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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, 1981



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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN OUR PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 1-5

[Editorial translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 235, 8 Dec 81, pp K3-K7. Capitalized passages published in boldface.]

[Text] For more than 20 years, in the flames of war and under poor economic conditions, our party has paid attention to developing science and technology and has obtained remarkable results.

The various scientific and technological sectors have made important contributions to supporting production, the people's life and national defense. A large body of scientific and technological cadres and professional workers with good political qualities and ever higher specialized abilities have been formed. They are working bravely, intelligently and creatively in all fields of activity. A network of research and experimental establishments and a system of managing scientific and technological activities and educating and training scientific and technological cadres has been set up and has initially had a positive effect throughout the country. Our international cooperation in the scientific and technological domain, especially our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CEMA member countries, has been broadened. These initial achievements have established very important bases and created very basic favorable factors for the development of science and technology in our country.

However, the results obtained in the scientific and technological activities in our country are still not commensurate with the existing potentials and have not yet met the demands of the building of socialism and the defense of the socialist fatherland. There still are weaknesses and shortcomings in the research and experimental work of many scientific and technological cadres and in the management of scientific and technological activities. Waste of human and material wealth is still prevalent in the training, improvement, assignment and use of scientific and technological cadres. All this has limited the results of scientific and technological activities and even hampered the development of science and technology in our country.

To effect a change in all scientific and technological activities in order to support the building and defense of the fatherland in the new stage most realistically and effectively and to gradually and successfully build our country's advanced science and technology, the party Central Committee Political Bureau has issued a resolution on the SRV's SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY.

The SRV's SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY makes our party's scientific and technological development line concrete. It also makes concrete our party's general line for the socialist revolution and construction in the scientific and technological field. At the same time, it is also an integral part of our country's strategy for economic, cultural and social development in the period of the transition toward socialism.

Originating from the party's general line on socialist revolution and the party line on building a socialist economy, from the premises on material and technical bases and the existing and future scientific and technological potentialities, from the latent potentials of natural resources, from the characteristics and conditions concerning nature, society and the Vietnamese man and from international cooperation capabilities, the SRV's SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY sets forth very important tasks related to our country's social science, natural science and science and technology. This policy is actually a strategy for developing and using science and technology in support of our people's cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

It is a system of tasks, objectives, guidelines and principles. It also consists of specific guidelines for each scientific and technological field and of main measures for directing all scientific and technological activities at realistically and effectively serving the immediate and lasting economic, cultural and social objectives and, at the same time, successfully building our country's advanced science and technology.

The Political Bureau resolution on the SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY is a scientific project reflecting the ideas of many outstanding scientists throughout the country. This is a unified, systematic and relatively perfect scientific and technological policy. Implementing this policy will end the period of developing science and technology in an uncontrolled and dispersed manner and open up a new stage of developing it vigorously according to plan and to an order of priorities and with ever greater efficiency.

To implement the Political Bureau resolution on SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY satisfactorily, it is of decisive significance that the entire party and all people -- first of all the leading party and state echelons from the central to local and grassroots levels -- FIRMLY GRASP THE LINE AND TASKS SET FORTH BY THE PARTY IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL FIELD. THEY MUST ALSO DEVELOP A THOROUGH AND PROFOUND AWARENESS OF THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL DEFENSE.

"To Marx, science is a driving force that makes history evolve; it is a revolutionary driving force." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: F. Engels: "Oration at Karl Marx Tomb." K. Marx and F. Engels selected works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Vol 2, p 265) Without modern science and technology and without modern education, "communism is nothing more than an aspiration." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: V.I. Lenin: Duties of the Youth Union, Complete Works, Tien Bo Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 41 and pp 364-365) The most advanced social science in the present era is Marxism-Leninism. Our party and President Ho Chi Minh have applied Marxism-Leninism to the circumstance of our country, set forth a correct and creative line and led our country's revolution from one victory to another. Our party also has long affirmed the important role of the scientific and technological revolution. At the fourth party congress, in setting forth the line for the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, our party affirmed an important point: "Carry out the three revolutions at the same time -- the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution being the key one." Our party has often urged cadres and party members to constantly and closely combine social science, natural science and science and technology in order to improve the effectiveness of scientific and technological activities and use the consolidated strength of science in achieving specific objectives and carrying out the urgent, immediate and future tasks related to production, the people's life and national defense.

Our country is still poor. Yet it is all the more necessary for it to accelerate scientific and technological work. Advancing from small production to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, we must think of, seek and create the most scientific and realistic methods and steps suitable to the real situation in our country. Social science, natural science, science and technology and all scientific fields must contribute and be in a good position to contribute to this undertaking of great significance. Science and technology, which must follow the party general line on the socialist revolution and the party line on the development of the socialist economy, must most satisfactorily support the task of building a SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SOCIALIST MASTERY and the SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION goal -- the central tasks of the entire period of transition to socialism -- in order to build a new economy, a new culture and new socialist men.

In the years ahead, science and technology must support such prime tasks as enormously developing our country's COMPREHENSIVE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION; bringing into full play our strengths in terms of labor, land and tropical natural resources; building, step by step, a great socialist agricultural production; establishing an agricultural-industrial structure in districts; and satisfactorily solving the vital problem of producing grain and food products, raw materials for industry and consumer and export goods. These tasks also involve vigorously developing light industrial sectors and building, according to the order of priorities, a number of new establishments of heavy industry and communications and transportation and making good use of their existing establishments. This is necessary to accelerate agriculture, light industry and export in preparation for future strong developmental steps in the national economy.

"Science and technology must concentrate on studying the laws of development of nature, society, the Vietnamese man and international relationships in order to help fully promote the working people's right to collective mastery, vigorously develop the production forces, establish new production relations and fulfill the duties of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland." (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: All quoted passages whose sources are not identified are excerpted from the Political Bureau 20 April 1981 resolution on the science and technology policy.)

Science and technology must be a part of life, and it is indispensable to life. The daily production activities of each worker in our country require the positive contributions of science and technology. Using scientific and technical advances must be a prime measure for INCREASING SOCIAL LABOR OUTPUT, THE QUALITY OF GOODS AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY. Today a strategy for economic, cultural and social development cannot be perfect without its integral part, which is the strategy for developing and using corresponding science and technology. Likewise, each production establishment, each sector and each locality cannot carry out its state plan satisfactorily if this plan is not closely associated with the corresponding scientific and technological plan.

Therefore, our party maintains that revolution and science must always be related to each other. Only when all revolutionary activities are carried out on a scientific basis will the victory of socialism be ensured. It is necessary to end the situation in which leading party echelons pay little attention to science and technology, while scientific and technological cadres possess limited knowledge of economic and social tasks. If we really hold firm to the line and tasks set forth by the party in the scientific and technological field, if we fully and thoroughly understand the role and driving force of science and the key role of the scientific and technological revolution, if our scientific and technological cadres associate their activities with production and the everyday life, if party committee echelons "really consider science and technology as one of their main requirements of leadership," and if we "translate into action the close association between the revolution and science and vice versa in the realities of life," we will certainly be able to make a great breakthrough in the scientific and technical field. Such a breakthrough is necessary to help develop production, stabilize gradually and improve the people's life and consolidate and increase the strength of national defense.

DEVELOPING TO THE MAXIMUM THE POTENTIALITY OF THE BODY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CADRES and the existing system of organization and material and technical bases is a decisive factor for attaining the objectives of the present science and technology policy.

There must be plans for training, improving, assigning and employing cadres rationally so that the ability of each of them and the potentiality of the entire body will be fully developed. The urgent task to be done now is to carry out a census of the existing body of scientific and technological cadres. Once this is done, it is necessary to employ and assign them rationally, to train and improve them according to a uniform and well-balanced plan, to boldly assign work to young cadres and to improve leading cadres and qualified specialists.

Attention must also be paid to discovering and properly treating the talented men of the country and quickly forming collectives of equally qualified cadres capable of solving the most important and decisive scientific and technological problems.

Meanwhile, we must perfect the network of research and experimental agencies, such as the Academy of Sciences, research institutes of various sectors and universities and the experimental and testing stations and centers, on the principle of rational work division and according to the specified functions and duties. This is designed to ensure uniformity of activities ranging from basic research to the application of experimental results to production.

As we still are faced with many economic difficulties and as our technical production standards are still low, we must attach importance to investing appropriately in scientific and technological activities and in the training of scientific and technological cadres and skilled workers. Investments must be made in the order of priorities in such a way as to ensure the smooth process of research and experimentation and the quick application of research results to production. Only in this way will we make a major change in increasing the economic effectiveness of scientific and technological activities and will the investments in science and technology turn out to be most profitable for the national economy.

To ensure an adequate supply of materials and equipment to scientific and technological research work, to carry out the scientific and technological information task and to strengthen international cooperation are vital requirements for scientific and technological development.

To develop the existing scientific and technological potentialities optimally, we must IMPROVE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT. This task involves basically improving scientific and technological planning, establishing systems and policies that will vigorously encourage scientific and technological activities, closely associating science and technology with production and everyday life, launching broad mass movements to engage in scientific and technological work and perfecting the network of uniform scientific and technological management organs throughout the country.

Strengthening the party's leadership, the state's management task and the working people's right to collective mastery vis-a-vis science and technology will ensure the success of all scientific and technological activities and our efforts to develop our country's science and technology. We must always bear in mind that the PARTY LEADERSHIP CONSTANTLY REMAINS A DECIDING FACTOR.

For their part party committee echelons must thoroughly understand -- and make the administrative power at all levels, mass organizations, each cadre and party member, each worker and each combatant of the people's armed forces thoroughly understand -- the following guiding principle of the resolution on the SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY: bringing into full play the driving force of science and the key role of the scientific and technological revolution with the superiority of socialism and the system of socialist collective mastery so as to make science truly become a direct production force and an effective support for our people's revolutionary cause, thus making worthy contributions to our building of socialism and our defense of the socialist fatherland. On this basis the science and technology policy will help effect a vigorous change in everybody's thought and actions with regard to the scientific and technological work.

Part committee echelons must uphold their determination to seek and adopt effective guiding measures for ensuring that scientific and technological activities will be carried out according to plan, in the order of priority, with high quality and high economic efficiency. They must direct the review and broad propagation of advanced examples and quickly apply scientific and technological advances to production, to everyday life and to national defense.

Party committee echelons are responsible for building a body of scientific and technological cadres who have qualities and abilities and who are united in wholeheartedly serving the people and the fatherland.

Party committee echelons also have the duty to perfect the organization of scientific and technological management and quickly put the managerial task on the right track.

Understanding thoroughly the spirit of the Political Bureau resolution on the SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY and implementing President Ho's advice: "Science must come from production; as such, it must serve production and the people in return, IN ORDER TO INCREASE LABOR OUTPUT, CONSTANTLY IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIFE, and ensure victory for socialism," (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Ho Chi Minh: Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Vol 2, p 291) we will certainly be able to develop the creative strength of science and technology in association with the superiority of socialism and in effective support of the building of socialism and the defense of the socialist fatherland. We will successfully build advanced science and technology that is worthy of the heroic Vietnamese people.

CSO: 4209/116

LET US RESOLUTELY SUPPORT THE POLISH PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO PROTECT SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 6-9

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In the fraternal country of Poland, the most profound and serious crisis in the history of socialist construction in that country has been occurring for more than 1 year. In September, this crisis reached a new pinnacle, seriously threatening Polish socialism and national independence while threatening the socialist community and threatening peace in Europe and the world.

With the assistance of the imperialist countries, especially the U.S. imperialists and the German Federal Republic, the Polish reactionary powers have been waging a counter-revolution for more than 1 year for the purposes of seizing political power, destroying each of the Polish people's achievements in socialism, separating Poland from the socialist community and changing the balance of power in Europe and the world in a direction favorable to them.

Taking advantage of the mistakes and shortcomings of the Polish United Workers' Party in many fields of domestic and foreign affairs and taking advantage of the legitimate aspirations of the Polish people for "socialist changes," the Polish reactionaries have pretended to endorse "changes" while actually desiring changes that would destroy the bases of socialism in Poland and turn Poland back onto the path of capitalism, a path filled with suffering.

Having gained experience from the defeats suffered in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, the imperialists have coordinated with the Polish reactionaries in adopting a platform of struggle consisting of three stages and implementing a counter-revolutionary tactic of "gradual escalation" by means of sophisticated and shrewd methods. This is clearly evident in the "platform" of the Committee for the Protection of Workers (KOR) a counter-revolutionary organization in Poland that has close ties to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the spy agencies of the other imperialist countries as well as to the reactionary AFL-CIO Labor Union in the United States and many other reactionary organizations in Western Europe.

The "platform" of the KOR divides the activities of the KOR into three stages in order to achieve the objective of destroying the socialist system in Poland.

The first stage was to turn the "Solidarity Trade Union" (a mass organization established by them in Poland in the summer of 1980) into the primary base of the KOR and putting it under the influence of the KOR so that trade union activities became political in nature and the "Solidarity Trade Union" became an anti-government force.

The second stage is the stage of broadening the field of opposition activities. In this stage, the KOR will try to weaken and divide the Polish United Workers' Party and the apparatus of the Polish state and cause the leaders of the party and state to lose their prestige in a vain attempt to replace them. At the same time, the KOR will turn the "Solidarity Trade Union" into an independent political organization, maintain a tense situation at home and "neutralize" and "demoralize" the army. The KOR has also established a special task for this stage, namely, taking control of vital positions within the mass media and using these media for counter-revolutionary purposes.

The third stage is the stage of directly seizing political power, abolishing the socialist system, separating Poland from the socialist community and putting Poland back under a pro-Western bourgeois regime.

By means of sophisticated, cunning methods combined with the most brazen and malicious tricks involving deception, enticement and bribes as well as threats and the creation of an atmosphere of panic and terror, the leaders of KOR and the other reactionary groups within the "Solidarity Trade Union," such as the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOS) and the Independent Polish Alliance (KPN), have virtually completed the tasks established for the first stage and the second stage. They have persuaded millions of workers to join the "Solidarity Trade Union" with the naive hope that the "Solidarity Trade Union" will help them struggle for "socialist change." Using strikes as an effective weapon, they have forced the Polish government to take one step backward after another and blamed the party and government of Poland for the decline of the economy and the increasing difficulties in the daily lives of the people. They have attacked and toppled many genuine cadres and members of the party, persons who are completely loyal to socialism and the independence of Poland, loyal to the international obligation of Poland within the world socialist community. To a certain degree, they have weakened the army and public security forces, which are faithful components of the socialist system. They have turned the "Solidarity Trade Union" into an independent political organization while organizing and controlling the so called "Solidarity Trade Union of Private Farmers," which, in essence, is a political organization of reactionaries in the countryside, and taken control of the "Independent Student Union," which have a total of more than 12 million members. And, they have also taken control of an important portion of the mass media and used these media to attack the Polish party and state in exact accordance with the plan set forth in the platform of the "Solidarity Trade Union."

On the basis of these "achievements," the extremist reactionaries within the "Solidarity Trade Union" have openly promoted a scheme to seize political power in Poland. During the 7 September session of the "Solidarity Trade Union" Congress in Gdansk, one leader of "Solidarity" said to the delegates attending the congress that "we are now entering a new fight and need talented generals." During the closing

session of the congress, he also said that "we have an opportunity to create a Poland of which our forefathers dreamed." His underlying meaning was bluntly stated by another leader of KOR: "The communist system in Poland will collapse...the 'Solidarity Trade Union' will take the lead in filling in the power vacuum in Poland"(UPI, Warsaw, 16 September 1981).

This is quite clear! The first stage of the "Solidarity Trade Union" Congress held in Gdansk between 5 and 10 September was an important milestone marking the shift of the counter-revolutionary process in Poland to the decisive stage, the stage of seizing political power in order to abolish the socialist system in Poland. As the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party observed in a statement on 16 September: "At the Gdansk congress, the line on establishing an opposition organization that openly establishes the objective of seizing political power and changing the socio-political system in Poland was victorious." And, "this occurred as a result of the activities of persons who have ties with the centers sabotaging socialist Poland in the West and with extreme right factions within the trade union movement, from whom they have received financial and technical assistance."

The "Solidarity Trade Union" Congress in Gdansk endorsed an opposition trend that poses the danger of leading to bloodshed in Poland. The resolutions adopted by the congress strike at the bases of socialism, at the National Assembly, the highest organ of state power in Poland. The Gdansk congress also brazenly issued "an appeal to the peoples of the Eastern European countries" and provoked the allies of Poland. In particular, during this period of time, an insane anti-Soviet campaign was accelerated to a dangerous level. It is very easy to see that this anti-Soviet wave is a very important manifestation of the counter-revolutionary process in Poland because it is directed against the most powerful ally of Poland, against a firm guarantee of the existence and development of Polish socialism and national independence.

In late September and early October 1981, the "Solidarity Trade Union" conducted the second stage of the congress in Gdansk; at this congress, the radical reactionaries within the "Solidarity Trade Union" aggressively appealed for a struggle for the "right of self-management" of workers, considering this to be a "hammer" opening the way for the advance by anti-socialist forces. Clearly, the reactionaries in Poland are unwilling to stop in the face of the warnings from the Polish party and government; to the contrary, they have continued to push the wave of counter-revolution forward. The declaration by the radical reactionaries in the "Solidarity Trade Union" that the various counter-revolutionary groups had been disbanded was nothing more than a strategy of deception designed to fool the people!

In the face of the increasingly brazen counter-revolutionary activities of the reactionaries in the "Solidarity Trade Union," more and more Polish workers and people see their true face. Hundreds of thousands of workers have left the "Solidarity Trade Union" to join sector trade union organizations led by the Polish United Workers' Party. Within the party and among the people of Poland, the voices demanding the punishment of the counter-revolutionaries are becoming more numerous with each passing day.

Expressing this common aspiration of the communists and the people of Poland, the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party appealed for a "struggle against the adventurist policy, against the effort to provoke a struggle to seize political power and against the schemes to abolish the socialist state." The Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party has also emphasized: "We will protect socialism as though we were protecting Polish independence. To do this, the state will employ every means demanded by the situation."

As loyal friends of the party and people of fraternal Poland, the party and people of Vietnam have long been attentively following the development of the Polish situation. We are concerned over the aggressiveness of the counter-revolutionaries in Poland and are happy to see that many persons within the party and among the people of Poland are resolutely struggling to stop the counter-revolutionary wave in Poland.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the people of Vietnam resolutely support the difficult but inevitably victorious struggle being waged by the party and people of Poland against the reactionaries. In an address delivered at the first session of the 7th Legislature of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on 26 June 1981, Le Duan, the general secretary of our Party Central Committee, said: "We hereby express our genuine support of the struggle being waged by the Polish United Workers' Party, by the communists and the people of Poland against the reactionary powers to smash their counter-revolutionary plan and protect the fruits of the revolution and the vital interests of socialist Poland. We affirm our strong solidarity with the communists and people of fraternal Poland. We firmly believe that the communists and people of Poland, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, will win victory in this difficult and complex struggle."

This confidence felt by our party is firmly based. Because, the working class and people of Poland have a long-standing revolutionary tradition and are being wholeheartedly assisted by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Inspired by the statement by Brezhnev, the general secretary of the CPSU, at the 26th Congress of the CPSU that "we will not allow socialist Poland to be violated, we will not abandon a fraternal country in difficulty," the communists and the people of Poland will surely crush the counter-revolutionary activities of the enemy, firmly protect the socialist system in Poland and forever keep socialist Poland a trustworthy member of the world socialist community.

7809

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DEVELOP AND MANAGE THE MOBILIZED RESERVE FORCES FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 10-16

[Article by Colonel General Le Trong Tan, Member of the VCP Central Committee, Vice Minister of National Defense and Chief of Staff of the VPA -- translation previously appeared in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 236, 9 Dec 81, pp K8-K13. Capitalized passages published in italics.]

[Text] I. A Strategic Problem of the All-People National Defense Undertaking

The fourth national congress of party delegates pointed out: "Along with building the country in all respects, we must exert efforts to build a firm and strong system of all-people national defense, strengthen the People's Armed Forces and develop the national defense industry in order to ensure that the country can readily defeat all offensives by the aggressors." (Footnote: Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of Party Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 25)

Scrupulously implementing the resolution of this congress, our people and army have recorded victories of historic significance: defeating two wars of aggression masterminded and directly waged by the Beijing expansionists. Through these two wars, the reactionaries within the Beijing authorities have exposed themselves as **THE DIRECT AND DANGEROUS ENEMY OF OUR PEOPLE**. This has been clearly revealed in their maniacal ambitions, wicked designs and cunning maneuvers against our country (as well as against Laos and Kampuchea).

At present supported and abetted by bellicose U.S. forces, the Beijing reactionaries are daily and hourly waging a war of sabotage in all fields in an attempt to weaken our country. They have launched armed provocation and land-grabbing activities, conducted psychological and espionage wars and are preparing conditions for waging a war of aggression on a large scale to annex our country. Therefore, "for a long period of history, all our party, people and army must continue to carry out at the same time **TWO STRATEGIC TASKS: SUCCESSFULLY BUILD SOCIALISM AND ALWAYS STAND COMBAT READY TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND FIRMLY DETERMINED TO FOIL ALL THE SCHEMES AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY CHINESE EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONISM AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARY FORCES AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE WORLD PEOPLES.**" (Footnote: Le Duan: "All for the Socialist Fatherland and for the People's Happiness," speech delivered at the First Session of the Seventh National Assembly, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 7, 1981)

Always maintaining the country's combat readiness is a matter of survival for our nation. Along with building the country, we must constantly uphold vigilance, intensively consolidate national defense and ensure that our country will have increasingly powerful forces capable of fighting and routing the enemy right from the start under any war conditions, effectively protecting the people's lives and property and eventually winning total victory over the aggressors. Such a war would be a modern people's war for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Right from the outset, the local people's war and the war fought by regular army corps [binh doan] with combat coordination among various armed services and branches must be launched on a large scale and with ever more modern means.

The regular standardized and modernized army corps, which consist of various armed services and branches, will deal decisive blows at the enemy and advance, together with the People's Armed Forces, to smash the entire aggressor army. These forces must be made really powerful with an ever higher level of standardization and modernization, well trained and resourceful in combat. Engaging in coordinated combat by the various armed services and branches of a standardized and modernized army involved highly demanding requirements that must be met by every militaryman in the fields of politics, ideology, ethical virtues, physical fitness, knowledge of military science and technology, skills in military labor and combat proficiency. In peacetime this army cannot be organized in accordance with a wartime table or organization. It is best, most rational and most economical to do the following: The standing forces only need to have a sufficient total number of troops with high quality but each grassroots-level unit; each sector and each locality must develop massive reserve forces that stand ready to be mobilized to meet the needs of the army. The reserve forces consist of militarymen who have finished their obligatory military service in the standing army and youths belonging to an age group established by law who have been properly given military training and closely controlled. Under normal conditions, they are members of the production forces but when the order is given they will become cadres and combatants of army units that have already been organized, developed and trained in peacetime and are now ready for combat.

Building a standardized and modernized army with powerful standing forces that are sufficiently manned and of high quality, while organizing massive, mobilized reserve forces that have been properly trained and closely controlled is our understanding and concretization of the party line concerning the all-people national defense system, the arming of the masses and the combination in the new stage of the revolution. This line will ensure that our country can simultaneously step up economic construction and intensify the consolidation of national defense and can constantly improve its combat readiness level and capability.

Satisfactorily developing and managing the mobilized reserve forces for national defense constitutes a strategic problem of the all-people national defense system. THIS IS A TASK TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE AND ALL SECTORS AND ECHELONS OF THE STATE MACHINERY. It just cannot be done by the Ministry of National Defense and the army alone.

II. The Objective and the Very New, Very High Requirements of the Task of Developing and Managing the Mobilized Reserve Forces

During the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, under party leadership, our state adopted various systems for mobilizing the forces of the entire people to strengthen the army in view of the ever higher requirements of the war. These systems consisted of the voluntary system, the military obligation system, the upgrading system which turned militia and self-defense forces into local forces and the local forces into regular forces, and so forth. These methods of mobilizing manpower for the army were highly effective in the war of liberation. Nevertheless, they are only suitable for an army consisting purely of infantry units deployed separately or concentratedly that are engaged in combat and construction at the same time.

With these methods, the forces mobilized are not yet prepared to form into units. The essential requirements of mobilization are yet to be institutionalized into law that must be observed by everyone, every sector and every echelon. After completing their military service, cadres and combatants return to civilian life. They are not closely controlled; nor are they given further military training. Therefore, when they are needed for military service again, we do not immediately have complete units with cadres and combatants who are fully prepared and closely organized so as to fight and defeat the enemy promptly.

Today our army is a standardized and modernized people's army capable of fighting with coordination among the various armed services and branches. Under the new combat circumstances, every cadre and combatant must receive comprehensive training so that he will possess a high level of combat effectiveness, good skills in military techniques and the capability to master modern weapons and equipment. When war breaks out, the army must be able to expand rapidly in number while still maintaining its quality.

In order that our country in peacetime can maintain a necessary standing army but is still able to meet the requirements of war, we must build and manage the mobilized reserve forces in such a way as to ensure that we can expand the standing army when necessary while successfully meeting the national defense requirements of war under modern conditions. The reserve forces must be mobilized simultaneously on a large scale in accordance with a predetermined plan for each locality. The cadres and combatants mobilized must be fully qualified for combat duties as members of the standing army. The objective of mobilization work is to set up on the spot whole units (regiments or divisions) in accordance with predetermined plans, which are complete with a command structure for the various armed services and branches, the necessary conditions for obtaining material and technical supplies and the means for mobility to engage in combat activities immediately. The mobilization of such units for combat action must be reckoned with not in terms of months or weeks but hours. Therefore, it is necessary to organize the management of mobilized reserve forces in every grassroots-level unit and every locality in a really scientific manner and in strict accordance with uniform regulations.

This is a very new problem involving very high requirements that stems from the objective demands of war for the defense of the socialist fatherland. With regard to our country at present, this IS AT THE SAME TIME AN IMPERATIVE AND PRESSING PROBLEM AND A FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM PROBLEM that must be resolved to ensure victory in the war for national defense.

The task of building and managing the reserve forces must be reflected in all activities, building the economy and developing culture and science and technology. To carry out this task satisfactorily means to understand the party viewpoint and line on all-people national defense, on people's war and on the coordination between economic development and national defense.

All people, especially able-bodied youths, must undergo military training and must be integrated into armed mass organizations. It is necessary to coordinate production and other tasks with military training in order to enable each citizen to fully perform their two obligations, engaging in productive labor to help build the country and defending the fatherland and maintaining political security and social order in localities.

In universities, vocational education schools, party schools and schools for training economic and social management cadres, cultural, political and vocational improvement courses and military training sessions must be included in the curriculum in order to train commanding cadres and technical personnel for the armed forces.

The military service law must be applied to all able-bodied and healthy youths. Youths of the prescribed military age must perform compulsory military service in the regular army units. After their military service period is over, they will return to their production position and other tasks and become members of the reserve forces. Once in these forces, they will be controlled closely and will undergo periodic refresher military training. When the state mobilizes them back to the armed forces, they can engage in combat immediately.

Each locality, sector and grassroots-level unit, depending on its characteristics and duties, must build units and armed branches ready for the armed forces. For example, the transportation and construction sector will build military transportation and engineer units; the postal and wired radio sector will build signal units; the chemical sector will build chemical units; and so forth. Production establishments, localities and sectors must also prepare, according to plan, conditions for ensuring rear services and means of transportation for mobilized units to perform their combat duties promptly.

In wartime the mobilized reserve forces are secret figures that surprise the enemy. They will change the balance of power on the battlefield quickly if they are properly organized and trained and closely managed in time of peace.

Our country is now in a period of transition to socialism. Seriously implementing compulsory military service vis-a-vis able-bodied and healthy youths, providing proper military training for all people and closely managing the mobilized reserve forces are active contributions to the building of new men and the strengthening of social management. By carrying out these tasks satisfactorily, we will not only save national defense expenditures but will also help actively to accelerate economic development and the establishment of a new order and a new discipline in our society.

III. Building and Managing the Mobilized Reserve Forces are Systems of Close, Uniform, Continuous and Scientific Organizational Tasks

Under the party leadership, building and managing the mobilized reserve forces for the national defense cause are the duties of all people and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In carrying out the tasks of building and managing the reserve forces, persons in charge of units, production establishments, localities, sectors and echelons must DIRECTLY embark on organizing the training and management of the mobilized reserve forces and are responsible to the state for the mobilization of these forces and the necessary material facilities according to a concentrated and unified plan. To fulfill these tasks successfully and most profitably for the economy-developing undertaking, there must be A SYSTEM OF CLOSE AND UNIFORM ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES.

The organization and management of manpower and equipment -- which is necessary for their mobilization when there is war -- in each grassroots-level unit and each economic and technical sector is a primary task. If manpower and equipment are not well managed and if plans for using them are not available now, we will certainly become passive when war breaks out.

We are carrying out a new distribution of manpower throughout the country. Zoning and planning work for such a distribution is being studied and gradually organized and carried out. In devising a strategic deployment of manpower that benefits both the economy and national defense, we must take into account military tasks in each locality, especially the task of building regular army units as the situation may require. On this basis, plans must be worked out to move manpower about according to a definite structure and to quantitative and qualitative requirements in order to create sources of manpower reserves for national defense.

Our army has more than 30 years of continuous warfare. Our armed services and branches are in the process of development. At present training reserve cadres and technical personnel to meet the requirements for expanding the army when they arise is an important and urgent task. Special attention must be given to training reserve cadres and technical personnel at colleges and vocational middle schools. Training objectives, programs and methods must be carefully devised to suit the country's current situation and tasks, and at the same time develop the technical speciality of each training institution. The best efforts must be made to avoid formalism, perfunctoriness and irresponsibility. Party schools and economic and social management schools for cadres -- centers for training the country's leading and managerial cadres -- must formulate their own military study programs patterned on a uniform plan so that cadres, upon graduation, will be fully capable of guiding and organizing the building of the all-people national defense system and carrying out people's war in every unit and every locality.

For many years now we have enforced the military obligation system for young men. Since the country has always been in a state of war, the implementation of the military obligation has borne the characteristics of the recruitment of troops with not so complicated methods and procedures. Today, implementing the military obligation is intended to induct into the army ALL young men within the prescribed age group and train them (in peacetime) as cadres and combatants of the standing army. Afterwards, they will return to civilian life to resume production and other tasks as members of the army ON RESERVE STATUS WHO ARE INCLUDED IN THE TABLE OF ORGANIZATION FOR MOBILIZED RESERVE FORCES UNITS SET UP FOR SUBSEQUENT YEARS. Over time, the army still has the responsibility to manage and train them. The persons in charge of production, administrative or service units shall manage them into two aspects: managing members of the work force and managing army cadres and combatants who have been assigned to mobilized reserve forces units. Therefore, when changing their tasks or work locations, the persons in charge must work in coordination with the military organs concerned to arrange for their replacements. This is necessary so that, should a mobilization order be announced, the units concerned could proceed with their activities normally.

Preparations must be made in advance to create favorable conditions for the youths to score good grades in studying and training upon joining the army. Specifically, we must organize basic military drills and physical exercises for the youths and teach them the spirit of socialist patriotism, the spirit of socialist internationalism, the obligation to defend the fatherland, the fine nature and traditions of the army and so forth. If all students in our country are fully qualified both mentally and physically to fulfill the functions of members of the standardized and modernized People's Army upon finishing a secondary general education, thanks to the efforts of the education and public health sectors and the youth unions, they will achieve higher quality while undergoing training in the army and we can further diversify their military study programs. After serving for a period of time in the army, they can develop the good effects of their basic and systematic military training for many years to come. If this is done, after a number of years our country will have very massive reserve forces; proceeding from this, we will be able to set up, within a very short time, many divisions comprised of various armed branches possessing a fighting strength comparable to that of the standing armed forces.

Since the requirements for implementing the law on military obligation change, there will be changes in methods and procedures. First of all, it is necessary to systematically keep track of the registration of youths for military obligation at certain predetermined points in time in accordance with uniform standards. By doing this satisfactorily, we will establish the conditions for distributing the work force in a rational and scientific manner to the various armed services and branches in a given area, and this will be beneficial to both national defense and long-term economic construction.

Every year, under the military obligation law, large numbers of discharged cadres and combatants have become part of the army's reserve forces. Formerly, discharged troops in the north who returned to their home localities had a level of military knowledge little higher than that of the local militia and self-defense forces. Those discharged could be assigned to any job under a correct treatment policy. The number of army cadres and combatants with a high level of technical knowledge is now increasing. This constitutes a military technical work force with high levels of education and technical specialties that we have trained with much time and effort. To the various economic and technical sectors, this force constitutes an important source of technical replacements. A major problem has arisen from this issue: We should distribute and administer this force well so that, on the one hand, we can make full use of the skills acquired by these troops during their time in the army to accelerate production vigorously and on the other hand we can preserve and develop their military skills in connection with productive labor. It would be a real waste if we assigned a gun surveyor or a tank master to a simple labor job. All military agencies, production units and administrative and professional installations should coordinate with one another to carry out the distribution, employment and management of discharged troops well. This issue is causing many major and complicated economic, military, political and social problems.

The mobilized reserve forces of the army may periodically receive refresher military training for a given time in the areas where they engage in production or work, or in the mobilized units as a whole. The military agencies as well as the production units should be well aware of this requirement to determine the time and procedures for conducting military training properly.

These tasks indicate that the establishment and administration of mobilized reserve forces constitute an entire system of very scientific and elaborate organizational tasks which must follow the party viewpoints and lines. This requires personnel management and training to make workers and national defense combatants out of these forces, which will work simultaneously in both systems of production and military organizations. These mobilized reserve forces will develop with time. If we establish and administer these forces well it will benefit both national defense and the economy. This is an important political mission for the system of proletarian dictatorship -- a mission related directly to the interests of each individual, each collective and the entire country.

To fulfill the above duties successfully, it is obvious that we should regularly educate the people, especially youths, on the revolutionary situation and tasks, the close relationship between national construction and defense, revolutionary vigilance, patriotism, love of socialism and the duties and benefits of citizens. Along with the political and ideological education, the organizational tasks should also be emphasized.

The mobilization task involves several specific professional requirements, and a large amount of work must be done successively from year to year. It calls, therefore, for a system of responsible agencies down to the village level. To lead this task correctly and in the right direction, thereby developing the integrated strength of all sectors and echelons, it is necessary to intensify the leadership of party organizations and work coordination among various sectors of the state machinery. The military agencies must fulfill their role as advisers to the party committees. At the same time, they must fulfill their function as specialized agencies of the state administration well.

Implementing the various resolutions of the party and state on maintaining combat readiness and on building and administering the mobilized reserve forces, many provinces and cities have recently organized and conducted training and drills under the direct leadership of the party committee echelons. The initial results have asserted the necessity and correctness of the questions raised. At the same time, they also point out the new potentials and favorable conditions as well as questions to be continually discussed and resolved in order to systematize this task. With a common effort, it is certain that this task will provide good results and make a strong impact on national construction and defense.

CONCERNING THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES

Hanoi PAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 17-21, 34

[Article by Bui Thanh Kiet]

[Text] In the general line of the party concerning the socialist revolution in our country, which was set forth by the 4th Congress, the scientific-technological revolution has been defined as the key. The resolution of the congress set forth the task of "developing science and technology with a view toward supporting production, everyday life and the defense of the nation." As regards the natural and technical sciences, the congress set forth the task of "endeavoring to create a modern system of science and technology for the country within three or four 5-year plans."

Recently, the resolution of the Political Bureau on the policy regarding science and technology further defined this general line in the field of science and technology. In actuality, this is the specific line of our party in this extremely important field of the socialist revolution. Now that the line, policy, tasks, objectives and guidelines for developing science and technology have been established, the problem we face is that of strengthening the party's leadership in order to turn the policy regarding science and technology into reality, into specific actions by the masses.

Regarding this, there are many jobs that must be performed; however, in the initial stage, the leadership of the party must focus on the following matters:

1. Taking determined steps to bring about a strong change: closely linking science and technology to production and social life.

Science is born as a result of the needs of material production and social life. It is closely linked to the production process, to social life and has become a moving force in the development and improvement of production, in the improvement of the standard of living of the people. The creation of material wealth depends upon the overall level of scientific development, upon technological advances or upon the application of this science in production.

In the period of the scientific and technological revolution, the organic combination of science and technology with production and social life is becoming increasingly

clear. This characteristic is the factor that determines the development of science into a direct production force.

In our country at this time, production and the lives of the people are making pressing demands for scientific and technological advances. Meanwhile, we have a relatively large force of scientific and technical cadres who fervently desire to make contributions and serve the country. However, the results of our scientific and technical activities are not commensurate with existing potentials. The results of scientific research and technological advances of value have not been widely applied in production and everyday life. We are wasting a rather large amount of our intelligence partially because, in the organization of implementation, we have failed to closely link science and technology to the pressing requirements of production, everyday life and national defense.

The situation and tasks of our country and the living conditions of our people at this time do not permit us to operate in an ineffective manner. We must endeavor to insure that the production and lives of our people are closely related in every field to scientific and technological advances and not merely engage in science and technology "for the sake of science and technology"!

Production and social life constantly demand and constantly encourage a higher level of scientific and technological advances; the achievements of production and the realities of social life are the most reliable proof of scientific and technological advances. As a result, the development of science and technology must be closely linked to production and social life.

The unity and combination of development in nature and in society and the role of man in production demand the coordination of the activities of the social sciences and the natural sciences.

The Marxist-Leninist social sciences are the theoretical and political-ideological tool of the working class and its party in socialist construction and the protection of the fatherland. On the basis of the requirements of production and of society, the party sets forth for the persons engaged in scientific research at the institutes of science, the colleges and the scientific installations the task of applying the knowledge of the various fields of the social sciences, natural sciences and technical sciences in practice.

The increasing development and diversity of the socialist economy demand that economic management and social management be constantly expanded, improved and deepened on the basis of scientific and technological advances.

Science is the fundamental matter in plans and is, at the same time, the factor determining the implementation of plans. The achievements of scientific and technological advances must become the basis of planning, must be expressed within plans. Each production sector, each economic unit and the various cultural-social activities must be firmly supported by science in order to achieve the highest possible results. Therefore, formulating norms for introducing scientific and technological advances in production, which involves establishing a system of ceilings on the consumption of raw materials, building materials and energy, on labor costs and so forth, is a pressing task.

Thus, at this time, the practical viewpoint of foremost significance in the leadership of the party is to implement the policy regarding science and technology well.

In summary, in all sectors, on the central level, the local level and the basic level, it is necessary to launch a movement to apply the achievements of scientific and technological advances in order to raise the productivity of everyday work in all jobs.

2. Leading the improvement of the training, distribution and utilization of scientific and technical cadres.

The development of science and technology in our country demands that we not be satisfied with the number or the quality of existing cadres. The pressing, immediate needs of production, everyday life and national defense face us with the task of quickly improving the training and utilization of scientific and technical cadres to be more efficient. Moreover, our country must move forward, must reach a high level of development of scientific and technological advances. Our concern for the future of the country must be expressed as concern for the training of scientific and technical cadres.

The resolution of the Political Bureau on the policy regarding science and technology states: "In the training of scientific and technical cadres, it is necessary to fully understand the resolution of the Political Bureau on educational reform." We must implement the scientific and educational policy of our party beginning in general school education and must mold the new man, the new style laborer for socialism. In the reform of education, we must be determined to build a new style system of schools, from general schools and trade training schools to colleges, and closely coordinate the providing of knowledge to serve as the basis for the comprehensive development of the student with occupational counselling and occupational training. The reform of education ushers in a new stage of qualitative development, one consistent with the requirements of the revolution in the new stage.

The general schools, by providing a polytechnical education, bring students close to productive labor and social life, develop within them the ability to penetrate the various production processes of nature and society and provide them with knowledge of history, revolutionary traditions, literature and art. The colleges are a tremendous scientific and technical potential of the country. Each college is an installation that trains cadres and is, at the same time, a scientific research facility. Every institute of scientific research is also a post-graduate cadre training facility. Within the colleges and the vocational middle schools, it is absolutely necessary to closely coordinate instruction, training, scientific research and production. It is necessary to develop within college students the ability to independently delve into the various fields of science and apply this knowledge in the realities of production and social life. It is necessary to create within every college and vocational middle school an intense atmosphere surrounding scientific and cultural activities, one that attracts the mass of students to scientific research, literary and artistic activities oriented toward production and toward supporting the lives of the people.

Next, it is necessary to strongly develop the post-graduate training of cadres, which must be closely guided by planning and programs, to insure the coordination of the corps of cadres and insure that this corps is consistent with the objectives of the policy regarding science and technology, with special concern for training and developing the corps of young cadres through the research student system at home and abroad, primarily at home, with a view toward training persons who hold the degrees of master of science and doctor of science.

To be able to make rapid progress in the scientific and technological revolution, we must know how to select and train good students in all localities and areas of the country as skilled scientific-technical cadres, as talents of the country. In the immediate future, we can conduct many specialized classes on the middle school-general school level (level III) in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, foreign languages, literature, art and so forth. We must organize the recruiting of good students in all rural areas, mountain areas, ethnic minority areas, former resistance war areas, new economic zones, border areas, the islands and so forth for these specialized classes. Instead of holding mass college entrance examinations for students in the countryside, the mountains and the cities, we must give full attention to the remote areas and take steps to recruit students who are talented but who are limited by the educational conditions in their locality and lack the conditions needed to develop and train them to be scientific-technical cadres for the various localities and areas of the country.

One point with which our party is very concerned is that of continuing to increase the percentage of cadres who lead sectors and specialists who are highly educated, scientific-technical management cadres, project engineers, industrial engineers and designers. Only by urgently completing the planning of training, insuring that the corps of scientific-technical cadres is well-coordinated in terms of its occupational structure, level of education and type of cadres and insuring the quality of training is it possible to meet the requirements of increasing the strong socio-economic development in our country.

The agencies and organizations of the party on the various levels must concern themselves with training skilled workers, with heightening the enthusiasm for creative labor of the corps of workers, beginning with the working class. The enthusiastic participation by persons who directly produce material wealth, by scientists, designers and industrial engineers in the effort to resolve industrial technical problems and organize production manifests the spirit of socialist cooperation and the implementation of the right of collective ownership in the scientific and technological revolution.

Training is important but the matters of correctly deploying and utilizing scientific and technical cadres in order to fully utilize the capabilities of each person and of the entire corps of cadres are even more important.

The deployment and utilization of scientific-technical cadres have long been marked by many inefficiencies, by many cases of cadres being utilized in occupations other than that for which they were trained and by slowness.

In the future, how should scientific and technical cadres be deployed so that their deployment is efficient?

Of primary and foremost importance is the need to deploy scientific and technical cadres in accordance with the requirements of the revolution. Importance must be attached to providing additional competent scientific and technical cadres to production installations for the purpose of effectively introducing science and technology in production. These cadres must be deployed in accordance with the requirements of the various localities; the various sectors must give priority to the installations and the installations must give priority to production.

At present, the deployment of scientific and technical cadres is, generally speaking, as follows: the number of scientific-technical cadres assigned to administrative agencies is too high compared to the number assigned to installations. At production installations, which are places that urgently need scientific and technical cadres, and even on the district level, the number of scientific-technical cadres is very small. The vast majority of scientific and technical cadres work on the central and provincial levels.

On the central and provincial levels, priority should be given to assigning competent scientific and technical cadres to scientific agencies that have pressing requirements in order to rapidly establish well coordinated collectives that are fully capable of performing the tasks and carrying out the programs in scientific and technological advances that are most important and decisive and that show the most prospects. Cadres who recently graduated from school should spend time participating in practical activities at production installations or scientific installations. Production installations are the foundation that forges consciousness and practical skills.

When assigning work to scientific-technical cadres, attention must be given to the aspirations of the cadre, especially the aspiration of a cadre to be assigned a job that is consistent with his capabilities. However, some aspirations are not legitimate, not consistent with the requirements of the revolution and not consistent with the occupation for which a scientific-technical cadre was trained or his capabilities if he is to serve the country better.

The utilization of scientific and technical cadres in the sector for which they were trained is designed to provide them with the conditions to operate effectively and achieve high productivity. The selection of cadres should be based on standards that are consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical work. We should avoid assigning persons who do not have the ability to perform scientific research to scientific research facilities. We should encourage instructors to participate in scientific research and production; on the other hand, scientific research cadres, production cadres and management cadres should be encouraged to participate in instruction. We should establish a system whereby every cadre can perform two or three jobs and receive an additional two or three-thirds of his salary if deemed worthy because the salary of cadres, in general, including scientific and technical cadres, is closely linked to the results of the work performed by the sectors, research units and production units they support.

In addition, the party must create every other condition needed for scientific and technical cadres to become increasingly content with their assignment and fully utilize their capabilities by giving them assignments that are consistent with their family circumstances, giving attention to persons working at remote places, establishing suitable organizations for overseas compatriots to make effective contributions, providing the equipment needed for their work, providing scientific information, etc.

3. Attaching full importance to building the organization of the party at scientific and technical facilities.

Because the guidelines and tasks of the policy regarding science and technology have an impact upon all fields of production and social life, we must attach full importance to building the party and improving the activities of the party organizations in the ministries, sectors, research organizations and scientific and technical management organizations.

The organizations of the party in the ministries and within the sectors on the central level are the organizations that lead, organize and mobilize the rapid application of the achievements of science and technology in production. No sector can successfully carry out these tasks without taking the initiative and coordinating with the other sectors, with the other scientific and testing agencies and units. The organizations of the party in the various localities and installations have the task of leading the research organizations, the scientific and technical management organizations and the experimentation and production units and leading the effort to apply the scientific and technological advances that are made. Efforts must be made on the central as well as the local and installation levels to make the organizations of the party sufficiently strong, especially in terms of their quality. It is necessary to build strong organizations of the party on the installation level, firmly adhere to the specific guidelines and tasks set forth by the party for the basic units, coordinate scientific and technical potentials and unite workers in order to perform these tasks in a highly effective manner. The organizations of the party at installations must teach and heighten the spirit of initiative and creativity of the mass of manual workers and collective farmers, of scientists and technical specialists so that they successfully apply scientific and technical advances.

The intellectuals who perform scientific and technical work have the ideal of wanting to make a contribution, to concerning themselves with major social questions, to truly uniting with one another and practicing socialist cooperation in scientific work. The party chapters must actively and constantly help them heighten their socialist awareness, mold the Marxist-Leninist world view and communist ethics and overcome manifestations of individualism and other deviations.

The party members at scientific and technical installations must manifest this in the political leadership of the party, in taking the lead in improving the quality and increasing the effectiveness of scientific research and experimentation and in mobilizing and organizing labor in accordance with the socialist mode.

The party must attach importance to building the Trade Union and heightening the role played by it in mobilizing and uniting every worker for the purpose of emulating to display initiative and creativity and accelerate the process of linking science with production.

The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union makes an extremely important contribution to the development of the modern scientific and technical sectors that support production, everyday life and the defense of the nation and to training youths to become scientists and young technical workers who show prospects for the country.

The various scientific and technological associations must be built and developed, must actively work to disseminate scientific knowledge among the people, encourage inventions and discoveries and broaden the scope of the contributions made by the persons engaged in scientific and technical work under the modern guidelines of the scientific and technological revolution.

Through the activities of the party organizations and the mass organizations in the movement to become involved in science and technology, the party has the conditions needed to educate, train and forge technical cadres and workers and, on this basis, develop the party among these persons and select persons who show prospects for training as leadership cadres and scientific and technical management cadres.

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SEVERAL MATTERS REGARDING SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC THOUGHT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 22-27

[Article by Tran Ngoc Hien]

[Text] Examined from the point of view of its nature, the process of building the new economy in our country is a conscious process. The characteristics, objectives and primary guidelines of this process were correctly set forth in the line adopted by the 4th National Congress of our party. However, the successful implementation of this line depends upon the leadership and economic management skills of the various levels and sectors, concerning which the issue of foremost importance at this time is the economic thinking of cadres.

The dialectical method and the historical materialism of Marxism-Leninism are the cornerstone of scientific and economic thought. This method "considers society to be a living body that is constantly growing (not something that is assembled like a machine and, as a result, permits the various social factors to be combined at will); to study this body, it is necessary to objectively analyze the production relations that form a specific social structure and necessary to research the laws governing the existence and development of this social structure."(1)

The system of social production is a living body that exists objectively (K. Marx called it the production body). This body consists of technical-production relationships, that is, of relationships between man and nature; economic-social relationships, that is, relationships among persons as classes, strata and groups of society. In this system of relationships, production relations "are the basic, initial relations that determine all other relations."(2) The essence of economic development is the reciprocal impact between these two systems of relations, that is, between production forces and production relations. Examining history, we see that technical-production relations and economic-social relations have become intertwined in an increasingly complex but also increasingly profound, clear and reasonable manner in keeping with the advance of the social revolutions and the scientific-technological revolution. A new economy is born as a result of the development of these relations as "an historic-natural process" in accordance with its own internal laws. The economic laws of socialism demand unity between the objective nature of the various laws and the consciousness of the state, of leadership and management cadres in the application of these laws. Because, man, even when he has become the master in the field of politics, cannot select production forces and

the structure of society on the basis of his own desires, but what man can do, therefore, is correctly evaluate the present state of production forces and reveal the social structure they need to develop. Under a system of private ownership, the various forms of production relations "open their own way" through the spontaneous actions of man; under socialism the objective forms of production relations must be learned and embodied in the various forms of planned economic organizations. Examining our country's situation, we clearly see that wherever production forces have a suitable form of production relations, they develop smoothly (as is the case with the product contract now being used). Conversely, wherever unsuitable forms of production relations are imposed upon production forces, which is caused by the maladies of determinism, of doing the same thing everywhere, of formalism and of the thinking of recording an achievement, production forces wither.

Facts that have existed for many years permit us to state that the correct application of the law that production relations must be consistent with the level of development of production forces is the factor of foremost importance in the implementation of the new line on building the economy. In previous societies, this law had an impact through antagonisms; under socialism, this law has its impact through the scientifically based, conscious activities of the state and leadership and management cadres. The special characteristic of the impact of this law in our country lies in the fact that the social nature of production forces develops at the same time as the social nature of production relations. The process of the socialization of production has been closely linked to socialist production relations from the very outset. This is an advantage compared to the capitalist process of socialization, a process which embodied from the very outset antagonisms between the social nature of production forces and the private nature of production relations. Whether or not we seize this advantage depends upon the application of the law mentioned above. As regards the economic thinking of leadership cadres, management cadres and economic researchers and instructors, the challenge that is difficult, the thing that must be created and also the thing that is most interesting is to find, within life itself, levels of development and forms of the new production relations that are consistent with production forces that have different levels of development. It is necessary to discover and create the conditions for necessary forms of transition of production relations that are born and exert their full impact under specific conditions as a result of the requirements of the development of social production forces. The lesson in the use of product contracts within agriculture is an example of the successful application of a form of transition. This is a matter that is in the nature of a law governing the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The significance of correctly applying this law lies not only in stimulating production, but also in laying the foundation for applying the various economic laws of socialism and achieving the combined development of the process of advancing to socialism.

On the basis of objective laws, Le Duan has pointed out:

"We must always fully understand that the characteristic of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is that production relations and production forces are always closely linked to each other, stimulate each other's development...; we must closely link the change in the system of ownership with the changes in the system of distribution, the organization of production and business and the management system."(3)

The application of the law that production relations must be consistent with the level of development of production forces in socialism is closely linked to the requirement of applying the law of planned and balanced economic development and the law of socialist reproduction. The result of the application of these laws is the formation of an efficient economic structure. The development of this structure determines, to a large extent, the rate of development of the economy, the ability to accumulate capital, the ability to improve the welfare of the people and the ability to change the structure of society. The experience of the fraternal countries has shown that taking the initiative in building an efficient economic structure is the way to correctly establish the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption, which is the most difficult economic relationship in our country, the way to establish sources of capital and utilize capital and the way to establish the relationship between economic development and cultural and social development. Therefore, planning the establishment of an efficient economic structure is a basic part of economic strategy.

Applying the various economic laws on the basis of the capabilities and needs of the country and the experiences of the fraternal countries, the 4th National Congress of the Party set forth an important argument concerning the modern industrial-agricultural structure and the course to be followed to establish this structure: establishing the correct relationship between heavy industry and agriculture and light industry. The congress considered this to be the central factor in the growth of the national economy.

During the first years of the period of transition in our country, the planning of the establishment of the economic structure must involve careful consideration of the specific historic conditions that exist when starting to build the new economy:

--The needs of society following the war are very complex and not consistent with the capabilities and requirements of economic construction (in terms of the magnitude, the structure and the quality of needs). In order to lay the basis for building the structure of the economy, we must analyze and transform the needs of society in keeping with the guideline of meeting the basic needs involved in replenishing the energy expended in production, limiting those need which, although high, are legitimate but decentralize the capital needed for economic construction and eliminating needs that can only be met through borrowing as well as artificial needs.

--Our sources of labor and natural resources are abundant but social labor productivity is low and does not go beyond the bounds of essential products. Therefore, meeting society's needs for essential products is the first step in the formation of the new economic structure.

--Our level of organization and management is very backward compared to necessary requirements, to existing material, scientific and technical conditions. This is the result of turning the supply system that existed during the war into a system of sweeping subsidies following the war and of being slow to overcome the bureaucracy within the economic and social management apparatus.

--International cooperation and the international division of labor are one of the factors of decisive significance in the establishment of the structure of the economy,

both in terms of material-technical bases and the organization of management. However, in order to make use of the achievements and the assistance of the fraternal countries, organizational work, ideological work and economic work must be improved.

In our country's economy, after dismantling the old economic structure by transforming the system of private ownership and establishing collective production units and by transforming the various circulation sectors, we have failed to establish normal reproduction relationships, that is, a division of labor and cooperation among installations and sectors and between production and circulation. The underlying causes of our slowness to establish the new economic structure are our failure to fully understand the position of foremost importance occupied by agricultural development during the initial period of socialist construction in our country and our failure to coordinate, from the very outset, industry with agriculture within a unified economic structure, which has separated industrial development from agricultural development somewhat. As a result, although the amount of capital that has been invested in production is not small, investment guidelines are incorrect and have decentralized investments with the result that agriculture and industry, the key sectors in the formation of the structure of the economy at this time, have not established normal reproduction relations. The present situation urgently demands the establishment of a reproduction structure between agriculture and the processing industry, between production and distribution-circulation. The formation of an industrial-agricultural structure, the reproduction of material wealth and the accumulation of capital for heavy industry can only begin in agriculture and the processing industry.

The characteristic of the planning of the establishment of the economic structure in our country is that the plan for building the structure of production must be closely linked to the plan for building the infrastructure of production (transportation, communications and liaison facilities, ports, warehouses, supply facilities) and the infrastructure of social activities (passenger transportation, post-telegraph services, commerce, public food facilities and so forth). The most difficult problem to resolve is how to reasonably divide investments between investments in the overall infrastructure of the economy and the infrastructures of the various areas, production centers or the production-territory combines, between the structure of production and the infrastructure (which includes the matter of transforming and strengthening the old structure of production and the old infrastructure). The infrastructure is an important factor in coordinating the sector with the locality and territory in order to distribute production forces and carry out integrated programs that have specific objectives. According to K. Marx, the infrastructure represents the general conditions underlying production and when these conditions are suited to the requirements of production, both productivity and the volume of production take a long stride forward.

Building the new economy is a struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism. Building the state apparatus from top to bottom, manifesting the leadership of the party and the right of collective ownership of the people and insuring that the state plays an effective economic role in actuality are the most important matters at this time. In order to advance the socialist revolution to total victory, our party has pointed out:

"The first prerequisite is to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people."(4) V.I. Lenin said that politics is the most vivid manifestation of the economy. Lenin not only set forth principles, but also gave us models to be applied in practice in his adoption and implementation of the new economic policy and the use of state capitalism in the period of transition. In view of the fact that the economy was weakened following the war and the fact that the base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the alliance of workers and farmers, had not been strengthened, Lenin realized that the basic interests of the working class, of the laboring people did not lie in focusing efforts on the development of industry, but in stimulating agriculture and improving the lives of farmers; their basic interest did not lie in immediately abolishing the private economy, but in using various policies that caused private interests to serve the interests of society, that is, using state capitalism to stimulate industry and the other sectors. Lenin said: "When politics demands a determined change, a flexibility and a skillful transition, leaders must understand this fact. A strong apparatus is one that is suited to every change."(5)

These are difficult matters for persons who lack the ability to engage in scientific thinking. They do not see political requirements and do not have the ability to coordinate political requirements with economic requirements, especially in the areas of socialist transformation and the application of commodity-money relations.

In order to thoroughly implement Lenin's principle in practice, it is necessary to research a mechanism in which politics and the economy have an impact upon each other. The first factor in this mechanism is economic interests. Lenin said: "The deepest roots of the domestic policy as well as the foreign policy of our state are the economic interests and the economic positions of the ruling classes in our country."(6)

In our society, the unity of the basic interests of the working class, farmers, intellectuals and other laborers is a tremendous force in building the new society, the new economy. The unity of the economic interests of society must be based on the political stand of the working class, that is, we must, from the point of view of the interests of all of society, establish a level at which the interests of all of society are smoothly coordinated with the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. The basis for determining suitable specific economic forms is the unity of these interests.

The requirements of leaders and economic managers is to have a deep and comprehensive understanding of the various interests and objective laws and carefully calculate each stage of development and each economic form in order to lay the basis for the economic strategy and policy of the party. However, the natural and social sciences, primarily Marxist-Leninist science, play a very important role and fulfill a very important task. The task of the science of economics is not only to record events and comment upon decisions that are made, but primarily to research basic issues, burning issues concerning interests and production relations as well as specific forms of organization consistent with production forces, apply the general laws and the

experiences of the fraternal countries to the realities of our country and make correct proposals to leaders. The history of the several decades of building the socialist economies in the fraternal countries as well as the realities of our country point out that only by relying upon the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory is it possible for politics to be the most vivid manifestation of the economy. Political economics deals with researching the strategic and tactical matters of the economic line and plays a very important role in guiding the economy and providing training in economic and scientific thought. In life, even though the strategies and tactics employed within the economy have different characteristics, they can evolve into one another; the successes of a tactic are sometimes developed into a campaign of a strategic nature, as is the case with product contracts now. For this reason, Lenin said that a line involves both science and art. The higher the scientific and practical nature of economic strategy and policy are, the more the line of the party becomes a program of voluntary actions by the masses, instead of stopping at political relations and economic thinking.

The second factor in a mechanism in which politics and the economy have a reciprocal impact upon each other is the state apparatus. Building a strong state so that the state can fulfill its economic role well, serve as a competent tool in the successful performance of economic tasks and become a school that forges cadres and leads masses to their position of ownership is part of the essence of socialism.

The third factor of the mechanism mentioned above is the historic role played by the working class and the revolutionary activism of the laboring people. Socialism is the result of the conscious creativity of manual workers, farmers and intellectuals under the leadership of the party. The interests and the right of ownership of the citizen are the concern, are the red thread running through every activity of our party. The growth of the masses in their ownership role is one of the most important results of the activities of the party and state, of the various organizations and of each leader. In the advance to socialism, we should not fear economic and social difficulties, but viewpoints and methods that are contrary to the requirements of the party, to the aspirations of the people in economic activities but are not rectified. Leaders and managers must know how to turn the truth that "the people can do anything regardless of how difficult it might be" into an emulation movement to build the new economy. Socialist emulation is an important factor in the mechanism of political and economic impact.

A full awareness of establishing a mechanism whereby politics and the economy have a positive impact upon one another will lay a firm foundation for simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions and for combining the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the superior aspects of socialism, which is the greatest moving force in the growth of the new economy.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume I, p 198.
2. Ibid., p 159.

3. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume III, p 59.
4. Ibid., p 49.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 87.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 36, pp 403-404.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLE OF SUBJECTIVE FACTORS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRODUCTION RELATIONS AND PRODUCTION FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 28-34

[Article by Nguyen Chi My--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 236, 9 Dec 81, pp K3-K8. Capitalized passages appeared in boldface]

[Text] Both natural and social laws are objective. "Nevertheless, the history of social development differs basically from the history of natural development at one point. In nature, only unconscious and insensible forces influence each other and the general law is manifested by this mutual influence. On the contrary, in social history, the active factor is constituted by conscious human beings who act thoughtfully or under the influence of zeal and who pursue definite goals." (Footnote: Karl Marx and F. Engels: Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, 1971, Hanoi, book 2, p 476) Therefore, when analyzing the influence of any social law, we must appreciate the active role of human subjectivity. When considering the law on the correspondence of production relations with the characteristics and standard of production forces, we must also maintain a similar viewpoint.

The socialist production relations appeared together with the process of dispossessing and eliminating the exploitative class and of liberating the laboring people, and with the process of collectivizing the main means of production of the small producers. On this basis, they began to develop and improve themselves. Here, we should not mistake the immaturity of socialist production relations for the absence of such relations. Nor should we charge the socialist production relations with decreased production, if any. Socialist production relations cannot develop their advantages alone; there must be some human influence to turn these advantages into realities. The problem is to see whether or not human knowledge and the application of these relations conforms with objective economic law.

The socialist production relations create conditions and a starting point from which to rationally use all the natural resources, manpower and finances; develop the national economy and society in a planned manner; apply all scientific and technical innovations on a broad scale; distribute labor rationally and combine the work force with the means of labor and the development of domestic economy with the division of international labor and cooperation in order to better fulfill the material and moral requirements of every member of society. The superiority of socialism lies in its objectivity. Nevertheless, man's subjective role in the application of this superiority of socialism to building and developing the economy is not always relevant.

The present campaign to award product contracts to groups of workers and individual workers in agriculture marks one of our new efforts to make use of the superiority of new production relations in conformity with objective economic law to vigorously accelerate agricultural production. It carries on and develops our experiences in

managing agricultural cooperatives during the process of determining and improving the management of agricultural production. We have achieved three contracts with production units for production volume, labor and cost (product contracts with units). Production units award each specific task temporarily to groups of workers or individual workers (also called piecework contracts). Along with the use of piecework contracts with individual workers, we have constantly improved management (first and second levels...), reorganized production, invested in the building of material and technical bases and accelerated agricultural production in the direction of intensive cultivation and multicropping, of expanding the cultivated area and of establishing specialized cultivation areas. We have launched several emulation movements to strengthen cooperatives and increase production in support of the frontline. Attention has been paid to the organization of campaigns to learn from advanced models in all localities.

However, in nearly all agricultural cooperatives, materials and capital are still being wasted and the number of work-days and daily work-hours remains low -- dangerously low in many places. Cases of careless and sloppy work, plowing and transplanting behind schedule and land lying fallow still prevail. Cases of corruption, theft and wastage are increasing. We have adopted many measures and have sought several ways to overcome these negative phenomena, but the number of advanced cooperatives still hovers around 30 percent. Workers lack eagerness, initiative, creativity and endeavour in production. Apart from other causes, everyone has admitted that due to our poor subjectivity, our production forces -- mainly the liberated laboring peasants -- have not developed their revolutionary role and the production relation do not conform with the production forces' characteristics and standard of knowledge. As a result, production relations cannot exert a positive influence on production forces.

The action of subjective factors here does not mean that we casually use our subject to influence the object, but we must know how the objective factors bear upon the object. The objective factors mentioned here are not the entire objective circumstance, but only those factors related to the goals set by the subjective factors. The objective circumstance here is not anything abstract and general but it is something very specific to each phenomenon and each process. We always remember Engels' words: "Man creates his own history, but he creates it in definite circumstances to which he must adapt himself," and "we create our own history but we create it WITH PREMISES AND ON CONDITIONS WHICH ARE VERY DEFINITE" (author's italics) (footnote: Karl Marx and F. Engels: Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, book 2, pp 959, 614). In this way, production forces and relations are not anything general. The socialist production forces and relations of each stage and each specific movement are all manifested under "very definite conditions and premises."

As a concrete manifestation of production relations, the type of piecework contracts which we have used in our agriculture, could have previously developed the effectiveness of technology, concentrated the source of products and begun the distribution according to labor. However, until a given time, this form of contract did not involve workers with the end results of production, depriving them of a stimulus for creativity.

As we all know, according to Karl Marx, the labor process is a combination of all the organizational and technical factors through which man influences nature and forces nature to serve his life. Marx also cautioned us that these factors bear the heavy historic and epochal marks, and even the specific characteristics of each sector and each profession.

The cultivation of wet rice -- including the plowing, nurturing and harvesting -- in our country is strictly characterized by season. It calls for detailed, careful and urgent work. The quality and high efficiency of the work must be ensured. The quantity and quality of labor is closely correlated. When the work is mechanized, the quantity and quality of labor depends mainly on machinery. When the work is done manually, the quantity and quality of labor depends mostly on workers' knowledge, ability and sense of responsibility. In awarding piecework contracts, what we know (though not yet accurately) is the amount of work, but not its quality, which is very difficult to realize.

Unlike industry, in which every part of the process leaves its mark on the finished products, in the planting of wet rice under the form of piecework contracts, the cooperative members do not leave any "signature" on rice that is the finished product. Although one can tell whether or not the number of workpoints achieved by each cooperative member reflects the quantity and quality of work correctly, one cannot know whether the economic interests and the final income received by each cooperative member are legitimate or not.

Moreover, there are cases of serious violations against the principle of distribution according to labor. As a result, the zeal, ardor and creative initiative of workers is on the wane. Collective labor is no longer a cause for joy, happiness and creativity, and people become indifferent and weary because they feel that they have not actually worked for themselves. This can explain why, at one time, troops had to go to some cooperatives (such as in Do Son, Haiphong) to harvest ripening rice, while the cooperative members left the localities for other small jobs or to do other jobs for their families.

At present, the material and technical bases of our agricultural cooperatives are still mainly operated and manufactured manually, the work method is also manual and labor itself has not been characterized by "joint work" but "only of working side by side" (footnote: Karl Marx: *Das Kapital*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, book 1, p 21), because "the nature of work cooperation" has not "become a technical essential determined by the characteristics of labor means."

Organizing labor does not only mean the division of labor but also work cooperation. However, in awarding piecework contracts for rice cultivation, some tasks along the line of cooperation are often not based on a scientific rate of labor division but are based on a casual and spontaneous rate of labor division. If work cooperation does not correctly follow the scientific rates of labor division, its effectiveness will definitely decrease. Such a case is the cause of protracted ineffectiveness of "work done by crowds" and "work done by relying on one another." As a result, work efficiency remains low and the cooperative members only work 4 to 5 hours daily.

Our cadres and cooperative members are advancing small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The reasons for the poor ability and the low standard for collective mastery of our cadres and cooperative members are that their managerial and biological knowledge is still not systematic and is inadequate as compared to their assigned jobs. The production process is complicated while the production and management instruments remain manually operated. There is also a heavy legacy of small-scale production. As peasants living in the period of transition, they can only develop their work and go as far as to give up their ownership in the process of socializing production means and of collectivizing work which is developing increasingly.

The more correctly the distribution system keeps up with the quantitative and qualitative criteria for labor, the more effectively can it consolidate and develop the labor productivity of peasants. The product contracts with groups of workers and individual workers have begun to respond to this principle. Distribution here means compensation for labor spent in the production process (five tasks worked jointly to a given extent) and also compensation for labor already materialized into products (three tasks assigned by cooperatives to groups of members or individual members). Here, distribution according to labor is based on the amount and quality of products turned out. The criterion for distribution here does not merely involve labor spent in each "work section" of the production process (because it is difficult to compute and control this cost) but also the material result of that labor process.

The product contracts with groups of workers and individual workers constitute a form of production management and labor organization which allows us to further understand the principle of remunerating workers according to the quantity and quality of their work. This form of management is suitable to the material and technical bases, the characteristics of wet rice planting and the ability and standard for collective mastery of cooperative members at the present time. It does not negate the advantages of the already established forms of management in cooperatives, but it eliminates facts contrary to the genuinely socialist management method which corresponds with the present stage of the new production relations.

THE NEW CONTRACTUAL FORM IS CLEARLY THE RESULT OF A "DIALOGUE" PROCESS THROUGH WHICH SUBJECTIVE FACTORS SURVEY FORWARD TO UNDERSTAND AND APPLY THE LAW OF PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRODUCTION FORCES. THE ACTIONS OF SUBJECTIVE FACTORS HERE HAVE BEGUN TO DEVELOP THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS, TURNING AN INHERENT POSSIBILITY INTO REALITY FOR US.

The advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, is the process of profound, comprehensive and strict revolutionary transformation which "radically eliminates the old while building the new" (footnote: Political Report of the VCP Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of Nationwide Party Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 49). This revolutionary process requires that our party creatively applies a series of general laws and the law of production relations to suit the production forces particularly. It can be summed up that our party has creatively applied this law to the revolutionary realities in Vietnam through the following points:

We must build anew from the very beginning both the forces and relations of production.

We must combine transformation with construction. We transform for constructive purpose and we build for transformation purposes, paying attention mainly to construction.

We must simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, considering the scientific and technical revolution as the key one.

We must develop the domestic economy well, in connection with the international division of labor and cooperation.

We must constantly take the initiative in improving and perfecting socialist production relations, which are an advantage peculiar to the socialist economy and society.

Our subjective influence on every step forward of the revolution must be exerted in such a way to ensure conformity between the production forces and the production relations.

The aforementioned points are correct, scientific and revolutionary.

As a manifestation of creativity, the product contracts with groups of workers and individual workers which originated from "unconventional contracts" experimentally established, studied and implemented by some localities, led to the issuance of Directive No 100-CT/TU on 13 January 1981 by the party Central Committee Secretariat.

It was difficult to formulate such a correct directive, but it is even more difficult to organize its implementation. An organizational method can be implemented well only when all of its factors function uniformly. If any of the factors is overlooked or incorrectly valued -- either too high or too low -- we will not be able to obtain the expected results.

In Ha Son Binh Province, in about 10 percent (21 out of 200) of the cooperatives, product contracts with groups of workers or individual workers have been applied. Some negative manifestations have been noted in these cooperatives. These cooperatives either have set contract norms incorrectly or have been unable to operationally control the five tasks assumed by collectives. This situation has led to the cooperatives giving nonspecific contracts for some tasks or for entire projects. Such manifestations as dubious allocation of ricefields, high death rates of draft buffalo, quarrels over irrigation water, unauthorized distribution of insecticide and giving bribes to get good ricefield allocations and other favors have been noted.

In some other cooperatives, creches have been destroyed and the number of indirect work credits have increased, resulting from the requirement of paying additional work credits to team chiefs and deputies (120 each to team chiefs and from 60 to 80 to deputy team chiefs). This situation has made the consolidation of cooperatives impossible and has caused internal disunity in the rural areas.

Nevertheless, we cannot use such manifestations to reject the system of product contracts with labor groups and individual workers. We should realize that "considering facts as they are and among their mutual relations, facts are always 'solid' and undeniable proof. However, if facts are taken out of context and independently from their mutual relations, and if they are selected randomly and casually, they will merely be children's games or even worse." (Footnote: V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, book 23, p 349)

Facts are proving that the negative phenomena noted in those localities which implement the product contracts with labor groups and individual workers, have been caused not by the new contractual policy itself but by the task of organizing its implementation.

Obviously, it would not be right to evaluate the new contractual system by charging it with all the positive and negative changes. For example, an increase in crop yields might result from the establishment of higher norms in contracts but also probably or partly from success in checking corruption and wastage or from thrifty practices. When computing production costs, we actually calculate only the expenses incurred by cooperatives, and we fail to take into account current and past labor spent by cooperative members (evidently this is connected closely with the awarding of product contracts to individual workers). Moreover, we should place the system of product contracts with labor groups and individual workers in the apparatus of the management system in general and among the background of objective circumstances in particular in order to see the many changes we have achieved. They are the resolution of the party Central Committee's sixth plenum on "Developing Production in the Bright Direction," the "Five Openness Movement" in agricultural cooperatives and production collectives in accordance with a decision of the Council of Ministers, a certain number of policies to stimulate the "unification of the three interests" in the economy and now the system of product contracts. All of these have contributed to bringing about good changes among broad segments of the masses. It would be also a mistake if we fail to see the significance and importance of product contracts with labor groups and individual workers. In the fraternal socialist countries, a trend is taking place in their developmental process to shift from the system of labor payment by piecework to the system of labor payment by products. The "confinement of work force and production means in an irrational form of labor organization using the system of egalitarian distribution, will create negativism of all forms, negate the people's collective mastery, restrict creativity and impair workers' zeal and sense of responsibility. (Footnote: NHAN DAN issue No. 97911, editorial, 7 April 1981)

The process of building socialism and especially of advancing from small to large scale production requires that we be thoroughly aware of the real situation of the production forces and relations in their developmental course. We must rely on them to outline the perspective of social development and we must also materialize our immediate steps ahead. If we overlook our long range goals because of immediate interests, we will fall into opportunism. However, if we see only the long range goals and not the immediate urgent tasks, the transitional steps and the specific steps and difficulties in our advance to the future, we will fall into officialism and illusionism.

The system of product contracts with labor groups and individual workers is now in progress. It equates production relations with the real situation of production forces. We might have to change the system in the future if the production forces and relations change again. This is understandable because in history the situation of production forces and relations has never been perfect but the production forces and relations have formed and developed in the course of social development.

The direction we must take immediately to develop production is to correctly implement Directive No 100-CI/TU of the party Secretariat on the improvement of contractual forms and the directive of the Council of Ministers on the implementation of the "five opennesses" movement in agricultural cooperatives and production collectives. On the one hand, we must realize the importance in establishing good production organizations and in thoroughly understanding the principle of distribution according to labor in order to encourage all people to work. On the other, we must also understand that if we fail to carry out the supervisory and control tasks well, it will be very difficult to organize production and implement the system of distribution according to labor, especially at the present time when negative phenomena have appeared in many localities.

The long-range plan for advancing small to large-scale socialist production in general, and in agriculture in particular, is to build "the system of collective mastery along with socialist industrialization." In order to do so, we have no other way than "to firmly grasp dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the laboring people's collective mastery and carry out simultaneously the three revolutions of which the scientific and technical revolution is the key." This means that we should constantly enhance our subjective ability to master the process of building a new socialist society.

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HAIPHONG IMPLEMENTS THE NEW CONTRACTUAL SYSTEM IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 35-40

[Article by Doan Duy Thanh, chairman of the Haiphong Municipal People's Committee
--passages between slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] I. One Year of Implementing the New Contractual System

The policy of applying "product contracts" with laborers in rice planting is correct and in conformity with the real situation of agricultural production and the wishes of the peasantry. For this reason, it has rapidly become a vigorous production movement in the rural areas. In Haiphong, the new contractual system was practiced in 127 cooperatives during the 1980 10th-month season; in the 1981 5th-month spring season, it was implemented in no less than 165 cooperatives, or 96.4 percent of the total number of cooperatives in the municipality.

The economic efficiency achieved has been truly encouraging. In the 1980 10th-month crop, Haiphong achieved a rice yield of 23.16 quintals per hectare and a gross grain output for all 1980 of 221,729 tons (a 6.3 percent increase over 1979). In the 1981 5th-month spring season, all the municipality overfulfilled the rice area plan by 1.95 percent (up by 2.4 percent over the 1980 5th-month spring season) and chalked up a rice yield of 25.13 quintals per hectare (an increase of 4.76 quintals of paddy per hectare over the 1980 5th-month spring season). All six districts of Haiphong have increased their grain output. In this year's 5th-month season, Do Son district augmented its grain production by 5,635 tons; Kien An district, 4,809 tons; Tien Lang district, 4,885 tons; An Hai district, 3,680 tons; Vinh Bao district, 1,100 tons; and Thuy Nguyen district, 2,550 tons. In this 5th-month spring season, tens of cooperatives increased their paddy output by 200-500 tons and from 70 to 80 percent of the contractors overfulfilled the production plans contracted out by cooperatives. In the same 5th-month spring season, the Haiphong agricultural service collected an additional 22,000 tons of paddy, up by 26 percent over the previous 5th-month spring season.

Although the peasants in Haiphong have not gained much experience after implementing the new contractual system for 1 year, they are encouraged by the concrete results obtained in the agricultural production front and confident that they can continue to advance agriculture steadily.

Having spread widely in the rural areas of Haiphong within only a short period of time, the new contractual movement have given rise to not a few deviations and shortcomings. The municipality has reviewed the movement so as to gain experience and has formulated concrete and uniform regulations and operational procedures to help the grassroots units overcome deviations and shortcomings and correctly implement the directive of the party Central Committee secretariat on improving contractual work in agricultural cooperatives.

II. The Product Contract System

Implementation of "product contracts," like other tasks in the management of agricultural cooperatives in Haiphong, is aimed at promoting production, turning out large amounts of products of good quality and at low cost, enhancing economic efficiency, motivating all people to engage zealously in productive labor, and stimulating increased labor productivity. It is also designed to promote effective use of land and existing material and technical bases, the application of advanced technology, and lower production costs; strengthen socialist production relations in the rural areas; boost the income of cooperative members and improve their living standards; increase the accumulation of cooperatives and enable them to discharge satisfactorily their obligations to the state.

In implementing the new contractual system, cooperatives had to tightly manage and effectively use collectively owned means of production (land, draft power, fertilizer, work tools and other material and technical bases).

The cooperative management board was the body responsible for organizing the management and direction of labor as well as the direction of all activities of the cooperative and laborers (from soil preparation, irrigation, rice varieties allocation, keeping to the planting schedule, fertilizer supply and pest control to the three tasks contracted out to laborers, namely transplanting, caring for and harvesting rice). The cooperative management board was also responsible for bringing into full play the superiority of cooperation and applying the division of labor while promoting zeal for the work of collectives of cooperative members and each laborer on the basis of prompting all people to pay attention to and closely associate themselves with the results of their production work.

The production unit committee was responsible for managing all daily production activities of cooperative members and controlling and guiding them in correctly implementing the technical procedures and economic norms set by the cooperative.

Immediate and long-range production plans for cooperatives were formulated in a way to suit each production area in a district. Under these plans, production procedures and economic and technical norms were established according to the availability of land and production facilities. Units and individuals working under contract were dutybound to comply with cooperative-established regulations strictly.

Cooperatives implemented the economic accounting system, determined production costs, ensured the profitability of business operations, carried out distribution according to labor and promoted the independence of cooperatives and the principle of collective mastery. Cooperative members might take part in discussing and formulating production plans, setting contractual norms and correctly resolving the problem on the three interests.

"Product contracts" were used as a form of production management and work compensation for each production unit and laborer. As such, they helped associate the interests and responsibility of each laborer and each link of the working process with the results of production efforts.

In implementing "product contracts" in the crop growing sector, the cooperative management board and the production unit committee were responsible for directing all production activities according to plans, technical requirements and production procedures set by the cooperative. There were different economic and technical norms for different kinds of work. Cooperatives set /the norms for productivity and volume of production under contract/ on the basis of land categories, labor and supply norms and the progressive average productivity and volume of production achieved in recent years. Product contracts included norms for both quantity and quality. With regard to products whose quality was difficult to define, the norms for contracted products had to specify both their quantity and value so as to ensure that the regulations on product quality were strictly observed. Contracted production quotas were fixed for 5 years and would be readjusted and made more rational only when cooperatives and the state made more investments in terms of material and technical bases, fertilizer, and so forth. If losses occurred because of natural calamities, harmful insects or disease, cooperatives would set up councils to investigate and consider abolishing or reducing contracted production quotas. Proposals for abolition or reduction by these councils had to be confirmed by production units in writing. The cooperative management board was required to consider and submit these proposals to a congress of cooperative members for decisions. If the losses were serious and called for substantial abolition or reduction of contracted volumes of production, such abolition or reduction must be approved by the district people's committee.

A year of practical experience in implementing product contracts with laborers in two rice crops in Haiphong have shown that /satisfactorily organizing the division of labor and cooperation in one or several tasks at a time and associating laborers with the results of their production work/ is the most important factor in ensuring that the implementation of the new contractual system in the crop growing sector is carried out in the right direction and achieves high economic efficiency.

In Haiphong, cooperatives contracted out the task of preparing the soil by mechanical means to state-run heavy-duty tractor stations and their own push tractor teams. On this basis, push tractor teams contracted out work to each tractor operator. Push tractor operators were paid according to the results of their work and at the rate specified in contracts; they were also allowed to buy some grain and foodstuffs from cooperatives at retail prices. If the soil in some area was not satisfactorily prepared, the tractor station concerned had to prepare it again. If its work was still unsatisfactory, the cooperative would reduce payments or claim compensation according to the extent of the damage. Tractor stations and their workers also had to bear the responsibility for any delay in cultivation work resulting from their mistakes. If soil preparation was well done and on schedule and if the harvest was good, the cooperative would give the tractor station a bonus for distribution among its tractor drivers and other personnel.

Production unit chiefs were responsible for organizing and directing groups specializing in soil preparation by water buffalo. Individuals entrusted with the task of preparing the soil by water buffalo must work according to production units' daily plowing and harrowing schedule. In those localities where draft water buffalo were assigned to labor groups, each group would contract out the task of plowing and harrowing to a few of its members. Plowing and harrowing schedules (which specified the order in which fields were to be prepared) were discussed and agreed upon by labor groups. Once soil preparation was completed in a certain plot, the plot must be checked by the tillers, the production unit chief concerned and the contractor who had been given the plot for production work under contract. Plows and harrows had to be turned over to tillers for maintenance purposes, along with clear instructions on how long the tillers might use them and how much they might spend for their repair; if they spent less, the savings became theirs. Placing water buffalo under the charge of land tillers helped enhance the latter's sense of responsibility in caring for these draft animals. If draft power was lacking, we had to take the initiative in giving contractors the additional task of using hoes to loosen the soil.

We absolutely forbade any cooperative member who had accepted land for production work under contract to produce seeds for himself. Each cooperative had a unit specializing in seed production or each production unit had to set up a group for the specialized tasks of selecting, experimenting with and multiplying new seeds for distribution to production units. Specialized seeds production groups were given concrete tasks, each bearing responsibility for producing seeds for a specific crop. Both specialized seed production units and groups contracted out work to laborers. These units and groups had priority in the selection of land, drying yards, warehouses and work tools. Heads of specialized seed production units or groups were accountable to cooperatives or production units and were responsible for directing and tightly managing the seeds production process so as to ensure that seeds were produced in sufficient quantities as required by the allocation of crop varieties determined by cooperatives for each season.

The soaking of seeds could be done in two ways. Those cooperatives which had the facilities and were experienced in soaking seeds at a common center would continue to do so and then distribute the germinated seeds to production units for sowing. The task of caring for seedlings was contracted out to cooperative members. Those cooperatives lacking the necessary conditions would turn over seeds to a number of experienced families for soaking. Production unit chiefs, however, had to regularly check and closely supervise the process to ensure that it was being done according to technical requirements and the crop planting schedule. In whatever way seed production might be carried out, the task of preparing seedbeds must be collectively performed under the guidance of production unit chiefs.

Watering and drainage were carried out under contract by irrigation units working under the supervision of the cooperative management board. Payments to irrigation units for this work were based on the number of area units covered and the costs of fuel, electricity and maintenance. On this basis, irrigation units contracted out specific jobs to each laborer. In so doing, irrigation units had to ensure that water would be brought up to level III canals and establish a schedule for contractors to irrigate each plot. In those ricefields where watering and drainage could not be done by electric or diesel pumps or by natural water flow,

cooperatives contracted out the task of bringing water into the ricefields by buckets and waterwheels to cooperative members.

Cooperatives assigned technical cadres to check the fields regularly in order to detect harmful insects and diseases and guide pest control efforts. When harmful insects or diseases appeared, a production unit chief took direct charge of his unit's insecticide spraying teams. Insecticides should not be distributed for use by individual cooperative members. Along with consolidating harmful insect and disease control teams, technical cadres of cooperatives taught all laborers working under contract the ways to control each kind of harmful insect and disease so that cooperative members might carry out this task themselves by combining what they had learned with the masses' experience, thereby promptly stamping out destructive insects and diseases.

The tasks of sowing, transplanting, caring, applying fertilizers and harvesting were contracted out to each laborer, who was held responsible for the end products of his work on a fixed area. Land was allocated under contract mainly to laborers in the crop growing sector. Cooperatives based themselves on the working capability and obligations of their members and on the amount of manpower invested in each area unit so as to decide on a suitable amount of land to be allocated to the families of cooperative members. Those families who could work more were allocated more land; those who could do little work were given little land; and those who could not work received none. Village and cooperative cadres might receive for production work under contract an amount of land proportionate to the amount of time they devote to production. Laborers in other sectors and trades might also be allocated some land for production under contract if cooperatives which had plenty of land deemed it necessary to do so and if these laborers volunteered for contractual work. These contractors, however, had to guarantee that the production tasks in their principal sectors and trades would be satisfactorily fulfilled. The amount of land to be allocated under contract to each kind of cadre and laborer of various sectors and trades and other objects was decided by a congress of cooperative members on the basis of the cooperative management board's recommendation.

Cooperative members working under contract had to guarantee that rice would be sowed and transplanted on schedule, in strict accordance with technical procedures, in the right density and with the right varieties as stipulated by cooperative plans. The tasks of weeding, pruning, planting additional rice plants, providing care, applying fertilizers and so forth were done by contractors. The cooperative management board allocated fertilizers (including chemical fertilizers) in fixed amounts to cooperative members who would then care for the rice plants and apply the fertilizers on their own initiative. The cooperative management board and production unit chiefs assigned specific tasks to each unit and group, applied uniform regulations, assigned people to take charge of maintenance work and established rational fees for the use of threshers as well as other materials and equipment used in rice harvesting. Whether the rice harvested was brought to the common yard of the cooperative or the private yards of cooperative member families, production unit chiefs had to know the actual amount of the products collected so as to correctly assess the results of production work.

Once the harvest was completed, cooperative members were dutybound to deliver their products on schedule as stipulated in the contracts between production units and laborers. They also had to ensure that the quantity, quality and type of product were consistent with the terms of their contracts.

On the other hand, supplies were accurately weighed, measured and counted before delivery to cooperatives. If agricultural supply corporations or stations provided cooperatives with sufficient supplies of good quality on schedule (especially with regard to fertilizers, lime, insecticides, and so forth), thereby creating proper conditions for cooperatives to satisfactorily fulfill their production plans and increase crop yields, they would receive from the cooperatives a bonus equivalent to 0.2-0.5 percent of the value of the supplies furnished to the latter. If insufficient quantity, poor quality and late delivery of supplies affected production work, the procurement organs concerned must compensate for the damages, if any.

In those localities where the collective /animal husbandry/ sector had at its disposal fairly good material and technical bases and had obtained good results, cooperatives continued to consolidate this sector and further improved the product contract system by coordinating the work of specialized teams with that of laborers. The cooperative management board contracted out work to animal farms, which would then contract out jobs to specialized teams, which would in turn contract out specific tasks to each laborer at the payment rates applied by the cooperative concerned.

Cooperatives might organize the production and supply of feeds and contract out the task of raising hogs to the families of cooperative members. They might also contract out both the production of feeds (using the land devoted to collective animal husbandry for this purpose) and the raising of piglets or meat hogs to cooperative members.

In contracts for the raising of sows, the end products used in calculating payments to contractors were the total weight of all the piglets produced. In contracts for the raising of meat hogs, payments to contractors in the form of grain and cash were based on the total live weight of the hogs delivered to the cooperatives. Contractors were allowed to keep meat in excess of contract terms and any savings they could achieve in expenditures. On the other hand, contractors had to compensate for any shortfalls in the amount of products they were committed to turn in under the terms of their contracts. If the hogs they produced were large and could be sold at a higher price than the one fixed by the cooperatives in their contracts, contractors might keep the balance for themselves.

The cooperative management board was responsible for supplying reserve-herd sows (in the case of breeder hog raising) and piglets (in the case of meat hog raising) to cooperative members contracting to raise them for the cooperative. The management board had to ensure sufficient feed supplies or allocate land reserved for feed production purposes to hog raising contractors. It also had to vaccinate hogs, protect them from tapeworms and distribute medicines for the treatment of various hog diseases. Cooperative members contracting to raise hogs for cooperatives were responsible for strictly complying with all regulations on epizootic control and delivering their products in full and on schedule as stipulated in their contracts with cooperatives.

/The handicraft sector/ in cooperatives applied product contracts with cooperative members and paid them according to the amount of products turned out. The production cost of 1 product unit (for example: 1,000 bricks, 1 quintal of lime, 1 set of embroidery kits, and so forth) and payments to laborers in cash and grain at the retail price (production cost plus profit) applied by cooperatives were determined according to the norms for the consumption of manpower and supplies. The profit margin of each production sector could be generally set at 10-30 percent of the production cost.

The amount of manpower required by the production process and the value of each kind of product of each production sector were used as the basis for determining a rational and fair rate of compensation for laborers engaged in various trades, in animal husbandry, in crop growing, and so forth. Contractors were paid according to the results of their work calculated in money at the rate fixed in their contracts. They were also allowed to buy grain as needed at the retail price applied by cooperatives. Contractors in the crop growing sector in particular, were paid partly in grain and partly in cash.

All sectors (crop growing, animal husbandry and various trades) in cooperatives practiced economic accounting separately. Each sector was paid according to the results of its production efforts. The distribution of goods and money among the various sectors was carried out according to the general distribution principle of cooperatives.

III. Organization of the Apparatus and Cadres Compensation System

The implementation of the new contractual system in agricultural production cooperatives in Haiphong called for improving the organization of the apparatus and the system of compensation for cooperative cadres.

The cooperative management board comprised five cadres: A chairman who bore overall responsibility for the cooperative's activities and directly guided production and business operations; a vice chairman in charge of crop growing and science and technology; another vice chairman in charge of labor management and the guidance of specialized units and animal husbandry; an administrative member in charge of various trades; and another administrative member in charge of culture and social welfare.

The cooperative's control section comprised three cadres: A head who was in charge of overall activities and directly supervised the implementation of production and business plans and various systems and policies; a member in charge of financial control; and another member in charge of labor and contractual system control.

The planning-labor section comprised three members: The first in charge of plan drafting and following the implementation of production plans; the second in charge of labor organization, contract norms setting and land and supply management; and the third in charge of statistics.

The finance-accounting section comprised four members: A head accountant in charge of overall activities and supervising the implementation of financial regulations; an accountant in charge of supervising the accounting of fixed assets, work tools, supplies and products; a second accountant in charge of supervising of payments to state organs and enterprises and cooperative members; and a third accountant in charge of supervising receipts and expenditures and cash management.

The culture-social welfare section comprised three members: One in charge of culture and education; one in charge of kindergartens, youth groups and disease prevention; and one in charge of libraries, information and wired-radio service.

Each production unit consisted of a unit chief in charge of production planning and management and a deputy unit chief cum accountant in charge of collecting products and paying cooperative members.

The system of compensation for cadres was formulated according to the functions of each sector and each person. Cooperatives used their total revenues and actual gross product as the basis for the setting up of a wage fund to compensate cadres. The larger their total revenues and gross product, the bigger their wage fund would become, and vice-versa.

Cooperatives determined the rate of compensation for each category of cadres according to the wage fund of the plan year and the responsibilities of each cadre, using the cooperative director as a model. Congresses of cooperative members decided how much money and paddy each category of cadre would receive from every 1,000 dong earned and every ton of grain produced by the cooperative.

Cooperatives also gave product contracts to specialized or semispecialized cadres working in their villages so that they might earn some extra income during their spare time, thus helping improve their standards of living. In addition to the grain they received for doing contractual work for cooperatives, these cadres might buy additional grain at retail prices from the cooperatives to satisfy their needs.

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SEVERAL EXPERIENCES IN BANKING ACTIVITIES IN THAI BINH PROVINCE

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[Article Ngo Van Hai]

[Text] Between 1976 and 1979, the Thai Binh Bank moved from a cash surplus to an increasingly large cash deficit. However, instead of allowing this situation to continue, the Thai Binh Bank took steps to provide specific guidance and eliminate its cash deficit. In particular, during the 39 day and night monetary and credit campaign conducted in late 1979, the Thai Binh Bank shifted from a cash deficit to a cash surplus (of more than 2 million dong).

In early 1980, developing upon this achievement, the Thai Binh Bank continued to conduct good monetary and credit activities. As a result, by the end of 1980, the bank had met and exceeded all of its monetary and credit norms: its cash surplus was 24 million dong, 20 percent more than planned and 12 times the cash surplus in 1979. The bank did not ask for the postponement of accounts it had to pay; moreover, it provided neighboring provincial banks with 19 million dong. The money on deposit in savings accounts at the end of the year amounted to 73.7 million dong, which represented a 16.2 million dong increase compared to the end of 1979 and raised the province's savings per capita to 52 dong, an 11 dong increase over 1979.

As regards credit, the Thai Binh Bank boldly improved the mode of making investments by granting long-term loans in accordance with economic-technical plans for each type product and making short-term loans (for seasonal production costs) on the basis of approved installation plans.

As regards the collection of long-term debts, the Thai Binh Bank exceeded its plan by 7 percent; the short-term indebtedness of agricultural cooperatives amounted to 44.5 million dong at the start of the year but only 29.8 million dong by the end of the year, a 14.7 million dong reduction, as a result of collecting all debts for production costs during the year and 30 percent of the overdue indebtedness of past years. The significant achievement recorded by the Thai Binh Bank in the collection of debts was that it collected more than 18 million dong in overdue debts (both long-term and short-term) from various economic organizations.

Studying the monetary and credit activities of the Thai Binh Bank, the following several experiences strike us:

I. Closely Linking Credit and Monetary Activities to Production and, on the Basis of Production, Creating Increasingly Numerous Sources of Capital

"Money must be used to organize and guide production, to organize and mobilize laborers." This is the guideline employed in Thai Binh's banking activities. To implement this guideline, the Thai Binh Bank used the guidance of the implementation of the five elements of banking activities on the district level as the basis for improving the quality and the effectiveness of monetary and credit activities; on the other hand, by making loans for liquid assets and fixed assets (including loans for capital construction), it had an impact upon the production, business and capital construction processes of the various sectors and economic units, fulfilled its function of providing supervision through the flow of money and improved economic management, in general, and credit management, in particular.

Today, following 3 years of work, the Thai Binh Bank has implemented all five elements of banking activities in the districts and cities. They include establishing economic files for the district with a view toward discovering potentials that can be developed and achieving the established economic norms of the district. They include formulating projected capital investments in the district, in general, and in the development of each type of crop, each species of livestock and each type product, in particular, in order to make well coordinated, complete investments from the start of production to the conclusion of the production process and the production of a finished product. They include calculating the possibilities for establishing a balance between money and goods within the district on the basis of balancing the revenues and expenditures of the population and the ability to create local sources of goods. They include calculating monetary and credit plans from the basic level upward with a view toward closely linking these plans to the production plans and the financial plans of the economic units. Finally, they include researching and formulating a district banking organization model consistent with the requirements of reorganizing production and improving the management of the economy within the district.

Reviewing the 40 capital investment proposals that have been formulated (which include nine proposals for investments in the zoning of areas to combat waterlogging and improve the soil, five proposals for investments in brick and tile production, four proposals for investments in the zoning of areas for pisciculture, eight proposals for investments in expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of rushes, four proposals for loans to develop the sectors producing export goods and so forth), we see that some of these proposals were highly evaluated by the various party committee and governmental echelons and implemented by them. Following their implementation, these proposals yielded many good results, such as the following: the proposal for combating some waterlogging in coordination with establishing pisciculture in four villages of Quynh Phu District, which involved a loan of 82,000 dong, resulted in the zoning of a 470 hectare area for combating waterlogging; the proposal to zone and improve 25 hectares of ponds and lakes to raise fish in Dong Hung; a proposal to fill in 11 hectares of lowlying land and establish a rice growing area, which resulted in a 20 quintal per hectare 10th month yield; proposals to establish the Minh Hung fish area, the Con Vanh rush area and the Hai Tan-Hong Tien rush area; a proposal to produce Vu Lang tiles, etc.

On the basis of the characteristics of an agricultural province, the Thai Binh Bank has allocated more than 70 percent of its capital for loans to support intensive cultivation and the development of the trade sector within agriculture. In this way, the bank has helped to maintain the rice yield of the province at the level of 53 quintals per hectare per year despite continuous natural disasters and helped to raise the output value of the trade sector within the agricultural cooperatives to more than 60 million dong. As a result of effectively utilizing borrowed capital, the agricultural cooperatives repaid more than 47 million dong in short-term and long-term indebtedness to the bank.

In conjunction with accelerating the granting of agricultural loans, the Thai Binh Bank has actively made loans to other economic units in order to implement proposals for investments in depth, technological improvements, the rationalization of production and the full use of existing equipment capacity in order to expand the production of consumer goods and exports. All of the 108 small industry and handicraft cooperatives, 20 cooperative teams producing consumer goods and practically all state-operated enterprises have borrowed capital from the bank. Many state-operated enterprises and cooperative organizations have received loans from the bank and spent the proceeds in cash in order to carry out their production and business tasks; in this way, they created many new products, increased the sources of goods for commerce and created larger sources of cash that were deposited in the bank.

Therefore, in 1980, although the flow of goods from the central level declined compared to 1979, the cash revenues of the Thai Binh Bank from the sale of goods increased by more than 19 million dong compared to 1979; this was the result of having locally produced goods.

Thus, Thai Binh's guideline of "actively and boldly making cash disbursements for reasonable needs in order to stimulate production and create larger sources of cash" has become reality and has had a major impact.

II. Deeply Delving Into Agricultural Monetary Activities and Enterprise Financial Activities in Order to Organize the Management of Cash and Centralize Cash in the Bank

As an agricultural province, much of the money in Thai Binh is concentrated in the countryside among the population and the various economic organizations. As a result, the Thai Binh bank established the countryside as its main base of operation in order to support and stimulate the development of production and mobilize, centralize and manage the various sources of money.

The financial operations of the enterprises and economic organizations reflect monetary relationships that arise as a result of the formation and utilization of cash funds to maintain continuous production and business; they participate in the process of circulating capital in all stages of the production and business processes. As a result, deeply delving into the financial operations of the enterprises and economic organizations also involves deeply delving into the source of capital in the production of the basic economic units and, on this basis, centralizing and managing the various sources of capital.

On the basis of the thinking presented above, the Thai Binh Bank established rural monetary activities and enterprise financial operations as the two spearheads of monetary and credit activities. On the basis of carrying out monetary and credit activities well, it is necessary to develop every source of revenues, rapidly concentrate cash in the bank and provide good management of money, in general.

In order to meet these requirements, the Thai Binh Bank coordinated three measures: first, investigating and analyzing the situation surrounding the distribution of money among the people and among agencies and enterprises in order to propose to the party committee echelons and local governments suitable measures for encouraging savings and managing cash; secondly, conducting an economic and financial analysis of enterprises and economic organizations and, on this basis, uncovering positive factors and existing negative factors in the production and business of units and proposing corrective measures; thirdly, conducting scheduled and unscheduled audits of the cash at agencies and units.

Through the methods described above, the Thai Binh Bank collected a rather large amount of cash. The various party committee echelons have regularly attached importance to the savings movement among the people and this movement has been led by the party chapters. As a result, the movement has developed in both breadth and depth; the mobilization of the people to save money in conjunction with the expansion of the savings network has made it truly convenient for the people to deposit money in savings accounts and very easy to withdraw money from these accounts. The system of savings deposits collection representatives, the authorized savings organizations and the system of credit cooperatives that serve as savings deposit agents, which have been reorganized and gradually strengthened, together with the system of savings counters of the bank, which has been developed, and the system of transaction offices, which has been further developed in the economic centers, are the basic level systems of the bank that extend into the various production areas and population centers to mobilize and attract savings. In 1980, as a result of these systems, 70 percent of the households in Thai Binh regularly deposited money in savings accounts, depositing more than 60 million dong of the province's total savings of 73 million dong; 20 villages had a per capita savings of more than 100 dong and four villages had a per capita savings of more than 160 dong; six districts saved nearly 10 million dong and Thai Phuy District saved more than 13 million dong. The total cash collected through savings by the people constituted more than 20 percent of the total cash collected throughout the province and amounted to more than 50 million dong.

Through the measures mentioned above, the bank collected more than 19 million dong in cash in the collective economic sector within agriculture. Many cooperatives have deposited roughly 400,000 dong in cash in the bank (previously, they only deposited roughly 100,000 dong); some cooperatives have deposited as much as 600,000 dong in cash in 1 year. Due to the development of production and an increase in their cash income, practically all agricultural cooperatives have not only repaid their production cost indebtedness during the year, but also repaid 15 million dong in overdue indebtedness from previous years; by the end of the year savings deposits by cooperatives in bank accounts amounted to more than 2.5 million dong, a 9 million dong increase compared to the end of 1979.

As regards state-operated enterprises, the Thai Binh Bank has helped many units to reorganize and strengthen their financial management, which is the weakest area of enterprise operations; as a result, the bank helped to resolve an important part of the problem of allocating too much or too little liquid capital to enterprises; through numerous phases of cash management inspections conducted during the year, the bank collected more than 2 million dong that were over and above enterprise fund ceilings and, through payments, the bank arranged for the repayment of debts among enterprises and economic organizations that had gone unpaid for many years.

From the actual situation of Thai Binh, it is possible to make one general observation concerning the mode employed to guide monetary activities in order to bring about a change from a cash deficit to a cash surplus, in order to change potentials into reality; it is necessary to gradually but strictly implement the various mechanisms of cash management and organize and regulate the circulation of money, using the development of production as the objective and the improvement of the quality and the effectiveness of the basic measures employed in monetary activities as prerequisites, measures such as computing the balance between money and goods within the district and village on the basis of computing the income of the population in money, formulating and guiding the implementation of the cash plan from the province to the installation levels, improving fund management and the various forms of cash collection and disbursement, and expanding the various forms employed to collect cash so that collections can be made in production areas and residential centers, in order to rapidly centralize cash in state funds.

III. The Direct Leadership and Guidance of the Various Party Committee Echelons and Local Governments of Monetary and Credit Activities

The secret of the success of the monetary and credit activities of the Thai Binh Bank are the direct, constant and thorough leadership and guidance provided by the various party committee echelons and local governments, from the province to the districts, villages and each party chapter within the agricultural cooperatives and credit cooperatives. This leadership has had the effect of orienting the activities of the sectors, levels and business units toward meeting the requirement of closely coordinating monetary, credit and payment activities.

The various sectors and levels within the province have a thorough understanding of the resolution of the provincial party organization congress concerning monetary and credit activities. The resolution thoroughly criticized such incorrect thinking concerning credit and monetary activities as considering cash deficits to be inevitable, to be unavoidable; the attitude of being passive and folding one's hands in monetary activities; the thinking of being cautious and not boldly using cash to make loans to stimulate production; the thinking on the part of sectors and economic units that every job requires cash and that cash can be used at any cost; and the thinking of blaming every shortcoming and placing the full responsibility upon the bank for the increasing cash deficit without clearly establishing the responsibility of the party committee echelons and local governments to guide banking activities.

On the basis of analyzing and criticizing the backward thinking mentioned above and after establishing the potentials of the locality that can be developed together with

measures for correcting the weaknesses in the organization of production and the organization of the management of the local economy, the resolution of the provincial party organization congress confirmed that in its monetary and credit activities, the bank "must take the initiative, take positive actions and truly be involved in production and business activities, circulation, distribution and the other day to day activities of social life." The resolution of the provincial party organization congress also established for the various sectors and levels the task of "becoming the masters of the sources of capital, centralizing capital to meet the requirements of the development of production and expanding the sources of revenues on the basis of developing production." As a result, the various sectors and levels within the province have taken many steps to create local sources of capital to meet the needs of developing production and increasing the cash revenues of the bank.

On the basis of realizing that monetary and credit activities must be closely linked to the production and business processes of the various sectors and economic units and the realization that monetary and credit activities are a tool for inspecting and computing economic returns, the various party committee echelons and local governments here have attached very much importance to establishing close cooperation and coordinated operations among the sectors and levels in monetary and credit activities, considering this to be an important factor in stimulating the simultaneous development of sectors and a prerequisite to successfully carrying out the economic task of the locality. As a result, many forums have been organized by the various levels of the government and the banking and financial sectors for the various sectors, economic units and mass organizations to discuss positions and measures for implementing the monetary and credit policy within the locality. At these forums, the various sectors, levels and economic units reached agreement concerning many good guidelines, specific norms to be achieved and many creative measures that have enabled the Thai Binh Bank to control more and more sources of money in order to stimulate the development of production and improve its management.

The facts presented above prove that the various party committee echelons and local governments of Thai Binh have not only brought about a timely and profound change in their understanding of the role and function of monetary and credit activities, but also have, in their specific guidance, truly taken control of monetary and credit activities, considering them to be an important, indispensable tool in guiding economic development because they are a lever, are a measurement of the quality and the results of the production and business of the sectors and economic units. On the other hand, the Thai Binh Bank, with the close collaboration of the various sectors and economic units, has fulfilled its function as the staff of the party committee echelons and local governments in monetary and credit activities. These are the factors that have created a combined strength with which Thai Binh can overcome many difficulties in order to carry out its task regarding monetary and credit activities well.

TAY NINH PROVINCE STRENGTHENS THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 46-52

[Article by Phan Van]

[Text] Two years ago, while assessing the situation surrounding the revolutionary movement of the province, our Tay Ninh Provincial Party Committee observed that since the South had been totally liberated, the party organization and people of the province, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and under the light of the resolution of the 4th Party Congress, had struggled steadfastly and recorded basic achievements.

Only several months after our country was totally liberated, Tay Ninh, which shares a 240 kilometer border with Kampuchea, was one of the areas that was savagely attacked by the Pol Pot clique, the lackeys of the Beijing reactionaries. The party organization and people of Tay Ninh, overcoming countless difficulties and hardships, stood firm in the face of every challenge and contributed along with the entire country to defeating the war of aggression of the Pol Pot clique, the lackeys of the Chinese expansionists, thereby firmly protecting the southwestern border of the fatherland and fulfilling their international obligation well.

Because of its treacherous terrain and complex social structure, Tay Ninh is also an "ideological base" for activities by domestic and foreign reactionaries. However, upholding their revolutionary tradition and displaying a high sense of vigilance, the people of Tay Ninh, together with the security forces and the army, have maintained order and security and promptly thwarted every act of sabotage of the enemy.

With two-thirds of its villages virtually destroyed by the Americans and the puppets during the years of the war, Tay Ninh rapidly healed the wounds of the war, restored and developed the economy and developed the culture. Once a province that lacked grain (in 1976, the central level had to provide the province with more than 30,000 tons of rice), Tay Ninh has achieved self-sufficiency in grain and fulfilled its obligations to the state. Cultural activities, education, public health and physical culture-sports have constantly developed; in particular, the education sector has developed rapidly and strongly.

However, an examination of the actual situation shows that besides strongpoints and the achievements that we have recorded, our province still has many serious shortcomings

and weaknesses. Many of the positions and policies of the party are not being thoroughly implemented and are even being brazenly distorted at some times and places; negative phenomena among cadres and party members and in social life are increasing. In more than a few villages and hamlets, the once close relationship between the party organization and the people has weakened and the revolutionary spirit of the masses has declined somewhat. After carefully analyzing the causes of the above mentioned shortcomings and weaknesses many times, our provincial party committee reached the unanimous conclusion that one of the causes of foremost importance was the weakness of the basic organizations of the party, primarily those in the countryside. On the basis of this analysis, we adopted the policy of shifting the focus of our leadership to the party organizations on the basic level; and, together with building the various levels and sectors within the province, we decided to focus our efforts on building the basic organizations of the party in the countryside.

To implement the above mentioned policy, we performed the following several jobs:

First, we assessed the situation at the basic level and set forth objectives, guidelines and measures for strengthening the basic organizations of the party.

In the past, the cadres of the various levels and sectors in our province routinely visited installations. However, because they restricted their responsibility to helping installations carry out individual campaigns or perform specific jobs, they learned little about the overall situation of installations and their knowledge of these installations was, as a result, generally one-sided. The provincial party committee and the district party committees regularly heard reports on installations but because these reports were somewhat one-sided and, at times, less than accurate, it was impossible to fully assess the situation. This time, we established for ourselves the responsibility of endeavoring to firmly assess the situation at each installation in a comprehensive manner, determining its strengths and weaknesses, the problems that need to be resolved and the areas of primary importance in each of these problems. We have also endeavored to gain a clear understanding of the qualities and capabilities of each core cadre on the village and hamlet levels and begun to gain a clear understanding of the qualities and capabilities of each party member. Practically all of the members of the district party committees and many members of the provincial party committees have gone to work at basic organizations for many days. The provincial party committee sent two work teams to conduct inspections and examine the entire situation in two villages over a long period of time. Each district party committee, in addition to assessing the overall situation of the villages within the district, also sent two work teams to assess the situation in two villages within the district. The province and the districts held many conferences to discuss work in the villages and hamlets and discuss the situation in the basic organizations of the party.

Through this process of inquiry, we more clearly saw the widespread weaknesses on the basic level. One common problem was that ever since the revolution entered the new stage, practically all of the basic organizations of the party in the rural areas of our province were confused about the specifics involved in their work and their work methods. The party chapters did not clearly understand their role and

tasks nor did they clearly understand their mode of operations when the party is in political power. Many party chapters continued to practice the methods of leadership and work that were practiced during the war years. The leadership of production, lax economic management and taking over the work of the government were widespread problems in many chapters. Conversely, in more than a few party chapters, every job was left up to party members working in governmental agencies; the party chapter conducted very few activities and work programs were not thoroughly discussed by the party chapter or widely explained and propagandized among the masses, consequently, they became orders and were implemented under pressure.

As regards cadres and party members, due to the failure to promptly educate them, more than a few degenerated and became deviant in the face of the new challenges. In practically every village and hamlet there were cadres and party members who abused their authority and did things that were wrong, such as misappropriating property, engaging in conspiracy, accepting bribes, intimidating the masses and conspiring with decadent elements to earn a living illegally. At a number of places, the decline in the qualities of cadres and party members became serious. For example, in the Tan Dong Village Party Chapter (Tan Bien District), 7 of the 10 members committed serious mistakes and shortcomings involving qualities and ethics. One person, who was dissatisfied with his position, left his job, spoke badly about the upper level and distorted the policies and positions of the party; another person caused a loss of internal unity that resulted in factionalism; another person regularly drank to excess; one person pooled capital with decadent elements to earn additional money; one person who served as the head of the village military unit even began to specialize in the smuggling of gold and accepted bribes when implementing the military draft policy and so forth. Some of these persons who committed mistakes did so because they were decadent by nature but more than a few of them made mistakes because they had a low level of awareness and could not distinguish between right and wrong. The number of good, active party members in the villages and hamlets, although not small, was not being maintained as a result of the activities conducted by the party chapters; self-criticism and criticism were not being practiced; and, because the upper level did not fully assess the cadre situation at installations, good party members were not playing an appropriate role. Meanwhile, decadent elements and reactionary forces still at large looked for every way to corrupt and entice cadres and party members in order to use them as a base for their illegal activities. One party chapter had to replace its secretary twice in a short period of time and both of these secretaries "fell" from their positions as a result of being enticed and corrupted by decadent elements.

At practically all installations, the cropland policy was not being correctly implemented and the occupation of farmland far exceeding the average amount and exploitation through land rent and interest continue to exist. Even among cadres and party members there were persons who illegally occupied dozens of hectares. The number of persons who had no cropland or lacked cropland (the majority of whom were families of war dead and families who had contributed to the revolution) still constituted a significant percentage, about 20 percent of the total number of farm families. In a number of villages and hamlets, the production collectives and agricultural cooperatives were collectives and cooperatives in name only, that is, they "had a shell but no internal organs." In Phuoc Chi Village in Trang Bang District, 31 production collectives disbanded at one time.

As we examined the basic organizations more closely, we became increasingly aware of the pressing need to strengthen the basic organizations of the party.

With a firm grasp of the problems being faced on the basic level, our provincial party committee established the objective of strengthening the basic organizations of the party as successfully leading the villages and hamlets in a gradual advance to socialism, beginning with leading farmers in a struggle to abolish exploitation in the form of rents and interest while developing production, fulfilling obligations to the state and actively organizing farmers in collective forms of earning a living. We adopted an outline for "strengthening the basic organizations of the party in the countryside and building villages and hamlets that are strong in every respect," which clearly stipulated the jobs that had to be performed in the village and hamlet party chapters and the methods for performing these jobs. The outline was sent to the various districts for their opinions and then presented to the loyal cadres, party members and masses in the villages of Trang Bang and Go Dau Districts for their discussion. The provincial party committee carefully analyzed the opinions contributed during these various phases of discussion and elevated the outline to a resolution of the provincial party committee. On the basis of the opinions expressed during the various phases of discussion, our provincial party committee adopted a resolution on the responsibilities of the various levels and sectors in the province and districts in the work of strengthening the basic organizations. In these resolutions, our provincial party committee clearly stated that, in order to strengthen the basic organizations of the party in the countryside, it is necessary, together with clearly defining the political role and task and the mode of leadership of the village and hamlet party chapters, to take positive steps to improve the quality of the corps of cadres and party members, expel unqualified party members, deploy the contingent of core cadres well, establish a good relationship among the organizations of the party, the government and the mass organizations and strengthen the confidence that the masses have in the various party chapters. We took the position that the strengthening of the basic organizations of the party must closely coordinate ideology and organization. We decided that we must teach cadres and party members in order to heighten their awareness and elevate their thinking so that they are able to differentiate between right and wrong and rectify shortcomings and mistakes on their own; at the same time, bold and determined steps had to be taken to deal with cadres and party members who made mistakes and committed shortcomings and were unwilling to rectify them and to expel persons who degenerated or became deviant from the party. In 1980, in keeping with this decision, we took disciplinary action against nearly 100 persons, expelling approximately 70 of them from the party. During the 1st quarter of 1981, we took disciplinary action against 30 persons, expelling 25 of them from the party. In Tan Dong Village, disciplinary action was taken against 7 party members who committed mistakes such as those mentioned above.

In our province, the effort to strengthen the basic organizations of the party is being closely coordinated with the issuance of party membership cards. By July 1981, about one-half of the party chapters and 40 percent of the total number of party members in the villages and hamlets had been issued membership cards. Installations classified as weak and deficient had to strengthen their organizations before issuing party membership cards. Generally speaking, the strengthening of basic

organizations has primarily been carried out by the basic organizations themselves with positive assistance from the district and the province. The province and district can send upper level cadres to party chapters that are very weak and deficient in order to serve as the nucleus of the effort to rebuild the basic organization and rebuild the movement.

Secondly, it is necessary to teach basic level cadres the basic knowledge regarding their task.

We consider this to be an especially important job because only by performing it well is it possible to strengthen the corps of village and hamlet cadres in terms of both its size and quality and, on this basis, establish the conditions for performing the other jobs involved in strengthening the basic organizations of the party well, such as reassigning the contingent of core cadres, improving the activities of the party chapters, etc.

We have continuously held many classes (each about 45 days long) to train the mass of basic level cadres in the awareness and knowledge needed for their work. This can be called the most serious phase of cadre education conducted since the day the province was totally liberated. The standing committee of the provincial party committee, with the assistance of the specialized committees, thoroughly discussed the various matters involved in this phase of education, from the subjects being taught and the methods of organizing study to the plan for registering students, etc. The subjects being taught encompass the political knowledge needed by basic level cadres, knowledge taken from the basic level cadre training program compiled by the Propaganda and Training Department of the Central Committee, which was revised to be consistent with the situation of the locality and consists of the following lessons:

- The ideals of the party;
- The line on the socialist revolution in our country;
- The line and policy on the socialist transformation of agriculture, industry and commerce;
- Organizing the material, cultural and spiritual lives of the people;
- Strengthening the national defense system, maintaining political security and maintaining social order and safety;
- Building the basic organizations of the party in the rural areas of the South;
- Consolidating and strengthening the state government on the village level;
- Mass agitation;
- The revolutionary qualities of the cadre and party member in the new stage.

When we revised the various lessons, we decided that theory must be closely linked to practice. Each lesson must relate to the actual situation of the locality and correctly answer the questions with which the basic level cadres of the province are concerned. When discussing each lesson, students must engage in criticism and self-criticism on the basis of the actual activities of their party chapter and themselves in order to shed further light on what is being taught.

The registering of students has been carried out in accordance with cadre planning. We held the first class, a pilot project class, for the assistants to the following

seven positions on the village level: secretary, chairman, head of the agricultural committee, head of the public security committee, commander of the village military unit, secretary of the Youth Union and secretary of the Farmers' Association. The second class was held for the persons who hold these positions. Subsequent classes are being held for the reserve cadres for the seven positions mentioned above. In this way, we intend to train at least 35 cadres for each village who are capable of performing the key leadership tasks within the village. For this reason, when sending persons to classes, each village must send seven comrades for the seven positions mentioned above, who must be selected from the planned cadre roster. We do not accept any students for classes if a place does not send all seven cadres. This practice at first posed difficulties. Once, classes had to be postponed for several days in order for the villages to send the required number of persons. Since then, however, due to the practical effect of this phase of study, all villages have enthusiastically and quickly selected the required number of persons for study. The serious, determined attitude adopted by the province with regard to insuring the correct makeup of classes has yielded practical results, encouraged villages to plan for the necessary number of cadres and avoided the problem of a few core cadres undertaking too many jobs at once.

In the process of study, students, on the basis of their heightened awareness, compare what is being taught to the strengths, shortcomings, positive factors, negative factors and so forth within their unit and can, at the same time, reveal mistakes being made by friendly units. Our provincial party committee records all of the comparisons and revelations that are made, conducts thorough investigations, reaches specific conclusions concerning each matter and promptly deals with each case and matter that requires action. For example, when a student said that an assistant chairman of a district agriculture committee allowed his wife to engage in smuggling, to harbor dishonest merchants and conceal smuggled goods within their house, we promptly conducted an inspection and, when we learned the truth, prompt disciplinary action was taken.

By the middle of 1981, we had trained more than 1,000 village and hamlet cadres and practically all of them have performed their work well since returning to their locality.

After completing his study, each student realizes that his awareness and thinking have greatly improved. This also indicates that the cadres and party members of our province had little chance to engage in thorough study in past years. On the basis of this result, we think that holding classes that are consistent with the level of development of basic level cadres in the South is very necessary.

Thirdly, it is necessary to have the masses contribute their critical opinions of party members and help to build the leadership of the basic organizations of the party.

Once the key cadres in each village and hamlet had completed their study, had experienced important changes in their awareness and had begun to spread this awareness and this change among the other members of their party chapters, we took the position that the party chapters must have the masses contribute their critical opinions and observations concerning each party member and contribute their opinions on building the

leadership of the party chapter. We consider this to be a very necessary part of strengthening the basic organization of the party. Because, facts have proven that party chapter activities, be they good or bad, directly influence the lives of the people in the various villages and hamlets. Therefore, in order to strengthen the party chapters well, it is necessary to evaluate the observations, thinking, aspirations and desires of the masses in the villages and hamlets. On the other hand, by contributing their opinions to cadres, party members and party chapters, the masses have a chance to gain a clearer understanding of the party and can, on this basis, discern between the truth and acts of distortion and sabotage of the enemy. In order for the meetings held to criticize cadres and party members to be of high quality and avoid all distortions and provocations, we have decided to select from among the masses active persons and invite them to participate in the criticizing of cadres and party members. These activists include cadres outside the party, members of the Communist Youth Union, members of families who have served the revolution, members of the families of war invalids and war dead, retired cadres and civil servants, poor farmers who have a pure political history, etc.

Every party member, beginning with every cadre, of a basic organization of the party has seriously reviewed his achievements and shortcomings in past years before the masses and adopted positive guidelines for the coming period. In this self-review, besides matters pertaining to awareness, viewpoints, work skills and so forth, each party member must examine his personal qualities and ethics in a specific and serious manner. Specifically, each party member must examine himself and state whether or not he is occupying more cropland than the average, whether or not he is engaging in exploitation through rents and interest, whether or not he has pooled capital with bourgeoisie in order to earn a living illegally, whether or not he is engaged in smuggling, whether or not he is helping his children or relatives evade the draft, whether or not he is cheating on or evading agricultural taxes, whether or not he drinks to excess, whether or not he is friends with decadent elements and so forth.

After each party member reviews himself before the masses, the party chapter committee, on behalf of the entire party chapter, reviews the leadership responsibilities of the party chapter and thoroughly analyzes its mistakes and shortcomings as well as their effect upon the movement on the basic level. The party chapter committee also presents the new guidelines of the party chapter for the masses to comment upon.

The serious self-review conducted by party members and party chapters in the presence of the masses has had a strong impact upon the consciousness and the feelings of the masses. The masses have also sincerely expressed the deep sentiments they feel as a result of the trust placed in them by the party. In all villages and hamlets, the masses have actively contributed their criticisms of party members and party chapters and correctly evaluated achievements and successes while harshly criticizing mistakes and shortcomings. At many places, the masses have also pointed out their own shortcomings and mistakes and promised to the party chapter to make every effort to rectify them. In many villages, the masses exposed sophisticated tricks by decadent elements designed to decentralize cropland and discuss with the party chapter ways to reclaim the cropland being illegally used. As a result, in An Hoa Village (Trang Bang District), 150 hectares of cropland there were being illegally used were reclaimed and distributed among families of war dead and war invalids,

families who have served the revolution and poor farmers; at the same time, 100 gia [1 gia = 20 kilograms] of rice and 23,000 dong in taxes were reclaimed and collected for the state. The masses have also contributed opinions to the party chapters regarding who should be expelled from the party and introduced young, outstanding forces for the party to evaluate and select in order to strengthen its ranks. In 1980, the party chapters accepted 82 persons into the party and, during the 1st quarter of 1981, 35 persons were accepted.

Through the various reviews conducted in the presence of the masses, the cadres and party members of our province have become increasingly aware of the people's love for the party. The opinions contributed by the masses have played a very practical role in strengthening the party chapters, especially with regard to the education, utilization and management of cadres and party members and the effort to uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses.

The above mentioned efforts by our province have yielded significant results. It can be said that practically all village and hamlet party chapters have undergone concrete changes. In particular, the party chapters that were once very weak have undergone even stronger changes. This forward momentum has yielded encouraging results for the overall movement throughout the province. In the space of only 3 months, the people of the province fulfilled their grain obligation and sold to the state 18,000 tons of rice; in previous years, the province had to send hundreds of cadres to help the villages with their purchasing activities for a period of 7 or 8 months but still never sold more than 14,000 tons of rice to the state in 1 year. As regards military recruiting in 1980, the province exceeded the norm assigned to it by 7 percent, which far exceeded the levels achieved in previous years. Much progress has been made in maintaining order and security; all acts of sabotage by the enemy have been promptly thwarted and not one significant case or incident has occurred; theft and gambling have markedly declined. Of greatest significance is the fact that the mass of cadres and party members have a correct understanding of their position and responsibility, have begun to differentiate between right and wrong and are determined to make progress. The confidence that the masses have in the party organization, in cadres and party members has been strengthened and is becoming a force inspiring the people of our province to move forward in a new spirit.

However, these achievements are only the beginning. There are still many weaknesses in the basic organizations of the party in our province. Generally speaking, the changes that have taken place in the party chapters have not been uniform. At many installations, because they were weak and deficient for such a long time, there are still many negative practices and phenomena that we must urgently continue to resolve. On the other hand, the measures that we have been taking at installations are still not well coordinated. We must begin many other important jobs, such as redeploying the contingent of core cadres on the village and hamlet levels, improving the activities of the party chapters, building and strengthening the governmental apparatus and the mass organizations, etc. These are difficult and complex jobs. However, enthusiastic over and confident in the achievements that have been recorded, we are determined to overcome every difficulty and obstacle, do a better job of strengthening the basic organizations of the party and win new victories for the revolutionary movement in our province in order to celebrate the 5th Congress of the Party in a practical way.

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CSO: 4209/116

THE JOURNAL TRADITION OF OUR PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 53-56

[Captions for full page photographs of journal covers--photos not reproduced]

[Text] COMMUNIST REVIEW, 1943

COMMUNIST REVIEW, 1950

STUDIES Journal, 1955

COMMUNIST REVIEW, 1977

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REMEMBERING THE WORK OF BUILDING THE SITE FOR THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 57-61

[Article related by architect Hoang Nhu Tiep and recorded by The Tap]

[Text] The 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in the spring, in February, of 1951 in a large area of jungle in Vinh Quang Village (now Kim Binh Village) in Chiem Hoa District, Tuyen Quang Province (now Ha Tuyen Province). The congress was held at the foot of Hung Mountain. In ancient years, according to local legend, floodwaters inundated the entire area and the only things remaining on dry ground were a copper drum and a bear on top of Hung Mountain. As a result, Hung Mountain is also called Drum Mountain or Bear Mountain. Beside the site of the congress was a winding, crystal clear stream that flowed to the Trinh River.

In order to prepare the material base of the congress, the Party Central Committee appointed Le Tat Duc to the preparations committee, putting him personally in charge of building the site of the congress and also in charge of security work. Bac participated in construction work and was responsible for organizing the food services for the congress. I was assigned by Uncle Ho and To (that is, Pham Van Dong) to construction work and help to prepare the material base for the congress.

A full 30 years has passed since 1951 but the work I performed then is still deeply imprinted in my mind and, the more I recall it, the more excited and proud I become over the rapid growth of the party, the correct leadership of the endlessly revered Uncle Ho and the glorious party!

My part in the task of building the material base for the congress, although unexpected, was not surprising. In April 1948, the 1st National Congress of Architects was held in Phan Son (Vinh Yen). President Ho Chi Minh sent a letter to the congress in which he set forth the line and policy on construction work. His letter read in part: "Of the four most important needs of the people, housing and transportation are as necessary as food and clothing; therefore, architecture is very relevant work. We must build whatever circumstances permit us to build, both during the war of resistance and after the resistance is successful.

I hope that your conference will result in practical plans that embody the spirit that prevails now and construction programs that are consistent with the future, in plans and programs that reflect the spirit of the new life."

After discussing the letter from President Ho and adopting a resolution on the work tasks and plan of the Association of Vietnamese Architects, the congress elected the association's executive committee. I was elected as the first general secretary of the association. Later, I was put in charge of the architectural office of the Viet Bac Interzone. My primary task was to guide construction activities in accordance with the policy and program of the Party Central Committee and government which, at that time, had their agencies in Viet Bac. The headquarters of the architectural office of which I was in charge were located in Tu Dau District (Tuyen Quang Province). In May 1950, the private secretary of Uncle Ho travelled to Tu Do District to find me and take me to meet with Uncle Ho.

I arrived at an agency within the security zone. That day, Uncle Ho was presiding over a meeting the Council of Ministers. I saw many ministers at the meeting. It was lunchtime when I arrived and the ministers were eating their afternoon meal. Uncle Ho and Tho, who were seated at the same table, having finished their meals, were drinking tea.

Uncle Ho's secretary introduced me to him and said:

--"Uncle Ho, this is Tiep, an architect. He would like you to give him your opinions so that he can construct a building for the congress."

Uncle Ho immediately asked:

--"Have you had lunch yet, Tiep?"

--"Uncle Ho, I just arrived," I replied.

He said:

--"Sit and have something to eat and then we will talk."

I, too, wanted to eat immediately because I was very hungry following many hours of travelling over very difficult jungle roads and, along many sections of these roads, I had to carry my bicycle on my shoulders; however, Uncle Ho's secretary whispered in my ear:

--"Finish your work and then go have something to eat."

I thought that a meal served to a conference of the Council of Ministers would include several delicious dishes. However, from the corner of my eye, I saw that there were only two dishes on the serving table: boiled taro and stir fried taro.

A moment later, Uncle Ho called me into his work area and asked:

--"The Party Central Committee and I have assigned you the responsibility of constructing a building for the party congress, can you do this?"

--"Yes, Uncle Ho, I can."

He then asked:

--"What, in your opinion, is the most important aspect of this work?"

After thinking for a few minutes, I boldly replied:

--"Uncle Ho, in my opinion, maintaining secrecy is most important."

He immediately said:

--"Correct. It must be invisible from the air; on the ground, it must be invisible from all four directions."

Uncle Ho had shown me the most basic aspect of my work.

Immediately thereafter, Uncle Ho gave me the task of working closely with me. To inform me of the number of domestic delegates, foreign delegates and so forth attending the congress so that I could determine how much space was required. He discussed my task very thoroughly, gave me additional instructions and emphasized: you must construct a building that enables the delegates to meet and live in a proper manner.

Later, I was informed of the site of the congress by Ca (that is, Nguyen Luong Bang), a site that had been found by Le Tat Duc. It was an area of jungle in Chiem Hoa District. In order to build the site of the congress in exact accordance with the directive of Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee, I visited the site to examine it. It was a very large area of jungle which, although dense, was open in spots. In order to maintain the secrecy of the congress, I had to find a way to conceal these open spots. However, if the jungle were too dense and enclosed, the health of the delegates would be affected.

Construction began in July, 1950. The work unit first recruited corvée laborers among the people in the villages of Chiem Hoa District. The felling, cutting and transportation of wood, vau, luong, mai, tre and mua bamboo, palm leaves and so forth were closely guided and planned in detail in order to insure high productivity and economize on manpower. We took only the building materials we needed, nothing was wasted.

We then looked for and hired more than 10 carpenters and several women to weave bamboo mats and lattice fencing.

In the design of the building, we discussed its style together and unanimously agreed with the guidelines proposed by Le Tat Duc: a style consistent with the mountain climate but which still possessed some of the characteristics of lowland architecture.

The service of the site posed no difficulties but it was most important that we select a place which provided ample room for the construction of the meeting hall and a center from which the delegates could conveniently enter the meeting hall. One of the special characteristics of the meeting hall was that we left the large trees at the site standing and used them as pillars; the roof was tightly covered with "to qua"

plants (1), to which rattan vines were tied, and the roots of the plants were unravelled so that they would spread downward. Inside the meeting hall, in addition to the formal seats for the presidium and the delegates, there was also a gallery for alternate delegates and journalists. For the windows of the meeting hall, thin mesh cloth was used in place of glass.

Each of the buildings constructed to house the delegates had sleeping space for 10 to 12 persons, a table and a set of chairs made of tre and mua bamboo in the middle and a kitchen modeled after the kitchens used by the ethnic minorities to boil water for tea and warm themselves.

The site of the congress consisted of many buildings: the building in which Uncle Ho lived, worked and received guests; the building in which the members of the Political Bureau worked, lived and received guests; the buildings in which the international delegates lived, worked and received guests; a memorial hall for comrades who had died; an exhibit hall for revolutionary pictures, photographs, books and newspapers; a dining hall for the delegates, cadres, personnel and troops; a work place for journalists, photographers and film makers; housing and work areas for cadres, personnel and security troops; a medical aid clinic, storehouse, etc.

All of these building combined to form a large congress complex nestled under the shade of the dense trees, a complex from which the light from electric lighting filtered at night.

The pathways within the congress complex were laid out in a winding fashion in order to preserve the natural beauty of the site and were camouflaged by "to qua" and rattan plants so that the site could not be clearly seen by someone on the outside.

We blocked off a small stream to prevent buffalo and cattle from crossing it, constructed a dam and transported the water through large pieces of bamboo with holes in them so that the water flowed from the bamboo like faucets; the delegates could sit comfortably on boards and brush their teeth and wash their faces with this clean water.

Using tre and mua bamboo, leaves and modern methods, we constructed very clean "privies" on poles.

The workers also planted a garden of green onions and a garden of lotus flowers that bore bright yellow flowers on the day that the congress opened.

The various work units made an effort to implement the policy of frugality set forth by Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee in the entire process of preparing for and supporting the congress and in all areas; money, manpower, building materials, grain, food products, etc.

In addition, we also had the domestic helpers participate in pumping water for the delegates using hand-operated waterwheels so that no one was omitted from the apparatus supporting the congress.

In keeping with the instructions from Uncle Ho, all of us attached particular importance to guarding against spies and maintaining the principle of secrecy and reminded one another to adhere to the "three nothings" slogan: see nothing, hear nothing and know nothing. Within the congress complex, a security battalion was stationed; there was a very strong, large tunnel as high as a small hill on top of which trees were planted; in addition, there was a system of interconnected communications trenches that extended in all four directions that could be used in case of enemy air attack. In order to maintain secrecy, the comrade in charge required that all of the carpenters that participated in construction work as support personnel and did not allow them to leave the site during the days of the congress. A number of party members were permitted to leave the site of the congress in order to resupply the congress with grain and food. In addition, anyone who wanted to leave the site of the congress had to pass through the liaison station and many guard stations and had to have in his possession a permit from the Marxist Research Association with the signature of his comrade in charge. We also took steps to prevent forest fires and adopted a plan for fighting a forest fire started by the enemy.

Throughout the time that the congress was in session, not one regrettable incident occurred and the alarm gong was not heard once!

After he assigned our tasks to us, Uncle Ho closely observed our work. While we were building the congress complex, Uncle Ho twice sent cadres to conduct an inspection: the first time, he sent his personal secretary; the second time, he sent Ho Tung Mau. Later, he personally conducted an inspection. He examined the entire congress complex. He was not only concerned with the meeting hall and the housing for the delegates, but also concerned with the housing and dining facility for support personnel. He not only met with leadership cadres, but also personally visited and paid his regards to the wives of some cadres and personnel. When conducting an inspection, Uncle Ho, displaying a high spirit of vigilance, noticed red spots on a number of tree trunks and instructed the comrade in charge to research this phenomenon. At first, we suspected that they were enemy signals. Later, we learned through research and from many of the elders in the locality that the red spots on the tree trunks were caused by aphids and could be completely removed by scraping them.

Uncle Ho conducted an inspection while we and the carpenters were building the tables and chairs for the congress. Seeing that the tables and chairs, which were made of wood and tre and mua bamboo, were simple but elegant, especially the plain chairs constructed of pieces of wood sawn from large tree trunks, Uncle Ho commended us: "Those tables and chairs are good, beautiful and economical"; he then said in jest: "You are a 'stingy' person." He then gave me a cigarette as a reward.

I met with Uncle Ho one other time. Slapping me on the shoulder, he instructed:

--"Find a beautiful, scenic spot within the congress complex so that I can receive international guests."

I took him to the bank of the stream near the place where we had built the dam. He smiled happily and commended me on my selection. He then gave me another cigarette as a reward!

On that spring day, in the shade of the bright green palm leaves fluttering in the golden sunlight, Uncle Ho sat on a piece of wood that have a wavy grain beside the trees that reflected in the clear water. The picture of him as the father of the nation, as a great thinker, as a brilliant strategist and calm, untroubled poet has remained forever in my heart.

Under the personal guidance of Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee, our collective, which consisted of cadres, manual workers, personnel, troops, corvee laborers and so forth, worked in a wholehearted manner, tried to overcome every difficulty and hardship and completed the construction of the congress complex in slightly more than one-half year.

The congress highly evaluated this work. Many of the delegates praised the architecture of the congress complex as being both simple and convenient, both national and modern in nature.

Le Tat Duc, an official delegate, was praised at the congress for the achievement he recorded while in charge of the construction of the material base for the congress.

The greatest reward for Bac Di and myself was the appointment of us as alternate delegates to the congress. This was a great honor in my life of revolutionary activities.

FOOTNOTES

1. The "to qua" plant that grows anywhere, even on the roofs of buildings; it has large leaves that resemble a large, somewhat round knife.

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SOME DATA ON THE RECENT PHASE OF WIPING OUT REACTIONARY AND DECADENT CULTURAL PRODUCTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 62-63

[Article by Tran Tho--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 238, 11 Dec 81, pp K3-K5]

[Text] One of the enemy's current activities aimed at sabotaging our ideology, culture, and arts and letters is to aid the remnants of the neocolonialist culture and arts and letters and encourage reactionary bourgeois artistic and literary tendencies. The struggle to wipe out reactionary and decadent cultural products was and is being vigorously conducted in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of other localities. According to still incomplete statistics, a fairly large number of these products has been confiscated during inspection and suppression drives in a number of provinces and cities.

The following are the initial results as of late June 1981:

Locality	Books	Music Tapes	Songs, Paintings	Motion Pictures	Projectors
Hanoi	167 copies	1,216		29 rolls	16
Ho Chi City	151,200 (60 tons)	41,723	53,751	631	93
Haiphong		290	6		
Hai Hung		500			
Ha Nam					
Ninh	32	2,259	18		
Binh Tri					
Thien	129,725	239	4,252	57	
Quang	25,079	3,734	115	316	32
Phu Khanh	1,858	1,467	19		
Thuan Hai	1,618	2,388	1,260	34	
Dong Nai	2,800	283	1,864		
Cuu Long	422	1,358	100		
Hau Giang	3,233	1,227	15,593		

[TAP CHI CONG SAN Footnote: In Ho Chi Minh City there are approximately another 60 tons of illegally circulated books and magazines that have not yet been sorted.]

Obviously the cultural products we have confiscated were not only the remnants of the old neocolonialist culture in the south, which is trying to rear its head again. They also include material smuggled into our country since the south was completely liberated in an effort to promote and restore neocolonialist cultural activities and to coordinate acts of ideological sabotage against our country. Many of the confiscated books, magazines, paintings, photographs, music tapes, songs, movies and so forth have been published, broadcast or circulated in various capitalist countries in 1980 or early 1981. As of late 1981 the Beijing reactionaries had smuggled 40 different kinds of leaflets into our country,

of which 24 contain material designed to slander our party, sow division among various nationalities, incite rebellions, lure people into fleeing the country and so forth. In early 1981 more than 20 new pornographic movies were smuggled into country from Thailand. A total of 480 "Disco 81" music tapes brought in by foreign ships were promptly discovered. Through the international postal service, many reactionaries living in exile overseas have sent home letters, goods, cultural products and so forth to propagandize Western bourgeois lifestyles and incite people to flee the country. It was not coincidental that among the 1,124,200 kg of goods sent home in just one quarter by Vietnamese living abroad were tens of thousands of "affidavits of sponsorship" and "notices of approval" and vast amounts of antiseasickness and antivomiting medicines, and so forth. In searches conducted in a number of localities, especially in Ho Chi Minh City, we have discovered cases of illegal publication involving the printing of more than 3 million copies of books and pictures containing reactionary and decadent material. In Quang Nam-Danang, we arrested a man who had served as a U.S. lackey for 20 years and had been awarded 4 "medals of military service." In searching his house, we found no less than 68 bad movies of various types, 16 8-mm and 16-mm movie projectors, 2 radio sets, 2 albums of pornographic pictures, 10 books of dancing lessons written by him, 9 diaries in which his lewd activities were recorded and so forth. Many papers and magazines published by Vietnamese "refugees" in foreign countries, such as Que Me, Van Nghe Tien Phong, Vuot Tuyen, Hon Viet, Trang Den, Chuong Saigon, Saigon-My, and so forth, have appeared in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of other localities. Most of the authors of the articles carried by these publications are hired pens who served as the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in the past.

In the 5th Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City, a check of 74 "dimly lit" coffee houses resulted in the confiscation of 5,000 tape recordings of songs with bad contents. A weeklong suppression drive exposed a number of brothels camouflaged as coffee houses and netted 4 tons of illegal books and magazines and 15 feature films, including 3 Taiwanese-made "Kung Fu" motion pictures. At a tape-copying shop on Nguyen Hue Street, Ho Chi Minh City, we confiscated 322 tape cassettes, 151 large-sized and 6 medium-sized reels of tape all containing recordings of reactionary music. In the 1st Precinct, from 11 April to 10 May 1981, 199 illegal coffee houses, sugarcane juice stalls and barbershops employing women barbers were closed. In Binh Thanh Precinct, a house was discovered with a stock of 36 bad movies, including 16 pornographic films. In the Dang Thi Nhu market alone, a total of 95,555 illegal books were seized. A check of 1,804 places in Ho Chi Minh City showed that up to 66.5 percent of them were involved in circulating, storing and distributing reactionary and decadent cultural products, including 507 places which stored and rented out books, and 205 others which engaged in illegal printing business. A total of 96 cases of the unlawful showing of motion pictures were also brought to light. The responsible organs have served a warning to 239 places, closed 371 shops and prosecuted 12 stores. In Thuan Hai, during a check of 91 households at 15 points in the various villages and wards of Ninh Hai, Ham Thuan and Ham Tan districts and Phan Thiet City, the authorities made a haul of 857 music tape recordings, 714 reactionary and decadent books, 34 movies with a bad content, hundreds of music records, pornographic pictures and so forth.

Right in the heart of Hanoi capital, the authorities confiscated 15 music tape recordings in Truc Bach Ward, 30 master tapes in Tuong Mai Ward, and 18 tape recordings of decadent music in Van Mieu Ward. In addition, they also seized large quantities of books with a bad content. Nearly 400 music tapes and records of the same kind were netted during a check of 10 households in Hoa Binh market area, Pho Hue Ward, on 24 May 1981. In followup inspections of the premises of 14 dealers in music tapes, records, tape recorders and record players in the same area, the authorities seized a fairly large additional amount of these products. Caught by surprise, a dealer fled his shop, leaving behind 10 music tapes and records. Another person from whom 60 tapes and 14 records were confiscated in an earlier raid surrendered another 24 tape recordings of decadent music in a second inspection. In the Bac Qua market area, a book shop from which 32 reactionary and decadent books were seized in a first check turned in another 79 books of the same kind in a subsequent inspection. In Haiphong a check of just 41 coffee houses and refreshments stalls netted no less to 100 unhealthy music tapes and records.

In a number of organs, enterprises and schools, cultural management cadres organized the showing of banned motion pictures, ostensibly for "research" purposes, but actually to make money. Of the 1,200 places committing this particular offense, 58 involved cadres. Of the 107 persons arrested, 11 were cadres, and of the 73 cases brought to court, 3 involved cadres. Most of those who stored, circulated and propagandized reactionary and decadent cultural, artistic and literary products were anticommunist writers and artists who refused to undergo reeducation. Some of them were "psychological warfare" agents of the U.S.-puppet clique, some were bourgeois elements of Chinese descent and a few were deviant cadres.

Owing to the concern of the party and administrative committees in various localities, the struggle on the arts and letters front has recently instilled a new spirit into the masses, who are combating the poison spread by reactionary bourgeois culture and building a socialist Vietnamese culture. This is a very complex and long struggle which must be closely guided and carried out more thoroughly, relentlessly and vigorously.

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CRITICISM OF THE 'MILITARY THINKING OF MAO ZEDONG'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 81 pp 64-70

[Article by Major General Pham Hong Son]

[Text] The so called "military thinking of Mao Zedong" is an important part of the "thinking of Mao Zedong," the essence of which is nationalist chauvinism, expansionism and hegemony. As is the case with its other elements (philosophy, politics, economics and so forth), the "military thinking of Mao Zedong" is showing itself to be reactionary, anti-popular and anti-Marxist-Leninist.

Deserving of attention with regard to the "thinking of Mao Zedong," in general, and the "military thinking of Mao Zedong," in particular, is not that they comprise a complete, united system, but that they are a confusing assortment of an eclectic, pragmatic and opportunistic nature consisting of many ancient and modern, western and eastern theories, primarily the theories of ancient China. They are eclectic because they combine theories that are opposite by nature in the style of "combining Karl Marx with Tan Thuy Hoang" (words spoken by Mao at the Bac-doi-ha [Vietnamese phonetics] Conference in 1958). They are pragmatic because they never overlook an opportunity to use the viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism, to dilute and distort them, considering them to be ways to achieve separate objectives. They are opportunistic because they are very adept at explaining their way around things. They borrow and quote many terms and passages of Marxism-Leninism in order to camouflage themselves. And, as is the case with all opportunistic elements, the followers of the thinking of Mao Zedong try to make themselves appear more "revolutionary" than revolutionaries.

In general, the so called "military thinking of Mao Zedong" consists of the following three elements: the viewpoint regarding war, which consists of the role of war and the role of violence; the viewpoint regarding the army; and the viewpoint regarding military strategy and tactics.

Mao's viewpoint concerning war is totally foreign to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint regarding war. Mao explained the role of war in a totally non-Marxist, non-scientific manner. In essence, Mao reached the point where he worshipped war. He wrote: "The central task and the highest form of revolution are the use of arms to seize political power... This revolutionary principle of Marxism-Leninism is applicable everywhere, both in China and overseas." (1) Here, Mao substituted the

Marxist concept of revolutionary violence with the concept of armed force in order to go one step further by symbolizing the "armed forces" as a "gun" and proclaimed: every party member must understand this truth: "Power comes from the barrel of a gun." "With guns, the party can surely be created."(2)

In order for his "theory" to be based in Chinese and world history, Mao wrote: "With troops comes power, war solves everything... Concerning this point, both Ton Trung Son and Chiang Kai-shek have been our teachers."(3) "The guns of the Russian Communist Party have created a socialist country."(4)

Thus, when viewed through Mao's prism, every factor that creates history changes. Where is the role of the revolutionary theory regarding the struggle of the working class, which is an essential factor in the birth of a genuine party of the proletariat? Where is the role played by the diverse forms of struggle employed by the masses in the fields of politics, economics and culture to weaken and eventually defeat the enemy? The only element that remains is...the barrel of a gun. This is actually a brazen philosophy consisting only of war. Mao himself admitted: "Some persons mock us as subscribing to the 'theory of a war for every purpose' and to this extent they are correct: we subscribe to the theory of a revolutionary war for every purpose..."(5)

Despite what Mao proclaimed, this "theory" is in no way related to Marxism-Leninism. It is only something that was learned by Mao from the feudal militarist history of China from the time of Xuan Thu and the Warring States to the stages preceding and following the Tan Hoi revolution. Mao intended to closely associate this "truth" with every age and the entire world.

Although Mao once said that "our principle is that the party commands our guns and we are determined to never allow guns to command the party," facts have shown that Mao considered himself and the party to be synonymous, considered the party to be Mao and Mao to be the party. Therefore, the above mentioned principle was only meant as a deterrent to his accomplices: let no one scheme to use guns against Mao. The realities of the 45 years from the Tuan Nghia Conference through the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" illustrated how guns were used to "seize political power" and maintain Mao's power, how they were used to cause hundreds of millions of persons to shed their blood and be sacrificed for the ambition of the "great helmsman" to be emperor of the world.

Applied in the field of international relations and the process of the world revolution, Mao's theory considered war and revolution to be synonymous and, in actuality, restricted the revolutionary movement in many countries and inflicted major losses upon the revolution in countries whose leaders blindly followed Mao's line. In these countries, the methods and forms of revolution completely lost their diverse, flexible and creative nature; the role of political struggle by the masses became blurred and revolutionary activities became nothing more than activities conducted by a group of armed persons hiding in the forests and mountains and separated from the industrial centers and cities. At some places, the position and forces of the revolutionary masses were very strong but because the Maoists guiding them acted in a spontaneous manner, the revolutionary movement suffered painful losses.

At a time when the movement of the people of the world demanding peace and demanding that the imperialists end the arms race, a movement that was launched and led by the communist party, was developing strongly and was having the effect of deterring the warmongering imperialists and creating the conditions for the revolution in every country to rally forces and develop, Mao screamed and yelled for a new world war, even a nuclear war, considering it to be an unavoidable course, even the shortest course for annihilating imperialism and building "communism"(!) throughout the world. Mao once stated: "We can say that only through the use of guns can we transform the entire world"(the resolution of the 6 January 1938 plenum of the Chinese Party Central Committee). In 1958, Mao also said: "If one-half of mankind were to be killed in war, the loss would not be significant."

Marx and Engels pointed out that there is a relationship between war and revolution but not a constant, inevitable relationship. They never said that the success of the revolution is directly dependent upon war, never considered war to be a prerequisite to achieving the socio-political objectives of the working class. Marx, Engels and Lenin proved that the socialist revolution breaks out when there is an immediate revolutionary situation, when the objective and subjective conditions exist for carrying out a revolution and toppling the government of the rulers and exploiters. Although, in actuality, the two world wars launched by the imperialists ended in socialist revolutions and led to the birth of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, Marxism-Leninism has never maintained that the socialist revolutions absolutely must be linked to world war. Moreover, Lenin once stated that if the transition to socialism were to occur through war, "we could not visualize a more arduous, difficult transition, a worse set of circumstances or a more profound crisis than destroying each and every production force."(6)

While analyzing the history of man, Marxism pointed out that: "In a society with classes, 'violence is the midwife to every old society that is pregnant with a new society.'"(7) This argument illustrates the important role of violence as an indispensable means whereby a new society is given birth by an old society. The process of this "pregnancy" is determined by a host of economic, political, social and other factors, factors which are formed by the conscious and unconscious actions of all of society (including the classes of exploiters and the exploited classes). Speaking from the point of view of the exploited classes, the speed of this process of formation is determined by the degree of consciousness manifested in the class struggle. And, violence is only the highly conscious and final action taken when this "pregnancy" has reached its end. A midwife cannot give birth to a child, only "assist" in birth. As a result, although violence is extremely important, we cannot consider violence to be something that "solves everything," cannot turn it from a means to an end into the only origin of the new society as Mao argued and as he attributed to Marxism. Concerning this point, Lenin wrote: "Revolutionary violence is only a necessary and legitimate means of the revolution during specific periods of its development and under specific and special conditions; the organizing of the proletariat and the organizing of the working people have always been and continue to be a much more profound and constant characteristic of this revolution and a prerequisite to its victory."(8) Thus, according to Lenin, only revolutionary violence, not counter-revolutionary violence, is the "midwife" to the birth of a new society. This exposes the reactionary and anti-scientific nature of the thinking of

Mao Zedong, which holds that every form of violence is of a decisive nature. Moreover, Marxism has always maintained that violence consists of military forces and political forces and is embodied in the two forms of struggle, armed struggle and political struggle. These two forces and these two forms must be closely linked to one another; they support and stimulate one another and create the combined strength for winning victory over the reactionary powers that are stubbornly protecting the old society.

In the class struggle, there are two opposing types of violence: the revolutionary violence of the progressive classes and the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionary ruling classes. It is evident that Mao was interested in violence for the sake of violence and did not take into consideration its class nature or objectives. More correctly stated, Mao only concerned himself with the one objective of seizing power for himself and his clique; he placed this objective above everything else and would resort to anything to achieve it.

Mao's above mentioned viewpoint of worshipping violence was the thinking that guided the brutal actions of the Red Guard during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in China; in addition, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army followed Mao's directive to use guns to "support the left," it led to the devastation of the structure of the socialist state, which was an achievement of many years of revolutionary struggle by the Chinese people.

Mao maintained that the war of liberation in China was only a war waged by peasants, nothing more, nothing less. He wrote: "The Chinese revolution is, in essence, a peasant revolution...is the heart of the new democratic politics, is the handing of power to peasants." (9) This viewpoint denies the leadership role of the working class in a revolutionary war. On the basis of this viewpoint, Mao Zedong and his clique adopted the policy of "using the countryside to surround the cities"; moreover, they absolutized this policy, considering it to be of universal significance in the revolutionary struggle in all nations, especially Asia, Africa and Latin America. The above mentioned viewpoints of Mao are totally contrary to the military thinking of Marxism-Leninism, which maintains that the working class is the leading class and the main force army in revolutionary war, that the struggle by peasants can only win victory under the leadership of the working class and that the cities occupy a vital strategic position in revolutionary war.

Mao absolutized the role played by the army in war. He wrote: "In China, the primary form of struggle is war and the primary form of organization is the army." (10) On the basis of the experiences of Chiang Kai-shek and Ton Trung Son, who "viewed the army as life itself," Mao reached the conclusion that "to have an army is to have power, war resolves everything." According to Mao, "all sorts of things come from the barrel of a gun." And, "with guns, the party can surely be created." The eight armies created a large party in Hoa Bac. Guns can also create cadres, schools, culture and mass movements. Everything in Dien An is the result of guns." (11) Clearly, the above mentioned militaristic arguments of Mao are totally foreign to the Marxist viewpoints concerning revolutionary forces, the laws of development of revolutionary forces, war and the army. The role of the people "whom Mao considered to be the peasants" in the war in China was, under the guidance of the viewpoint of Mao and his faction, restricted to serving the army and supplementing the army.

On the basis of militaristic viewpoints concerning the role of war, the role of violence and the role of the working class and peasants in war, Mao Zedong developed incorrect and reactionary viewpoints regarding building the army. In Marxism-Leninism, a principle of foremost importance, a principle in the nature of a law in the building of the new style army of the proletariat is: the party of the proletariat is the absolute leader of every activity of the armed forces. In contrast to the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong said: the Chinese army is, in essence, an army of peasants in soldiers' clothing. Mao set forth the argument of using the army to replace the party, to create the party. He said: "Our principle is that the party commands our guns and we are determined to never allow guns to command the party. However, with guns, it is possible to create the party." (12) Mao also said: "The army is the school that trains cadres for every field of activity of the party, the state and the economy." During the years of the "great leap forward" and the "cultural revolution," Mao mobilized the army to break up government agencies, control enterprises, communes, schools, public offices and so forth.

Denying the leadership role of the proletarian party, Mao also took away the remainder of the contents of proletarian politics--Marxism-Leninism--from the political activities of the Chinese army. The so called resolution of the military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969 on intensifying the political work and party work within the Chinese army stated: "The military training and political education in the units, academies and schools of the army must be based on the works of Mao Zedong." In actuality, Mao and his clique turned the Chinese army into an army of Mao, an army absolutely loyal to Mao.

Moreover, within the Chinese army, the intensive teaching of big country chauvinism and anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnam thinking, the cultivation of national hatred of the Soviet Union and Vietnam and so forth have replaced the teaching of proletarian internationalism. The February 1979 war of aggression against Vietnam exposed the utterly contemptuous betrayal of the principles of proletarian internationalism by the disciples of Mao.

Willful by nature, Mao Zedong also incorrectly defined the relationship between man and weapons in war and absolutized the role played by the spirit, by man. According to the Maoists, the best weapon is the "thinking of Mao Zedong." Poisoning the minds of the soldiers of the Chinese army with this thinking is designed to turn them into soldiers who have empty minds and are ready to die for Mao Zedong and the thinking of Mao Zedong. Mao's viewpoint is the complete opposite of Lenin's teaching that even the best army, even the persons most loyal to the revolution will be annihilated by the enemy if they are not fully equipped, if they are not fully supplied with food and fully trained.

The exaggeration of the human factor in the military thinking of Mao Zedong is the combination of the special characteristics of a country that has a large population with the subjective idealist viewpoint of Mao. This is what created the adventurous, ruthless nature of their strategy and the blind obedience in combat.

The viewpoints of Mao concerning military strategy are also extremely reactionary. Mao and the followers of big country chauvinism maintain that China is the center of

the world. In order to achieve "world hegemony" in a situation in which they are both economically and politically weak, they maintain that they must use war. Therefore, their policy is that "the people of China must regularly prepare for war," that China must collaborate with all of the imperialists and international reactionaries and that China must establish a world front, which includes the United States, in order to destroy the Soviet Union, which they have brazenly misrepresented as a "socialist imperialist." This strategy of Mao and his lackeys is an identical copy of the traditional policy employed by the Chinese feudalists of past years, the policy of "aligning with distant enemies in order to destroy nearby enemies." Pragmatic and opportunistic by nature, Mao also put into effect military strategies of a militaristic and warmongering nature, such as inciting "worldwide rebellion," (so that China could rule the world!) and "sitting on a mountain top and watching the two tigers fight" (so that China could fish in troubled waters). The cunning and deceptive nature of the insidious schemes of Mao that were developed into these military strategies was exposed through the following observation made by M. Taylor, the former U.S. Ambassador in South Vietnam: "China is determined to fight the United States to the last Vietnamese and determined to fight Vietnam to the last Cambodian."

The so called "military thinking of Mao Zedong" is a mixture of the most reactionary elements of the military thinking and the principles of military theory of the feudal groups that existed for so long in China and the reactionary military thinking of the militarists and big country chauvinists of China. The interests of the Chinese militaristic, feudal groups were constantly in conflict with one another. Their antagonisms were never reconciled. They looked for every way to perpetuate themselves and expand their power by crushing their opposition. For this reason, they were always deceptive and disloyal. Their characteristic was that they always betrayed and changed their allies. They would align themselves with one power one day in order to attack another power; then, they would align themselves with another power in order to attack their former ally. This military heritage exists in a large country that has a large population and a long history, whose rulers maintain that it is the center of the world. They are very heavily influenced by the big country thinking of China. When he was young, Mao Zedong inherited and developed a fondness for all of this reactionary heritage. It was not until later, when Mao's mind was already filled with the heritage of reactionary military thinking, that Mao began to come into contact with Marxism in a fragmentary fashion. Possessing a pragmatic point of view, Mao used the sentences and passages found in Marxism to embellish his anti-Marxist military thinking.

Today, the post-Mao rulers in China are continuing to brandish the banner of "the military thinking of Mao Zedong" in order to collaborate with the imperialists and the reactionaries of the world with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the three revolutionary currents and achieving world hegemony. However, times have changed. The military thinking of Mao Zedong is a confusing, reactionary and outmoded collection of thoughts that is totally contrary to Marxism-Leninism. The post-Mao rulers are, on the basis of their pragmatic stand, revising a few points in the military thinking of Mao but they cannot discard Mao's heritage. The reactionaries within the present ruling circles in Beijing, the central figure among whom is Deng Xiaoping, are very adventurous and bellicose and launched a war of aggression against Vietnam in February 1979. And, today, they still nurture the

ambition of weakening and annexing our country and eventually expanding into all of Southeast Asia. We will never relax our vigilance in the face of their schemes and acts of provocation against our people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mao Zedong: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume II, p 304.
2. Ibid., p 313.
3. Ibid., p 311.
4. Ibid., p 313.
5. Ibid.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 491.
7. F. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 312.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, pp 91-92.
9. Mao Zedong: "Selected Works," p 516.
10. Ibid., p 307.
11. Ibid., pp 311-313.
12. Ibid., p 318.

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