor management in the "three jobs." In such cases, non-specific contracts easily result. Of course, at cooperatives whose specialized units and teams are still weak, it is possible, at first, to grant contracts to families to perform a number of jobs in addition to the "three jobs" but, it is necessary to provide unified management and close inspections while rapidly building the specialized units and teams to insure that final product contracts for the "three jobs" are based on a division of labor and cooperation in labor.

III. Product Contracts for Groups of Laborers and Individual Laborers

A product contract for a group of laborers is a contract for a collective while a product contract for an individual laborer is a contract for an individual and a family.

When agricultural production reaches a high level of centralization and involves modern technology, the product contract for a collective is suitable. A suitable form of organization for implementing product contracts for collectives is the permanent production team. However, if, under the present conditions of our agricultural production, we organized permanent production groups to undertake all production jobs, we would have to divide the basic production units into smaller units and abolish the specialized units, consequently, production would be decentralized. For this reason, it is possible to organize small groups within the basic production units in order to implement final product contracts for the "three jobs."

In view of the general situation at this time, product contracts for individuals are the universal form of contracts. However, we should not consider this form of contract to be the only one, rather, it is necessary, on the basis of the level of centralization of the production of each crop and species of livestock and the level of management of the cooperative, to utilize final product contracts for groups of laborers while preparing ourselves in terms of experience for the next stage of development when product contracts for collectives become the primary form.

Product contracts for laborers involve a division of labor among individuals for the purpose of implementing final product contracts for the "three jobs." However, when the use of product contracts for laborers is being considered it is absolutely necessary to closely link such contracts to the labor of a family.

The special characteristic of the product contract within agriculture is the assigning of cropland to the person who accepts the contract. After the contract has been accepted, the laborer organizes the labor of his family in order to carry out farming on this land. The situation then develops in a natural fashion so that the product contract becomes a subcontract for the family. The impact of this subcontracted labor goes beyond the scope of the product contract because it absorbs the source of capital of the laborer in production. In agriculture, the investment of capital by the person who accepts a contract is not merely limited to the purchasing of implements, but, more importantly, also involves the investment of additional labor and fertilizer in the improvement of the soil so that the fertility of the soil is increased, the level of intensive cultivation is raised and yield is increased as a result of which it is possible to collect a supplemental differential II land rent due to the output exceeding the contract quota. This is of very important significance when the economic forces of the cooperative are still weak and unable to fully develop the potential of their cropland and labor. Facts have shown that the impact of the product contract combined with the impact of subcontracting has yielded large results by not only developing the potential of labor, but also the potential of cropland, thus significantly increasing the quantity of grain produced.

The product contract for individual laborers is a form of family labor but not private labor. The laborer always works within the framework of the division of labor of the

collective and is still a part of the collective's labor. The new facet resulting from the impact of the new contract and the new division of labor is that the labor of the collective is manifested in the form of individual labor. This is in conflict with the old concept that collective labor is synonymous with group labor, that individual labor is synonymous with private labor. Marxism-Leninism considers collective labor to be a manifestation of the organic coordination of the labor of individuals in the form of collective labor within which each individual is an element of collective labor and, at the same time, represents collective labor. Collective labor is manifested as a unified labor and in the form of activities of every individual with smooth coordination between the collective and the individual, coordination that develops the strength of collective labor and taps the creativity of each individual.

In the product contract for laborers, the person who accepts the contract is an individual cooperative member. However, when they accept a contract, the individual cooperative members within a family together with the subsidiary labor of the family combine to form a family-size labor force. For this reason, the cooperative nature of collective labor does not change, the only changes are in the form and scale of this cooperation.

However, the labor cooperation of the family is not solely related to the collective, but also involves blood ties which, on the one hand, make it easy to establish a division of family labor but which, on the other hand, also make it easy for the old habits and the circumstances of the family to directly control this coordination. When undertaking the work of organizing and managing the labor of the family in order to execute their product contract, every family must be closely inspected and fully assisted to insure the correct implementation of the plan and the production regulations of the collective and avoid haphazard methods of operation or a low income as a result of encountering difficulties. In addition, the laborers of the family not only implement the product contract received from the collective economy, but also work on the "five percent plot" in the subsidiary economy of cooperative family members. Therefore, the question of planning family labor must be raised to insure that the contract received from the cooperative is executed well, enable the family to work well in the subsidiary economy and insure unity between the interests of the family and the interests of the cooperative and state.

Thus, through the product contract for individual cooperative members, the cooperative closely links the cooperative member family to the cooperative, thus broadening the management of the cooperative and the production unit from the scope of the internal organization to each family. A new relationship is established between the cooperative and the cooperative member family within which each cooperative member family exists as a cell of collective labor and, at the same time, as an economic segment supplementing the cooperative economy. This is a new form of the division of labor within agriculture--"coordinating the division of labor and the manual labor worksite with the distribution of contract labor," which is a special characteristic of the stage of the manual labor worksite.

The contracting mechanism and the structure of the division of labor presented above are forms of transition that will advance agriculture from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, are the primary elements of the process of the socialization of agricultural labor in the present stage.

THE TRAN PHU INDUSTRIAL-AGRICULTURAL FEDERATED TEA ENTERPRISE

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[Article by Nguyen Kim Phong]

[Text] The largest specialized and centralized tea growing area of Hoang Lien Son Province consists of four state farms and 83 cooperatives that raise tea, which supply raw materials to three tea processing enterprises (that have been constructed in this area and have a total capacity of 69 tons of fresh tea per day) under their present plans and will eventually provide a fully supply of raw materials so that the tea processing plants can operate at full capacity (at present they are only operating at 70 percent of capacity). Besides large-scale raw material production installations, such as the tea growing state farms, there are also satellite cooperatives that raise tea. However, if this large-scale raw material area were subdivided into many different independent areas operating for each enterprise, as was the case in previous years, the production and processing of tea would encounter more than a few obstacles, create waste and reduce economic efficiency.

Here, the specialized tea growing area lies within a centralized region and there are close ties between the production of raw materials (the growing of tea) and the processing of tea. The federation of tea growing and tea processing here will create the conditions for accelerating the centralization and specialization of production within the tea sector and gradually abolish duplication in the division of production management responsibilities between the central level and the local level and between the sectors and agencies that manage the same type of raw material and product; it will also make it possible for both the production of raw materials and the processing of tea to develop in a smooth and successful manner, effectively centralize the investment of science, technology and capital in the development of key projects in the growing and processing of tea and, on this basis, make it possible to establish a production and management plan that is suited to each stage of the production process and establish overall short-term and long-term plans for the entire large-scale, centralized tea growing area. Only in this way is it possible to establish the actual conditions needed to reduce production costs and reduce the cost of tea products, thereby insuring a profit in production and business and manifest the efficiency of the entire production process, from the creation of raw materials to the production of the final product.

Unifying the Planning and Plans for the Production of Raw Materials

After it was established, the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise accelerated the research of the replanning of the tea growing area to suit the new production task and provide a stable supply of raw materials for processing. The federated enterprise conducted an inventory, evaluated and classified all land under cultivation and recalculated the planting density and the average output and yield of tea of the entire federated enterprise and of each unit; on the basis of the data on the yield and the output of tea picked during each time period of the various tea seasons, it determined the laws governing the growth of the tea plants at the various state farms in order to assist in the management of the tea harvesting rate.

As regards the collective economic sectors, the federated enterprise has begun to re-examine all of the land under cultivation and the tea yields and output of the cooperatives within the area as well as the possibilities for opening new land to the cultivation of tea in order to include in the overall planning of the raw material production area that lies within the area of operation of the federated enterprise. It has classified these raw material production areas in order to lay the basis for establishing material-technical investment guidelines with a view toward raising the yield and output of tea through comprehensive intensive cultivation and the improvement of collective tea plantings.

On the basis of replanning the raw material production areas, the federated enterprise has begun to establish the production plans and product plans of the production units by assigning production rate plans for the main production season and adjusting the level of production of a few products to be consistent with the special characteristics of the production of the various units.

With the decentralized and independent production that existed previously (each enterprise and state farm only knew what they were doing), we were unable to make full use of production capacity and produce many products. The federation of production has created the conditions for centralizing production and resulted in higher economic returns from both production and processing, which has led to changes in quality in the business and production activities of the federated enterprise.

To assess the changes in the production of raw materials at the state farms during each specific period of time by means of periodic economic information, the federated enterprise has sent production rate cadres and technical cadres to personally assess the situation and guide the raw material production plans at key state farms, regulate the supply of raw materials, technical materials and means of transportation and insure a stable level of production for the state farms during each planning period. In this way and on the basis of the seasonal characteristics of tea growing, the federated enterprise has guided the various state farms in implementing the portion of the plan assigned to them and the production rate plan.

As a result of the centralization of production, supply operations have been reorganized to accurately and promptly support the production needs of the state farms.

The investment of technology in the intensive cultivation of tea has been carried out on the basis of forecasting the possibilities for the continued growth and production of buds by tea plants, thereby insuring the production of the output required under the plan. Guiding the picking of tea by means of technical measures that insure the mixture of raw materials has also helped to increase the output of raw materials during the harvesting season. Guidance insuring the centralized and flexible application of technical regulations in investments in the intensive cultivation of tea have begun to guarantee the rate at which raw materials are supplied to the processing installations.

Unifying the Production of Raw Materials and the Processing of Tea

Unifying the production of raw materials and the processing of tea within a federated enterprise has created the conditions for changing the previous relationships of a cooperative nature into a close alignment between the production of raw materials and processing under the unified guidance of one center. This is not a "forced marriage" between economic organizations nor an artificial economic relationship of a perfunctory, external nature established for the purpose of resolving the antagonisms between the producers and the processors of tea. To the contrary, it is the inevitable result of the development of production forces to a "degree" that requires a new and more complete form of production relations.

By reorganizing production into a tea production-processing federation, the federated enterprise created for itself the opportunity for endeavoring to achieve higher standards in production and created the conditions for implementing new organizational and management measures that could not be implemented previously, thereby tapping the initiative and creativity of the member units in production.

The federated enterprise is the organization that is responsible to the state for the results of the implementation of the legal plan norms and the organization that makes investments, acquires capital and conducts transactions with related agencies to insure the implementation of the production plan of the entire federated enterprise. In planning, the member units concern themselves with guiding production at the installations of which they are in charge. The federated enterprise controls the rate of production and guides the member units in contributing their manpower to the implementation of the overall production plan of the entire enterprise. Thus, the federated enterprise is the organization that maintains the cohesion of the member units in the production process. A new form of production relations has been established on the basis of the close alliance between the production of raw materials and processing. As a result, the lack of balance in production has been overcome and the results of production here are the combination of the results of the activities of all of the members of the federated enterprise.

Chiefly as a result of reorganizing production in this manner, we have been able to develop the strengths of each unit with a view toward supporting the business and production objectives of the entire federated enterprise. The reorganization of production in this manner has also created the conditions for the member units to display initiative and creativity in their production and business operations, especially in resolving weaknesses in the production and business processes of each member unit and the entire federated enterprise.

On the basis of the plan assigned to them, the member units can take the initiative and look for every possible way to increase their production capacity and develop each of their potentials in an effort to implement the overall plan well.

The member units are state tea farms that receive assistance from the federated enterprise in production to correct deviations in the harvesting of tea and deliver products in accordance with processing requirements so that the state farms have measures by which to guide the technical aspects of the cultivation and harvesting of raw materials that insure that qualitative standards are met. For example, when the growth potential of the tea plant during the main tea season was discovered, the federated enterprise guided the Tran Phu State Tea Farm in replacing the plan assigned to it at the start of the year with a plan for guiding the rate of harvesting of tea during the 3rd quarter. Under this production rate plan, the state farm produced 1,150 tons of fresh tea buds (the assigned plan called for 1,050 tons). With nearly 600 hectares under the cultivation of commercial tea, this state farm had never delivered more than 2,700 tons of fresh tea buds in 1 year. In 1980, having joined the federated enterprise, the state farm stabilized its organization, improved its management apparatus, reduced the number of sections from 11 to 6, assigned 26 administrative cadres to direct production work, began paying piecework wages, improved its planning and cost accounting, raised the output of fresh tea buds to 2,900 tons and maintained the quality of raw materials for the processing of exported black tea. The Au Lau State Tea Farm, which has been doing business in tea for 10 years, never produced more than 380 tons of fresh tea buds on its 280 hectares of commercial tea in any one year. After joining the federated enterprise, this state farm (which was once a poor production unit in Hoang Lien Son Province), with help putting its production and business operations on a regular basis, has stabilized its organization and the living conditions of its cadres, manual workers and civil servants, consequently, it raised the output of fresh tea buds to 367 tons in the 4th quarter of 1980 (the equivalent of its output for all of 1979). The Nghia Lo and Lien Son State Tea Farms, despite encountering very many difficulties caused by natural disasters, were still able to complete their primary production and business norms for 1980 as a result of the flexibility of the federated enterprise in planning and as a result of rebalancing the production capacity of these member units.

The tea processing plants within the federated enterprise have also undergone clear changes for the better. The Tran Phu Tea Processing Plant, which is the leading and the largest member unit, processes 1,300 of the federated enterprise's 2,200 tons of exported tea. When it joined the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise in 1980, the processing plant organized a new management system consisting of 10 persons in three sections (production rate, agricultural affairs and technology). The processing plant has implemented piecework wages with bonuses based on the stage of work, bonuses for exceeding quotas and extra bonuses for completing the plan during each period of time; it has organized free lunches and pays a bonus for working a high number of mandays and hours in coordination with teaching the sense of collective ownership to manual workers and civil servants. In its production operations, the processing plant organizes remedial training and the study of technical regulations by manual workers 15 days before the start of each production season; it has also revised economic-technical quotas to be consistent with the characteristics of tea grown in the mountains, improved technical regulations to be

consistent with the characteristics of the growing seasons, efficiently organized shipping and receiving, transportation and the weighing of cargo at both shipping and receiving points, enacted economic penalties for exceeding the allowable percentage of loss of fresh tea in transportation and processing and maintained labor discipline within the plant. As a result, the plant exceeded its plan quota on the processing of black tea for exportation and also organized the processing of more than 30 tons of general purpose tea for domestic consumption, thereby making a decisive contribution to the completion of the 1980 plan of the entire federated enterprise. The Nghia Lo Tea Processing Plant (which has a capacity of 13.5 tons of fresh tea buds per day) has also been reorganized and now has a management apparatus that consists of only six persons but this apparatus still manages production well and the plant's tea processing task has been excellently completed. The Yen Bai Tea Processing Plant, which raised its processing capacity from 13 to 21 tons of fresh tea buds per day and which received help from the federated enterprise in 1980 in reorganizing its production, has developed from a deficient unit into a good unit, completed its production task well and processed 150 more tons of black tea for exportation than last year. The central machine shop of the federated enterprise has been restored and, making full use of many pieces of old equipment and machines, has begun to supply equipment, machinery and implements for production to the member units.

The activities of the member units prove that the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise has never limited but has, to the contrary, successfully developed the initiative and creativity of these units in production and business.

Improving Relations with the Tea Growing Satellite Cooperatives and Participating in Local Economic Construction and Cultural Development

At present, in addition to its raw material production area (which only provides 50 percent of the raw materials for processing), the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise must rely upon dozens of tea growing cooperatives that serve as satellites supplying raw materials to it. The relationship between the federated enterprise and the tea growing cooperatives here concretely and directly manifests the economic relationship between the state and the collective. When this relationship is well established, the alliance of workers and farmers is also well established.

The federated enterprise has taken positive steps to help the cooperatives initiate the intensive cultivation of tea. Through contracts, the federated enterprise invested materials such as fertilizer, insecticide, spray tanks, knives for cutting tea and so forth in these cooperatives; organized short-term training classes in the techniques of cultivating and harvesting tea for cooperative cadres and members; sent technical cadres to help cooperatives harvest and cultivate tea; regularly held conferences to discuss raw material contracts with cooperatives; and promptly rewarded and praised collectives and individuals that recorded many achievements in the completion of their plan for the delivery of fresh tea buds to the federated enterprise. In 1980, the federated enterprise paid 8,000 dong in awards to cooperatives that completed their plans on the delivery of raw materials and awarded 1,000 dong to cadres who recorded achievements in helping cooperatives develop their tea production. As a result, in 1980, the tea growing cooperatives within the area supplied to the federated enterprise 4,700 tons of fresh tea buds; in particular, the tea growing cooperatives in Van Chan District supplied 600 tons more than they did the previous year.

The Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise is an enterprise of the central state that has participated in the economic and cultural development of the locality by contributing to the locality production and business experiences of large-scale socialist production and working with the locality to reorganize production within the tea sector in this area and build production and processing installations that are economically and technically compatible, with the federated enterprise playing the role of a leading unit. In 1980, the federated enterprise exceeded its state plan quota and contributed 80 percent of its accumulated capital, worth more than 11 million dong, to the local budget in order to increase the capability and responsibility of the locality in developing tea production. The federated enterprise also helped to build a number of roads in the locality and build public welfare projects worth hundreds of thousands of dong, thereby helping to further improve cultural life and social life within the locality.

The Problems that Must Be Resolved

The Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise has only been in existence for slightly more than 1 year and is in the process of being strengthened and perfected.

The results of the federated enterprise's activities are still greatly limited because it does not have a management apparatus or professional personnel who are suited to the production and business functions, tasks and objectives of a federated economic organization. The present management organization is not even suited to the mode of management of a federated enterprise because the influences of old work habits have not been overcome and because of a lack of minimum means (such as means of communication, economic information and so forth) in order to enable each member of the federated enterprise to truly display initiative and creativity in guiding production and providing professional management. All of the offices and sections of the federated enterprise lack skilled cadres, their organizational staffs are unstable and the structure of their apparatus still lacks a number of necessary professional components. Because it is a newly established economic-technical organization, organizational work is still marked by much confusion and there is a lack of experience; even the statutes of the federated enterprise have not been promulgated yet.

In order for the activities of the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise to reflect the efficiency of a new mode of management, it is of utmost importance to bring about a change in planning. First, it is necessary to clearly define the raw material production areas that are set aside for the federated enterprise in order to lay the legal groundwork for the federated enterprise to have a raw material production base that provides it with a stable supply of raw materials for processing. Secondly, it is necessary to maintain the major balances that serve as the basis for the activities of the federated enterprise and avoid upheavals in the process of implementing the plan. The authorized agencies must assign control figures on the basis of the realistic capabilities of the federated enterprise and should not assign control figures that are too high or are not balanced with the supply of materials as was the case in past years; this will enable the democratic and scientific nature of planning to be maintained.

In order for the economic information activities, the centralized, unified cost accounting and the internal accounting of the enterprise and the member units to be put on a regular basis and in order to heighten the effectiveness of the command of production, it is necessary to immediately strengthen the information system from the federated enterprise to the member units.

The matter of key importance in the operations of the Tran Phu Industrial-Agricultural Federated Tea Enterprise at this time is that of the intensive cultivation of tea. The tea plants at the state farms of the federated enterprise that grow the most tea have entered their 21st year (entered the final stage of their growth cycle); the level of intensive cultivation has been very low for a long time, the tea plants are of different varieties and their yield and output are low. At the state farms that have younger tea plants, importance has not been attached to the intensive cultivation of tea and there are spaces between tea plants or many have died. In the collective tea sector that supplies raw materials to the federated enterprise, the tea plants are full of strength but investments in intensive cultivation still fall far short of economic-technical requirements. Some policies (such as the grain policy) regarding tea growers here are not satisfactory and sometimes have the negative effect of causing tea growers to raise rice and subsidiary food crops or find work in other trades as a result of which tea plants become overgrown with weeds or are allowed to become old, so old that they cannot be harvested, their yield falls or they produce no output. In such a situation, if the amount of area put under the cultivation of new tea plants was expanded in a sweeping fashion and investments were not made in the intensive cultivation of existing tea plantings, the harm would be much larger. Therefore, it is necessary to boldly raise the issue of practicing intensive cultivation on existing tea plantings and improving the tea plantings that have long been abandoned or on which the density of plants is too low in order to uniformly raise the yields and outputs of all tea plantings; at the same time, importance must be attached to the limited expansion of the amount of area opened to tea cultivation within the state-operated areas that have been officially planned but are not now being fully utilized and, within these areas, intensive cultivation must be practiced from the very outset in order to achieve high yields and outputs and provide a stable supply of raw materials for processing. In the specialized tea growing area, the state must provide a supply of grain to tea growing cooperatives and deliver materials directly to the federated enterprise so that it can implement its two-way contracts with cooperatives. The prices of raw materials (fresh tea buds) and processed products (black tea for exportation) must be satisfactory, must be suited to each specific area in order to provide incentive to producers.

In addition, the state must concern itself with equipping the federated enterprise with necessary material bases in order to accelerate production and achieve high economic returns from the activities of this new type of federated economic organization.

STEPS IN THE REFORM OF EDUCATION

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 34-37 and 44

[Article by Nguyen Truong Khoa]

[Text] The Political Bureau resolution on educational reform signed on 11 January 1979 is considered the platform for training the new, socialist man in our country. The resolution set forth a task of strategic significance for a long stage of history, one that we must begin to carry out now in order to be able to complete it within the space of the next 20 years.

During the past 2 years, under the light of this resolution, education on the basic level has changed for the better or at least avoided retrogressing as a result of unexpected economic difficulties.

These achievements are the results of strengthening the leadership of education by the party committee echelons and governments in many localities. Practically all provincial and municipal party committees studied the Political Bureau resolution. Two-thirds of the provinces and municipalities held cadre conferences and adopted provincial or municipal party committee resolutions on education with a view toward implementing part of the overall program. Some provinces, such as Thai Binh, organized the dissemination of the resolution on educational reform all the way down to the village party organizations. The education sector organized a debate among all teachers. Many schools have helped the party committee echelon propagandize this resolution among the people. The various localities have focused their efforts on several jobs: improving the teaching of revolutionary ethics in the schools; improving the living conditions of teachers; mobilizing the people to repair and protect schools; and providing supplementary education for key cadres and outstanding youths.

Not only have the party committees at many places become aware of the issue and begun to intensify their leadership of educational work, but the mass organizations have also taken this opportunity to make practical contributions to the education of the young generation. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has intensified the campaign to socialist classroom collectives and strong chapters of the Teenagers' Unit within the schools. The Vietnam Women's Unit has also accelerated the movement to establish families of the new culture and is crystallizing the experience of "a good and kind

mother who raises obedient children that adhere to the five teachings of Uncle Ho." The Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions has also directed its various levels to mobilize their members to support the education of children. Some ministries have improved the organization and management of the training of technical labor within the sector and raised the matter of strengthening the vocational schools of the sector in keeping with the guidelines of the reform of education.

Educational activities are being controlled by objective conditions, such as the shortage of schools and teaching aids, the low level of education of many teachers, the difficulties still being encountered with living conditions in many localities, negative phenomena in society and so forth; however, some favorable factors are having a strong impact: the growth in the leadership and management of education, a corps of experienced educational cadres, the advances made in the movement of the people to build the education sector and the assistance of the fraternal countries.

The realities of educational reform over the past 2 years and more show that suitable steps in the reform of education are:

--Shifting from the old educational system to the new educational system under the program of reforming education in a gradual, sound and selective manner, not in a sweeping, reckless manner;

--Immediately implementing the policies and viewpoints that can be implemented, especially the policies that will bring about the change in education throughout society;

--Mobilizing the people, under the leadership of the various party organizations, to emulate to improve education in their locality and prepare the essential conditions for schools to accept the new educational program.

The shift to the new system of education must surely result in a higher quality of education. The 10 year general schools in the North and the 12 year general schools in the South will be replaced by a new system of general school education consisting of 12 years and divided into two levels: a 9 year basic general school level (accepting children beginning at age 6) and a 3 year middle school level. The graduates of the basic general school system can continue their education in the middle school system or can receive vocational training. The graduates of the middle school system can continue their education in college or receive vocational training. Thus, the new, 12 year system of education is a combination of general school education, education in labor and technical education plus occupational guidance; therefore, once they have completed each level of study, students will not have only received a basic academic and general school education, but can also immediately participate in productive labor or further develop their strengths and talents. Thus, the training objectives of the new general school will gradually move away from the extremely general standards of a fully developed person. On this basis, the program of education cannot fall into the tendency of attaching excessive importance to the formalization of thinking but must, instead, attach importance to practical application as well, to combining classical scientific knowledge with modern scientific knowledge under the light of modern science. The program will

allocate necessary time for teaching labor and practical application of technology (the basic general school system: 15 percent; the middle school system: 17 percent). The program will also give attention to the requirements regarding teaching art, physical culture, sports, military training, social activities and so forth. The program will also provide motivation for developing personal strengths and for gaining an understanding of one's locality.

The relationship between the system of general school education and the other systems of education has been more thoroughly researched in terms of function and quality. The pre-school system of education will prepare children 5 years of age with the skills needed to begin their studies. The vocational school system, which follows immediately after the general school system, has the responsibility of completing the training of the new worker. The general school system molds within the student the consciousness of working and work skills so that they can study a trade but does not forget to give students the ability to further their education, consequently, very much importance is attached to teaching students how to study on their own, to teaching foreign languages as a tool of communications and self-study. A small percentage of good students will be able to further their education through elective courses in order to prepare themselves for delving deeply into a specific field of science or art.

To date, the new educational program of the general schools has been completed following many years of testing each of its components and contributions by many skilled teachers and many scientists. However, the implementation of the new program must also be carried out cautiously because we must establish the necessary conditions in order to achieve the desired quality. The Council of Ministers has decided that the task of shifting to the new system of general school education will begin during the 1981-1982 school year; however, this must be done in a gradual and selective manner; the shift of the first grade classes to the new program of education will not be completed until the 1983-1984 school year. Thus, if we convert one grade per year to the new program, it will take 9 years to establish basic general schools operating under the new system. Meanwhile, we must also establish a suitable schedule for converting the middle school classes. Thus, it will not be until at least the 1991-1992 school year that all general schools in our country are shifted to the new system. This process, although somewhat lengthy, is a steady, sound process that will give us time to train teachers, build material bases, obtain enough paper for printing textbooks and so forth.

During the long period of this gradual but stable, scientific and revolutionary conversion to the new system of education, there are some jobs that can and must be performed now in keeping with the guidelines of educational reform.

First, we must launch a campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics at schools. This campaign should be based primarily on the five teachings of Uncle Ho: "Love the fatherland and love your compatriots, study well and work well; unite with others well and be well disciplined; maintain good personal hygiene; be humble, honest and brave." In the next several years, an effort must be made to bring about marked progress in the desire to learn and the spirit of responsibility in instruction, in order and discipline and in courtesy and the civilized style of life within the

schools. Many of the schools in our country, having experienced the war and been influenced by the social upheavals following the liberation of the South, are lax with regard to discipline, their facilities are shoddy and their activities are haphazard. Thus, it is first of all necessary to put the operation of schools on a regular basis on the basis of heightening the ethics of teachers and students and re-establishing a correct relationship between teachers and students, between the people and the school. Only in this way will schools be able to accept the new program of education.

Secondly, we must reform the examination system at general schools and the student recruitment system for colleges and vocational middle schools. Both of these systems have been very ineffective for a long time and failed to meet training objectives. The schools desire to train fully developed persons, train workers but when giving examinations or recruiting students, they only rely upon the results of written examinations in a few subjects. As a result, only by immediately revising the examination system at general schools along the lines of coordinating the evaluation of the results of regular learning and training during the school year or grade with an evaluation based on graduation examinations, promotion examinations or entrance examinations for classes for gifted students, colleges and vocational middle schools is it possible to insure that students will study in accordance with the objectives of training. If we do not improve the contents of education but do revise the method of evaluating the quality of education, it will be difficult to overcome many negative phenomena in the learning process, such as studying the wrong subjects, cramming and learning only from books.

Thirdly, we must provide occupational counselling within the general school and make effective use of general school graduates. At present, there are as many as 400,000 students who graduate from level II general schools and 100,000 students who graduate from level III general schools each year who have no place to further their education within the conventional schools but who are also not prepared to participate in productive labor. This situation has social consequences that are worthy of concern; there is a large number of youths who have received an education but do not know what to do or have no job; a number of other youths, who do have jobs, are not being used in a manner consistent with their level of education. As a result, they easily become dissatisfied; the remaining few fall into an "educational void," that is, they cannot be educated by anyone. This is a pressing social problem; it influences the will to learn of the students still in school. Some localities, schools and enterprises have become aware of this problem and have taken steps to provide students with additional general school training in technology and then use them in jobs requiring knowledge they have learned; one place has also decided to train good general school students to be an auxiliary force with which to improve the corps of core cadres within the locality. It has come time to make this matter part of the responsibility of the state and society and incorporate it within the official education regulations.

Fourthly, we must reform the elementary and advanced training of general school teachers. Teachers play the main role in maintaining the quality of education and in popularizing education. The preparation of teachers must be carried out in advance

of the implementation of the new educational program. It is regrettable, however, that this has not been done well. More than one-half of basic general school teachers fail to meet training standards; a significant percentage cannot be given advanced training because their cultural and ideological levels are too low. This is the result of a period of rapid development of education during which appropriate investments were not made in the training of teachers; in the South, it is an unavoidable consequence of history. The building of the corps of teachers is a matter of key importance in education and a pressing issue.

While making preparations for reforming training in the new teachers schools, we must, in the immediate future, concern ourselves with improving the living conditions of teachers, making every effort to provide teachers with advanced professional training, reorganizing the corps of teachers and transferring incompetent teachers to other jobs. In this area, the concern of the local party committees and governments is very necessary. More than a few localities have concerned themselves with teachers and have improved the living conditions of teachers and their families, heightened the social role played by teachers and upheld the tradition of respect for teachers among the people. These measures have helped to improve the quality of education.

Fifthly, we must reorganize the people's participation in the development of education. Our people, who have a traditional love of learning, have personally built the educational system, contributing as much as nine-tenths of the cost of education at some places; moreover, they also coordinate with the school in the education of their children, thus creating a favorable social environment for the formation of the new man. To date, however, this effort is unorganized and only involves the parents of students or a few "generous" persons. It is necessary to establish a widespread organization of the masses to represent all of society in this work. The Council of Ministers has decided to establish, on the level of the people's committees, a Council of Education with the task of contributing opinions to the local government concerning educational matters and the mobilization and utilization of the forces in society in the development of education in keeping with the guidelines of educational reform.

The Councils of Education will consist of representatives of the local party organization and government, representatives of the educational sector and a number of economic and cultural sectors, representatives of the mass organizations and some important production installations and a few individuals who have a deep understanding of and concern for education.

In the 2 years spent so far reforming education, which is a large and complex revolutionary undertaking, we have found the path for turning the party's line and policy concerning education into reality amidst a situation involving numerous difficulties. It is the path of making steady, gradual, scientific and revolutionary progress, of combining the immediate and the long-range, of coordinating the state with the people, of conducting serious scientific research while immediately performing those jobs that can be performed now.

THE KEY FACTORS OF ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 38-44

[Article by Tran Ngoc Thu]

[Text] Improving the ability to perform practical organizational work is a matter of very pressing importance to our party and state.

In the past, in Soviet Russia, after the new economic policy had been set forth, Lenin made the task of performing practical organizational work the task of foremost importance. He advocated shifting the focus of the work of the Soviet state "from drafting decrees and orders to selecting persons and inspecting implementation." (1) He stated: "At present, this is the key; if we do not do this, all orders and decisions will be nothing more than a pile of paper." (2)

The important lesson to be learned from Lenin's guidance is that once the line and policy have been established, once objectives and tasks have been improved, the focus of leadership must shift to the selection of personnel and the inspection of implementation; through these key activities, leadership must organize the implementation of the line and policy and turn them into reality.

The selection of personnel, that is, the assignment, deployment, transfer, promotion and replacement of cadres--occupies a position of special importance among the various elements of practical organizational work, from the making of specific decisions to the organizing of the apparatus, stipulating work methods, conducting inspections, reviewing implementation and so forth. Although we say that organizational work determines the implementation of lines and policies, in the final analysis, it is cadres--and, as a result, cadre work and the selection of cadres--that are of most decisive significance.

Concerning the selection of cadres, Lenin taught: the selection of cadres must be "carried out in such a way as to insure that the performance of work is always in the hands of cadres who have a total understanding of their specialized job and who can insure the success of their work." (3) Insuring the success of work is the basic principle in the selection, assignment, transfer, promotion and replacement of cadres. The sole objective of cadre work is to accelerate the revolution. For this reason, cadres must be selected and assigned on the basis of the revolution's demands

of each organization and in the way that best supports the fulfillment of the functions and tasks of the organization; neither jobs nor an organization should be established for the sake of the cadre.

Stating that the selection of cadres must be designed to insure the success of work also means that we must adhere to the correct viewpoint when evaluating cadres; at the same time, it is necessary to establish uniform requirements of each type cadre and, on this basis, act upon each specific case with a view toward creating suitability and balance between the abilities of the cadre and the work task assigned to him.

Cadres, regardless of their sector or level, must first be loyal to the revolutionary line of the party. This is the foremost requirement, not only of leadership cadres of the party, but also of every party member and every other revolutionary cadre.

Loyalty to the line must be expressed in a thorough understanding of this line, in total confidence and in struggling to the end for the victory of this line.

Difficulties are challenges to loyalty. In the face of the difficulties that the revolution encounters, the loyal person does not lose sight of his guidelines, does not become skeptical, does not waver; to the contrary, he always maintains firm confidence in the line, in the victory of the revolution and plays an even stronger vanguard role in the struggle to protect and implement the line. Only by relying upon cadres who are always firm, who unswervingly support the line and only by selecting and making worthwhile use of such cadres can the party turn its line and policies into reality.

In order to organize the successful implementation of the line and policies of the party, cadres must be very proficient in their work, must bring professional competence to the job of which they are in charge. Loyalty to the line is totally necessary but it is not enough for a cadre to complete his task. We should not emphasize loyalty to the point that it determines all the results of the energies expended in the organization of implementation. Lenin stated: "No dedication on the part of the party, no prestige of the party can replace the fundamental factor in this case: knowledge of one's job."(4)

In the past, in the national democratic revolution, the party also needed cadres who were skilled in their tasks. In the socialist revolution, this has become even more of a basic, pressing issue, so much so that it has almost become the primary factor determining the success of every job. This is because carrying out the socialist revolution involves a sharp, complex struggle, the primary element of which is not "destruction," not "toppling the old system," but combining transformation with construction in all fields of social life. It is because the management of socialist society is the management of an organized society consisting of very many delicate and complex sectors, which cannot function effectively if they do not adhere to the laws governing their operations, do not grasp management methods, technology and so forth. At this time, it is impossible to achieve success by means of general political leadership, by means of building revolutionary zeal. We must select cadres

who are well versed in their work, who have an understanding of management, of technology, of matters related to the guidance of implementation so that their knowledge is consistent with the task assigned to them; this is the method that must be employed to stimulate the performance of every task of the revolution.

When it shifted from the people's national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, it was impossible for our party to immediately establish a corps of leadership and guidance cadres who were skilled in every field of activity. Lenin said: simply because a class becomes the progressive class does not mean that this class immediately acquires management ability. Only by studying hard, by endeavoring to make progress is it possible to become proficient in management. After setting forth the new economic policy, Lenin appealed to the party: learn commerce! He advocated "replacing communist party members who do not seriously study management." (5) Today, delving deeply into the field of work of which we are in charge, making every effort to learn, learn management, learn technology, learn within the school and learn from practical experience, this is the path that will enable each of us to become persons who are expert in their work.

We also should not forget that in the years of the socialist revolution in the North and since the liberation of the South, our party and state have trained a rather large number of scientific-technical cadres and management cadres. This is a force that possesses necessary knowledge for economic management and social management. By correctly utilizing these cadres, providing them with other necessary advanced training, selecting and boldly promoting them to positions of leadership and guidance and by coordinating leadership cadres with management cadres and scientific-technical cadres, we will rapidly create forces of cadres who are proficient in their work, thereby correcting the practice of only providing general guidance and correcting deviations in guidance resulting from a lack of knowledge, both of which are posing obstacles to our practical organizational work.

In the period of the socialist revolution, in order for leadership and guidance cadres to complete their tasks, they must, in addition to being loyal to the line of the party and skilled in their occupation, also be skilled organizers.

Lenin said that the tasks of the socialist revolution cannot be carried out by means of "bravely charging forward," by means of "surprise attacks," rather, they must be carried out by means of patient, detailed organizational work. Therefore, the leadership and guidance cadres of today must be skilled in organization; this is a basic requirement in the quality of cadres, is a factor without which they cannot achieve success in their work.

The model of the leadership cadre in the socialist revolution was presented by Lenin when he analyzed Xvec-dlop [Vietnamese phonetics], the outstanding activist of the Soviet party and state. Lenin called Xvec-dlop "a person of unparalleled organizational skills," a person "with a special talent for organization," a person "who has forged for himself a distinctive ability for practical work, an outstanding talent for organization and irrefutable prestige." (6) Lenin's concept was extremely clear: the skill that the party demands of cadres who provide leadership and guidance in the socialist revolution is skill in organization. And, it was perfectly reasonable for him to call leadership and guidance cadres "organizers," "organization cadres" and he resolutely opposed the old habit of cadres, the habit of "doing virtually nothing outside of agitation."

What is a competent organizational cadre? In the face of each decision made by the party and state, the question facing the cadre is not that of gaining a thorough understanding of the decision or providing general ideological mobilization, rather, it is more important to organize, to make scientific calculations, to balance the various factors of the organization, to smoothly coordinate forces and harmoniously combine the various elements in the process of organizing implementation. This demands a grasp of the science and art of management, a grasp of policies and their good implementation, an understanding of the apparatus and the good organization of this apparatus so that cadre work and inspections are carried out well. It demands a spirit of resourcefulness and constantly being dynamic, flexible and creative for the sake of the objectives of the revolution. It demands the coordination of strategic vision and steadfast pursuit of basic objectives with endeavoring to achieve specific, immediate successes. Here, there is no need for "fine" words, for ostentatiousness, for anything that is "form for form's sake," rather, there is a need for an organized mind, for planning, practicality, realism, a constant concern for the efficiency of work, etc. We must know how to discover such cadres and only when we can firmly rely upon cadres who possess such organizational skills will the work of the revolution develop strongly.

Leadership and guidance cadres, in order to be able to complete their task, must know how to unite cadres (those on their own level and the lower levels as well) around themselves; they must always maintain close contact with the basic level, be close to the masses and know how to mobilize the masses. It is impossible to call a person a leadership cadre in the true meaning of the term if, in his work, he does not unite, rally and persuade the masses to follow his example.

Lenin frequently reminded us that when the party is in political power and leading the socialist revolution, the formidable dangers to the party are bureaucracy, being divorced from reality and being remote from the masses. If a cadre lives a life that is remote from the life of the people, if he lives in the style of a "revolutionary official" who works at his desk, rarely goes to installations, submerges himself in papers, in meetings and so forth, he will find it impossible to avoid becoming subjective, will not have a grasp of reality, will not have a grasp of his work and, as a result, will be unable to complete his task and will easily degenerate and become deviant.

Therefore, in the selection of leadership and guidance cadres, it is necessary to reject persons who are seriously afflicted with the maladies of bureaucracy and bossism, persons who are arrogant, elements that have degenerated and so forth; necessary to truly rely upon cadres who live closely to the people, who understand the attitudes of the people, who understand their true aspirations, who always endeavor to strengthen the relationship with the masses, who concern themselves with the vital interests of the masses and who, as a result, have the trust and support of the masses.

Selecting leadership and guidance cadres is difficult, complex work. A correct understanding and the rejection of erroneous viewpoints are prerequisites to the accurate selection and deployment of cadres. If, within each sector and level, the selection and deployment of cadres reach the point where the jobs of providing leadership

and guidance are assigned to cadres who firmly adhere to the revolutionary line of the party, possess the necessary knowledge of their work and the areas related to it, are proficient in the work of which they are in charge, truly possess organizational talent, are skilled in practical work, maintain close contacts with the basic level and are close to the masses--without discrimination based on age, level of education or past achievements--it will be one of the factors insuring the victory of socialism.

The task of improving the ability to perform practical organizational work demands, together with the correct selection of leadership and guidance cadres, the strong improvement of the inspection of implementation.

Inspecting implementation is an essential part of leadership. Leadership cannot merely be considered the work of formulating lines and policies, formulating positions and measures, organizing the apparatus and assigning cadres and that the inspection of implementation is work of a different type, work separated from leadership, work of a purely executive nature. The 4th National Congress of the Party affirmed: "Not conducting inspections is the same as not providing leadership."(7)

As we know, Lenin set an outstanding example of a leader. He, from his position as leader, emphasized the position occupied by inspections and always personally conducted inspections while requiring that all other cadres of the party and state concern themselves with inspecting implementation the same way he did. In letters to Txi-u-ru-pa [Vietnamese phonetics], the vice chairman of the Russian People's Council of Ministers, on reorganizing the work of the apparatus of the Soviet state when the country shifted to peaceful economic construction, Lenin requested that Txi-u-ru-pa "concentrate on inspecting implementation, on the struggle against bureaucracy and red tape." He stated that Txi-u-ru-pa's "primary and chief task" was to "inspect implementation and determine what is occurring in reality." He also requested that Txi-u-ru-pa "spend nine-tenths of his time" finding the right person for the job and inspecting work because "finding the right person for the job and inspecting work--everything lies therein."(8) Lenin's thinking was very clear: if we fail to inspect implementation, fail to observe and supervise and, instead "hide our heads" in meetings, in papers and trust everything to decrees and orders, every job will "proceed slowly," will be "lax"--and this will be the same as "unconsciously hanging ourselves."

Inspections are one of the main elements of leadership. Explaining "true leadership," Lenin said: "It is not doing 'everything' by 'oneself,' not working beyond one's capacity and still failing to succeed, not undertaking 20 different jobs at once and failing to complete any one job, rather, it is inspecting the work of tens and hundreds of assistants and organizing the inspection of their work from top to bottom, that is, organizing genuine inspection by the masses."(9)

Inspections help the leader to evaluate his decisions in order to determine whether they were correct or incorrect and, on this basis, to revise, supplement or concretize his initial decision so that the effectiveness of his leadership is constantly heightened and subjectiveness in leadership and guidance is avoided.

Through inspections, the leader learns how well his decision is being implemented and, as a result, is able to supervise, adjust and assist implementation. Inspections

create an urgent, positive pace of work at the units implementing decisions, thereby insuring that implementation is carried out smoothly, difficulties are promptly overcome, deviations are promptly prevented and so forth.

Inspections are an extremely effective measure for combating bureaucracy. The action of the leader himself regularly inspecting the lower level indicates that he has "pulled himself from the filthy swamp of bureaucracy"(Lenin); moreover, this is a way to constantly "reduce the number of officials"(Lenin), which is a requirement in building the party and the revolutionary state.

Inspections also have a large impact upon the correct selection of leadership and guidance cadres. It was not without meaning that Lenin considered the two jobs of selecting personnel and inspecting implementation to be the key to practical organizational work. It was also not without meaning when Lenin clearly stated: "It is necessary to inspect personnel and inspect the actual work being performed." (10) The matter to which attention must be given here is the need to assess the essence of the quality of cadres through inspections of their actual work. Without such inspections it is impossible to determine which cadres are good, which persons possess true ability but are not being appropriately utilized. On the other hand, without such inspections, it is also impossible to discover, in order to take correct action against or remove, decadent cadres, opportunists, braggarts, frauds and so forth, who are always called "revolutionary zealots," persons who have a "theory," etc.

Thus, inspecting implementation is an important, fundamental job of the leader, is the "key" to practical organizational work. It is not merely the work of a specialized agency, such as the Inspection Department, the Control Department and so forth, for example. Nor does it only have the purpose of uncovering and taking action against violations of the law, violations of the code of discipline and so forth. Its chief purpose is to insure unity between decisions and their implementation, insure that every decision is thoroughly implemented and, at the same time, guarantee the results of these decisions.

For a long time, we have, in our leadership and guidance, simply attached importance to issuing and disseminating resolutions. When one resolution is not implemented, another is issued. This is not a good way to work. This situation must be corrected by strengthening inspections.

What must be done to insure that inspections yield the desired results?

It is first necessary to emphasize the need for inspections to be personally carried out or organized by the leader. Light attention should not be given to increasing the strength of the specialized inspection and control agencies. However, regardless of how much these agencies are strengthened, they cannot replace the factor of prime importance: the leader conducting inspections on his own. Only the prestige, ability and authority of the leader can insure the highest possible results from inspections; at the same time, inspections help the leader to grasp the essence of each job.

The person who provides leadership and guidance must personally conduct inspections; however, it is also very necessary to gain the participation of the masses. Only when the masses participate in inspections can the leader fully grasp the situation. The masses will make suggestions about how to thoroughly stimulate the implementation of positions and policies. Participation by the masses in inspections and supervision makes an important contribution to the prevention of mistakes. When the masses participate in inspections and supervision, every mistake is exposed sooner or later. Obviously, gaining the participation of the masses in inspections and organizing routine inspections by workers, by the people are correct guidelines for increasing the effectiveness of inspections.

Having the masses participate in inspections is inextricably linked to the public conduct of inspections. Of course, there are some inspections that cannot be conducted publicly; generally speaking, however, conducting inspections in public has an important effect upon the results of inspections. The holding of public inspections helps to gain the participation of the masses in the effort to resolve problems related to their lives and, moreover, to the general interests of the revolution. The holding of public inspections creates an atmosphere in which no mistake is tolerated, consequently, public inspections stimulate the rectification of mistakes and prevent erroneous thinking.

It is necessary to combat the tendency to conceal the specifics involved in inspections, especially to conceal mistakes and shortcomings, which Lenin considered to be "ignorant" and "a very serious mistake in principle." Such concealment only limits the participation of the masses in revolutionary work and means that mistakes and shortcomings are being tolerated.

Inspections must be carried out on a regular basis and must encompass every sector, every level and every field of activity of the party and state. Of course, when necessary, leaders must organize unscheduled inspections but this is not of prime importance. Of prime importance is organizing inspection work in such a way that inspections are conducted on a routine, uniform basis on every level and within every sector and unit in production as well as circulation-distribution, in the economic field as well as the fields of culture and politics and so forth. We should not wait until a problem arises before conducting an inspection because this actually separated inspection work from leadership, results in lax leadership and places leadership in a passive position. If leaders do not conduct routine, uniform, widespread inspections, stagnation and negative factors will appear sooner or later, even in advanced units, and good cadres can gradually lose their good qualities.

At present, now that the basic matters in the line on the socialist revolution have been correctly decided and are being constantly improved and concretized, the matter of improving the ability of our party and state to perform practical organizational work, manage the economy and manage society has become an extremely pressing matter.

Selecting cadres and inspecting implementation are not all that is involved in practical organizational work but are the important, key jobs in this work; if these jobs are not performed well, none of our efforts will be successful.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 449.
2. Ibid., p 450.
3. Ibid., Volume 41, p 349.
4. Ibid., Volume 45, p 509.
5. Ibid., Volume 44, p 453.
6. See V.I. Lenin: "Eulogy for Svedlov," Complete Works, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, pp 91-98.
7. The Political Report at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 193.
8. See V.I. Lenin: "Letters to Txi-u-ru-pa [Vietnamese phonetics]," Complete Works, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, pp 445-453.
9. Ibid., Volume 43, p 293.
10. Ibid., Volume 45, p 19.

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CSO: 4209/22

**ENDEAVORING TO SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETE THE ISSUANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS
IN LATE 1981**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 45-49 and 59

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Since 1980, in keeping with the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, our party, for the first time in its history, has been issuing party membership cards. Party Secretariat directive number 183 on the issuance of party membership cards clearly states: "Issuing party membership cards is important work of profound political educational significance in further heightening the sense of partyhood, the spirit of revolutionary struggle, the sense of organization and discipline and internal unity; in stimulating the 'campaign to build a strong and pure party'; in putting the management of party members on a regular basis and preventing the enemy and decadent elements from infiltrating the party." In this significance, the issuance of party membership cards is designed to improve the quality of party members, improve the personal qualities and character of party members, expel unqualified persons from the party, strengthen the basic organizations of the party and make a positive contribution to building a pure and strong party.

The first phase in the issuance of party membership cards began on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party (3 February 1980). To date, our party has conducted six phases. Sixty-five percent of the basic organizations of the party and more than 66 percent of the total number of party members have had the honor of receiving party membership cards.

At the places at which party membership cards have been issued, all party members, from high ranking cadres to rank and file party members, engaged in self-criticism before the party chapter in accordance with the requirements regarding the qualifications of party members, the task of party members and the 10 points set forth in Party Secretariat directive number 72. The party chapters conducted secret votes to determine which party members were qualified and worthy to receive party membership cards and determine which party members had committed shortcomings or had points in their personal histories that were unclear and to whom the issuance of membership cards had to be postponed so that these party members could be educated and their backgrounds further investigated or expelled from the party for being unqualified.

Generally speaking, the recent phases in the issuance of party membership cards have led to important results. Through criticism and self-criticism and the verification of party member qualifications within the party chapters in coordination with the evaluations and criticisms of the masses, party members have further heightened their sense of partyhood, their sense of organization and discipline and the spirit of revolutionary struggle. Cadres and party members who committed shortcomings in their work, in the implementation of the policies of the party and state and in their attitude toward the masses as well as mistakes and shortcomings in their daily lives were inspected and educated by the party chapter, realized their responsibilities and struggled with themselves to rectify their shortcomings. Unqualified persons were expelled from the party in a more positive spirit. In many party organizations a significant step was taken in the effort to overcome negative phenomena. These actions made an important contribution to future strengthening and purifying the organizations of the party, the agencies of the state and the mass organizations, especially on the basic level. The solidarity within the party has been strengthened. The issuance of party membership cards has helped to stimulate the performance of the immediate political tasks of installations, took an important step toward correcting the laxity in the management of party members, toward gradually putting the activities of the party chapters on a regular basis and so forth.

However, in the recent phases in the issuance of party membership cards, shortcomings have been committed at one place or another. The matter of decisive significance in the issuance of party membership cards is to correctly determine the qualifications of the party member. However, at some basic organizations of the party, cadres and party members have not truly understood the spirit of the directive of the Party Central Committee concerning the issuance of party membership cards and have not fully adhered to the requirements concerning party member qualifications and concerning the tasks of party members either because of relationships involving family, neighbors or acquaintances, trying to save face or the thinking "let us take it easy with them and they will take it easy with us," as a result of which the requirements regarding party member qualifications are lowered. In some cases in which party members should have been re-educated for a time party organizations still decided to issue them membership cards. There have even been some persons who should have been expelled from the party who received membership cards. Although it has been given more attention, the expulsion of unqualified party members has still been slow and has not been carried out in a determined manner. Many party organizations have postponed the issuance of party membership cards instead of expelling some unqualified members from the party. At many places, the issuance of membership cards to cadres who hold positions of authority has been marked by hesitancy and indulgence. On the other hand, there have also been cases of attacking and looking for ways to expel from the party good persons who forthrightly struggle or do not "join in." Many party committees have only concentrated on strengthening a number of basic organizations of the party in preparation for issuing party membership cards to them but have not adopted plans or measures for strengthening the other basic organizations. The guidance provided by many party committees in the issuance of party membership cards in the recent past has been somewhat lax and was not as close as the guidance provided in the early phases. Many places have not closely linked the issuance of

party membership cards to the production movement, to the movement to maintain security, to the movement to combat negative phenomena and so forth nor have they closely linked the building of the party to the revolutionary movements of the masses.

In order to do a good job of issuing party membership cards in the coming phases, we must give attention to correcting the shortcomings mentioned above; at the same time, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the present requirements of the issuance of party membership cards. The resolution of the 9th Party Plenum stated: "The issuance of party membership cards must be completed by late 1981." The Political Bureau has also pointed out: "Between now and the end of 1981, efforts must be focused on providing good guidance of the issuance of party membership cards and closely linking it to the strengthening of party chapters. This must be considered an important measure in strengthening the party, educating party members, purifying the party's corps and stimulating the performance of immediate tasks. We must strengthen the party so that we can issue party membership cards; however, the issuance of party membership cards must be utilized as a way to strengthen the party."

At present, the issuance of party membership cards must fully reflect the spirit of the above mentioned guidance from the Party Central Committee; on the one hand, we must insure that the issuance of party membership cards is completed in 1981 and not allowed to drag on; on the other hand, we must insure that quality is achieved and not lower the requirements regarding party member qualifications.

At the installations that have issued party membership cards, facts have shown that in order to succeed in this effort, the various party committee echelons must attach very much importance to leading ideological activities as well as organizational work. To begin with, it is necessary to show every party member the honor and the responsibility that are his and make each party member determined to fulfill his task in the issuance of party membership cards and the elimination of negative phenomena. Every cadre and party member must have a firm grasp of the principle set forth in the directive of the Party Secretariat: "Party membership cards shall only be issued to party members who are fully qualified to be party members and who fulfill the tasks of the party member as stated in the Party Statutes and Secretariat directive number 72." The important factor of decisive significance in upholding this principle is for the party chapters to make a serious effort to correctly determine and fully insure the qualifications of party members.

It must be understood that with regard to a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, correctly determining the qualifications of party members and fully insuring that party members are fully qualified are always a requirement in the nature of a principle. In the process of building the new style proletarian party in Russia, Lenin struggled unrelentingly against every tendency to reduce the role and qualifications of the communist party member. He stressed: "Our task is to protect the stability, the unswerving nature and the purity of the party. We must endeavor to constantly enhance the title and the significance of being a party member."(1)

In the process of building the party, our party has creatively applied the principles of Lenin on building a new style party of the working class to the specific circumstances of our country in order to establish correct policies and measures for

building the corps of party members, in general, as well as establishing the requirements of party members, in particular. In the Party Statutes, the chapter on party members has always been one of the first and most important chapters. At each national congress of delegates, our party has supplemented and heightened the conditions that have to be met in order for someone to be accepted into the party as well as the requirements regarding the qualifications of party members and the tasks of party members to be consistent with the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, with the growth of the party. Following the national congresses, the party has continued to issue directives and resolutions on party member work with a view toward maintaining the qualities and qualifications of party members and maintaining the strength and purity of the party. The 4th Congress of the Party set forth five requirements regarding party member qualifications and five tasks of the party member in the present stage.

In order to correctly determine the qualifications of party members, together with teaching the significance of this work, it is of extreme importance that the party chapters and basic party organizations give all party members a firm grasp of the requirements regarding party member qualifications, of the tasks of the party member and a firm grasp of the guidance and stipulations of the Party Central Committee and the Organization Department concerning the classification of party members as fully qualified or unqualified.

On the basis of these stipulations and the task and duties assigned to him, each party member must engage in self-criticism before the party chapter and determine on his own whether or not he possesses the qualifications to be a party member so that the party chapter can examine his qualifications and make a decision. When examining the qualifications of a party member, the party chapter must rely upon the specific actions of each person, fully analyse the strengths and weaknesses of each person, determine which are dominant and apply the requirements regarding party member qualifications in a manner consistent with each specific case. Recently, the Party Secretariat issued a circular defining in detail how to determine the party member qualifications of party members who are old and frail, party members who are ill, party members who are retired cadres and manual workers, party members who are demobilized military personnel, female party members, party members in the newly liberated zone, ethnic minority party members in the mountains and border areas and party members whose personal history still poses political problems. The basic organizations of the party must study, understand and correctly implement these stipulations.

In order to correctly determine the qualifications of party members, it is necessary, together with practicing serious criticism and self-criticism within the party, to do a good job of obtaining the opinions and criticisms of the masses. In actuality, many of the critical opinions and observations of the masses have helped the party organization gain a fuller understanding of the strongpoints as well as the mistakes and weaknesses of party members. It is necessary to overcome such incorrect tendencies as not attaching importance to the opinions of the masses, obtaining the opinions of the masses in a form for form's sake manner or "absolutizing" the opinions of the masses and not giving attention to verifying their opinions, especially important opinions and opinions regarding complex matters.

The experience of the places that have issued party membership cards in the recent past shows that secret ballots by the masses to express their confidence in party members as well as secret ballots by party chapters to verify the qualifications of party members are the most democratic forms and are the best ways to evaluate the qualifications of party members. However, of utmost importance is the need for the various party committee echelons and the basic organizations of the party to teach their party members so that they possess a high spirit of responsibility to the party, possess pure revolutionary sentiments, are impartial and devoted and do not, for the sake of personal motives, make compromises, lower requirements, vote to affirm the qualifications of persons who are not qualified to be party members or vote, on the basis of prejudice, on the basis of "digging up dirt," to expel from the party loyal party members who forthrightly struggle or party members who will not "join in a faction."

The expulsion of unqualified members from the party must be carried out in a determined manner in exact accordance with the guidelines of the Party Central Committee. This is a requirement in the nature of a law in the process of building the party in order to purify party members and maintain the purity and strength of the party; it is also a requirement in the issuance of party membership cards. Only by resolutely expelling unqualified members from the party is it possible to accelerate the struggle to overcome unwholesome phenomena within the party, consolidate and strengthen the basic organizations of the party, increase the fighting strength of the party, strengthen internal solidarity and increase the confidence that cadres, party members and the masses have in the party. The party chapters and basic party organizations may not use the postponement of the issuance of membership cards for the purpose of not expelling unqualified members from the party.

On the other hand, the issuance of party membership cards cannot be postponed in a sweeping fashion. Postponing the issuance of party membership cards is a step that can only be taken with regard to party members who are being kept within the party for the purpose of disciplinary action and party members who truly made mistakes; if, after reviewing the case, the party chapter feels that time is needed to evaluate how well the party member in question rectifies his mistakes, the issuance of a party membership card can be postponed for no longer than 6 months. In the next phase, the basic organization of the party must examine and fully resolve the matter but may not consider the postponement of the issuing of a party membership card to be a form of party discipline.

As regards cadres and party members who are charged with crimes, the various levels have the responsibility of conducting an investigation, examining the charges and reaching a quick conclusion. If it is necessary to postpone the issuance of a membership card to party members who are cadres that are under the management of the party committee on the upper level, the decision to issue a membership card to this cadre must be made by the district, precinct or town party committee; if it is felt that this person is not qualified to receive a party membership card, this evaluation must be reported to the party committee on the upper level that manages this cadre for a decision.

If, by the end of 1981, any party member is not qualified to receive a party membership card because he has not struggled, has not forged himself, his name shall be removed from the roster of party members by his party organization.

One of the requirements in the issuing of party membership cards is to closely link it to the strengthening of party chapters; party chapters must be strengthened in order to issue party membership cards and the issuing of party membership cards must be used to strengthen party chapters and stimulate the "campaign to build a strong and pure party." In actuality, a basic party organization that is weak and deficient, that lacks internal solidarity will be unable to carry out the issuance of party membership cards well and a basic organization that has been issued membership cards but does not attach importance to strengthening itself will become weak and deficient. Therefore, the various party committee echelons must focus their efforts on strengthening every basic organization of the party to insure that the necessary conditions exist for receiving party membership cards; at the same time, they must attach importance to strengthening those places at which party membership cards have already been issued.

The central element in the strengthening of weak and deficient basic organizations of the party is the strengthening of party committees and party chapter committees. The leadership role and the fighting strength of the party on the basic level are expressed first in the ability of the party committees and party chapter committees to provide leadership and guidance. Determined steps must be taken to expel from party committees and party chapter committees party members, including party members who are key leadership cadres, who make mistakes involving personal qualities or ethics or whose level of leadership and leadership ability are very deficient and prevent them from fulfilling their task; these persons must be immediately replaced with party members who meet the qualifications for being party committee members and who have the trust of the party organization and the people. With regard to installations that do not immediately have a replacement cadre, the party committee on the upper echelon must appoint a good, competent cadre to the key leadership position for a time in order to strengthen the basic party organization and stimulate the movement. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the quality of the activities of the party chapter, the party chapter committee and the party committee with a view toward gradually improving the quality of leadership and the fighting strength of the party organization.

Together with strengthening the party committee and party chapter committee and consolidating the party organization, it is necessary, at the same time, to consolidate and strengthen the organizations of the government, the mass organizations and the production and business organizations, such as the cooperatives, production collectives and so forth in order to create the conditions for every activity on the basic level to be carried out in a uniform and smooth manner under the unified leadership of the party committee and party chapter committee.

The building and strengthening of the basic organizations of the party so that they are strong and pure is the important, constant task of the various party committee echelons. After completing the issuance of party membership cards, our party must

continue to constantly concern itself with this work. In order to complete the issuance of party membership cards by the end of this year, the party committee echelons must focus their efforts on insuring that the basic organizations of the party have the conditions needed to issue party membership cards and do a good job of issuing party membership cards. The conditions that a basic organization of the party must have in order to be issued party membership cards are: the party committee and party chapter committees must be strengthened and be determined to struggle to successfully carry out each political task of the installation; it must be a reliable base of the party committee on the upper echelon in the evaluation and correct classification of party members; it must have internal unity and possess the spirit of self-criticism and criticism while making an effort to rectify shortcomings; and a large number of its party members must be fully qualified to receive party membership cards.

Within a basic party organization, if a party chapter has all the conditions needed to be issued party membership cards, all qualified party members of this party chapter must be issued party membership cards instead of waiting for all of the other party chapters to be strengthened before issuing membership cards to the entire party organization.

As regards basic party organizations that are very deficient, the party committee on the upper echelon can suggest that they be disbanded in accordance with the provisions set forth in the Party Statutes. Those party members who are directed by the party committee on the upper echelon to reregister as party members and who receive party membership cards shall be introduced to participate in the activities of the party at a nearby party organization or shall form a new party chapter.

The evaluation of a basic party organization, the evaluation of party member qualifications and any action taken against party members must truly be based on the masses; it is necessary to carefully study the opinions of party members and the opinions of the masses and closely coordinate this effort with the struggle against negative phenomena. The various party committee echelons must intensify their inspections and provide specific guidance of the issuance of party membership cards at key basic organizations and at places where complex problems exist in order to promptly correct deviations.

To insure that the issuance of party membership cards is successfully completed by the deadline, the various party committee echelons must improve and strengthen their leadership and guidance and closely coordinate the strengthening of the basic organizations of the party and the issuance of party membership cards with the performance of the political tasks of the localities and installations. They must correct the practice of only concerning themselves with their immediate work while giving little attention to strengthening the party and issuing party membership cards or vice versa. On the other hand, it is necessary to assign additional cadres who have experience in party building to the organization committees and the inspection committees of the precinct and district party committees so that efforts can be concentrated on successfully completing the issuing of party membership cards in 1981.

The issuance of party membership cards is one of the very important jobs of our party at this time. We must concentrate our efforts on completing this work well by the end of 1981 and use this achievement to celebrate the 5th Congress of the Party.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 6, p 537.

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REMEMBERING THE DAYS SPENT AT THE 1ST CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 53-55

[Article related by Ba Doc and written by The Tap]

[Text] The founding conference of the Vietnam Communist Party, which was held on 3 February 1930 in Kowloon, near Hong Kong, China, under the chairmanship of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the representative of the Communist International, had the significance of a party congress.

The first plenum of the Party Central Committee, which was chaired by Nguyen Ai Quoc and held in October 1930 in Hong Kong, drafted and adopted the Platform on the Democratic Bourgeois Revolution (that is, the people's national democratic revolution), which was originally drafted by Tran Phu; it adopted the resolution on the present situation in Indochina and the pressing tasks of the party; it decided to change the name of the party to the Indochina Communist Party, elected the official Party Central Committee and appointed Tran Phu to serve as general secretary of the party. At the same time, the plenum decided to convene a party congress.

Following that plenum, the revolutionary movement in Indochina was terrorized and submerged in blood by the French imperialists. The Party Central Committee and many basic organisations of the party were destroyed, consequently, the party congress could not be held.

In 1934, the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party was founded and given the tasks of unifying the party organisations that had been re-established at home, restoring the bases that had been destroyed by the enemy, establishing new bases, training cadres and preparing for a party congress.

In early 1935, we were appointed by the Trung Ky Regional Party Committee to be the delegation to the 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Party. Our delegation consisted of Chac Ke (that is, Vo Nguyen Hien) and myself, who served as the official delegates; in addition, there were two other comrades, alternate delegates, one of whom also had the job of guiding the delegation to the congress.

Feeling both joy and concern, we travelled from Phu Dien in the direction of the western border, crossed the La Trong plantation and then entered the country of Laos,

travelling to Tha Khac, Pac-hin-bun... Then, we crossed the river and entered Thailand, travelling to Tha-u-then and then to U Don. During this portion of the journey, which took our delegation 10 days to make on foot, we disguised ourselves as corvée laborers in order to conceal ourselves from intelligence agents. For the portion of the trip beyond U Don, we disguised ourselves as bourgeois Chinese tourists; we travelled by bus to Kho-rat, which took 1 full day to reach the city; we then travelled by train from Kho-rat to Bangkok, a trip which took 1 day and 1 night. We travelled from Bangkok to Hong Kong, China by ship, spending 5 days and 5 nights at sea.

In order to prepare our delegation for attending the congress, the Thai party organization, which was located in U Don, provided us with complete visas, train and ship tickets, clothing for disguises and Thai money as well as Nationalist Chinese money to cover travel expenses. Each member of our delegation was given two sets of clothing and 100 to 150 dong for expenses.

In the last half of March, 1935, our delegation arrived in Hong Kong. It was a large city, a colony of Great Britain. The committee that prepared for the congress at first planned to hold the congress in Hong Kong because it was a densely populated, bustling city in which our delegates could easily mix with the people and avoid observation by the enemy. When we arrived at the site of the congress, we saw all the delegates of the other delegations. The Bac Ky delegation consisted of three persons: Nong, Hoang and a woman whose name I did not know; she became ill and could not attend the congress. The Nam Ky delegation consisted of three persons also. The Lao delegation consisted of only one person, whose name was Xo. The overseas leadership committee of the party consisted of Ha Huy Tap, Phung Chi Kien and another comrade whose name I do not know.(1)

Preparations for the congress had been completed. All the delegations were in attendance, awaiting the arrival of the representative of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc, and the person in charge of the leadership committee of the party overseas, Le Hong Phong.

While the delegations were waiting for the opening day of the congress, a regrettable incident occurred: H.C., the person responsible for the food and shelter of the delegates, committed a mistake and, fearing disciplinary action, fled.

In order to prevent possible problems, the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party promptly decided to change the site of the congress. The delegations had to rapidly break down into small groups and, disguising themselves as gamblers, immediately travelled to Macao, a Portuguese colony and a city famous for its gambling that lies approximately 2 hours from Hong Kong by ship.

We arrived at a luxurious, two-story hotel in the city of Macao. The first story consisted of shops that sold fruits and flowers. In front of the hotel was a large fairgrounds used to exhibit paintings, race horses, race dogs, hold contests involving monkeys and so forth.

The congress was held on the second floor of this hotel in two adjoining rooms measuring about 40 square meters apiece.

Two days after we arrived in Macao, the congress opened because we could not wait any longer for Nguyen Ai Quoc and Le Hong Phong.

Throughout the time the congress was in session, all of the delegates had to strictly adhere to internal regulations in order to maintain secrecy; no one was allowed to freely leave their living quarters or the room in which they were working; secrecy had to be maintained, everyone had to speak cautiously and loud talk was prohibited; everyone had to eat, sleep and bathe at the stipulated places; specific persons were given the responsibilities of communicating with the outside and making purchases...

Each day, although the two meals we had were filling, the food only consisted of "lot" leaf soup cooked with dried fish heads (in Macao, dried ocean fish heads are used to raise livestock); the only time we had meat to eat was at the banquet celebrating the success of the congress. At night, two or three delegates had to share the same bed; some comrades had to sleep on the floor.

Despite these difficult living conditions and the very tense atmosphere, the delegates attending the congress were enthusiastic and worked very hard both day and night.

According to party proceedings, the congress was held from 27 to 31 March 1935. I remember that the official amount of time spent working at the congress was 3 days; we took 1 day off and held a banquet to celebrate the success of the congress; then, the delegates attended classes on the immediate situation and tasks of the party, which lasted for about 3 more days.

Attending the conference were 15 official and alternate delegates representing all party members in the three countries of Indochina.

The congress heard the political report of the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party and reports by the delegates of the various regional party committees. The documents of the congress were prepared in advance and typed. They set forth the three primary, immediate tasks of the party: strengthening and developing the party, winning over the masses and combating the imperialist war, supporting the Soviet Union... The congress raised many matters for discussion, especially the matter of establishing the anti-imperialist front. Concerning this matter, the opinion was expressed that a workers association, a peasants association and other mass organizations had already been established, consequently, it was unnecessary to establish an anti-imperialist front. Many other persons expressed the opinion that although mass organizations had already been established, it was impossible to establish an anti-imperialist front because only these organizations could rally every patriotic force against the French imperialists and their lackeys. At times, the debate at the congress was very intense. In the end, the congress unanimously decided to establish the anti-imperialist front.

The congress adopted a political resolution on the immediate situation and tasks of the party, resolutions on the mobilization of manual workers, peasants, youths and women and resolutions on work among the ethnic minorities, on anti-imperialist alliance activities, on the mobilization of soldiers, on self-defense units and on Red relief activities. The congress adopted the Manifesto of the Party, the Party

Statutes and the statutes of the mass organizations. The congress elected a Party Central Committee.

The congress sent a letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and, at the same time, sent letters to a number of fraternal parties, such as the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, the French Communist Party, the Thai Communist Party, the Indian Communist Party and so forth.

After the congress closed, we changed direction and went home by way of Macao, Long Chau and Cao Bang. The Party Central Committee assigned the delegation heads the responsibility of protecting the official and primary documents of the congress. The head of our delegation concealed these documents by sewing them to the seat of his underwear and, as a result, successfully carried them back to our country.

One disappointment at the 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Party was the absence of Nguyen Ai Quoc and Le Hong Phong; the congress was also held for the 7th Congress of the Communist International. As a result, the congress committed the shortcomings of not seeing the dangers of fascism and war in the world and not realizing the new capabilities that existed for launching a movement against fascism, against war for peace, freedom and decent living conditions. However, the congress did increase the confidence in the party of party members and the people; it restored the unity of the organizational system of the party and unified the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Party Central Committee; and it prepared forces for a new and more highly developed movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to another delegate who attended the congress, the following comrades attended the 1st Congress of the Party;

--Ha Huy Tap, alias Nho, delegate from the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party;

--Phung Chi Kien, alias Ly, delegate from the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party;

--Ngo Tuan, alias Ba Doc, delegate from Trung Ky;

--Vo Nguyen Hien, alias Chat Ke, delegate from Trung Ky;

--Vo Van Ngoc, alias Xu, delegate from Nam Ky;

--Nguyen Chanh Nhi, alias Ba Fay, delegate from Nam Ky;

--Nguyen Van Lo, alias Lao, delegate from Laos;

--Ngo Van Anh, alias "White Hair" Tang;

--Hon;

--Sin;

A woman delegate named Luong, alias Mai, from Bac Ky was ill and could not attend the congress. Two delegates from Bac Ky, Hoang Dinh Rong and Bui Bao Van, arrived at the site of the congress after it had closed.

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VIETNAM, A CATALYST IN THE DECLINE OF THE UNITED STATES

BK091552 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81
pp 60-65, 70

[Article by Thanh Tin--previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT,
Vol IV, No 199, 15 Oct 81, pp K7-K11]

[Text] Since he took office more than half a year ago, U.S. President Ronald Reagan has referred to Vietnam several times. In his inaugural speech on 20 January 1981, he paid tribute to the Americans who had laid down their lives "on hundreds of ricefields and dense forests in a place called Vietnam," shamelessly claiming that these American aggressors had sacrificed themselves for the freedom of the United States! Reagan further praised those U.S. soldiers who had scored criminal "exploits" in Vietnam and boastfully said: "The American role in Vietnam constitutes a most glorious page in U.S. history." He asserted that the Vietnam syndrome has completely ended with the new president's term of office and that the United States has definitely entered a new era -- an era following the post-Vietnam period.

It should be stated clearly just why the 40th president of the United States wants to bring the post-Vietnam period to a definitive end. We also must ask why this is a subjective and unrealistic desire and a mere illusion.

What Is "The Vietnam Syndrome"?

There is no doubt that the total defeat of the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam is the most tragic chapter in that country's 200-year history.

This has been publicly admitted by the U.S. press and the most authoritative figures in U.S. political circles. There have been many scientific research projects to assess the total defeat of U.S. imperialism on the Vietnamese battlefield.

First of all, it was a total military defeat. A huge war machine -- including the air force, navy, army and marines and involving more than 2.3 million people in fighting alongside more than a million puppet troops and 200,000 satellite troops -- was ultimately mobilized only to court a final defeat. The most advanced U.S. weapons and technical equipment (excluding long-range missiles and nuclear weapons) were brought to the battlefield. All the "modern" tactics were put to the test and widely used. These included the use of helicopter gunships, APC vehicles, saturation bombing by B-52 aircraft and dense torpedo blockades. The most talented U.S. generals, military strategists and military manufacturers were fully employed in order to secure a victory. Yet, only bitter defeats were incurred. The U.S. military defeat was thorough and something rarely seen in a war. American soldiers, with wounds all over their bodies, had to furl their flags and retreat to their country. The war ended with the shameful and chaotic departure via helicopter of the U.S. ambassador (actually a U.S. governor) together with the most influential figures of the aggressive war command who only had enough time to escape arrest by the revolutionary troops. Militarily, the United States had its fingers badly burned in Vietnam.

Its military defeat led to a most critical economic and financial recession in the United States. Its war of aggression against Vietnam -- like an abyss -- swallowed up \$600 billion worth of U.S. resources (some U.S. economists said the figure was as high as \$910 billion). It contributed considerably to the most serious economic recession and the most deplorable crisis of the U.S. dollar in the 1970's.

Diplomatically, the U.S. defeat was no less deplorable. The neocolonialists even surpassed the most barbarous imperialists and old colonialists in their cruel acts. A broad front of solidarity with Vietnam, encompassing all continents, was promptly formed to denounce the U.S. imperialists as the most truculent and aggressive war criminals, condemned and despised by all mankind. The principal U.S. allies refused to involve themselves directly in this dirty war. They further took advantage of the U.S. quagmire to surge forward and compete with the United States in economics and trade.

These defeats have led to the most tragic political failures the United States ever suffered. These failures are reflected in the disintegration of American society; the crisis of confidence of large numbers of the American people in the U.S. president, the U.S. Government and the U.S. armed forces; and the acute contradictions between congress and the U.S. president, which have resulted in what the U.S. press calls an institutional crisis. They are also reflected in a strengthening undertow in American society where a section of the American people has realized that, in view of the crimes committed by the U.S. administration in Vietnam, the U.S. social system is no longer attractive, and that it is necessary to struggle to found another America, an American of noble character standing for justice at home and for peace and friendship with other peoples. It is this section of the American population who maintain that the Vietnam war is the root cause of the crisis of the U.S. political system.

What is the Vietnam syndrome? It can be said that this syndrome is a state of mind that has developed among the American people and U.S. political circles, a state of mind characterized by the notion that another military adventure, another war of aggression similar to the one against Vietnam is simply unthinkable and unacceptable. Once burned, twice shy. A bird that narrowly escaped death by an arrow always fears bow-shaped tree branches. This is a logical mental and biopsychological development.

The U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam, which lasted almost 20 years, has become a stupendous national disaster and left an indelible mark on all aspects of American social life. The "Vietnam syndrome," therefore, will inevitably last very, very long. Some U.S. strategists have noted that the U.S. Armed Forces lost an entire generation of soldiers and officers in the Vietnam war period, and that these soldiers' and officers' loss of confidence in U.S. weapons, technology and tactics, in their leadership and in the U.S. administration will linger on for decades. These strategists contend that more than 2 million U.S. soldiers and officers have been forced to come back to lick their gaping moral and physical wounds, that these wounds are still bleeding and that they will not heal until early in the next century.

With its subjective efforts, the U.S. administration can shorten the "Vietnam malaise" and "Vietnam syndrome" by drawing the necessary lessons from its Vietnam experience seriously and resolutely beginning to overcome gradually the terrible consequences arising in America from the war of aggression against Vietnam. However, it seems that Ronald Reagan is not doing so. On the contrary, he is rubbing salt in these raw wounds, insolently challenging the conscience of the American people, who have wakened after the criminal war of aggression waged against Vietnam by four U.S. presidents, and planning to drag the United States into new military adventures. The disastrous defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, however, still retains its full value as a deterrence for the most belligerent hot heads in the White House.

New Development of the Three Revolutionary Currents

The U.S. capitalist chieftains and their No 1 agent, the U.S. president, have good reasons to panic and to bring the "Vietnam syndrome" to an early end.

This is because in the post-Vietnam period the United States has suffered a new series of heavy defeats. Capitalizing on the total decline of the United States, the leader of international imperialism, the three revolutionary currents of our time have stepped up their offensive on all strategic regions. Many former colonies of Portuguese imperialism in Africa have regained total independence. The Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean revolutions have strengthened solidarity and made steady advances, completely frustrating all maneuvers of the imperialists and expansionists. Emerging as a steady revolutionary factor, they have effectively checked all aggression against and expansion into Southeast Asia, thereby opening up prospects for peace, stability and cooperation in the entire region. In South Asia, Afghanistan has stood up valiantly against the henchmen of Washington, Beijing and Islamabad. Confident in the chivalrous assistance of the neighboring Soviet people and armed forces, it has resolutely defended its independence and freedom while definitely opting for the road of socialist development, thus bringing about drastic changes in the political situation of this strategic region.

In the Middle East, the Pahlavi regime, the United States' most efficient agent in Iran, was overthrown in a popular uprising before the angry eyes of a helpless Washington. In southern Africa, a new regime was established in Zimbabwe after the racist regime was liquidated, an event which has plunged South Africa -- the last bastion of racism and Washington's most important satellite and supplier of strategic raw materials on the African Continent.

In Latin America, the Nicaraguan people valiantly rose up to topple the U.S. puppet, blood-thirsty regime of Somoza, thereby ushering in a new period of offensive on the Central and Latin American Continents. This struggle quickly spread to El Salvador, then Guatemala, Venezuela and even Chile, very much to Washington's panic.

We have never considered the glorious exploit in defeating the U.S. imperialists on the Vietnamese battlefield as solely our own. This historic feat of arms, which is of profound epochal significance, is part of the rising tide of socialist revolution, the upsurge of national liberation and the swelling of the three revolutionary currents throughout the world. It was primarily the relentless and intelligent Vietnamese struggle, supported by all progressive mankind, which acted as a catalyst in triggering the decline of U.S. imperialism, which is now beset by a general crisis. This spark was further intensified by the world revolutionary forces during the U.S. post-Vietnam period.

Why Do They Hate the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam...so Much?

The Reagan administration has proved to be particularly bitter toward the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam, who it accuses of "leading international terrorism on a world scale" and "of disrupting order on this planet." The U.S. president himself, Ronald Reagan, as well as Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Defense Secretary Weinberger have hurled gross and arrogant threats at the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam.

The Soviet Union wholeheartedly supported and vigorously and comprehensively assisted Vietnam in its struggle for national salvation against the United States. Cuba has always encouraged Vietnam with its seething revolutionary zeal. The Soviet Union, Cuba and other fraternal socialist countries made great contributions to the victory scored by the three revolutionary currents on the Vietnamese battlefield and the direct, heroic struggle of our people and troops.

Moreover, right when the U.S. imperialists were bogged down in Vietnam, the great Soviet Union took advantage of the opportunity to strengthen its economic and military forces, thus definitively eliminating U.S. military superiority in the most vital domains, such as intercontinental missile forces, battle rockets, nuclear-powered submarines, warships of all kinds and ordinary and vital weaponry like artillery pieces and tanks. The economic gap between the United States and the Soviet Union was also narrowed definitely and steadily during this period. When the U.S. imperialists found themselves totally defeated in Vietnam, they panicked in the face of a vastly stronger Soviet Union which had become worthy of being the mainstay of peace and revolution on this planet.

In the post-Vietnam period in the United States, capitalizing on the new situation created by the historic victory in Vietnam -- a situation in which the U.S. imperialists were declining comprehensively -- the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam coordinated with the most active forces of the three revolutionary currents to further develop the struggle and achieve even greater victories. These efforts led to new and important victories being achieved in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea over the past 6 years and to very great victories in Africa, where a series of countries rose up. These countries, which have been directly, strongly and effectively supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba in the political, military and economic fields, are closely linked with the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution. They have combined patriotism with scientific socialism to create a system of countries that have chosen and are choosing the path of socialist development, full of the zeal of youth.

Witnessing the new changes in Africa over the 5 or 6 years, the hawks in Washington have been driven into a frenzy because this continent, rich in strategic resources, has followed the new trend for development and is likely to break loose from their claws. This has also accelerated the decline of the imperialist United States in the post-Vietnam period. The imperialists are all the more angry to see that, in the Caribbean Sea zone, the Cuban revolution is no longer isolated by their blockade and that the small yet lofty island of independent Grenada has proudly declared its blood-sealed link with the Cuban revolution and has followed the trend of the era to establish close relations with the Soviet Union.

The Nicaraguan revolution, which recently came into being, has created, together with Cuba and Grenada, a firm trilateral position right in the face of the U.S. imperialists, who are feeling bitter and powerless. Nicaragua -- which has openly declared its attachment to Lenin's country, asserted its love for Fidel, cherished the "thousand-fold heroic Vietnam" and received a noble reward named after President Ho Chi Minh from the World Peace Council -- has increasingly driven the U.S. hawks mad and into a state of panic. Nicaragua has achieved a breakthrough for a number of thorough revolutions on the American Continent. The United States is facing an extreme danger right in the zone that used to be called its backyard.

The fact that we are detested by the enemy shows that we are following the right path. They detest the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam and so forth because we have fully seized new opportunities to hold high the banner of justice, peace, national independence and socialism -- the glorious banner of proletarian internationalism -- in the struggle to step up the development of the revolution and accelerate the decline of the arch-imperialist. Following their experience with Vietnam, the accelerator of their decline, the U.S. imperialists have begun to realize their inevitable fate of death and are struggling vainly for survival.

The Tragedy of the Warlike Clique

During the 1980 U.S. presidential election campaign, the U.S. capitalists strongly criticized Jimmy Carter's policies, saying that Carter was too much of a coward and too weak as he had done almost nothing about the recent challenges in the Middle East, Iran, the Caribbean Sea area, Nicaragua, Africa and in South and Southeast Asia. They claimed that Carter suffered from a serious disease called the "Vietnam syndrome" as he had left many U.S. allies in the lurch. He did not dare to send U.S. troops to rescue Shah Pahlavi, Somoza -- the dictator -- or Amin -- the traitor.

It is the nature of U.S. capitalists to react, avenge and pursue the warlike extremism which has brought Reagan to the White House. Reagan has made a strongly worded statement that the "Vietnam syndrome" no longer affects the U.S. Government and that the United States is ready to go into action anywhere it deems necessary. In fact, no matter how Reagan has tried to make strongly worded statements, the "Vietnam syndrome" is still there. This state of mind in the U.S. political circles and in U.S. society continues to exist objectively beyond the U.S. president's will. The following are some obvious facts:

The U.S. House International Relations Committee recently issued a statement turning down a proposal for sending U.S. troops to El Salvador. This attitude is symbolic of the so-called Vietnam syndrome. U.S. Congressmen pointed out that Reagan was contemplating a repeat of the same disastrous steps taken previously by Kennedy and Johnson in Vietnam. Once too many U.S. military advisers and modern weapons were brought in, U.S. combat troops would have to move in to protect these advisers and weapons. And once U.S. combat troops were attacked, more replacements would have to be brought in. This vicious circle would continue without being able to stop. Thus, the situation would foment a war on an ever-increasing scale, which in turn would become a great catastrophe for the nation. Gone forever and never to return is the pre-Vietnam era -- the era in which the will of a president was regarded as that of a heavenly king. This practice stemmed from a contention that a president cannot make a mistake. At present, the U.S. Congress continues to advocate that it is its duty to quickly nip in the bud any new adventure contemplated by the U.S. president. The "Vietnam syndrome" appears to be very deep-rooted in U.S. congressmen.

The majority of U.S. citizens are determined not to allow Reagan to plunge easily into new acts of war abroad. Recently, they went into action by sending U.S. youths to the Pentagon to condemn the skyrocketing increase in the military budget as decided by Reagan. These youths also marched to the White House, shouting: Don't send U.S. troops to El Salvador! Along with a bullet shot by a U.S. youth into the U.S. President's left lung during the President's first 100 days in power -- a period usually regarded as a "period of pardon" or a "honeymoon period" between the U.S. people and their president -- there were many protest struggles like that which served as a strong warning from U.S. public opinion against Reagan--a public determined not to let him drag the United States into a Vietnam-style quagmire. The "Vietnam syndrome" in U.S. society appears to be very deep-rooted.

The disastrous consequences facing the U.S. troops who were defeated in the Vietnam war remain very clear. The U.S. press recently made this bitter observation: The U.S. troops returning from the Vietnamese battlefield have increasingly proved to be undisciplined. They have lost their confidence in their commanders, in the U.S. Government and in U.S. tactics and weapons. The crimes found among them -- ranging from minor breaches of the law to the use of violence in society -- have risen at an alarming rate. Tens of thousands of U.S. officers and men who were tortured by their "feelings of guilt" over Vietnam and who had difficulties in their lives have committed suicide. U.S. soldiers and their families -- parents, wives and children -- will hardly accept a new interventionist war abroad. In fact, Reagan's warlike and extremist statements are themselves rejuvenating the "Vietnam syndrome," which still lingers in the minds of the people of the United States.

Since the total defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam on 30 April 1975, the U.S. strategists have rightly observed that even though the Americans have withdrawn from Vietnam, the Vietnam problem still remains. The ferment of defeat in Vietnam and the consequences of this historic defeat will last a long time and will take a very long time to disappear from the United States. Reagan cannot eliminate these factors. It will be a very long time before the United States can be cured of the "Vietnam syndrome."

An evil person always gets his due. This is just retribution. In this case, the persistent "Vietnam syndrome" is further a phenomenon confirming to law and a conclusion drawn from analytic methodology. Twenty years of towering crimes were also 20 years of untold defeats. The Vietnam quagmire is still too recent and the consequences of the Vietnam defeat are still too obvious. It remains a lesson serving as a stern deterrent to the flaming heads of warmongers.

Reagan and his close aides in the White House want to forget the Vietnam defeat completely and bury this chapter of tragic history in the distant past. However, Reagan himself cannot forget it. He has been compelled to recall Vietnam dozens of times. The 40th U.S. President can be described as seriously obsessed by this historic encounter. The more he tries to forget, the more clearly he remembers. This is a tragedy for the current U.S. President.

The U.S. warmongers are plunging into a feverish arms race. They have pushed it strongly to a record high. They have thrown the American people's huge resources into the mouth of the monstrous war machinery of aggression. Just as the French paper LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR has observed: Each day of the Reagan administration is a lucrative Christmas for the American millionaires specializing in weapons production. The Reagan administration has further resorted to the tricks of psychological warfare of threats in order to blunt the will of nations to struggle. However, the decline of the U.S. imperialists in the post-Vietnam period is evident. The historic victory won by progressive mankind in Vietnam has created a catalyst to accelerate the decline of this imperialist giant. This catalyst has been intensified over the past 6 years by the new and effective attacks of the three revolutionary currents on all strategic areas.

While maintaining world peace and using appropriate measures to accelerate the revolutionary struggle vigorously, the powerful revolutionary forces on our planet are strengthening their solidarity and coordinating with one another closely to foil all the plots of the imperialist and reactionary clique resolutely and to win even more and greater victories in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and for the sake of a glorious future for mankind on this beautiful planet.

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COMMENTARY: A DANGEROUS STEP IN SINO-AMERICAN COLLABORATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 81 pp 66-70

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] After a 3 day official mission to Beijing in mid-June 1981, U.S. Secretary of Defense Haig declared that the trip was "extraordinarily constructive, of extraordinary significance and an extraordinary success." Some of the actions that took place within the "extraordinary" framework were that Haig reported that the Reagan administration had promised to sell "offensive weapons" to China and, on 18 June 1981, Washington authorities acknowledged a report by the U.S. television corporation NBC that, in 1979, Beijing agreed to allow the United States to install in northeast China two secret radar stations in order to observe missile launchings of the Soviet Union. Beijing and Washington have maintained that it is no longer necessary for them to conceal a number of previous dealings once considered "top secret" in their military collaboration.

At the end of his visit to China between 8 and 20 July 1981, Brzezinski, former national security advisor under the Carter administration, declared in Beijing on 19 July 1981 that the world situation at this time requires a "defensive alliance among the United States, China, Japan and Western Europe" and that "an alignment has actually been established among the United States, China, Japan and Western Europe."

In their formal and warm receptions for Haig and Brzezinski, Deng Xiaoping and a number of other persons in the Imperial City constantly put forth arguments against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the world revolution with a view toward confirming to the United States China's determination to stand firm at its counter-revolutionary assault position.

The "new stage of development" of Sino-American relations has been marked by the several events mentioned above. Washington has, for the first time, officially defined the nature of this relationship. On 16 July 1981, Honrich, the assistant U.S. secretary of state, stated to a subcommittee of the U.S. Congress: "Our relations with China are based on the premise that China is not an enemy, but a friendly developing country, which, although not an ally, shares important strategic interests with us."

Thus, the Reagan administration has abolished the legislation that considers China to be in the "Soviet" bloc, that is, considers China to be an "enemy." Conversely, while still considering the Soviet Union to be an enemy, the United States has officially "granted" to China the status of "non-aligned, friendly country" with the intention of preparing to include China in the ranks of U.S. allies in the future. By raising this prospect, Washington is encouraging Beijing to urgently take more "new steps" in both the domestic and foreign fields in order to meet the standards of an ally of the United States and stimulate the process of China's advance to the status of a "capitalist world" country.

Since 1972, Beijing ruling circles have constantly tried to persuade Washington of the "sincerity" of their efforts to "improve Sino-American relations." This was the "basic, consistent and permanent policy" of Mao and is the policy of the crown princes of Mao, regardless of the changes in personnel that have occurred within the Imperial City. Concerning this matter, the French newspaper LE MONDE stated on 27 June 1981: "If the Chinese leaders are sincere, it is when they state that their policy of harmony with the United States is a basic and constant policy. Because of it, they have taken huge strides in this direction and even sought to establish a military cooperation that they could not have visualized a few years ago."

Although, on the outside, the reactionary clique within Beijing ruling circles has "played hard to get" with their American friends concerning the "Taiwan issue," Deng Xiaoping, being in the position of "someone looking for something," of someone "seeking favors," has not concealed his joy over the "friendly nation" official status granted by Reagan.

In the face of the excitement of Deng Xiaoping and his clique over this action, Washington set forth obligations that Beijing must meet in order to more tightly tie Chinese ruling circles to the orb of imperialism. According to Honrich, these obligations are:

--China must be a supplemental force for the United States in order to strengthen the "security of the United States, Japan, South Korea and the ASEAN countries." This will give the United States the ability to "achieve very positive benefits in the balance of power of ASEAN and the global balance of power."

--China may not take any action that would upset "the tense situation, which has been reduced to the lowest level ever, in the Strait of Taiwan."

--China must support "the global and regional efforts of the United States to strengthen the deployment and the structure of the alliances of the United States" with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba and so forth.

--In the third world, the policy of China must be a factor that "constantly supplements" U.S. policy.

Disloyal and insanely reactionary by nature, the Beijing reactionaries have been and are meeting the requirements of the United States. However, of the four requirements mentioned above, the one concerning Taiwan is somewhat difficult to meet. On the outside,

Beijing has always talked about the "peaceful reunification with Taiwan" and occasionally rather viciously attacked the United States concerning this issue. In fact, this is designed to do nothing more than deceive public opinion at home. In essence, Deng and his clique have cheaply sold the national interests of the Chinese concerning the Taiwan issue. They have declared without embarrassment: "We believe that if the two sides work on the basis of global strategy...every difficulty can be surmounted" (Hoang Hoa, Chinese minister of foreign affairs, 14 June 1981).

Within the framework of the "new stage of development" in Sino-American relations, Washington has not, of course, forgotten to mention the "payment" that the United States is ready to make to China, which is what Beijing is awaiting.

Since 1979, the United States has signed with China a number of commercial agreements, including a "most favored nation" agreement. A number of combined Sino-American economic, commercial and scientific committees have been established and held regular meetings to coordinate the cooperation of the two sides within these fields. China is now qualified to borrow money from the Credit Bank of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Export-Import Bank as well as the Overseas Private Investment Insurance Corporation of the United States, etc. These are nothing more than measures taken by Washington to create favorable conditions for the exportation of U.S. goods to the Chinese market. In the first 3 months of 1981, China became the third largest export market of the United States in Asia behind Japan and South Korea and was the third largest market for agricultural products of the United States in the world. To Beijing ruling circles, who have always hoped to use the dollar to carry out the "four modernizations," these are enticements of definite attraction. However, Beijing's eyes are still staring at the doors to the storehouse of modern weapons of the United States. It is clear that these doors are gradually being opened by Uncle Sam by selling to Beijing "dual purpose" equipment and promising to sell a number of "offensive weapons." On 22 July 1981, the new U.S. Ambassador to China, Arthur Hummel, said to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate: "The United States will sell to China tanks and anti-aircraft weapons." He also said: "The military ties between the United States and China are a logical development in the increasingly improved relations between the two countries."

Here, Washington "kicked Beijing in the stomach" and accurately measured Beijing's thirst for weapons, consequently, it implemented a "drip by drip" policy. While inciting Beijing's insane ambitions in this field, Washington immediately imposed limitations. The Reagan administration declared that China can make requests to purchase from U.S. commercial sources any product on the U.S. list of military hardware, including various types of weapons; however, the United States did not promise to grant these requests, only to examine them on a case by case basis just as the United States does for the countries to which it has given "friendly country" status (not "allies"). Thus, there is still a number of guard stations along Beijing's path to the storehouse of modern U.S. weapons and Washington has shown to Beijing the "certificate" it needs to pass by these guard stations. This is the mode of "Sino-American cooperation" which was proposed by Brzezinski and which demands that Beijing move more urgently and actively from the present "strategic alignment in actuality" to a "U.S.-Chinese-Japanese-Western European defense alliance" or, simply stated,

a U.S.-Chinese-Japanese-Western European military alliance. The United States maintains that the establishment of an "eastern bloc" headed by the United States together with the present NATO will form two strategic pincers in the East and the West and create further conditions for the United States to achieve "global military superiority," which is the basic objective being pursued by the Reagan administration, an objective it is trying to achieve in the remaining years of the 20th Century.

The above mentioned schemes prove that those who are "playing the China card" in Washington are looking for ways to gradually and tightly bind China to the war machine of the United States and use the ties in foreign affairs to have an impact upon the internal situation of China, stimulate the "metamorphosis" of Chinese society and, on the basis of the changes within China, build Beijing's enthusiasm to play the role of assault soldier of imperialism with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union, opposing Vietnam and opposing the three revolutionary currents in the world. This is the essence of the U.S. scheme to change China more to the opposite stand and bring about the "peaceful evolution" of which the present "new stage of development" is the premise. For this reason, some contemporary international observers maintain that the decision of the Reagan administration to sell "offensive weapons" to China marks a "substantive" turning point in Sino-American relations.

On the basis of this evil policy, the Reagan administration is placing its bet on the "Deng Xiaoping card," which represents the extremely reactionary powers within Beijing ruling circles, and helping the Deng clique to achieve dictatorial rule in the Imperial City, using this as lever for propelling China completely into the orb of imperialism.

Meanwhile, the Deng Xiaoping clique, which is feverishly pursuing its ambitions of expansionism and hegemony, is taking the bait being held out by the United States and displaying a readiness to play the role of supplemental force supporting U.S. global strategy. Against this background, the "new stage of development" in Sino-American relations is an increasingly dangerous threat to peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world as well as to the destiny of the Chinese themselves.

The Reagan administration is "playing the China card" within the framework of the U.S. strategy of "regaining military superiority" throughout the world. Beijing is bowing to the ground before Uncle Sam and "gratefully accepting" the status of "younger brother" with a view toward realizing their ambitions of expansionism and hegemony, primarily with regard to the countries that Beijing considers to be the "vassals" of old China. Both the United States and China are displaying very much enthusiasm for a "coordinated policy" and "parallel actions" against the Soviet Union and Vietnam as seen in what they call the "Kampuchean issue," the "Afghanistan issue," etc. However, both the U.S. imperialists and China are bogged down in a "comprehensive crisis" to which no end is in sight. On the other hand, even within ruling circles within Washington, there is a rather sharp debate over the "degree" to which the "China card" should be played. Some persons maintain that it is a "two sided sword" which, some day, will even pose a danger to the person wielding the "sword." Those in whose veins the blood of revenge of the post-Vietnam period flows, such as Haig and Brzezinski, the representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex, are the persons who are most enthusiastic about the global Sino-American military strategy. At the same time, world opinion has expressed much opposition to this

latest escalation by the two largest reactionary powers. In Asia, when the news that Washington had decided to sell "offensive weapons" to China was learned, many countries in ASEAN expressed confusion and concern and considered it "a blow," "a very regrettable, even stupid decision" that proves that "the United States has light regard for the threat of Chinese expansionism in Southeast Asia, where the ambition of China is historic in nature," etc. In China, the Deng Xiaoping clique appears, from the outside, to be in a victorious position on the political stage of the Imperial City. However, the powers opposing Deng have still shown themselves to be rather strong and have many forces supporting them in the various localities. The internal struggle within the Imperial City is still a sharp struggle; meanwhile, China's economy is becoming increasingly mired in chaos and difficulty. Among the people of China, those who are concerned for the destiny of the country, of the Chinese revolution surely cannot sit with their arms folded and watch the Deng clique push the country into an abyss, which is the inevitable outcome of the so called "Sino-American cooperation."

Thus, the "new stage of development" in Sino-American relations is, in actuality, the strengthening of the collaboration between Washington and Beijing along the lines of eventually establishing a "quadrilateral alliance": "the United States-China-Japan-Western Europe" as stated by Brzezinski, which is a threat to the peace and security of the world, in general, and Indochina and Southeast Asia, in particular. However, this is a collaboration based on weakness, a collaboration filled with difficulties and antagonisms. To be sure, it cannot thwart the inevitable development of history, cannot stop the developing, increasingly strong offensive by the three revolutionary currents in the world today.

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