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# Southeast Asia Report

No. 1286

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 2, February 1983

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN  
No. 2, February 1983

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

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## RAISING THE SENSE OF ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE OF CADRES AND PARTY MEMBERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] The sense of organization and discipline is one of the fundamental characteristics of a Marxist-Leninist party. This characteristic expresses the thoroughly revolutionary nature of the working class and is a standard for differentiating the new style political party of the working class from every party of opportunism. Historic experience has shown that in order to win victory over capitalism and the bourgeoisie, to successfully build socialism, the proletariat and the proletarian party must have a completely centralized system and must practice very strict discipline.

From the very first days of the founding of the new style political party of the working class in Russia, Lenin emphasized: "I want to very clearly and accurately state that I want and I demand that the vanguard unit of the class be highly organized, that the party should only accept elements that at least accept a minimum degree of organization."(1)

In the process of building the party in our country, our party has correctly applied Lenin's principles on party building. While giving the matter of building the party politically and ideologically a position of foremost importance, our party has attached very much importance to building the party organizationally. As a result, throughout the course of leading the revolution, our party has not only maintained a correct political line, but has also been tightly organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, always maintained unity in will and action and maintained the solidarity of the party. This is one of the basic factors in the brilliant victories that have been won by our country's revolution.

Today, more than ever before, the struggle to build socialism and defend the fatherland demands that our party further heighten the sense of organization and discipline of the corps of cadres and party members, considering this to be a decisive requirement in increasing the party's fighting strength. As we know, in the period of transition to socialism, regardless of the country, the struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism is always a very sharp and complex struggle

in all fields of social life. In our country, this struggle is even sharper and more complicated because our country has experienced several decades of continuous war, the aftereffects of which have been serious; the country was only recently reunified; the South only recently ceased to be a neo-colony of the U.S. imperialists; socialist transformation in the South has only recorded initial results; and, in addition, we face difficulties in our economy and daily lives. The class struggle, the struggle between the two ways of life is having an impact each hour of each day upon the corps of cadres and party members, thereby raising the possibility that those who lack a strong character, who lack the sense of organization and discipline might become lost and fall by the wayside. The corruption and the violation of the code of discipline of the party on the part of some cadres and party members in recent years verify this.

On the other hand, the small-scale production economy and the years of the long guerrilla war have had a negative impact upon numerous cadres and party members, an impact evident in their liberal thinking, their habit of doing as they see fit in their work, their departmentalism and partialism and their lack of socialist cooperation, which are inconsistent with the proletarian nature of the party and the party's requirements regarding organization and discipline in view of the fact that the party is leading socialist construction.

Moreover, we must also contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. One of the malicious schemes of the enemy is to make every effort to sabotage our party. By means of psychological warfare, they have been distorting and attacking the line of the party and provoking and sowing confusion with a view toward creating internal divisions within the party.

Over the past several years, the effort to teach cadres and party members about the matters mentioned above has not been given appropriate attention and has, at some places, even been very lax. For this reason, teaching and raising the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members and criticizing and eliminating all phenomena involving liberalism and the lack of discipline are a very important requirement. These efforts make a decisive contribution to strengthening the class nature and the vanguard character of the party, thereby insuring the successful implementation of the lines and policies of the party and state.

As an important expression of the nature of the party, the sense of organization and discipline demands that every member and cadre of the party, regardless of their job and regardless of their circumstances, fulfill the exemplary-vanguard role of a communist party member, fully comply with the lines, policies, directives and resolutions of the party, respect the rules of party life and not do anything that is contrary to the qualities and character of the party member.

The sense of organization and discipline demands that our cadres and party members make every effort to struggle, to forge themselves in many different areas. However, the requirement of foremost importance is that every cadre and party member must agree with the lines and viewpoints of the party and

thoroughly implement every line, position, policy, directive and resolution of the party. In cases in which the common interests of the revolution and one's personal interests are in conflict, the sense of organization and discipline demands that cadres and party members voluntarily place the common interests of the revolution above their own personal interests and not, because of personal interests, cause difficulties or pose obstacles to the implementation of the lines and policies of the party. Those party members who are leadership cadres, those cadres who hold positions of authority must set an even greater example in this regard. This is one of the most important challenges to the qualities, the ethics, the loyalty and the awareness of communist ideals of cadres and party members. Because, as we know, each line, position, policy, directive and resolution of the party is always based on the common interests of the revolution and the interests of the people. Communist party members are persons who voluntarily join the ranks of the party, who fight throughout the lives for the ideals of the party and the happiness of the people; consequently, they must be the most determined, the bravest fighters in implementing and leading the masses in implementing the party's lines, positions, policies, directives and resolutions. President Ho taught: "The revolutionary ethics of the party member are such that he determinedly complies with the policies and resolutions of the party and sets an example for the masses to follow regardless of how great the difficulties might be."(2) The statutes of the party demand that the party member: "scrupulously comply with the lines and policies of the party."(3) In view of the fact that the party is in power, the party also requires that cadres and party members fully comply with each position, policy and law of the state, considering this to be a matter of party discipline.

In particular, at this point in time, the sense of organization and discipline of the party demands that every party member and cadre have a thorough understanding of the party's line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy and thoroughly comply with the resolutions of the 5th National Congress as well as the directives and resolutions adopted by the Party Central Committee since the congress.

We must fully understand and correctly implement the party's principle of democratic centralism. Every party member and cadre must display his intelligence and creativity as he participates in formulating the lines and policies of the party but must also comply with the following principle: the resolutions of the party must be accepted unconditionally. The individual party member must obey the organization and the code of discipline of the party, the minority must obey the majority and the lower level organization must obey the authorized organization on the upper level; the organizations of the party throughout the country must obey the will expressed at the national congress of delegates and by the Party Central Committee"(4); "with regard to matters that are expressed in the form of a resolution adopted by the collective, there can be but one will, one voice and one action"(5); "differing opinions must be presented to the authorized agency on the same level or the upper level for examination and decision but there must, at the same time, continue to be full compliance with the original decision..."(6)

Only in this way is it possible to insure the unity of will and action of the party, to make our party invincible, to give it all the strength it needs to

successfully carry out every task. President Ho said: "The invincible strength of the party lies in the spirit of self-imposed discipline and the strong sense of organization of cadres and party members."(7)

During the past several years, as we have entered the new stage of the revolution, the majority of cadres and party members have continued to struggle, continued to forge themselves, display a high sense of organization and discipline and maintain the fine qualities of a communist, thereby proving themselves worthy of the trust of the party, of the masses. However, as the Report on Party Building presented at the 5th National Congress emphasized: "Liberalism and the lack of discipline have been on the increase in the recent past in the face of the difficulties of the country and the psychological warfare of the enemy."(8)

Most deserving of attention are the following phenomena:

Some cadres and party members have taken it upon themselves to make public statements concerning the lines and policies of the party, statements that do not comply with the directives and resolutions of the upper level or the collective or which only comply with the points that they endorse. The spirit of responsibility displayed by some cadres and party members in their work is very poor. Some persons and collectives look for every way to abuse, get around or go against the positions and policies of the party or commit acts against the property of the collective, of the state. Many cadres do not fully or seriously comply with the regulations on reports to and requests for directives from the upper level. A number of cadres and party committees consider their locality, their unit to be their own "kingdom" and establish for their locality or unit regulations and rules that are not consistent with the general policy thinking of the party and state.

At a time when the class struggle, the struggle between the two ways of life, is decisive and complicated, some cadres and party members, instead of earning their livings collectively, instead of fulfilling their obligations to the state, are engaged in smuggling, collusion or exploitation of one form or another. Some persons have entered into a conspiracy with exploiters, with decadent elements, helping them to evade transformation and earn their livings illegally. Some cadres and party members openly talk about and discuss at great length and in a manner lacking all principle secrets of the party and state, etc.

The above mentioned acts that are contrary to the revolutionary ethics, to the discipline of the party have had a very adverse impact upon the class nature, the vanguard nature and the fighting strength of the party. These acts have caused harm to the revolutionary undertaking of the party, to the prestige of the party, to the relationship between the party and the masses. They are also one of the reasons for the relaxation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the reduced management effectiveness of the socialist state and the obstacles faced in maintaining social order and struggling to overcome negative phenomena.

In order to raise the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members and overcome the phenomena involving liberalism and the lack of



discipline, it is necessary, together with raising the awareness of communist ideals on the part of cadres and party members and insuring that they make every effort to struggle, to forge themselves, to insure that the various party committee echelons and party organizations fulfill their responsibilities in maintaining party discipline. In other words, there must be a close coordination of educational, ideological and organizational measures. The spread of liberalism and the lack of discipline in the recent past has been due to the failure to fully implement and closely coordinate these measures.

At present, some party committees and cadres hold the viewpoint that because there are many difficulties and complications in the initial stage of socialist construction, we should not place heavy emphasis upon the ideological struggle or upon strengthening our discipline as this might cause internal "tension." This viewpoint is incorrect. Facts have shown that giving light attention to the ideological struggle and relaxing the discipline of the party cause liberalism, the lack of organization and the lack of discipline to develop and adversely affect the fighting strength of the party and the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members. Lenin said: "Anyone who weakens--even by the smallest amount--the iron discipline within the party of the proletariat (especially during the period of its dictatorship) actually helps the bourgeoisie oppose the proletariat."(9)

In the effort to educate cadres and party members and maintain the discipline of the party, the basic organizations of the party, especially the party chapters, play an extremely important role. The basic organizations of the party are the frontline combat units of the party. Every position and policy of the party and state is implemented through the party organizations on the basic level. The basic organizations of the party are the places that directly assign work to party members, inspect the work, the ethics and the character of party members and manage party members, consequently, they are able to fully understand the strengths and weaknesses of party members and effectively educate them.

The basic measure for raising the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members is to routinely engage in self-criticism and criticism within the party chapter. Party members who possess a good sense of awareness with regard to maintaining the discipline of the party and setting examples in the implementation of the positions, policies, directives and resolutions of the party must be encouraged and must be promptly and appropriately praised. Every manifestation of liberalism, of a lack of organization or discipline must be promptly criticized and stopped. Cadres and party members who commit serious mistakes or shortcomings must be subjected to disciplinary action which, depending upon the seriousness of the mistake or shortcoming, can lead to expulsion from the party or prosecution under the law. Serious mistakes and shortcomings cannot be tolerated or covered up, regardless of the level on which the cadres who commit them work. The Report on Party Building at the 5th National Congress stated: "Within the party and within the state apparatus, discipline must be equal and exceptions can be made for no one... The higher a person's position is and the longer he has been in the party, the harsher the disciplinary action taken against him must be in cases of violations of the code of discipline. Violations of state

discipline must be dealt with administratively and violations of the law must be prosecuted under the law; compromises may not be made so that a violation is handled as an internal party matter with a view toward covering up for one another."(10)

One very important factor in maintaining the discipline of the party is to insure that democracy is practiced within the party. The discipline of the party always develops on the basis of practicing internal democracy. The party's principle of democratic centralism demands both strict discipline and broad democracy. Lenin said: "United actions and the freedom to debate and criticize, these are our definition. This is the only kind of discipline that is worthy of the democratic party of a progressive class."(11)

At present, the lack of democracy or democracy in name only are rather widespread at many places; arbitrariness, authoritarianism and feudal style paternalism are still quite serious. This situation has not only prevented cadres and party members from displaying initiative and creativity, but has also "regularly caused manifestations of opportunism, flattery, 'blowing in the wind,' 'factionalism' and a loss of unity"(12); and, in more than a few cases, it has been the cause of liberalism and the lack of discipline.

Therefore, in order to maintain the discipline of the party, we must not only harshly criticize the phenomena of liberalism and the lack of discipline, but must also struggle against the lack of democracy or democracy in name only; in particular, we must harshly criticize and take appropriate steps in cases involving the suppression and repression of cadres and party members who dare to forthrightly struggle to protect the truth.

One important requirement in the teaching of politics and ideology by the basic organizations of the party at this time is to give cadres and party members a clear understanding of the sharp and complex nature of all aspects of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country at this time. In this way, we must help everyone adopt the correct attitude concerning the problems faced in everyday life.

The teaching of the sense of organization and discipline must also be closely linked to establishing and improving work regulations and revising or eliminating regulations that are no longer suitable. We must organize various phases of activity to research the party statutes and review and criticize ourselves (including on the upper level) with regard to how well we have implemented the provisions set forth within party statutes concerning the tasks and authority of party members, the principle of democratic centralism, the system of reports from the upper level to the lower levels, from the lower levels to the upper level, self-criticism and criticism, etc.

Together with the measures mentioned above, the organizations of the party must coordinate with the responsible agencies and concern themselves with resolving the difficulties encountered in the daily lives of cadres and party members. This is also an important and effective measure, one that makes it possible for cadres and party members to maintain their sense of organization and discipline, maintain their good revolutionary qualities, in general.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 8, p 286.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 74.
3. The Statutes of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1982, p 19.
4. Ibid., p 34.
5. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 64.
6. The Statutes of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1982, p 41.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 115.
8. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 54.
9. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 34.
10. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 59.
11. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 14, p 163.
12. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 56.

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## DEVELOPING THE FORESTRY INDUSTRY IS THE GREAT TASK OF THE ENTIRE PARTY AND ALL THE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 7-16

[Article by Pham Van Dong]

[Text] In the work of building and defending the fatherland, the forests always have and always will occupy a very important position and play an extremely important role, not only as the base supplying forestry products to support production and everyday life, but also as an important component of the environment. The forestry industry is one of the economic sectors that is capable of creating major sources of income for the economy and the people. By confirming the important position of the forests and developing the forestry industry in a comprehensive, strong and steady manner in accordance with the guidelines set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party, we will surely bring about new changes in the re-establishment and the reasonable harvesting of tropical forest resources in a manner worthy of their position and task in the entirety of socialist construction in our country.

### I. Tropical Forest Resources and Their Important Position in the Economy, the Environment and the Defense of the Nation

1. Lying within the region of the tropical, trade wind climate, our country possesses the tremendous potentials of the rice and beautiful tropical forests. "The gold forests and the silver seas," which is a saying of our people, affirms the wealth that lies in our forests as well as in our ocean waters. Within the forests are hundreds of species of precious wood, dozens of types of famous special products, thousands of species of medicinal plants and many species of plant and animal life that are of major value in scientific research and in the preservation of nature, species that not every country of the world has. Abundant temperatures, humidity, rainfall and sunlight make it possible for the plants of the tropical forests to grow rapidly and reproduce prolifically; if we know how to harvest them well, the forests are truly a source of exploitable and continuous resources. We have many valuable species of plants that can be cultivated on many different types of soil, from the barren hills and dry, rocky mountains to the inundated areas along the seacoast and rivers. Our country is one of the major growing areas of bamboo, dozens of different species of which grow naturally and can be

cultivated everywhere in the country, providing a harvest of raw materials within 4 to 6 years. The mangrove and cajuput trees in Minh Hai, Kien Giang and so forth are remarkable trees that provide wood, firewood, resin and oil while blocking waves, removing salt from the water, retaining soil and helping to reclaim land from the sea, thereby creating new land for agriculture each year.

Our country still has countless species of plant and animal life whose full properties and effects we have yet to discover. This work demands that the basic investigations sector and the scientific sectors related to forestry delve deeply into research designed to discover and evaluate the tremendous potentials of the tropical forests so that they can be protected, harvested and developed.

When talking about the economic position of the forests, we must first mention the role played by the forests in supplying raw materials and forestry products needed by industry, the capital construction sector and the communications-transportation sector and supplying consumer goods to the people. Each year, we carry out the planned harvesting of approximately 2 million cubic meters of timber, hundreds of millions of pieces of bamboo and many other types of forestry products to meet the needs of the industrial and construction sectors. In addition, estimates by the Ministry of Forestry show that the people, agencies and troops harvest about 20 million to 25 million cubic meters of timber and firewood. Of course, the needs of production and everyday life are rising rapidly with each passing day. Some 250,000 to 300,000 cubic meters of wood must be supplied to one paper mill in Vinh Phu each year. Our country soon must build similar mills, consequently, the need for forestry products will be even larger and more pressing.

The forestry industry is one of the economic sectors that is capable of providing major sources of income to the state, collectives and the household economy. The purposes of strongly developing this industry are to develop the potentials that lie in our labor, forest resources and arable land, create jobs for millions of persons and increase the output of products for domestic consumption and exportation, thereby making positive contributions to carrying out the program to redistribute labor and the population within each locality and on a nationwide scale.

The forests play a very important role in man's environment. The forests play a special role in retaining water, regulating water sources, increasing the amount of rainfall, increasing the amount of moisture available for protecting the soil, combating erosion and controlling flooding. In a tropical country such as ours, especially in the high, steep mountains where water sources are located, the conservation of forests is of even more pressing significance. Forest conservation means protecting the land and protecting water sources, which are extremely important factors in the life of the entire nation. The history of the world has proven that because of the destruction of forests, vast, once fertile areas in many countries became deserts, the very serious consequences of which have been borne by many generations. The rather complex changes in the climate, the weather and the hydrological system in our country in recent years have been the result of many causes; however, it can very easily be seen that the forests, especially the headwater forests, have been

seriously damaged. This fact reminds everyone of the need to pay full attention to the laws of nature; they are laws that absolutely must be respected.

The forests and the system of vegetation have the effects of providing protection against typhoon winds, blocking wind blown sand, cleaning the air, reducing noise and creating an environment favorable for production and the life of man. The protected natural forests, the forest areas that are used to provide recreation, entertainment and medical treatment, the forest areas visited by tourists, the public parks and the tree plantings closely linked to residential areas, especially in the cities and the industrial complexes, combine to create harmonious natural beauty and are a need in our cultural and social life. As the level of cultural and social development is raised, this need becomes increasingly large.

As regards scientific research and the preservation of nature, our country's tropical forests occupy a position of major significance not only with regard to our country, but with regard to many other countries of the world as well. The rich and unique forms of forests and the species of plant and animal life that typify the tropical forests must be very thoroughly protected in exact accordance with the procedures of scientific research and the preservation of nature and the preservation of the origins of species in order to serve the new requirements that we will face in the future, requirements to which we must attach very much importance beginning immediately.

The forests play a major role in national defense. In the fights waged against foreign aggression down through the several thousand years of our history, the mountainous forests of Vietnam have created an extremely important position from which our people have been able to win victory over the enemy. In the past as well as in the years to come, the protection of the forests and the planting of trees in border areas, along the seacoast and throughout each region of the country are not only demands of the economy, but are also requirements of strengthening the national defense system on the basis of the viewpoint of all the people defending the country.

2. In recent years, under the leadership of the party, the forestry sector together with the various sectors and localities have made continuous efforts to propagandize, educate, mobilize and organize the people in forest conservation and afforestation. The "tree planting tet" launched by President Ho Chi Minh has been enthusiastically supported by compatriots everywhere and has quickly become a fine habit in the economic life and social life of many localities. This movement is of comprehensive importance and has truly yielded major economic benefits. Our country has planted more than 400,000 hectares of centralized forests and more than 2 billion trees at various places, which equate to more than one-half million hectares of planted forests. The quality of afforestation has improved in recent years. Significant advances have been made in the harvesting and milling of timber. The forest industry has begun to be built and developed along the lines of protecting and building forest resources on the basis of the following central tasks: coordinating agriculture and forestry; assigning forest land and forests to cooperatives for use in their businesses in coordination with reorganizing production within the state-operated and collective segments of

the economy; and starting the successful implementation of the policy that provides incentive for the people to engage in forestry under the program to assign forest land and forests to the people to be managed and used in production. Outstanding units that work in intelligent, creative ways have been and are emerging in numerous localities.

3. However, due to the consequences of the pervasive destruction of the forests over a period of many years, both the quantity and quality of forest resources have seriously declined. In the space of 20 years, the size of the forests has declined from 41 percent to 29 percent of our natural land. According to a survey conducted in 1980, we have about 9.9 million hectares of forests (about 3 million hectares of which contain considerable reserves); however, according to recently verified data, our forests are now smaller than this figure. This is something with which we must be especially concerned. The destruction of the forests, although it has been slowed, has still not been stopped. The cutting and destruction of forests, the burning of forests and the indiscriminant clearing of land still occur at many places. Afforestation is developing slowly, the percentage of established forests is still low and returns from the forestry business are not high. Harvesting has not been closely linked to the requirement of insuring the regrowth of forest resources. The processing and storage of lumber are still underdeveloped and the use of lumber and forestry products is still marked by very much waste, thereby increasing the abusive harvesting of forest resources. With the potentials and strengths of the forests, with the abundant sources of labor that our country has, we should be able to provide jobs for millions of persons in the building and harvesting of the forests and, on this basis, create rich sources of raw materials with which to expand the various sectors and trades, develop the economy and raise the standard of living; however, it is regrettable that many places have not done this. Generally speaking, the forestry business is still at a very low level of development and has basically not gone beyond harvesting by natural methods. We have yet to make appropriate investments of labor and advanced technology for the purpose of transforming the forests from natural, wild forests into managed, productive forests that produce a high output and high economic value per unit of land and on the entire millions of hectares that we have planned to meet the requirements of the development of forestry.

## II. Developing Forestry in a Comprehensive Manner and Making the Conservation and Building of Forest Resources the Central Task

Forestry is one of the important material production sectors. The forestry industry must be developed in a comprehensive manner, in a manner encompassing conservation, regrowth, repair, planting and the harvesting and processing of wood, forestry products and special products to meet the rising needs of society. However, it must be realized that the conservation and development of forest resources must be viewed as the most basic task of the forestry industry, in the immediate future as well as over the long range, a task that must be carried out along the lines of coordinating agriculture, forestry and industry and making full use of the rich potentials of the forests in socialist construction within the provinces and districts of the midlands and mountains. This is a major task of the entire party and all the people.

1. We face a serious imbalance between the rising need of society for forestry products and the limited ability of the forests to supply these products. The present method of harvesting, a method that is exploitation of nature, added to the burning of forests and the continuous forest fires have rapidly depleted the forests. For this reason, we must take the most determined and strongest measures possible to establish a new order in the management and protection of the forests, effectively utilize our country's forest resources and put an end to the burning of forests, the forest fires, the cutting of forests and the clearing of forest land. To protect the forests, we must not merely take separate measures of a stopgap nature, rather, we must thoroughly eliminate each cause of the destruction of the forests. Forest conservation must be made a part of economic development in the mountains and midlands. Every activity involved in the production and in improving the standard of living of the members of the ethnic minorities must be closely linked to forest conservation and development; we must initiate forest management and conservation based on the new program and policies; we must define the specific management responsibilities of the units and individuals to whom forests are assigned within each locality and each small area of the forest and must closely link the responsibility and the rights of the localities, installations and laborers in this work. It is necessary to classify the forests in order to protect them; we must establish specialized forces and, at the same time, gain the participation of the forces of all the people and the forces of the local people in effectively protecting the forests. We must uphold the socialist system of law in forest management and conservation while propagandizing and widely disseminating the forest conservation law so that everyone fully understands and correctly implements it. All persons who destroy the forests, who hunt and kill rare animals and who advocate policies that result in the destruction of forests in a manner contrary to planning and in violation of the law must be fully prosecuted. It has come time for us to do this in an urgent and serious manner.

2. The forests are a type of renewable resource; at present, the task of recreating the forests is very large and pressing. We must make an effort to develop the 15.6 million hectares of forests and forestry land into forest resources that provide high yields, high output and high business returns. Thus, we must simultaneously improve, repair and regenerate the natural forests and accelerate the planting of centralized forests on barren ground and barren hills, forests that are used for intensive cultivation, specialized farming and large-scale production. To begin with, we must manage our existing natural and cultivated forest resources well. We must quickly establish raw material production areas supporting the paper, mining and lumber industries as well as areas that produce special products for exportation, such as cinnamon, anise, pine resin, *Mallotus philippinensis*, etc. At the same time, we must attach special importance to planting trees and building forest resources within the districts, villages and cooperatives and encouraging cooperatives and the people to plant trees everywhere, along roadsides, along canals and ditches, on field embankments and within the gardens of each family in order to quickly increase the percentage of land covered by trees and meet the wood and firewood needs of the people. We are fully capable of doing this and must do this. Ly Nhan District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, which lies in the densely populated lowlands, has, as a result of organizing the tree planting movement well among the people, created green



landscapes, improved the environment and annually harvests more than 25,000 cubic meters of wood, 12,000 tons of firewood and 300,000 pieces of bamboo, which is equivalent to the output of a mountain district with rich forest resources. If all localities were to do what Ly Nhan District has done, the forest resources and tree resources of the entire country would be much larger, the needs for forestry products would be met and the natural forests would be better protected.

3. The economic potentials of the forests not only include wood, even though wood is an important raw material; they also include the birds and animals of the forest and the potentials that lie in arable land, the climate, water conservancy, hydroelectric power, etc. "Therefore, the mountain provinces and districts must develop their strengths well, must move forward on the basis of agriculture and forestry and absolutely must utilize their arable land by coordinating agriculture and forestry." (1) Coordinating agriculture and forestry is one of the important guidelines for using forests and forest land in the most efficient manner possible. This is not only a demand of the economy, but is also very necessary in maintaining and developing upon the positive role played by the various factors of the tropical ecology, among which the forests always play the most important role.

As regards the mountains and midlands, the coordination of agriculture and forestry creates a new capability for increasing the sources of grain, food products and other agricultural and forestry products while still conserving and developing the forests. It must also be clearly understood that coordinating agriculture and forestry does not mean clearing forest land and destroying forests in any manner seen fit in order to produce grain in an unreasonable manner, a manner that is not based on the calculation of economic returns and which has led to the harmful consequences with which many of us are familiar. The coordination of agriculture and forestry is a positive mode of production that involves very strict scientific, technical and management requirements in many areas. Consequently, planning, a plan and a mode for coordinating agriculture and forestry must be adopted that are suited to the natural, economic and social conditions within each locality and area; for example, one place might coordinate afforestation with the cultivation of grain and industrial crops but another place might coordinate afforestation with the raising of the species of large livestock, with pisciculture or with the establishment of stands of trees that provide valuable pharmaceutical or special products. Our objective must be to insure that each unit of land, each branch in our forests yields products of the highest possible value while still protecting the land, the environment and natural beauty. We do, in actuality, have units that are models of the coordination of agriculture and forestry in all areas, from the mountains and the midlands to the lowlands and seacoast. The resident of Vien Son Village, which lies in the ethnic minority area of Hoang Lien Son Province, once practiced slash and burn cultivation and lived the life of nomads; over the past 10 years, they have been coordinating the cultivation of cinnamon with the production of grain and now have more than 600 hectares of cinnamon. The annual income earned by cooperative members from cinnamon accounts for more than 80 percent of their total income and they also harvest hundreds of tons of grain raised as a companion crop. As a result, their material and cultural lives have constantly been improved and the destruction of the forests has

been stopped. The Muong Chum Cooperative of the Thai ethnic minority in Muong La District, Son La Province, has developed every aspect of its production and improved the living conditions of its people considerably as a result of developing upon the strengths of the forest, tightly managing forest resources, cleverly coordinating forestry with the requirements of grain production and intensifying their livestock production on the basis of coordinating agriculture and forestry. Vinh Phu Province's policy of developing the foothill forest economy has begun to yield results at a number of places. In Tieu Son Village, Dong Hung District, which lies among the barren hills in the midlands of Vinh Phu Province, practically all families have forest stands in the foothills where they raise Tre and Dien bamboo in coordination with fruit crops and industrial crops; each year, they harvest hundreds of tons of forestry products and raw materials and are expanding the planting of forests on high hills under contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers for forest conservation and afforestation coordinated with agricultural production. This is a valuable experience, is an experience that must be studied and applied at other places. Also as a result of coordinating agriculture and forestry, many forestry sites in the mountains have additional grain and food products and have achieved partial self-sufficiency, thereby enabling them to improve the standard of living of workers and reduce the difficulties encountered by the state.

The coordination of agriculture and forestry must be widespread and universal and must take the form of specific tasks and plan norms for each district, forestry sites, state farm, cooperative and orchard of each family; a production system that coordinates many sectors and trades in a smooth and stable manner must gradually be established. We must review the diverse practical experiences of the people, accelerate scientific research and experimentation and develop advanced theories and methods for using forest land in the most efficient, comprehensive and highly integrated manner possible. The program on technological advances in the coordination of agriculture and forestry that is being implemented by the Ministry of Forestry, which is one of the key projects of the state, is of very important significance in the implementation of this policy in our country. We must make the greatest possible effort to carry out this program very well.

4. We must tightly manage the harvesting of the forests on a nationwide scale and within each locality on the basis of planning, designs, plans and regulations governing conservation, regrowth, cultivation and replanning in specific cycles. The volume of wood taken from the forests must be based on the capacity of the forests and the afforestation and tree planting efforts made by the entire country and within each locality; we cannot permit the forests to be harvested and used in an unconscious and irresponsible manner.

The milling and storage of lumber and the economical use of forestry products must be intensified. We must make thorough and economical use of wood in everything from harvesting and milling to consumption. We must limit and eventually eliminate harvesting in forests where harvesting is prohibited and the very wasteful use of forestry product sources, especially in the mountains, where the wasteful use of wood and firewood has long been a habit. We must allocate much precious wood and many forestry products and special products of value for exportation. We must accelerate the advancement of

technology in every area of the processing of forestry products by mechanical and chemical methods. We must efficiently reorganize the lumber milling network throughout the country and strictly implement milling standards that allow us to make use of or recycle the majority of scrap wood in order to increase the efficiency with which forestry products are used. We must intensify our research to discover sources of substitute raw materials and building materials so that wood can be used for appropriate purposes.

### III. The State and the People Working Together To Build and Develop the Forestry Industry

We are well aware of the importance and the pressing nature of forest conservation, the restoration of forests and afforestation in our country. To do these things, we absolutely must rely upon the tremendous strength of all the people, must implement the guideline "the state and the people, the central level and the locality working together" and must "use the forests to develop the forests."

1. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam states that the forests and forest land are owned by all the people and managed solely by the state. However, the forests and forest land are spread throughout every area of the country and envelop many population centers, where they have long been an integral part of the lives of millions of persons, especially in the mountains and midlands. Therefore, forest conservation and afforestation can only be carried out well and the forestry industry can only be developed when each locality displays the fullest possible sense of responsibility, all of society concerns itself with this issue and millions of persons eagerly participate in afforestation. On the one hand, we must build and strengthen the forces of the state-operated sector; on the other hand, we must strongly develop the forces of the cooperatives and households engaged in the forestry industry by employing every form of contract and cooperating and coordinating in businesses and joint businesses under the policy of assigning land and forests to districts to be managed, to cooperatives and army units for the planting of trees and to households for the establishment of forest orchards. This is a very important program of our party and state, one that must be thoroughly understood by all sectors and levels and one whose implementation must be thoroughly organized. Actual experience has shown that at those places where the party committee and local government concern themselves with guiding this work, the forests are protected and harvested well, barren land and hills are planted with trees, the income from the forest economy grows and the living conditions of the people are constantly improved. There are numerous model units that can be cited: in Thanh Hoa Province, as a result of the program launched in 1973, exactly 10 years ago, to plant Luong bamboo, the people and the state have planted more than 30,000 hectares and have harvested more than 17,900 hectares, the output from which was worth hundreds of millions of dong; in addition, they have realized many other large benefits, the value of which cannot be completely measured. The people of the Nung ethnic minority in Phuc Sen Village, Cao Bang Province, have established a satisfactory relationship among the interests of the state, the collective and the individual by encouraging the people to enter into reasonable forest conservation agreements and implementing a system of fair rewards and penalties, as a result of which the natural forests in the area have not only

been protected well, but the people have also contributed more than 1 million mandays to plant trees, thereby turning more than 750 hectares of barren hills and rocky mountains into beautiful green forest. By being creative and relying upon the strength of the people, Huu Khanh Village in Lang Son Province has, through 20 years of continuous effort, planted nearly 500 hectares of forest, which consist of both collective forest and household forest orchards, thereby creating a prosperous economic area, an area in which the amount of grain per capita exceeds 400 kilograms and each household earns more than 15,000 dong in product per year. At the Can Kiem Cooperative in Thach That District, the municipality of Hanoi, the specialized tree planting unit has improved the soil in the laterite hills and turned an entire area of depleted soil into a beautiful forest of trees and fruit orchards. The experience and the example of diligent labor recorded and set by the elders within the tree planting unit of the Hoa Tien Cooperative in Gia Luong Village, Gia Vien District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, by using soil transported from paddies into rocky mountains to plant trees, thereby making their native village more beautiful and wealthy, are truly deserving of admiration and study by everyone. Similar models have emerged at many places in our country, thereby confirming the fact that the labor potentials and the forestry experience of our people are truly very diverse and creative.

2. Under the leadership of the various party committee echelons and levels of government, we must urgently reorganize the forestry industry on a nationwide scale and within each province, district and village with a view toward tapping the tremendous capabilities of all the people in forest conservation and the building of forest resources. On the basis of the unified planning of the state and on the basis of establishing clear objectives and guidelines for the development of agriculture and forestry within each area, we must rapidly assign forests and forest land to each cooperative and household for the purposes of conservation and afforestation. An effort must be made to cover the barren ground and hills in localities with vegetation by a specific deadline. Provinces and districts that have far more arable land than they need and limited labor and capital can cooperate or enter into joint business with other localities in order to increase the rate of afforestation. Every locality must assume responsibility to the state for protecting the forests, tightly managing harvesting and delivering forestry products in accordance with the plan.

We must research a detailed division of forest industry management responsibilities and levels for the provinces and districts and establish good relations of cooperation and joint businesses between state-operated and collective units, between collectives and households, relations which insure the harmonious coordination of the interests of the central level, the locality, the installation and the individual laborer in the protection and development of the forests, thereby insuring that the segment of the forestry economy that is subordinate to the central level and the segment that is subordinate to the locality develop together for the purpose of completing the common tasks and meeting the common objectives of the entire country.

3. In the development of the economy, in general, and the development of forestry, in particular, the district and the district level play a very important role. Natural resources and socio-economic conditions must be used

as the bases for correctly establishing the position of the forest industry and the guidelines for its development within the overall economy of the district.

In the mountain districts, the forest industry must be placed in a position of foremost importance, followed by industrial crop production, the raising of the species of large livestock and the cultivation of special products and marine products. One requirement that must be emphasized is that the mountain districts must make full use of every capability they have to raise grain, especially suitable subsidiary food crops.

In the midland districts, the main guideline is to try to achieve self-sufficiency in grain and eventually become prosperous by means of subsidiary food crop production, the forest industry and the acceleration of livestock production.

In the lowland districts, trees must be planted to achieve self-sufficiency in wood and firewood and provide shelter belts to protect agricultural production. Importance must be attached to planting mulberries in order to help resolve the clothing problem for the people.

In the coastal districts, trees must be planted to protect against winds and typhoons, meet the local need for wood and firewood and support the fishing industry in coordination with planting trees to meet national defense requirements. The mangrove and cajuput trees in Minh Hai and Kien Giang and the coconut trees in central and southern Vietnam must be given special attention because of the many benefits they provide.

In order to develop forestry, primarily on the basis of the district, special importance must be attached to the role played by the district level in state administrative management and the management of production and business. The district people's committees must improve themselves to the point where they can manage the forest industry in accordance with the new requirements being faced; on the other hand, a specialized forestry organization must be established to help provide uniform management of forestry activities within the scope of the district. The Ministry of Forestry and the related sectors on the central level must intensify their guidance and create the conditions needed for the district level to rapidly take control of and effectively develop the forest industry.

#### IV. The Major Measures

In order to implement the guidelines and meet the objectives involved in building and developing forestry in our country, it is necessary to resolve a host of matters, included among which are the several following basic jobs which must be performed well:

1. To begin with, we must organize another survey of the forests and forest land throughout the country to serve as a firm foundation for determining strategic guidelines for the comprehensive development of the forest industry and formulating the program for the development of forestry up until the year 2000. This will provide the premise for formulating the planning and plans

for gradually achieving the goals for the development of our country's tropical forest industry. The planning of production must be closely linked to the planning of conservation, especially the conservation of forest areas in which harvesting is prohibited, forest reserves, forest areas dedicated to scientific research and so forth. We must establish an organization that specializes in thoroughly protecting the forests. Efforts to clear land must be directed toward restoring fields and making use of barren land and barren hills; places that have forests absolutely must prohibit the clearing of land. The general direction of agricultural-forestry planning is to practice forestry within agriculture and agriculture within forestry, to operate a comprehensive business and make integrated use of resources while protecting and developing upon the precious assets of arable land and turning "each bit of soil into a bit of gold."

2. We must intensify the building of the material and technical bases of the forest industry, expand the road network and improve the technical equipment in use, especially means of transportation and the equipment used to process wood, forestry products and special products. Protecting the forests, planting forests and caring for the forests are activities that involve high scientific and technical requirements. The planting and regrowth of tropical forests containing such a rich and wide variety of plant species as the forests of our country do make it even more necessary that we resolve many complex problems, such as selecting species, developing hybrids and regulating the forests in a continuous process ranging from decades to hundreds of years. Therefore, we must develop upon and summarize the experiences of the people and intensify our research and experimentation; on the other hand, we must examine the experiences of foreign countries for the purpose of developing our country's advanced forestry science. We must reorganize the research network, reorganize the stations and farms and tap the tremendous capabilities of the colleges, the academies and the forestry middle schools, of the scientific forces and centers of related sectors so that they coordinate with one another and carry out the key programs concerning technological advances well. We must expand our scientific and technical cooperation with the countries of the socialist community and with other countries who have reached a certain level of development in their tropical forestry.

We must improve the training and the utilization of the corps of forestry cadres, place persons in jobs for which they were trained and create every possible favorable condition for everyone to display his capabilities and intellect and contribute more and more to the building of our country's forest industry. Particular attention must be given to the training of forestry cadres for cooperatives that do business in the forest industry; the most positive plans and measures possible must be adopted to train more and more cadres who are the sons and daughters of the ethnic minorities in the mountains; and an adequate number of qualified cadres must be prepared to meet the future requirements of developing the modern forest industry.

3. To meet all the requirements and fulfill the guidelines mentioned above for the development of forestry, we must intensify our propaganda and educational efforts with a view toward bringing about a profound change in the awareness of the forests on the part of cadres, party members and each stratum of the people. At the same time, we must continuously improve and perfect the

management mechanism and develop the system of policies in order to mobilize every force among the people, with importance attached to youths, teachers and students, to participate in the movement to plant trees, carry out afforestation and cover barren hills with vegetation, thereby establishing forests everywhere in our country, providing the greenness of vegetation throughout the four seasons of the year and keeping the environment clean. The state must guarantee the legitimate interests of those persons who record achievements in protecting the forests and carrying out afforestation, which includes implementing a satisfactory grain policy for persons in areas that specialize in the production of forest raw materials and forestry products, one similar to the policy that has been implemented for areas producing other industrial crops.

Attention must be given to gradually improving the working conditions and the material and spiritual lives of the workers in the forest industry. The labor, home trade, foreign trade, public health, cultural, education and other sectors together with the provinces and the forestry sector have the responsibility of coordinating with one another for the purpose of meeting the minimum requirements regarding the living conditions of the people in the mountainous forests.

The forest industry must undergo a new change in order to meet the requirements of the common tasks involved in building the material-technical bases of socialism and strengthening the national defense system. By strengthening the leadership provided by the party, improving the management skills of the state government on the various levels and strongly developing upon the collective ownership role of the laboring people in managing, protecting and building the forests, the forest industry surely will undergo major changes, create a combined strength and successfully perform the large tasks involved in the glorious undertaking of rebuilding and efficiently utilizing forest resources, maintaining the ecological balance, protecting nature and maintaining the living environment in our beloved country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 65.

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## SOME MATTERS CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF DISTRICTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 17-25, 32

[Article by Vu Oanh]

[Text] In the process of gradually advancing our country's agriculture to large-scale socialist production, the district is the suitable base for easily achieving centralization, specialization, cooperation and federation in production, equipping with technology, effectively utilizing material-technical bases and establishing and strengthening the new production relations.

The reorganization of production and the improvement of management within cooperatives, state farms, forestry sites and so forth along the lines of specialized production, intensive cultivation, the development of the trade sector and the expansion of cooperation and coordination with other production units in order to gradually advance to large-scale socialist production are closely linked to reorganizing production and management within the scope of the district.

For this reason, building the districts on the basis of the requirements of the basic level and the position of the district is a strategic policy being pursued in the course of advancing our country's agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

### I. Building the Economic Structure by Coordinating Agriculture and Industry Within the Scope of the District

The district economic structure can only be formed and developed when the district is closely linked to and associated with the basic level. Specifically, when the agricultural-forestry production cooperatives, the small industry and artisan cooperatives, the agro-forestry technical stations and farms, the distribution-circulation (supply, commerce) organizations, the transportation organizations and other units of the state that are established within the district (depending upon the type of district) are truly linked to and associated with one another, they stimulate one another's development, expand production and business and expand the practice of cost accounting. Here, the economic-technical organizations of the state within the district



must establish as the purpose of their businesses supporting the agro-forestry cooperatives and the small industry and artisan cooperatives. Only when the production of the agro-forestry cooperatives and the small industry and artisan cooperatives, the largest portion of which lies within the structure of the district economy, develops can the economic-technical organizations of the state within the district have the base and the factors needed to develop and only on this basis can the district economy develop. Saying that the district is closely linked to and united with the basic level also means that the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy are closely linked to and united with one another, that production is closely linked to processing and that production and distribution-circulation are closely linked to and united with one another.

Thus, the district economic structure is formed and developed on the basis of the growth of such organizations as the cooperatives, state farms, forestry sites, stations, farms, stores, enterprises and so forth within the district and the increasingly close and stable economic unity among these economic organizations and the fact that they stimulate one another's development in accordance with the production planning and the economic-technical plans of the district under the impact of the district plan. This is an economic structure that is "formed on the basis of the economic conditions within the district, the guidelines of each district for achieving specialized production and an integrated business and the requirements and capabilities of the agricultural cooperatives and production collectives; at the same time, it must be closely linked to the economic development planning of the province and the entire country."(1)

In using the district as the main base for meeting the requirements involved in partially advancing agriculture toward large-scale socialist production, the structure of the district economy absolutely must be developed along the lines of coordinating agriculture and industry or agriculture, forestry and industry, agriculture, fishing and industry and so forth. Without the impact of industry upon agriculture from the very outset, agriculture cannot gradually advance to large-scale socialist production. In the fraternal socialist countries, when they talk about the impact of industry upon agriculture, they are talking about the industrialization of agriculture, the main factors of which are the industrialization of the production of the instruments of production for agriculture (machinery, fertilizer and chemicals for agriculture), the industrialization of the agricultural production process and the industrialization of the processing, storage and transportation of agricultural products. This is the process of coordinating agriculture and industry and raising agriculture to the level of modern development. Our country does not have a developed agriculture. For this reason, in the initial stage of the industrialization process, the development of industry within the district must be based on the requirements of agricultural development, the expansion of production and the new division of labor within agriculture in order to establish the initial division of labor between agriculture and industry.

The development of industry within the district, therefore, must meet the needs of agriculture for irrigation and drainage, the preparation of fields by machines, the production of building materials, lime for fields, implements,

means of transportation, processing equipment and so forth, primarily on a small and medium scale. Each area of arable land (as well as forests, ocean waters and bodies of fresh water) must be used to create local sources of agricultural, forestry and marine raw materials and products for the development of the small industry and artisan sector, for supporting production and consumer needs within the district and for trade with the market outside the district or exportation. Through the trade of products with the market outside the district or the exportation of goods, the district can create additional sources of raw materials and supplies for developing the trade sector, especially the traditional trades.

Thus, in our country at this time, the industry within the district, which primarily consists of small industry and the artisan trades coordinated with a component of the industry of the central level and the province, has an impact upon agriculture and develops through export-import activities within the district in order to support agriculture. With this type of industry, the coordination of agriculture and industry primarily involves coordinating agriculture and industry within each agro-forestry cooperative so that every cooperative has a specialized production structure, an integrated business, agricultural production and trades; at the same time, several production and technical support organizations of an industrial nature (the production of implements, tractor stations, farmland water conservancy stations and so forth) are established within the district to support its production cooperatives. This is a type of development that coordinates agriculture and industry from the basic level upward and from the district level downward. These forms of coordination permit the acceleration of the process of agglomeration, on the basis of which we can gradually expand the scale of agro-industrial coordination within each installation and within the district through new and higher forms of coordination, such as joint businesses and associations with the specialized economic and technical sectors of the province and central level.

The production and business units of the province and central level that are located within the district, although they do not participate in the district economy, do have an impact upon the formation and development of the district economy on the basis of the district's establishment of good relations with these units for the purpose of effectively utilizing their production capacity to support the district economy.

The district economic structure must also reflect coordination between the economy and the defense of the nation (especially in the border and island districts) by providing local rear services, building reserve forces and establishing defense lines in a manner coordinated with the deployment of the economic-technical organizations, material-technical bases and specialized farming areas within the district.

## II. Reorganizing Production and Redistributing Labor Within the District.

As the base for reorganizing production, the district relies upon the zoning and planning of the central level and the province as well as the natural, economic and social characteristics of its locality to establish its guidelines for coordinating specialized production with general businesses; on

this basis, it formulates its overall planning, the planning of the different production sectors (agriculture, forestry, small industry, the artisan trades, communications-transportation, building and distribution-circulation), the planning of the specialized production subareas (or specialized farming areas of the district), the planning of cooperatives and so forth, the center of which are the planning of the agro-forestry sector and the planning of the cooperatives. On the basis of these kinds of planning, the district reorganizes the use of arable land, reorganizes the allocation of crops and livestock, rearranges production seasons, rearranges farming systems, reorganizes the various technical factors (water conservancy, seed, pest prevention and control and so forth), reorganizes and builds material-technical bases and so forth in a manner closely linked to the economic-technical sectors of the province and the central level for the purpose of effectively implementing the specialized production and general business guidelines established within the district as well as the cooperatives.

The reorganizing of production within the district also includes the reorganizing of distribution-circulation and the building and organizing of the district into a market in order to support the production and the daily lives of the cooperatives and the people of the district well while using two-way economic contracts to control sources of goods for the state. Above everything else, this market must be organized in such a way as to insure product trade between the state (represented by the district level) and cooperatives in accordance with the policy of maintaining a stable level of purchases of primary products from cooperatives and supplying technical supplies of the state in accordance with two-way economic contracts. It must expand the product trade between cooperatives and the economic organizations of the district, among the cooperatives, among the districts (districts within and outside the province), between midland and mountain districts and lowland and coastal districts, between northern and southern districts, between districts and foreign countries (through the consignment of exports to the foreign trade sector) and between the household economy and the private economy (where collective organizations have not been established) and the state. This market must use the development of distribution-circulation within the district to gradually expand its supply of materials (in addition to the supplies provided by the state under two-way economic contracts) and the commodity forces established by the district itself, thereby having a reciprocal impact upon production and improving the standard of living of the people of the district.

Reorganizing distribution-circulation well at places where there are still many private farmers (as is the case in a number of districts in former Nam Bo) is one of the very important factors in building the district. Only through distribution-circulation within the district can we establish direct economic relations between the state and private farmers, gain the participation of private farmers in various forms of transition (production solidarity teams), guide their production in accordance with the planning and plans of the state, eliminate their dependence upon and monopolization by private merchants, especially bourgeoisie in commerce, centralize the sources of goods in the hands of the state and insure that the trade of products between the state and private farmers yields high returns, thereby creating

favorable conditions for carrying out socialist transformation within agriculture.

It is necessary to carry out the redistribution of labor, beginning with reassigning and redistributing labor in accordance with the guidelines of the district for specialized production coordinated with general businesses, and create an initial, efficient division of labor within the district with a view toward establishing an agro-industrial economic structure and insuring that every laborer has a job on the basis of coordinating the labor, the arable land and the trade sector in accordance with the strengths of each type district and in suitable and effective forms of organization of production (such as uniting many segments of the economy in the production of one product). These are the main elements in the process of the redistribution of labor within the scope of the district. Toward this end, the district must guide and help the cooperatives organize and redistribute their labor in accordance with the production guidelines of each installation in order to make good use of local labor in intensive cultivation and develop every economic potential, primarily those that lie in the existing arable land, trades and material-technical bases of each cooperative and within the district in coordination with cooperation from outside the district for the purpose of providing jobs for the laborers within the district. The district must make good use of labor provided under obligations as well as the labor contributed by the people under the guideline "the state and the people working together" in order to gradually build material-technical bases and public welfare projects within the district. The district must adopt a plan for reassigning and redistributing labor within the district in coordination with sending labor to build new economic zones (especially districts in which the average amount of cropland per capita is low), thereby participating in the nationwide redistribution of the labor force.

### III. The Problems Faced in the Immediate Future in the Building of the Districts

"Accelerating the building of the districts and strengthening the district level are a very important task, one that will lay the groundwork for carrying out the socio-economic tasks set forth in the 1983 plan and the 1983-1985 three year plan."(2)

The effort to build the districts during this period of time is designed to meet the following objectives: first, expanding the district economy, developing production, establishing the new economic structure, insuring that the district contributes more and more to the state and stabilizing and gradually improving the standard of living of the people within the district; secondly, consolidating and strengthening cooperatives, insuring that all production units under the management of the district produce and do business in an efficient manner and establishing relationships of economic unity between the economic organizations of the state within the district and the various cooperatives for the purpose of supporting the production of the cooperatives well; and thirdly, providing the district level with independence as regards its plans, production and management so that it can develop its existing potentials well and endeavor to fulfill its responsibilities to the state and to the standard of living of the people within the district.

To achieve the objectives mentioned above, the following primary matters must be carried out well in the building of the districts in the years ahead:

1. Reorganizing production and expanding production and business at production installations and within the district.

Those districts that have achieved self-sufficiency in grain and produce some of their own goods must focus their efforts on the intensive cultivation of grain and the production of a number of types of rice of high economic value as well as a number of products processed from rice for exportation; on the other hand, they must expand their multi-cropping in order to develop the production of annual industrial crops and provide local raw materials for opening new trades and producing export goods. They must also strongly develop their livestock production sector and create a new and increasingly improved economic structure.

Those districts that specialize in the production of industrial crops must re-examine their arable land, labor, conditions for intensive cultivation and their ability to resolve the grain problem (including the grain received through trade with the state) in order to establish and stabilize areas that specialize in the production of industrial crops in accordance with the requirements of the state. They must focus their efforts on the intensive cultivation of industrial crops and exceeding the stable obligations assigned by the state so that they have additional raw materials with which to develop the trade sector and the production of export goods; at the same time, they must take positive steps to resolve the grain problem by means of intensive cultivation and multi-cropping and guiding the household economy in producing additional grain, guide the household economy in the production of additional grain and eventually not have to receive grain in trade from the state so that they can begin to receive additional technical supplies for the intensive cultivation of industrial crops and grain crops. Those districts that specialize in the production of industrial crops for the processing industry of the central and provincial levels (such as tea, rubber, tobacco, sugarcane and so forth) must establish a good economic association with processing plants and use the processing capacity of these plants to develop the district economy.

The midland and mountain districts must coordinate agriculture and forestry and, on this basis, plan and establish an allocation of crops that is consistent with the ecology and resolve the grain problem on the basis of the locality's allocation of crops (rice, subsidiary food crops, vegetables, fruit, livestock products and so forth). They must rapidly establish forestry businesses (encompassing afforestation, the harvesting and processing of forestry products and so forth) and quickly begin producing forestry products for exportation and forestry products for trade with the central level and the lowland districts so that they can acquire additional grain; at the same time they must focus their efforts on producing grain, especially subsidiary food crops, in coordination with the diet in accordance with the allocation of crops within the district. The mountain districts must strongly develop the communications sector, expand the trade of goods within the district, break the cycle of subsistence production and gradually stimulate the development of commodity production.

The districts that are carrying out socialist transformation within agriculture (in the rural areas of former Nam Bo) must establish direct economic relations with private farmers and, through these relations, gain firm control over the market, put the sources of goods into the hands of the state, deliver production supplies and consumer goods directly to farmers and encourage them to develop their production in accordance with the state plan and the production planning of the district; at the same time, they must take positive steps to build material-technical bases (beginning with the construction of water conservancy projects, tractor stations, a seed production network and tractor collectives and cooperative teams) with a view toward accelerating socialist transformation.

On the basis of the above mentioned guidelines and requirements regarding the reorganization of production and distribution-circulation, the districts must adjust their overall planning, define the structure of their economy and establish socio-economic development plans suited to each type district.

## 2. Building material-technical bases and rapidly introducing technological advances in production.

The material-technical bases that now exist within districts and at cooperatives must be re-examined so that suitable and effective plans can be adopted for strengthening and improving them or building new ones. Efforts must be focused on performing the following jobs well: building fields and improving farmland water conservancy systems; meeting the need for implements; developing highway and water route transportation; develop crop varieties and breeds of livestock, protecting crops and livestock; preparing fields by machine at places where this need exists; building installations to produce and process fertilizer (lime, livestock manure and green manure); building the supply network; building the agricultural product procurement network, the network processing agricultural products, forestry products and marine products and so forth. In conjunction with building new material-technical bases and equipping with new equipment, full importance must be attached to effectively utilizing existing bases and attention must be given to organizing, managing and regulating the system of material-technical bases and stimulating the reorganization of production at cooperatives and within the district. It is necessary to closely link the responsibility and the interests of the organizations that manage the network of material-technical bases (primarily the water conservancy projects, tractor stations, supply organizations and so forth) within the district to the final product of cooperatives by means of various forms of business cooperation, the correct implementation of contract and so forth, thereby creating favorable conditions for cooperatives to properly implement the policy on final product contract with groups of laborers and individual laborers.

Along with building material-technical bases within the district, full attention must be given to rapidly introducing science and technology in production. We must, on the basis of the existing system of material-technical bases, introduce technological advances in production (such as irrigation and drainage by scientific methods, the use of new varieties and breeds, disease prevention and control, the preparation of fields by machine and so forth). Production planning must be used as the basis for efficiently

allocating crops and livestock and establishing farming systems and systems of rotation cultivation that are suited to each class of soil in order to achieve high yields. The districts must guide their cooperatives in carrying out production in accordance with advanced production and technical regulations consistent with each type crop, each species of livestock and the different field areas. To insure that these production and technical regulations are implemented effectively, it is necessary to organize labor well, implement the contract system well and implement the other management regulations well within cooperatives. Attention must be given to helping cooperative member families learn the science and technology necessary for production.

### 3. Strengthening the agricultural and forestry cooperatives and the economic-technical organizations that are under the district's management.

The strengthening of cooperatives must be simultaneously carried out in both areas: reorganizing production and building the new management mechanism.

On the basis of reassessing the potentials that lie in their labor, arable land and trade sector, the cooperatives must revise their production guidelines and the structure of their production along the lines of constantly expanding their businesses and must, on this basis, reorganize their production by efficiently allocating crops and species of livestock, practicing rotation cultivation, establishing an efficient allocation of varieties, developing the trade sector and guiding and assigning responsibilities to the household economy. The cooperatives must adopt positive plans for building material-technical bases for themselves and for cooperative member families in a manner consistent with the requirements of their production guidelines and the new contract system (especially with regard to such production factors as water, seed, fertilizer, draft power, crop protection and so forth). They must strengthen the basic production units, which are the main labor organization within the cooperative, in coordination with establishing specialized units and groups in a manner consistent with the increasing modernization of technical equipment and the constant improvements in management, thereby making it possible for the cooperative and its production units to perform collective farm jobs well while properly managing the jobs let out under contracts with cooperative members, contracts that make them responsible to the collective for the final product.

To establish the new management mechanism, it is first of all necessary to conduct good planning, a truly stable plan is one that is based on the requirements of the state and the cooperative as well as the requirements in the daily lives of cooperative members; on the other hand, it is based on the ability of the state to provide a stable supply of materials in accordance with two-way economic contracts, the ability to trade agricultural products for additional supplies from the state, the economic contracts signed with the economic-technical network within the district and the realistic potentials of the cooperative itself (including those of cooperative member families).

Each cooperative must implement the cost accounting system well, which includes bookkeeping, economic accounting by sector and crop and unified, cooperative-wide business accounting. When implementing the new contract

system, it is necessary to immediately implement accounting by sector; the cooperative must invest capital in those sectors that will yield economic returns at an early date, examine the labor productivity of each sector and, on this basis, revise the system of economic-technical quotas and the distribution policy in a reasonable manner for all production sectors within the cooperative.

It is necessary to implement the new contract system (product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers) for all crops, species of livestock and trades within the cooperative. The system of economic-technical quotas must be revised to insure reasonable balance among the different crops, species of livestock and trades, thereby making it possible for the division of labor to be constantly expanded within the cooperative. Within the new contracts, the cooperative must properly execute the three contracts for units and, on this basis, emphasize the role played by the unit in contracting with groups of laborers and laborers in a manner that makes them responsible to the cooperative for the final product.

On the basis of their production plan and contract plan, cooperatives must draft a distribution plan, one in which the income in product (primarily grain) and the income in money per workday are established, in order to guide cooperative members in endeavoring to work the planned number of days and encourage them to exceed their contract quotas. It is necessary to implement the principle of uniform distribution within the cooperative, of distribution in accordance with labor, with importance attached to distribution in the form of product. We must improve the policy on the remuneration of management cadres (including unit cadres) along the line of closely linking their interests and their responsibility to the final results of the production and business of the cooperative and the laborers who accept product contracts. A product bonus fund must be established so that bonuses can be awarded to the laborers in the various specialized jobs with a view toward giving them responsibility for the final product, too.

The economic-technical organizations that are directly managed by the district must re-examine their guidelines and the scale of their support and business operations in order to supplement and improve them in a manner consistent with the specific requirements and conditions of each district and, on this basis, take one step forward in the reorganization of production. The technical support organizations (water conservancy, field preparation, disease prevention and control, seed production and so forth) must reorganize the scope of their support within each area of the district. The distribution-circulation and processing organizations must reorganize their support and production-business activities on the basis of the economic relations and product trade contracts between cooperatives and the state. On the basis of the degree to which specialized production areas are formed within the district, it is necessary to establish the basic economic-technical clusters of the district in order to serve the needs of cooperatives well. The management of these installations must be reorganized on the basis of operating at a profit and effectively supporting the production of cooperatives. Both the scope of support and the scale of business must be expanded by expanding the economic relations with the cooperatives within the district and the market outside the district.



The specialized economic-technical sectors of the province and the central level must guide and help the economic-technical organizations of the sector within the district in the areas of production, business and support guidelines, the construction of material-technical bases, the organization of management and the organization of the corps of cadres so that these organizations operate effectively and can easily be directly managed by the district. As regards those economic-technical sectors whose networks only serve an area (encompassing many districts), it is necessary to establish good planning between the sector and the district, planning that enables the district to take the initiative in carrying out its plan. We must research ways to reduce the number of intermediary organizations so that the technological advances of the sectors as well as supplies and goods reach the districts and the basic level quickly and rapidly have an effect.

#### 4. Upgrading the district level to an economic management level.

We must improve the planning system along the lines of granting greater independence to the district level, reducing the number of legal norms for the districts, encouraging the development of the district economy and implementing a policy whereby the cadres and people in districts that are operated well enjoy a higher standard of living. The provincial level must quickly establish a reasonable system that gives the district responsibilities for supplies, its budget, the purchasing of products and goods, capital construction, communications-transportation, exports, cadres and so forth, thereby guaranteeing independence to the districts; it must also define the responsibility and the interests of the district vis-a-vis the installations of the central economy and the province that are located within the district.

The assignment of management responsibilities to the production-business units of the economic-technical sectors participating in the district economic structure must be well-coordinated; however, reasonable steps and methods must be employed when actually assigning these responsibilities. Units that need these responsibilities should be assigned them first; units that do not have the conditions needed to accept these responsibilities should be managed by the district in accordance with the approved plan with the assurance that after management responsibilities have been assigned to the district, these units will truly be strengthened, play a role in production and everyday life and be upgraded to efficient businesses that practice cost accounting.

To implement the elements involved in the assignment of management responsibilities as mentioned above, the economic management mechanism of the district absolutely must be oriented toward socialist business and cost accounting. Thus, the district must build its planning system from the basic level upward, develop potentials from the basic level upward and, on the basis of the economic relations within and outside the district, meet its needs better than they can be met by the supplies sent down from the provincial level. The district level must expand its budget by developing its production and business, doing business in an efficient manner, mobilizing the capital of the installations and the people for construction and production and not relying upon subsidies from the upper level. The district must use and manage its budget effectively by selecting correct investment plans (especially with regard to capital construction and business). The district must manage and

use the commodities sent down from the upper level for the purpose of establishing economic relations with the cooperatives and the people. The district must know how to create commodity forces of the locality itself in order to establish economic relations with other districts. The district must understand and keep abreast of the market and be skilled in communications-transportation and distribution-circulation. The district must fully understand its administrative-economic management function so that it can help the production and business installations within the district operate in a stable manner that yields high economic returns.

Strengthening the organizational apparatus of the district level and assigning a balanced, adequate number of qualified cadres to the district and basic levels (technical, management and professional cadres) in a manner closely linked to improving the policy on sending upper level cadres to strengthen the district and basic levels are a decisive factor in implementing the economic management mechanism of the district. The district apparatus must be organized in a suitable manner depending upon the type of district (or the district economic structure). Management functions must be centralized within the district people's committee; at the same time, it is necessary to develop upon the staff function of the specialized sectors and properly implement the principle of coordinating management by locality and by sector. It is necessary to establish good coordination between the integrated specialized committees and the committees that guide and manage the specialized sectors of the district level apparatus. We must successfully shift from a mode of guidance based merely on appeals and exhortations to a mode of management that primarily employs management tools (plans, policies, regulations, laws and so forth) and economic tools (budgets, supplies, goods and the economic-technical organizations under the management of the district) to regulate production and have an impact upon the basic level.

The mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership" must be concretized and clearly defined. The district party committee provides leadership to the district level government concerning such major matters as targets, state plans, new policies and important tasks, important decisions concerning organization and cadres and so forth. The district party committee concerns itself with improving party work, inspections and cadre work, which are the key elements that insure the party's effective leadership of the specific political and organizational tasks of the district. On the basis of the directives and resolutions of the district party committee, the district level government takes the initiative in carrying out its tasks in managing the economy and guiding production-business. Only by implementing such a mechanism is it possible to avoid a situation in which the district party committee tasks over, replaces and intervenes too deeply in the management of the economy, the management of everyday life and the management of production and enable the district level government, instead of being passive, to endeavor to move forward in concretizing the directives and resolutions of the district party committee in the organizing of implementation and fulfilling its functions of managing the economy and managing society.

The provincial level must concretize the policy of the party on building the districts in the form of programs, plans and resolutions of the various party

organizations. Once many elements have been placed under the direct management of the district in keeping with the requirements involved in building the district economic structure, the provincial level must quickly research and make the necessary changes in tasks, organization and mode of guidance so that they are suited to the new position of the district and help the district develop its agriculture-forestry and communications-transportation well, organize distribution-circulation, organize exports-imports, maintain the standard of living of the people and organize good economic relations among the various districts.

Building the district and strengthening the district level are complex, large jobs of a strategic nature that must be under the centralized, constant leadership and guidance of the party and state. The specifics involved in building the districts must be incorporated in the state plans of the various levels and sectors. Importance must be attached to conducting preliminary reviews, final reviews and pilot projects, gaining experience and continuously concretizing the policy on building the districts in the form of suitable and effective methods of working and stages of development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4, 1982, p 39.
2. The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, December, 1982.

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## FURTHER HEIGHTENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF YOUTH PROSELYTING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 26-32

[Article by Vu Mao, 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party, youth proselyting in the recent past has recorded significant achievements. The largest and most comprehensive of these achievements has been how youth proselyting has helped the young generation of Vietnam to rapidly mature in every respect: they differentiate between friends and enemies; possess ardent patriotism; possess the spirit of fighting with no regard for themselves for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism; possess pure international sentiments; possess the consciousness of enduring hardships and overcoming difficulties; possess knowledge of culture, science and technology, economic management qualifications and military knowledge, all of which are constantly being raised; and have an aspiration to contribute and the will to forge themselves.

However, in the face of the tremendous requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, the young generation has revealed certain weaknesses and shortcomings that are very deserving of concern. These are: a poor spirit of socialist collective ownership, rather serious passivity and a weak sense of responsibility to society. The attitudes and habits of the small-scale producer are universal. The sense of organization and discipline, especially discipline in labor, is poor. The ability to exercise collective ownership is still limited in many respects. Their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of the lines and policies of the party and of the situation and tasks of the revolution in the new stage is, generally speaking, still shallow. Their occupational skills and their ability to apply science and technology in production and experiments are still weak. In addition, a number of youths have made progress slowly, evade their obligations, live unwholesome lifestyles and have even become degenerate and violated the law.

On the basis of the above, one very clear fact emerges, that is, in order for youths to be able to excellently complete their glorious historic mission in the new stage and be worthy of being the powerful revolutionary shock force of

the working class and nation, we must further heighten the effectiveness of youth proselyting.

To increase the effectiveness of youth proselyting, it is first of all necessary to give each party committee echelon, each level and sector of the state, each mass organization within the front and all society a deeper understanding of the viewpoint of our party that youth proselyting is an activity of special importance, is a strategic issue of the Vietnamese revolution.

In the Political Report at the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party, General Secretary Le Duan said: "Our party has always realized that youth proselyting is of special importance. It is a strategic issue of the revolution, is the responsibility of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system."<sup>(1)</sup> This basic viewpoint was adopted by our party in 1930-1931 and has been gradually developed and improved upon in each stage of history.

We say that youth proselyting is of special importance, is a strategic issue of the revolution in order to confirm the extremely large position and role of a special social force, a force without which the revolution cannot achieve success or, if it is successful, cannot maintain its achievements in the future if this force is won over and changed by the enemy.

The realities of the history of the Vietnamese revolution have very clearly proven this important role and position of the young generation. Under the leadership of the party and President Ho, successive generations of Vietnamese youths have, throughout the past half-century, joined the people in winning victory over two imperialist powers, France and the United States, collapsing colonialism, both old and new, bringing the 30 year war of liberation to an end, completing the reunification of the country and then winning victory over two wars of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. And, today, together with the people of the entire country, they are carrying out the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In the new stage of the revolution, the position and role of the young generation, instead of declining, have increased many times. Numbering 14 million, youths are present everywhere and constitute a very high percentage of the workers of the economic, technical and national defense sectors: 65 percent of industry, in general (80 percent in the modern industrial sectors); 52 percent of agriculture; 60 percent of the corps of middle level technical cadres; 40 percent of the corps of high level scientific and technical cadres; more than 80 percent of the armed forces and so forth. These figures speak for themselves.

In recent years, in keeping with the viewpoint of the party that youth proselyting is a strategic issue of the revolution and fully aware of the very large position and role of the young generation, many localities and sectors have attached importance to leading the youth movement, leading the effort to build and strengthen the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union organization and creating favorable conditions for youths to endeavor to complete each

political task assigned by the party and Youth Union. Hundreds of thousands of youths have been selected for and accepted into the party.

Recent facts, especially the situation since the 5th Congress of the Party, show that although we have not created modern material bases for the education of youths and have not significantly improved youth proselyting, many localities and sectors, as a result of being fully aware of the strategic significance of this work, have achieved very encouraging results: Ho Chi Minh City has begun to create a continuous emulation movement among youths. Haiphong and Quang Nam-Da Nang Province have recorded initial results in their effort to provide jobs for youths and encourage the spirit of production emulation among youths. The Ha Nam Ninh Provincial Party Committee gave its attention to leading the "the entire Youth Union participates in party building" campaign and has accepted many outstanding Youth Union members into the party, thereby increasing the fighting strength of the basic party organizations and reducing the average age of the members of the rural party chapters in Ha Nam Ninh from 45 to 40. The Hanoi Municipal Party Committee issued a resolution on youth proselyting. Many basic party organizations in Hanoi, Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh City have mobilized the mass of youths to participate in security and national defense work, maintain order, establish a civilized style of life at public places and partially repulse the negative phenomena in society.

However, there are also more than a few places which, because they do not clearly realize the special importance and the strategic significance of youth proselyting, have left this work up to the Youth Union, not made it a part of the routine work of the party and do not consider it to be work of the government. At these places, the youth movement has not been launched, the Youth Union organization is usually weak and deficient and negative phenomena have arisen; however, the comrades who are in charge usually do not resolve these problems on the basis of the viewpoint of the party, but on the basis of remnants of narrowminded, feudal thinking. The problems of not trusting in the fundamental strengths of youths; not giving one's attention to utilizing youths or only using youths but not training them, not promoting them to leadership and management agencies; not wanting to gain a deep understanding of and resolve the problems of youths in a specific, practical manner; not examining the legitimate aspirations and requirements of youths and even seriously violating the right of ownership of youths are universal at many places. This situation has increased the social passivity of the young generation and created gaps between youths and the adult generation.

The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union itself, which is an organization that is directly engaged in the proselyting of youths, also has shortcomings and weaknesses in this area. The Youth Union only mobilizes youths to perform immediate tasks but has not adopted a plan or measures for preparing the young generation for the future with a view toward gradually molding and forming the new collective master. The Youth Union has not fulfilled its function as the school of communism or its function as the representative of the interests and right of youths regarding collective ownership; it is not fully aware of the tremendous requirements faced in reorganizing the entire young generation so that positive policies and measures can be adopted for attracting and gaining the participation of all youths in suitable forms of organization. No

significant change has occurred in the teaching of youths who have been slow to make progress.

All of the facts presented above demand that we develop a deeper understanding of the viewpoint of the party that youth proselyting is a strategic issue of the revolution. Youth proselyting must have the concern of the party, the state and all society. In particular, the various organizations of the party must directly control youths. Because, controlling youths is controlling the "fuse" of the revolution; to not have youths in one's grasp is to not have the future in one's grasp. If we do not control youths, the enemy will find ways to take advantage of this young force and turn it into a shock force opposing the revolution. This fact has been very clearly proven by the realities of the revolution in many countries.

If we consider youth proselyting to be an activity of special importance, to be a strategic issue of the revolution, it naturally follows that we cannot perform this work solely through the Youth Union organization, but that we must employ the strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system and all of society.

For a long time, we have considered youth proselyting to be the special work of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and have used the Youth Union to resolve each and every issue regarding youths. This concept is incorrect, is inconsistent with the viewpoint of the party and inconsistent with reality.

Today, in view of the fact that the party is in political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat system and society have an impact upon youths every hour of every day and everywhere in the country. From the cultural, educational and scientific-technical sectors to the economic and national defense sectors, from the fields of spiritual life to the fields of public health, sports, and the various sectors involved in the production of material wealth, youths everywhere are constantly being positively influenced (or negatively influenced) by the state and society. According to latest figures, the general school education sector now manages 1.1 million youths; the agencies and enterprises within the state sector manage 1.8 million youths; the agricultural cooperatives manage about 10 million youths, etc. Thus, if youths succeed or fail in their shock role and the exercise of collective ownership in work, studies and the maintenance of combat readiness; if we succeed or fail in the molding of youths who possess a socialist character; if we succeed or fail in preparing youths for the future, is only the Youth Union organization to be credited or blamed? No, it is not! These results are results achieved by the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, by all society.

In the new stage, now that youths are deeply involved in our multi-faceted and rich life and the agencies of the state and socio-economic organizations have millions of youths in their work force or as the object of their activities, employing the combined strength of all of society in the proselyting of youth is a real need, is an objective necessity.

Of course, the role played by the Youth Union is a very important one. The Youth Union must assume foremost responsibility for youth proselyting. In

recent years, the Youth Union has made numerous efforts and achieved success in some areas. However, regardless of the efforts it makes, there are many fields of life in which the Youth Union cannot replace the roles played by the family, the school and society; in particular, it cannot replace the role played by the state. Consider the following example. Due to the consequences of the war and our post-war economic difficulties, a large number of youths in our country do not have jobs; of this number, nearly one-half are youths who were unemployed under the old system. Their fervent aspiration and pressing need is to find a place within the production system of the country so that they truly acquire the status of a master of society. However, how can the Youth Union provide these youths with jobs, with work without a positive solution to this problem on the part of the state? Let us consider another example: each year, about 550,000 7th and 10th grade graduates do not continue their studies. Thus, how can the Youth Union provide good occupational counselling and build a system of work-study schools for these youths without active participation by the state? As another example, consider the following: at present, the material bases for cultural activities, such as movie houses, theaters, clubs and books are very underdeveloped, especially in the rural areas and mountains. The idle time of youths is not being put to positive uses. Meanwhile, the amount of time during which youths are influenced by the activities of mass organizations does not exceed 4 hours per month and the amount of time that they are influenced by school activities does not exceed 50 hours per month, consequently, there are hundreds of hours that they are influenced by the family and the social environment in which they live. Thus, how can the Youth Union alone satisfy every need in the cultural and spiritual lives of youths, how can it help youths to mold a fine character and lifestyle without the family and the adults in society actively participating by setting bright examples and creating a beautiful cultural environment? It is for this reason that the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "All sectors and agencies of the state, the mass organizations and all society are responsible for mobilizing youths and teenagers and there must be a division of responsibilities and close coordination in order to perform this work well."(2)

In the recent past, in keeping with this viewpoint of the party, the coordination among state agencies, mass organizations and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union within a number of central sectors and levels and some provinces and municipalities in youth proselyting has been marked by noteworthy advances, such as the following: the coordination between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Youth Union Central Committee in "the grain program of youths"; the coordination among the Ministry of Interior, the People's Army and the Youth Union Central Committee in the "shock youth on the security and national defense front and in the defense of the fatherland" program; and the coordination between the Youth Union Central Committee and the culture and art sectors in music, cinematography and works of art for youths and teenagers. These coordinated activities have produced a number of good results and generated confidence and enthusiasm on the part of youths.

However, the overriding situation at this time continues to be the lack of a mechanism for coordinating activities and the lack of regulations that clearly define the responsibilities of the sectors and agencies, from the central



level to the local and basic levels. We must quickly correct this problem so that higher results are achieved in youth proselyting.

In order to heighten the effectiveness of youth proselyting, we must also "truly improve the forms and methods employed to organize, propagandize and educate youths and teenagers to be consistent with the new situation and tasks, with the characteristics of youths and their new needs."(3)

At present, the situation and tasks of the revolution face youths with new requirements; the times and the environment in which youths are living are new in character and the needs of the young generation are also different in many ways; however, the forms and methods that we employ to organize, propagandize and teach youths have not been promptly changed. It is still a rather widespread practice on the part of many localities, levels and sectors to proselyte youths merely by making general statements, by adopting slogans and making appeals that are dry and abstract, that are not based on the special characteristics of the young, of the times or of the environment in which youths are living and are not based on the vital, characteristic needs of youths.

In order to truly improve the forms and methods that we employ to organize, propagandize and educate youths, we must first achieve a correct understanding of the special characteristics of youths and the new needs of this stratum. Youths are a very special stratum compared to the other age groups in society. They have characteristics and needs that are particular to their age: their physiological development occurs more rapidly than their social maturation; they lack experience; they always desire to live a life of dreams and ideals, always want to contribute and mature; in particular, they like that which is new and beautiful very much and are very sensitive to the new, to beauty. Only on the basis of fully understanding these factors and engaging in scientific analysis and research is it possible to develop suitable forms and methods for organizing, propagandizing and educating youths, possible to fully tap their socio-political activism.

Together with correctly understanding the characteristics of youths, we must also have a correct understanding of the characteristics of the times and the environment in which youths are living. At present, because of the strong development of science and technology and the international system of information and exchange, many of the things that youths in the developed countries have, such as their eating habits and styles of dress, the houses in which they live, their means of travel, their feelings toward love and so forth are having an impact upon the youths of our country each hour of each day. This is a reality and it is also a natural development that is easily understood. The problem lies in the fact that we must be fully aware of these characteristics in order to adopt suitable forms and methods for propagandizing and educating youths, for guiding youths so that their tastes and aesthetics develop in a wholesome fashion, develop in the correct direction and in a manner consistent with the actual situation and circumstances of our country at this time. On the one hand, we must sympathize with these new needs of youths; however, we must speak forthrightly, speak the truth, show youths by means of analysis, the full scope of the economic and everyday difficulties of our country at this time,

develop within them a correct attitude and beautiful feelings, a firm confidence in the future and guide them into the orb of the socialist style of life. In addition to the influence of our times, we must also give attention to the impact exerted by the environment in which youths live. In addition to the environment created by society as a whole, we must give attention to the separate environments of different collectives. For example, when researching the youths of our country, we must, in addition to the basic characteristics that all youths have in common, give attention to the characteristics of the environments in which urban youths, rural youths, the youths of the lowland provinces, the youths of the mountain provinces, religious youths and so forth live.

All of the matters mentioned above must be studied in detail in order to lay the groundwork for improving the forms and methods employed to organize, propagandize and educate youths. Lenin once stated: "Only by thoroughly reforming the studies, the organization and the education of youths can we insure that the efforts made by the young generation achieve the result of creating a society unlike the old society, that is, creating communist society. Therefore, we must carefully research what to teach to youths and how youths must study."(4)

Thus, the effort to improve youth proselyting must originate in the concept that all sectors, levels and persons are responsible for youth proselyting. Importance must always be attached to researching the specific youths toward whom efforts are directed, researching new forms and methods and organizing coordination among the responsible agencies in researching and applying these new forms and methods.

The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is promoting the investigation and research of the psychological and physiological characteristics, the needs, the aspirations and the tastes of the various categories of youths. On this basis, the Youth Union has begun to boldly improve its mode of operation from the central level to the installations in a manner consistent with the requirements of each category and has achieved a number of good results. However, the Youth Union itself must make greater efforts; on the other hand, the desired results can only be achieved through the close coordination of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system.

Thoroughly implementing and concretizing the viewpoints of the party concerning youth proselyting in the form of mechanisms and regulations of the state and truly improving the forms and methods employed to organize, propagandize and educate the young generation are the basic guidelines as well as the important measures that must be employed to further increase the effectiveness of youth proselyting. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union fervently desires that the various party committee echelons which have concerned themselves with leading this work now be even more concerned. Only leadership by the party can insure that the viewpoints of the party concerning youth proselyting are thoroughly understood throughout the party and society. Only with party leadership can these viewpoints rapidly become regulations and a mechanism of implementation of the state. Only with party leadership can we rapidly improve youth proselyting, rapidly raise the youth movement to new levels of development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 129.
2. Ibid., p 130.
3. Ibid.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 342.

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## BUILDING A PURE AND SOLID CORPS OF PARTY MEMBERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 33-39

[Article by Chinh Truc]

[Text] Building the corps of party members is the foremost and constant concern of the party because the party's ability to lead and its fighting strength are dependent, to a decisive degree, upon the quality of the corps of party members. President Ho taught: "To lead the revolution, the party must be strong. A strong party is the result of good party chapters. Good party chapters are the result of good party members."(1) On the other hand, when the party became a party in political power, "it naturally also became an open party, a party in which, once you join it, you can acquire power..."(2) Therefore, in order to maintain and enhance the fine nature and tradition of the party, the corps of the party must truly be pure and all decadent elements and opportunists who sneak their way into the party for sinister purposes must be expelled.

As regards our present corps of party members, the 5th Congress of the Party stated: "In the new stage of development of the revolution, the vast majority of party members have displayed the revolutionary qualities and the creative abilities of the communist. On the frontline in the fight to defend the country and maintain political security and social order and safety, on the front of building, transforming and developing the economy, the culture, education and science and on the foreign affairs front, tens of thousands of party members have set examples of sacrifice, of dedication to the fatherland and the people and have excellently completed their tasks."(3)

However, the congress also harshly criticized the shortcomings and weaknesses of the corps of party members. Very deserving of attention is the fact that there is still a certain number of weak and deficient party members. Some comrades have little desire to study and no desire to move forward, as a result of which the development of their qualifications and skills has stood still. Although they are party members, they are no different than average persons who are outside the party. They have become party members "in name only." At a time when the rest of the party, the entire army and all our people are waging a steadfast struggle for the noble cause of the fatherland, of socialism, some party members have lost their will to fight, demand

pleasure and relaxation, pursue material interests, concern themselves only with their own private lives and virtually forgotten the noble ideals of the communist. A small number of party members have degenerated, become deviant and committed serious mistakes. They have abused the trust of the masses in the party, abused the positions assigned to them and done many things that are decadent, that are contrary to ethics and against the law: stealing public property, accepting bribes, intimidating the masses, conspiring with dishonest elements who earn their livings illegally, etc. These crimes of theirs have tarnished the good name of the party and eroded the relationship between the party and the masses. As observed in the Report on Party Building at the 5th Congress, the weaknesses in the qualifications and the shortcomings in the qualities and ethics of these party members "have impeded the implementation of the line of the party, caused major economic and political harm and are being used by the enemy to provoke the masses and reduce their confidence in the party."(4)

Doing a better job of building the corps of party members is not only a demand of the historic task that the party must carry out under the new circumstances surrounding the struggle, it is also a pressing demand in strengthening the party. It is one of the key elements in bringing about a strong change in the quality of leadership and the fighting strength of the party.

The 5th Congress of the Party set forth various measures designed to heighten the militancy and the vanguard role of party members and build a pure and solid corps of party members. The proceedings of the congress clearly point out that the measure of foremost importance in purifying the corps of the party and eliminating negative phenomena within the party is to expel unqualified members from the party.

In the process of struggling to carry out the political task of the party, our party has, through the mass movements and the various phases in the issuance of party membership cards, expelled approximately 126,000 unqualified members from the party; during the 3 years from 1980 to 1982, more than 80,000 persons were expelled from the party. This action has been necessary but it still has not yielded the desired result. At present, there are still many party organizations that have persons who are clearly not worthy of being party members. Although they have been issued party membership cards, their consciousness, their awareness regarding the party and communist ideals are no better than those of persons outside the party and they continue to do things that are wrong and seriously stray from the character of the party member. This situation exists because many party organizations, many party committee echelons are not fully aware of the standards of the party member in the new stage of the revolution, are indulgent, make decisions based on feelings and even protect party members who have made many mistakes or displayed many shortcomings instead of resolutely expelling unqualified members from the party.

The Report on Party Building at the 5th Congress of the Party stated: "The expulsion of persons who are not qualified to be party members from the party must be done in a determined and closely guided manner. If many persons must be expelled, we must be determined to expel them and not waver; in this way the party will surely become stronger, the leadership provided by the party

will be improved and the confidence of the masses in the party will increase."(5)

In keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the congress, we must immediately expel, expel without hesitation or delay, all decadent, corrupt elements, persons who engage in misappropriation, bribery, exploitation and intimidation of the masses, opportunists and persons whose revolutionary will is paralyzed, who are pessimistic and cowardly, who no longer have the trust of the masses. Each additional day that they are allowed to remain in the party is another day that they tarnish the good name of the party and impede the forward progress of the party and the mass movement. We must also expel from the party persons whose will to fight has declined, who are only concerned with making things better for their families and themselves and who do not perform the task assigned them or only perform it in a "form for form's sake" manner. The fact that these persons have divorced themselves from communist ideals, from the character of the party member makes it impossible for them to remain within the party, even though they might have recorded achievements in the past and are now not committing any mistakes whatsoever regarding their status as citizens. We must also examine for the purpose of expelling from the party those persons whose level of awareness is very low, who have not made progress even though they have been educated by the party organization and who no longer fulfill the role of leading the masses. Of course, when examining the qualifications of party members, we must take into consideration those comrades who have contributed to the party, to the revolution but are now elderly, frail or disabled, are no longer able to work and have been time by the party and state to rest and recuperate. The requirement of these cadres is that they maintain their revolutionary qualities, comply with the discipline of the party and obey the laws of the state. We must give our attention to caring for and helping them so that they can continue to contribute in a manner consistent with their personal circumstances.

Another measure that can be taken to improve the quality of the corps of party members is to do a good job of developing the party.

The 5th Party Congress observed: "The reserves of our party are very abundant and diverse. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of young, outstanding manual workers, collective farmers and socialist intellectuals are constantly emerging within the revolutionary movements of the masses."(6)

It is from these reserves that the corps of party members has been supplemented by approximately 460,000 additional persons since the 4th Congress of the Party, practically all of whom have been outstanding elements in production, combat and work and more than 85 percent of whom were members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. More than 39,700 party chapters have been established since the 4th Congress of the Party, thereby insuring that the party plays its leadership role in all localities and units. However, the development of the party has, generally speaking, been slow, especially in the enterprises, hospitals, schools, etc. Many basic party organizations in the provinces of the South and in the highland areas, even though they have very few party members, still do not give appropriate attention to and, in some cases, have even neglected the development of the

party. At some places, virtually no one has been accepted into the party over the past several years. Of the new members accepted into the party since the 4th Congress, 59 percent belong to the armed forces. On the basis of this percentage, it can be seen that the corps of the party has not been supplemented in a reasonable manner reflecting balance among the various fields of social activity. Many provinces, municipalities and industrial complexes, although they have many manual workers, still have not given their attention to expanding the corps of the party among manual workers. In the cities of the South, narrowminded, backward opinions are still held regarding manual workers who worked under the U.S.-puppet regime.

Continuing to expand the ranks of the party is a demand of the party organization itself and of accelerating the revolutionary movement of the masses. We must take positive steps to accept into the party outstanding persons within the revolutionary movement of the masses, persons who are aware of the ideals of the party, have been trained and challenged and possess the necessary political qualifications and knowledge of culture, science, technology and management. In particular, importance must be attached to expanding the corps of the party among the working class, especially among direct production workers. We must attach importance to discovering loyal persons who dare, for the sake of our common cause, to expose the shortcomings and weaknesses of units, of persons in charge and must take steps to train, educate and accept them into the party when they become fully qualified for acceptance.

Imbued with Lenin's teachings "Do not give us persons who are party members in name only because we do not need them"(7) and "What we do need are new party members, not for the purpose of publicity, but to perform actual work"(8), we must, in our development of the party, firmly adhere to the guideline of attaching importance to quality and combating the tendency to place heavy emphasis upon numbers, which leads to the lowering of party member standards. We must, by means of strictly complying with the applicable regulations and procedures, absolutely not allow into the party persons who are not qualified to be party members; in addition, we must make every effort to prevent opportunists from infiltrating the party.

In order for party development to avoid being passive in nature, in order to avoid having to "light torches and go in search of persons," it is necessary to put party development on a regular basis and to conduct it in accordance with planning and plans. One important element of this planning and these plans is the training of outstanding persons in production, combat and work to be members of the powerful reserve unit of the party. Due to the especially important role played by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, this planning and these plans must be closely linked to improving the quality of the education, the life and the activities of the Youth Union.

The primary measure for constantly improving the quality of the corps of party members is to educate and train party members in a steadfast and constant manner. In recent years, our party has done this in many different ways, from organizing the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party to forging party members in the activities of the party organizations and in the realities experienced by each person in work and

combat. However, due to a lack of thoroughness and because some places have operated in a superficial, "form for form's sake" manner, the desired results have yet to be achieved. During the past 5 years, more than 1 million party members have attended advanced training classes in politics and theory under several different programs; this is not a small figure. However, the quality of this training has been low, consequently, its effect has not been significant. Within more than a few party organizations, the teaching of the line on socialist construction and the struggle between socialism and capitalism has not been regular or thorough. Many party committees and many propaganda and training agencies on the various levels have not promptly given party members a full understanding of the malicious schemes and tricks that are being employed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to sabotage our party from within, weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat state and corrupt our corps of cadres and party members. Appropriate importance has not been attached to teaching qualities and ethics to cadres and party members and negative phenomena within party organizations have not been dealt with in a timely or strict manner.

The struggle to build socialism and protect the socialist fatherland is presenting our party with many new and large requirements, requirements which demand that our party give greater attention to teaching and cultivating the qualities and skills of the corps of party members. The Political Report at the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "At this time, the qualities and skills of the party member are manifested first in the revolutionary-offensive spirit; having firm confidence in the victory of the socialist revolution and the cause of defending the fatherland; not wavering in the face of difficulties; and struggling every hour of every day to do practical things that contribute to socialist construction and socialist transformation, the development of production and the stabilization and gradual improvement of the living conditions of the people. On the front of defending the fatherland, the party member must not only display high fighting morale and bravery on the frontlines, but must also be vigilant against acts of political, economic and ideological sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. The party member may not be indifferent, evade his responsibility or only talk at great length and complain about negative phenomena; to the contrary, he must actively participate in the struggle between the two ways of life, against negative phenomena and the spontaneous trends of capitalism in order to protect the right of ownership of the people, consolidate and strengthen the battle position of socialism and protect the purity of the party. Every party member, regardless of his job position, must examine his style of work; maintain close ties with the masses; become deeply involved in the mass movement; listen to the opinions and accept the creative experiences of the masses; always maintain a sense of organization and discipline; maintain solidarity and unanimity within the party; combat incorrect viewpoints and lines of thinking; protect the truth and protect the party; live a wholesome and law-abiding life and not be drawn by temptation into a life of extravagance and decadence.

At present, the qualities of the party member are also manifested in a desire to learn and a thirst for knowledge, in making every effort to deepen one's knowledge of socialism, of the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state while becoming proficient in one's work. Being satisfied with



oneself, being unwilling to study, wasting time and not wanting to constantly raise ones qualifications in every respect are also manifestations of serious degeneration in the qualities of the party member."(9)

The above mentioned requirements regarding the qualities and the capabilities of party members have shed more light upon the requirements regarding the character of party members and the tasks of party members in the new situation. These requirements must be thoroughly understood by each party member, must become the goal of each person. They must also become part of the present effort to educate and train party members. The various party committee echelons, party schools and party chapters must have a firm grasp of the requirements mentioned above, be determined to improve the teaching of politics and ideology, rapidly overcome the weaknesses and shortcomings in the education and training of party members and adopt a specific plan for helping each party member make a good effort to improve himself.

The 5th Congress of the Party emphasized the role played by the party chapters in teaching and training party members. The party chapter must truly be a place that thoroughly debates the various issues concerning the lines, policies and viewpoints of the party; a place that gains a thorough understanding of and discusses ways to fully implement the resolutions of the party; a place that wages a struggle in terms of viewpoints and principles to protect the line and organization of the party; and a place that forges the revolutionary will and the ability to lead of party members. The Political Report to the congress stated: "Each party chapter must take specific steps to teach and forge the qualities of each party member and insure that no party member engaged in acts of corruption, intimidates the masses or violates the lines and policies of the party or the laws of the state."(10)

The three measures mentioned above, which are designed to improve the quality of the corps of party members, are closely related to and have an impact upon one another. Educating and training party members well, causing their level of awareness to rise and making the party organization solid and strong lay the foundation for correctly and properly expelling unqualified members from the party and developing the party well. Conversely, expelling unqualified members from the party and developing the party well help to educate and train party members well. Once the party has ejected from its body bad cells and gains new vitality, the organization of the party naturally becomes stronger and more solid and the results of the party organization's educational effort is larger. Taking these three measures at the same time and coordinating one with the other closely coordinates ideology and organization and creates and combined strength for achieving high results. Good results cannot be achieved if these three measures are separated, if one measure is not taken until another has been completed.

Coordination in the building of the corps of party members is not only manifested in simultaneously implementing the measures mentioned above, but is also manifested in performing the other jobs involved in party building well. In order for the corps of party members to be strong, it is necessary to have a good corps of cadres, especially key cadres within the basic units, necessary to have strong and solid party organizations, beginning with the basic organizations, etc. Therefore, to insure that the results achieved in

building the corps of party members are lasting results, we must also perform these jobs at the same time.

Improving the quality of party members is not only the work of the various party committees and party organizations on the various echelons, it is primarily the responsibility of each party member. As members of the party, each party member must forge himself in order to improve his revolutionary qualities and work skills, help his comrades make continuous progress and help to make the corps of the party, beginning with the corps of party members within the party chapters, increasingly pure, solid and strong. At present, there are some party members at some places who do nothing more than complain about the deficiencies of their party chapters and about the decline in the qualities of the comrades within their chapters but never take one step to help correct this situation. This attitude is totally incorrect. The party member must be fully responsible to his party organization, to his comrades. In the face of negative phenomena, the party member must not only criticize and struggle against them, but must also look for every way to join his collective in overcoming these phenomena. Sincere comradeship must be expressed in thoroughly caring for and patiently helping one's comrades make progress, especially helping comrades who have made mistakes. However, if a person who has made a mistake does not accept the education of the party, continues to make one mistake after another and is truly no longer worthy of the title "member of the communist party," we must be determined to expel him from the party.

Patiently studying and forging oneself in order to constantly move forward and make positive contributions to building the corps of the party, these two factors are of equal importance and neither can be given light attention. Without appropriate efforts on the part of the party member, the assistance provided by the collective will be ineffective. Conversely, if the party member is only concerned with himself and does not feel responsible for the deficiencies of the collective, of the party organization, it is impossible to talk about the entire corps making progress.

In view of the fact that the party is in political power, we must closely link the building of the corps of party members to the revolutionary movement of the masses in order to prevent the danger of remoteness from the masses from becoming real. The party member must truly forge himself within the revolutionary movement of the masses, considering this to be one of the main guidelines for combating the maladies of bureaucracy and the decline in qualities and ethics. Only by truly submersing himself in the revolutionary movement of the masses can the party member be closely inspected by and receive the thoughtful assistance of the masses; only within the revolutionary movement of the masses is it possible to promptly discover outstanding elements among the masses for selection, training and acceptance into the corps of the party. On the other hand, the basic organizations of the party must create favorable conditions for the masses to contribute their critical opinions concerning the leadership of the party and criticize the work, the qualities and the character of party members. The Political Report at the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "Having the masses introduce persons to the party, contribute their opinions to the expulsion of unqualified persons from the party, criticize party members and inspect the activities of party

members are very important lessons in party building, lessons that must be thoroughly reviewed and applied in a widespread and routine manner within all organizations of the party."(11)

The building of the corps of party members must also be closely linked to improving the organization and management of the economy and society, improving the apparatus of the party and state and closely linked to the revising of unreasonable policies and regulations and methods of organization and management that are no longer suitable. As we know, the strength and efficiency of the apparatus have more than a small impact upon each individual. Within each agency and unit, whenever work programs have been correctly established, functions and tasks have been clearly defined, the division of labor is efficient, standards and responsibilities are clear and the relationships for coordinating on the job have been clearly established, favorable conditions then exist for cadres and party members to develop themselves and the impact that they have. On the other hand, this efficient apparatus also creates favorable conditions for the party organization to correctly evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each party member and each person outside the party and, on this basis, adopt suitable programs and plans for teaching and forging party members and expelling unqualified members from the party as well as accepting persons into the party.

The results of building the corps of party members are also seen in the achievements recorded in the work of the revolutionary masses led by the corps of party members. The achievements recorded in the work of a locality or a unit are a measurement of the progress that has been made in building the corps of party members within the locality or unit.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 204.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Closing Speech at the 9th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (b)," Complete Works, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 326.
3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4, 1982, p 86.
4. The Report on Party Building by the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5, 1982, p 18.
5. Ibid., pp 51-52.
6. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee..., p 88.
7. V.I. Lenin: "The State of the Worker and Party Week," Complete Works, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 255.
8. Ibid., p 256.

9. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee..., pp 87-88.

10. Ibid., p 89.

11. Ibid., p 88.

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## MEMOIRS CONCERNING THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 40-44

[Article by Tran Huu Chuong]

[Text] Editorial Note: As we know, in the second half of 1929, there were three communist organizations in our country: the Indochinese Communist Party, the Annamese Communist Party and the Indochinese Communist League. Thanks to the prestige of and the great service performed by Nguyen Ai Quoc, these three organizations were merged and, on 3 February 1930, the Vietnam Communist Party was born.

On the occasion of the 53rd anniversary of the founding of the party, we have printed below the memoirs of Tran Huu Chuong concerning a number of matters regarding the Indochinese Communist League.

In his youth Tran Huu Chuong was active in the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party in Saigon. He and several other comrades reorganized the Tan Viet Party into the Indochinese Communist League. Prior to the August Revolution, he was arrested by the French colonialists and banished to Lao Bao, Kontum. In August, 1945, he participated in the uprising to seize political power in Nghe Tinh. Later, he worked as a department head within the former Ministry of Interior, served as secretary of the ministry party committee, was director of the Central School of Administration and so forth. Elderly and in poor health, he now lives in retirement.

In Saigon in late 1928, as the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party was engaged in rather intense activities and preparing to spread to many other places, it found itself involved in the Barbier incident. The cause of the incident was the disciplinary action taken by the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Saigon against a party member who lived on Barbier Street. When the incident occurred, the enemy learned about it and conducted a search; the printing agency of the Nam Ky Regional Organization of the Tan Viet Party, which was located on a nearby street, was discovered. Nguyen Duy Trinh and Dao Xuan Mai, who were in charge of the agency, were arrested and all of the agency's printing equipment, books and training materials were confiscated.

In the face of this unexpected development, the Tan Viet Party had to consolidate its base and relocate its remaining installations in order to avoid further discoveries. The party decided to send overseas some comrades who had writings or possessions in the printing agency, which could be used to track them down. Several days later, in keeping with this decision Ha Huy Tap, Tran Ngoc Danh, Tran Pham Ho, Nguyen Khoa Hien, Phan Dang Luu and Le Lien Vu, a total of six persons, boarded a ship for China. In Saigon, the activities of the Tan Viet Party came to a temporary halt because the enemy was trying to get information on and searching for members of the party. I was ordered to report to the Tan Viet General Headquarters, which was located in Hue at that time. The general headquarters had instructed the Tan Viet Party to cease its activities for awhile in order to avoid further losses.

When I returned to Nha Trang, I was detained there by friends because they informed me that my house in Saigon had been searched by the enemy and that the enemy has arrested a number of persons within the house in order to interrogate them about me.

In mid-April, 1929, the Tan Viet General Headquarters sent a person to the South with a draft plan to establish the "national bloc." The comrades in Saigon summoned us to debate this draft plan and discuss the resumption of activities because the enemy was no longer searching for us so intensely.

We met in June, 1929, at the house at number 5 Nguyen Tan Nghiem Street (now Phat Diem Street). Following many days of debate, we decided:

--To oppose the draft "national bloc" plan and disassociate ourselves from the Tan Viet General Headquarters in preparation for founding the communist party;

--To select activists within the Tan Viet Party to organize communist party chapters;

--To accept Nguyen An Ninh's Association of Ambitious Youths, selecting good persons for acceptance into the party while allowing the others to join the mass organizations of the party.

The conferees elected the executive committee of the regional party organization, which consisted of Le Trong Man, Hai Thanh, Hai Trieu, Tran Huu Duyet and myself. I was appointed secretary.

The conferees sent Tran Huu Duyet to Hue to attend the conference of the Tan Viet General Headquarters, which was scheduled to be held on 14 July 1929, to oppose the "national bloc" draft and demand the founding of the communist party, otherwise we would publicly declare our disassociation from general headquarters.

On 7 July 1929, as Tran Huu Duyet arrived in Hue, the members of the General Headquarters of the Tan Viet were arrested by the enemy. He immediately went to Vinh and established liaison with the Trung Ky Regional Organization of the Tan Viet in order to exchange opinions concerning the founding of the communist party. During this time in Saigon, the members of the Tan Viet were

organizing chapters or groups of communist party members in Phu Nhuan, Ba Chieu, Tan Dinh, Da Kao, Khanh Hoi, Cho Quan, Cho Lon, etc.

The "national bloc" draft was strenuously opposed not only in South Vietnam, but in North and Central Vietnam as well. Within the Tan Viet Party organizations in all three regions of the country, especially among party members who were workers at the Vinh and Ben Thuy factories, the desire to found the communist party was very intense and very clear.

In August, 1929, Nguyen Xuan Thanh (also known as Chat Bay), the secretary of the Tan Viet Party organization in Trung Ky, arrived in Saigon to meet with the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee. The meeting culminated in a decision to hold a conference to found the communist party on 1 January 1930. The Trung Ky Regional Party organization assumed the responsibility for inviting delegates from the Bac Ky Party organization and arranging a site for the conference. The Nam Ky Party organization was given the responsibility of drafting various documents, such as the Declaration, the Agenda, the Statutes and so forth, for presentation to the conference. The secret code for indicating the site of the conference and the code word for establishing liaison were thoroughly discussed by us. It was decided that the number of delegates would not exceed 10.

At that time, we were continuing to select party members in Nam Ky. We had accepted more than 100 persons. The regional party organization had assigned Le Trong Man, Hai Thanh and Hai Trieu the responsibility of preparing the necessary documents for the Conference To Found the Communist Party. This was a very difficult job because our command of theory at that time was still very poor.

We studied the various documents of the Indochinese Communist Party that had been brought down by Chat Bay; on the basis of them and the program of the Communist International, we wrote the various outlines. As regards the name of the party, we suggested that it be named "The Indochinese Communist League." We selected this name because we modeled ourselves after the organization of the "League of Communists" described by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" and because we had hope of establishing liaison and uniting with the other communist organizations in Indochina.

While preparing the documents for the conference, we learned that the Communist International had sent a letter criticizing the division of the revolutionary organizations in Indochina and instructing that these organizations quickly be unified within a single communist party. We also learned that the International had sent a delegate to Hong Kong to achieve this objective. This news further encouraged us to quickly complete this task. At the same time, in Saigon, the Vietnamese Association of Revolutionary Youth had been reorganized into the Annamese Communist Party. In August, 1929, the majority of the provinces in Nam Ky had chapters of the Annamese Communist Party. This situation encouraged us even more to quickly found the communist party in order to promptly satisfy the aspirations of the mass of activists.

After the drafts had been completed and approved by the regional party organization, all of the documents were written on thin pieces of paper in small handwriting. The Nam Ky Regional Party organization sent Hai Trieu and myself to the congress. During the final days of 1929, after learning where the conference would be held, the two of us departed.

When he returned from Saigon, Chat Bay held discussions with the Trung Ky Regional Party organization and performed the tasks that had been decided upon: he sent a person to establish liaison with and present the documents to the Bac Ky Regional Party organization, arranged the site of the conference, etc. Concerning this last point, we later learned that the conference was first scheduled to be held in the Ngoc Lam in former Quang Binh Province. Le Tat Duc was the station master there and a number of party members at the station had made preparations for the conference. However, as the date of the conference approached, Secret Service agents were frequently seen in the station making inquiries. Thinking that the site of the conference had been divulged, they moved the conference to another place. Chat Bay summoned the delegates to the Tho Tuong Railroad Station in former Ha Tinh Province, which was a small station near his home.

On the afternoon of 31 December 1920, Hai Trieu and I went down to the Tho Tung Railroad Station. As we approached the platform, we saw a person who had a white handkerchief in his right hand and scratched the back of his head twice with his left hand. We raised our left hands and scratched our ears twice. We had made contact. However, instead of saying hello, we silently walked among the other passengers and followed this person. Once we had walked quite some distance from the platform, he stopped; speaking in a low voice, he told us that everybody else had already arrived and invited us to the home of Chat Bay.

There, we found Ngo Duc De, the delegate from the provinces in the Binh Dinh area; Tran The Qua, the delegate from the provinces in the Thua Thien area; Nguyen Xuan Thanh (also known as Chat Bay) and Nguyen Ton, delegates from the Trung Ky Regional Party organization and the factories in Vinh-Ben Thuy; Le Van Tiem, the delegate from the provinces in the Nghe Tinh area; and Ngo Dinh Man, the delegate from the Bac Ky Regional Party organization. The two of us were delegates from the Nam Ky Regional Party organization. There was a total of eight comrades. Because the site of the conference had been suddenly changed, a few comrades were unable to attend.

Chat Bay's house, which was located near a road and had no garden, was not a convenient spot for the conference. We discussed moving to another site. Comrade Qua was sent to meet with the Trung Ky Regional Party Committee in Yen Dung (Vinh-Ben Thuy) to arrange this. The various reports and documents needed for the conference were collected and then hidden by me.

After formulating a plan for making our escape in the event that the conference was discovered, we set up a card table and began to play cards with a view toward conducting an initial exchange of opinions. Chat Bay and several local comrades stood guard outside the house.



While playing cards, we discussed the internal situation. One common element was that all party organizations wanted to establish the communist party. The fact that the comrades in the Indochinese Communist Party had contacted the Vinh Party organization and proposed a merger was also put forth for discussion. We agreed that once the party had been founded, we would appoint a delegate to discuss the unifying of the various parties in accordance with the directive from the Communist International. As regards the name of the party, we unanimously selected the Indochinese Communist League. The discussion and adoption of the necessary documents were postponed until we arrived at the new site because they were official tasks of the conference.

The next day (1 January 1930), Qua returned and reported that a boat from the regional party organization would be waiting that night along the river between the Trung Luong gate and Do Trai. The conference would be held on the boat. The party members in charge of the boat would row the boat along the route followed by the ferries crossing the river to the markets on the other side up until the time that these markets closed.

It was sunny and hot all that day. We divided into groups of two to three persons and found secluded spots where we could study the necessary documents before the conference. As night approached, we went down to the Phu Bridge (the Duc Tho Bridge) and hired a boat to take us to Do Trai. An elderly woman and a young girl took us there. In order to conceal our identities from the enemy, some of us on the boat noisily played cards. A number of others sat on the bow listening to Comrade De sing ferry boat songs. When the boat arrived at the Trung Luong gate, De sang: "Here we are at Trung Luong gate and I still love her."

Although this little song appeared to be his way of flirting with the young girl who was steering the boat, its actual purpose was to indicate his feelings for the revolution. I have never forgotten a single word of what he sang.

The boat was anchored a short distance from the Trung Luong gate so that the two women could rest. While they slept, we remained awake, looking for the boat from the regional party organization. When it had not arrived by dawn, we told the women to take us to the Do Trai landing. Just as we were about to moor the boat on the bank of the river, someone called to us. We looked up and saw several district soldiers. Realizing that we had been discovered, instead of quickly making our way to the bank, we pretended to be looking for our clothing and footwear and quickly told one another that if we were arrested we would state that we were passengers who happened to take the same ferry to Do Trai but did not know one another. Each of us prepared a plausible statement. The most important thing was how to destroy the various documents. Because we were on a boat with which we were familiar, I crammed the documents under a small board at the front of the boat's roof, which I thought was a spot to which few persons would give their attention.

As we were going ashore, the leader of the soldiers, noticing that Le Van Tiem (teacher Tiem), a person from his own village, was among us, happily said: "Can you imagine that, it's you, sir! Headquarters was told that a gang of men stole a boat for hire and headed toward Hong Mountain(1); the ordered us

to follow the boat all night long in order to arrest them!" Tiem immediately said: "I am returning to the province on urgent business; if you are going to arrest us, please allow me to go the main road so that I can meet my vehicle on time." The leader of the unit did not grant his request; instead, he told us that headquarters had ordered him to arrest us and that if we met with the authorities, everything would turn out all right.

The unit leader and the three soldiers with him did not at all appear to suspect who we really were; consequently, as we travelled back with them, we looked for opportunities to go into stores on the pretext of buying food or various items when we were actually discussing what we would say to the authorities. We also discussed a way to retrieve the bundle of documents that was still hidden on the ferry. As we were passing through the Tro Market, Tiem told a relative of his who was a vendor there to have someone impersonate a district soldier, locate the ferry (Tiem knew the name of the woman who operated the ferry), find some excuse to search it, and secretly retrieve the bundle of documents without the owner of the ferry knowing.

We all realized that this incident was a major setback. However, the enemy had no evidence with which to convict us of a crime, consequently, we did not think that anyone should try to flee because doing so would give the enemy a reason to convict the others.

Before we reached headquarters, comrades within the locality told us that the documents had been retrieved. This news made us very happy and confident. We had these comrades deliver the documents directly to the regional party organization in Vinh.

The district chief questioned us individually. He was courteous and told us that because he had already reported the arrest to the station chief in Linh Cam, even though, in his opinion, we were arrested by mistake.

That evening, we were summoned before him and told that the Linh Cam Post had reported to the province which, in turn, ordered that we be sent to the provincial level. We then saw that it was necessary to create an opportunity for us to carefully discuss the situation with one another, consequently, we asked the district chief to allow us to walk to the provincial level, instead of waiting for a vehicle. Two district soldiers escorted us. Knowing that we were honest, educated people and not robbers, they were very lenient with us. When we arrived in the town of Nghan (the Can Loc District Seat), which was the birthplace of De and Qua, we suggested that the spend the night there with us. That night, we talked with the relatives of these two comrades about entertaining the two soldiers in a very thoughtful manner so that we had an opportunity to meet and talk with one another.

We knew that because we had been arrested that we would at least be detained for a short while. We felt that it was necessary to send a communique to the entire Tan Viet Party to inform it that the Indochinese Communist League had been established and to appeal to the various party organizations to reorganize their ranks in order to be ready to merge with the unified communist party that would be founded in accordance with the directive from

the Communist International. We entrusted Ngo Duc De with the task of drafting the communique and letter to party members.

In Ha Tinh City, Ambassador La Gre-do[Vietnamese phonetics] interrogated us one after the other. He said that we were a cell of the Tan Viet Party. Several days later, he ordered that we be taken to Vinh.

In Vinh, each of us was detained at a different place. After numerous phases of interrogation, they were unable to find any reason to convict us, even though they knew that we were members of Tan Viet. After nearly 2 months of interrogation, they sentenced Ngo Duc De to 3 years in prison for the crime of "being the child of Ngo Duc Ke"(2); the other seven of us were released on probation.

Because the Conference To Found the Indochinese Communist League was broken up before it could be completed, we were unable to appoint a delegate to travel to Cuu Long to attend the Conference To Found the Vietnam Communist Party.

However, following the birth of the Vietnam Communist Party, the various party organizations and activists of the Tan Viet Party in Trung Ky and Nam Ky eagerly joined the ranks of the communist party and struggled wholeheartedly for the cause of the party. The fact that the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement and the intense revolutionary struggles that occurred everywhere had the active participation of a large number of former members of the Tan Viet Party is clear proof.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. That is, Hong Linh Mountain.
2. Ngo Duc Ke (1878-1929), a patriotic scholar from Can Loc District in Nghe Tinh Province, was arrested by the French colonialists and banished to Con Dao from 1908 to 1921.

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## A LOOK BACK AT THE PARTY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REACTIONARY TROTSKYITES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 45-52

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] Trotskyism, a mutation of Menshevism and the worst kind of opportunism, was a political trend that bore the name of Trotsky, the enemy of Leninism. In 1927, Trotskyism became an opposing camp that divided and provoked opposition against the Communist Party (b) of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government.

In September, 1938, the 4th International (that is, The Socialist Party Revolutionary International), an international reactionary organization which served as the lackey of imperialism, was officially founded, issued a manifesto, issued an appeal and published numerous books and newspapers that preached Trotskyism.(1)

In 1957, at the time that the CPSU was holding its 20th Congress, at which the mistake of worshipping Stalin was criticized, the "4th International" held an international conference in Brussels, Belgium, "to demand that honor be restored to Trotsky" and have many of the works of Trotsky and books on Trotskyism reprinted. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, who had long looked for every way to widely disseminate the slander of Trotsky, were exposed by the October Revolution and the Communist Party (b) of the Soviet Union.

At present, at the instigation of imperialism and with the support of modern revisionism, the "4th International" in Marxist-Leninist garb has established so called "communist parties" in a number of countries and is making every effort to divide the socialist community, distort Marxism-Leninism and sabotage the international communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement. To oppose imperialism and the various types of international reactionaries, it is absolutely necessary to oppose the Trotskyites. The communist and worker parties of the world have established the struggle against the "4th Internationalists" as one of their important tasks.

The so called "4th International" founded by Trotsky and Trotsky himself were especially concerned with the situation in Vietnam and Indochina. When he was alive, Trotsky often issued directives to the Trotskyites in Indochina. On 18 September 1930, Trotsky wrote an article entitled "Concerning the Declaration by the Indochinese of the Opposition Bloc" in which he made observations of a critical nature and contributed opinions to the "Platform" of the Trotskyites in Indochina.(2) In 1939, in various article he wrote, Trotsky frequently talked about the victory of the Indochinese Trotskyites in the Nam Ky Governing Council elections.(3)

In the history of our party's brave struggle, one of the great victories won by our party was the victory over the Trotskyites who opposed the Vietnamese revolution. This victory marked a stage of growth by our party on the political and ideological front. For this reason, it is very necessary to understand the experiences gained by the party in the process of struggling to defeat the Trotskyites who opposed the Vietnamese revolution.

It was not the Vietnamese worker movement that gave birth to Trotskyism. It infiltrated our country from the outside through the French Trotskyite organization after Ta Thu Thau sowed the seeds for its spread to our country in June, 1930, immediately after he returned from France. In 1931, Thau, the leading Trotskyite in Vietnam, organized the so called "Independent Left Communist Party" in Saigon, which loudly preached Trotsky's "permanent revolution" theory, distorting Lenin's theory on continuous revolution and opposing Lenin's doctrine concerning the ability of socialism to win victory "first in a few countries, even in a single capitalist country..." However, the Trotskyites in Vietnam also proclaimed themselves to be "loyal disciples of Lenin" and "genuine communists" "who only opposed the Stalinist faction." Opposing the line on the bourgeois democratic revolution (now called the people's national, democratic revolution) set forth by our party, they advocated a "proletarian revolution" to simultaneously topple the French imperialists, the feudal landowner class and the national bourgeoisie and immediately establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. By means of "leftist" pronouncements, they deceived and won the support of some students, intellectuals and even a small number of workers who were ardent but still politically naive. They conducted intense activities from 1936 onward, especially from 1938 onward, when the "4th International" was established. When Ta Thu Thau returned to Vietnam (May, 1930), he continued to maintain very close ties with the Trotskyite organization in France and regularly received reactionary publications of the "4th International."

The Trotskyite organization in Vietnam was divided into many factions because, instead of supporting one another, they constantly attacked one another and competed for influence among the masses. In Nam Bo, there were three factions: the first faction consisted of Ta Thu Thau, Tran Van Thach and others; the second faction, which was called the "October" faction, was headed by Ho Huu Tuong and published a newspaper called "OCTOBER"; and the third faction, which went by the name "Ray of Light," was headed by Dao Hung Long and published the "RAY OF LIGHT" Newspaper. In Bac Bo, during the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the Trotskyites who were most active were Huynh Van Phuong, Phan Van Chanh and their supporters. The "NATIONAL" Newspaper edited by Truong Tuu supported Huynh Van Phuong. On the other hand,

the "WOMEN ON CURRENT EVENTS" Newspaper of the Thai Van Tam faction attacked Huynh Van Phuong as making "compromises," etc. However, they were unanimous in their support of a reactionary political line, arguments based on distortions, arguments that sowed divisions and acts of provocation and sabotage against the Vietnamese revolution.

Their main area of activity was the cities, where the working class and the strata of youths, students, public officials and intellectuals were concentrated. In Nam Bo, they were highly active in Saigon, Cho Lon and so forth. In Bac Bo, they were most active in Hanoi and established footholds in a number of localities in Haiphong, Hai Duong, etc. In Trung Bo, they conducted sporadic activities in Hue. Wherever the cadres and members of our party carefully explained the line and policies of the party to the masses and resolutely exposed the Trotskyites, they were isolated and unable to build a base for themselves.

Although the influence of the Trotskyites in Vietnam at that time was not widespread among our people, it is worth noting that they did look for every way to infiltrate the ranks of the revolution in order to sabotage the revolution from within our organization and infiltrate our party in order to undermine it from within. For this reason, the Party Central Committee issued a directive which stated: "...We must eradicate the Trotskyite elements that have infiltrated the party."(4) The Trotskyites were still concealing their extremely reactionary nature by means of hollow "leftist" pronouncements and "revolutionary lip service" such as "thoroughly revolutionary," "genuinely communist," "proletarian revolution," 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' etc. Lenin made the following very correct observation concerning the Trotskyites' bragging: Trotsky makes nothing but empty statements... The reason why Trotsky avoids specific issues and proof is that they refute without mercy his venomous words and boastful statements."(5)

In mid-1930, when Trotskyism began spreading to Vietnam, our party began the struggle against the Trotskyites attempting to sabotage the Vietnamese revolution.

In the revolutionary high tide (1930-1931), the Trotskyites slandered our party as having "organized demonstrations only with the 'consent' of the French imperialists."(6) When the revolutionary movement became the target of the bloody campaign of terror waged by the imperialists, they repeated the argument of the imperialists and cried: "The Indochinese Communist Party has been destroyed."(7) In order to refute these distortions, our party cited the struggles being waged by manual workers, peasants and the other strata of the people and concluded: "This is also the best evidence for exposing the lies of the abolitionists and the trotskyites in Indochina."(8) In 1933, our party criticized the reactionary viewpoints of the Trotskyites concerning the "theory of permanent revolution," the "peasant issue" and the "proletarian revolution" and revealed just what their activities were at that time: "In Saigon, we see a group of college graduates, physicians, 'doctors,' powerful capitalists who exploit workers and large landowners who steal from the peasants, a group that has formed a political party and selected as its friends petty bourgeois opportunists (who were expelled by the Indochinese Communist Party) who proclaim themselves to be 'communists,' to be 'genuine

Marxists,' all set to spread reactionary Trotskyism and slander the Indochinese Communist Party in a very vicious fashion; consequently, TAP CHI CONG SAN will publish several articles in succession designed to help you expose these 'celebrated revolutionaries' to the laboring people of Indochina. We will begin by discussing the philosophy of their master and then discuss the tactics of his several disciples in this region."(9)

In 1934, realizing that our party, although very cruelly terrorized by the French imperialists, continued to survive and struggle, the Trotskyites brazenly distorted the truth by proclaiming that our party was founded by "the leftwing of the Nationalist Party."(10)

During the period from 1936 to 1939, it was the policy of our party to establish the Indochinese Democratic Front, support the French Popular Front, oppose fascism and war, oppose the colonial reactionaries and their lackeys and demand freedom, a decent life and peace. The Trotskyites opposed the entire line of our party during that period. They appealed for the establishment of a "proletarian front" and maintained that the Indochinese Democratic Front was a form of "class cooperation," a form of "compromise with and surrender to the bourgeoisie," that it "abandoned the class struggle," etc. After they were criticized for taking this stand, they adopted other forms of organization, such as the "worker-peasant front" and the "front of the exploited against the exploiters"; then, they returned to the "proletarian front." Under the direct guidance of the Party Central Committee, Ha Huy Tap, a few other comrades and Mr. Nguyen An Ninh, a patriotic intellectual who sympathized with the party, participated in a polemic concerning the issue of the front and the Trotskyites, headed by Ta Thu Thau, which "shattered the mistaken and dangerous confused positions taken by Thau in a very fitting manner in LA LUTTE Newspaper."(11)

The second polemic, which was as decisive as the first, occurred between a number of cadres of our party and the Trotskyites over the issues of associations and trade unions. It was the position of our party that while struggling for the freedom to organize trade unions, full use had to be made of all forms of associations, mutual help organizations and so forth in order to mobilize the masses. Opposing this policy, the Trotskyites wrote in LA LUTTE (TRANH DAU), LE MILITANT (CHIEN SI) and THAY THO Newspapers that "associations kill trade unions"; "associations are not an effective form of struggle and cannot enlighten the masses concerning their class rights"; "associations are nothing more than deception, hash, reformism, reaction"...

Our DAN CHUNG, LAO DONG, BANG DAN and other newspapers played an important role in the two polemics mentioned above and exposed the reactionary arguments of the Trotskyites.

The Trotskyites also slandered our party as being a "reform party," being "opportunistic," "surrendering to imperialism," etc. In 1938, our party pointed out that it was the Trotskyites who were reformists and opportunists, who were serving as the lackeys of the imperialists and were the enemies of the people "because they broke up strikes and meetings, set buildings afire (the Thanh Xuong Theater), served as informers and spies on the forces of the people, attacked the popular front and distributed free newspapers to condemn

communism."(12) "...We must give thought to eradicating the scourge of Trotskyism while it is still in its infancy and not allow opportunists who call themselves Trotskyites to infiltrate our ranks."(13) DAN CHUNG Newspaper, the central organ of our Party Central Committee, also wrote: "The Trotskyites of this region have truly been following in the footsteps of their colleagues in China, Spain..."(14)

At that time, Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was active overseas, wrote several important newspaper articles that were sent back to Vietnam and printed in NOTRE VOIX (OUR VOICE) Newspaper, the public weekly newspaper of our party in 1939; these articles denounced the Trotskyites in China, the lackeys of the Japanese fascists, who had infiltrated the Chinese Communist Party to oppose and undermine the movement of the Chinese people who were waging a resistance against the Japanese fascists. At the same time, he sent a letter to our Party Central Committee in which he clearly stated what our party's position concerning the Trotskyites in Vietnam should be. He wrote: "As regards the Trotskyites, there can be no alliance, no concessions. We must use every means at our disposal to expose them as lackeys of the fascists and must annihilate them politically."(15)

Nguyen Van Cu, who was the general secretary of the party at that time, also harshly criticized a few rightists who had cooperated in a manner not based on principle with the Trotskyites.

When the Japanese fascists were planning to invade and occupy Indochina, the Trotskyites proposed "using Japan to liberate the people of Indochina." In 1940, when the Japanese fascists invaded and occupied Indochina, Ta Thu Thau said: "We will use Japan to fight France first and then we will fight Japan." When Japan and France entered into a temporary detent in order to suppress the Indochinese revolutionary movement, the Trotskyites proclaimed: "Japan does not have to topple France because France has surrendered to Japan." In 1941, when the German fascists attacked the USSR, the Trotskyites, in DIEN TIN SAIGON Newspaper, appeared to be gloating when they raised the issue that "the Soviet Union will surely be defeated." In 1943, when the Soviet army won decisive victory on the Stalingrad front and began to counter-attack, they changed their tune: "If the Soviet Union goes on to win victory over the German fascists, the cause of socialist construction in the Soviet Union will still be a failure because, when the Soviets rebuild their country, they will be attacked by another imperialist because, according to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the socialist revolution cannot achieve success in only one country."

In 1941, Han Thuyen Publishing House, whose director was the Trotskyite Truong Tuu, began to publish volumes of books of an "investigative" nature, included among which were some books that reflected crude, mechanical materialism, mixed metaphysical materialist viewpoints and arguments distorting Marxism-Leninism and used the theory of materialism and class struggle to oppose the Viet Minh front that was founded and led by our party; at the same time, they sullied our nation's glorious history and our glorious tradition of struggling against the Chinese feudalists who had invaded our country. In the book "The Trung Sisters Uprising," the Trotskyite Nguyen Te My wrote: "Our country lived under a matriarchy during the Trung Sisters dynasty"; he then observed:



"The patriarchy in China at that time was more progressive than the matriarchy in our country at that time" and the uprising by the Trung Sisters to drive off the army of East China went against the evolution of society." Nguyen Te My maintained that the counter-attack by Ma Vien to reoccupy our country was "a social revolution of an inevitable nature." In CO GIAI PHONG Newspaper, our party criticized and exposed these reactionary arguments put forth by Nguyen Te My.(16)

Han Thuyen Publishing House also published volumes of "new literature" based on the "new literature-art," "Marxist literature-art"(as proclaimed by Truong Tuu), which included a number of books that extolled the bourgeoisie, expressed contempt for the peasantry, provoked youths, etc. In "The Thesis on Vietnamese Culture(1943)," in addition to opposing conservative, eclectic, affected, pessimistic, mystical, idealist and other cultural trends, our party harshly criticized the above mentioned reactionary viewpoints of the Trotskyites.

In 1943, when the Communist International declared its dissolution, the Trotskyites began publishing the NGOI SAO DO Newspaper to attack the Communist International and our party. They made such slanderous statements as "the communists are following the British and American bourgeoisie," "the communist parties have become the tools of Stalin," "the 4th International will replace the 3rd International," etc. In TAP CHI CONG SAN, Truong Chinh, who was the general secretary of our party at that time, wrote articles that clearly analyzed the reasons why the Communist International declared its own dissolution; he refuted their distorted arguments and emphasized: "The Trotskyites in Indochina as well as the rest of the world have shown themselves to be the lackeys of the international fascists."(17)

In order to oppose and attack the Vietnamese revolution, the Trotskyites not only conducted overt activities in the press, but also engaged in covert activities and established numerous clandestine organizations. In Bac Bo, one Trotskyite group established the so called "the party of Vietnamese socialist workers," which secretly circulated CHIEN DAU Newspaper and used a red flag in the middle of which was a white sphere surrounded by many bolts of lightning. Another group established the so called "proletarian party of permanent revolution," which organized a "front" called the "Vietnam line" to oppose the Viet Minh front; they published a newspaper called VIET DAN TUYEN Newspaper, which was circulated clandestinely.

The reactionary nature of the Trotskyites became increasingly clear, especially after the day Japan toppled the French. Some of them served as lackeys of the French imperialists; a number of others openly worked as secret service agents for the Japanese fascists; Ta Thu Thau, the leader of the "4th International" in Vietnam, cooperated with the "New Vietnam" group, which was a pro-Japanese organization "supported" by Japan in a vain attempt to seize political power before the Viet Minh front did. Within only a few days after the people's democratic government had been established, the imperialist clique and many different kinds of lackeys of the imperialists employed every malicious trick possible in a vain attempt to crush our people's young government. Taking advantage of a time at which our party and our people were

encountering countless difficulties, the Trotskyites insanely intensified their acts of sabotage.

In Nam Bo, "they openly published TRANH DAU Newspaper to sow the seeds of doubt or opposition against the people's government; they mobilized protest demonstrations against the people's committees and adopted leftist slogan that were harmful to the domestic and foreign policies of the provisional government. They demanded the arming of the masses in order to strike fear in the British mission. They demanded that the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution be thoroughly carried out (that is, they basically demanded that we carry out an agrarian revolution and distribute land to peasants) in order to divide the national front and cause landowners to oppose the revolution. They took the position that the armies of France, Great Britain, India and Japan should be considered equal enemies and that all of these armies had to be completely destroyed. This ignorant and dangerous stand caused these armies to align themselves against our army and made it necessary for our army to deal with many opposing forces by itself."(18)

In Bac Bo, "they were just waiting to call the masses into the streets to demonstrate and shout radical slogans as they did in the South...demanding 'the arming of youths' and the 'imprisonment of the remaining French,' with the intention of causing diplomatic problems for us. In a few public offices as well as within a few factories that were managed or had been taken over by the government, they provoked workers and public servants into striking, destroying property and demanding higher wages, even though they knew that the government was encountering financial difficulties and could not raise their wages."(19) They also aligned themselves with such reactionary political parties as the Dai Viet Populist Party, the Vietnam Nationalist Party and so forth and held joint conferences with them in order to unite in actions against our party and the provisional government.

Our press harshly denounced the Trotskyites. Our people exposed their reactionary nature and the people's government duly punished the Trotskyites and the other types of reactionaries. Continuing to obstinately oppose the Vietnamese revolution, some Trotskyites who "slipped through the net" fled to the border, where they cooperated with reactionary "national restorationists" who intended to rebuild their forces; some persons fled overseas in an attempt to establish liaison with the organization of the "4th International"; and some Trotskyites who were not exposed returned to their localities and looked for ways to infiltrate the front, our government, our army and our party in order to wait for an opportunity to oppose and undermine us from within these organizations...

The 1945 August Revolution swept away a large number of the corrupt Trotskyite elements. After they became enlightened, some persons who had chosen the wrong course, rejoined the ranks of the people and actively participated in the war of resistance. A few, even though they were granted clemency by our government, refused to submit to transformation and continued to conduct clandestine acts of sabotage. When the nationwide war of resistance broke out, a number of them openly served as lackeys of the French imperialists and opposed our party's resistance war line; a number of other infiltrated the

ranks of the resistance and conducted clever and sophisticated acts of sabotage...

In 1954, when the resistance war against the French won victory and peace was restored, a number of Trotskyites fled to the South to serve as lackeys of the U.S. imperialists; a number of others went into hiding in the North, waiting for a favorable opportunity to re-emerge and oppose the socialist revolution.

In 1957, when the revolt occurred in Hungary and, at home, our party discovered mistakes in land reform, some Trotskyite elements, together with the modern revisionists and the "humanist-masterpiece" group openly attacked the line and policies of our party but they met with total defeat.

After our entire country was liberated and began advancing to socialism, the Trotskyites in our country fled to France, where they have continued to serve as lackeys of imperialism and engage in activities against the fatherland and the people. At present, TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU, the organ of "the Vietnamese Trotskyite group (the 4th International) in France," as it proclaims itself to be, which is published in France, has printed many articles distorting our country's situation, distorting the line and policies of our party and state, opposing the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist communist and opposing the communist and worker parties of other countries. Wherever they are, the Trotskyites use "leftist" arguments and "revolution in word only" to deceive the masses, to oppose the revolution, to support the imperialists and reactionaries.

In keeping with the teaching of Nguyen Ai Quoc, our party "annihilated them politically" and smashed their organizations.

Through the long and complicated struggle against the Trotskyites, our party has learned the following experiences:

1. It is first of all necessary to clearly recognize the very reactionary nature of the Trotskyites, be determined to struggle to defeat them politically, ideologically and organizationally and avoid rightwing deviations involving them; "we must crush them wherever they emerge and not think that they do not have a foothold."(20)
2. The task of struggling against the Trotskyites must be thoroughly carried out in every aspect of party work: propaganda, agitation, training, mobilizing the masses and building the party.
3. In the course of the struggle, we must firmly adhere to the line and strategy of the party and must distinguish between the reactionary Trotskyites and the small number of persons who support them by mistake. "In essence, the Trotskyites are nothing more than the dregs of the movement who have joined together to oppose communism, oppose the revolution and divide and undermine the mass movement. However, because of the cruel oppression and exploitation by reactionary capitalists, because of their 'leftist revolutionary'

pronouncements and because they hide behind many different masks, the Trotskyites can dupe and deceive some petty bourgeois intellectuals and even some over-zealous workers."(21)

4. The press of the party and the front play a very important role in the struggle against the Trotskyites but it is not enough to rely solely upon the press; we must also work closely with the masses, show the masses the reactionary nature of the Trotskyites and win the support of the masses. "When dealing with such an extremely dangerous enemy, a few newspaper articles exposing them are not enough to give the masses a clear understanding of them. It is necessary to penetrate deep into the masses and pay attention to each work and action of the Trotskyites in order to expose their provocative schemes; in particular, attention must be given to establishing relations with the intellectuals and workers who have joined them by mistake."(22)

5. We must constantly heighten our revolutionary vigilance against the schemes and acts of sabotage of a number of Trotskyite elements conducting clandestine activities at home and conspiring with accomplices overseas... We should not underestimate Trotskyism. "This underestimation of Trotskyism has become a deeply ingrained attitude on the part of many of our comrades."(23)

Together with the communist and worker parties of the world, our party, firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of its historic experience, is vigilantly following the brazen distortions being voiced by the modern propagandists of Trotskyism and is determined to denounce them for the sake of the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In 1938, many books and journals of the Trotskyites were clandestinely circulated in Vietnam, such as the journal of the 4th International (written in French); "the Conference To Found the 4th International"; "the Communique of the Conference to the Laborers of the Entire World"; "A Great Victory: A Discussion of the World Conference"; Trotsky's "Theory of Permanent Revolution"; "Eulogy to the Militants Who Have Been Imprisoned and Met Their Death in the Class Struggle..."(these documents are on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
2. "Writings of Leon Trotsky (1930-1931)," Pathfinder Press, New York, 1974.
3. "Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-1939)," Pathfinder Press, New York, 1969, pp 32, 39, 134-135.
4. "Party Documents," published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Volume II, 1930-1945, p 288.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book 1, Part II, p 252-253.

6. Excerpt from an article entitled "Commemorating the 3rd Anniversary of the Founding of the Party" by Hong The Cong (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Excerpt from an article in TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1, June-1933, entitled "The Leftist Mask, Unmasking Trotskyism"(this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
10. Excerpt from an article entitled "A Short History of the Indochinese Communist Party" printed in TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 10, 15 January 1934 (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
11. Excerpt from the book "Trotsky and the Counter-Revolution" by Thanh Huong, published by Tien Phong Publishing House, 1937.
12. "Party Documents," published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Volume II, 1930-1935, p 265.
13. Excerpt from the resolution of the Conference of Delegates of the Bac Ky Party organization held in August, 1938 (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
14. See: DAN CHUNG Newspaper, No 56, 6 April 1939 (this document is on file at the archives of the Vietnam Revolutionary Museum).
15. See the cultural article "A Devil in the Marxist School," by Tan Trao, printed in CU GIAI PHONG Newspaper, No 10, 21 January 1945 (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
16. See: "The Thesis on Vietnamese Culture," "Party Documents," Volume 1, 1939-1945.
17. Excerpt from TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2, 24 September 1943 (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
18. Excerpt from an article entitled "We Must Immediately Eradicate the Trotskyites" by Tan Trao, printed in CU GIAI PHONG Newspaper, 23 October 1945 (this document is on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
19. Ibid.
20. "Party Documents," published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Volume II, 1930-1945, p 278.

21. Ibid., pp 411-412.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

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## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 53-59

[Article by Nguyen Thanh on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International]

[Text] The outbreak of World War I and the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution completely exposed the opportunism of the 2nd International and led to its complete bankruptcy. The 3rd International--the Communist International--founded and led by V.I. Lenin (1919) ushered in a new stage in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world.

The Communist International completely restored Uncle Ho's faith in 1920 and won the total support of the working class, the Indochinese Communist Party and the nations in Indochina.

The fact that the revolution of the nations in Indochina developed within the orb of the proletarian revolution and won one victory after another was largely due to the concern, counsel and guidance of the Communist International, especially during the early days, the days of preparing for the birth of the Indochinese Communist Party, to following the line of V.I. Lenin, of scientific communism and to maturing and gaining experience.

The Communist International guided the Indochinese revolution through the general observations and decisions it made concerning the political line and the organizing of the colonies in the struggle against imperialism as well as through specific observations and decisions concerning Indochina.

### Part I

On the basis of the viewpoints of V.I. Lenin concerning the right of nations to self-determination and the alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in all countries to form a common front against imperialism, the Communist International, in contrast to the 2nd International, made the struggle to liberate the colonial peoples a strategic issue. The proletariat in the capitalist countries and Soviet Russia had the responsibility of supporting the liberation of nations in their words and by means of practical,

concrete actions. All the resolutions of the international congresses, the plenums of the Executive Committee of the International and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International concerning matters of general strategy dealt with the national and colonial issues.

V.I. Lenin's "First Draft of the Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions" and his "Conditions for Acceptance into the Communist International"(the eighth point) were of extremely important significance to all revolutionaries of the oppressed nations.

At the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Marinh, the delegate from New Zealand, speaking during the debate held on 28 July 1920, proposed that the Communist International organize the Far Eastern Bureau and open a school of Marxism in Moscow for the militants in the colonies. This was a major initiative, one that was wholeheartedly welcomed by the delegates attending the congress. In 1921, the Eastern Communist Labor College was established under the Secretariat of the Communist International. During the 2 June 1922 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, it was decided to establish the Far Eastern Bureau and put Sapharov in charge of it.

During the 4 March 1922 session of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International it was decided that the French, Italian and British communist parties had to organize colonial committees to study the situation and propose specific policies for opposing the capitalists at home and supporting the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism. At the 4th Congress (2 November 1922), the Communist International adopted a resolution concerning the fact that the French Communist Party considered systematic activities within the colonies to be an especially important task; at the same time, it denounced the stand taken by the Sidi Ben Apbe group against the colonial peoples.

All the mass organizations that were organized and guided the Communist International, such as the Red Trade Union International, the Peasant International, the Communist Youth International, the Red Relief International and the Anti-Imperialist League adopted resolutions and programs of action for their organizations in the colonies.

All of the above mentioned resolutions, directives and programs of action of the Communist International and the international mass organizations helped the revolutionaries of Indochina find a general strategy and mode of activity to achieve national liberation; on this basis, they created and developed specific methods and measures for liberating their nations from the rule of imperialism, winning national independence and advancing to communism, during the period preceding World War II as well as during War World II itself.

The most obvious development was that through Lenin's "First Draft of the Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions," Uncle Ho found the path of revolution for the nations in Indochina and, on this basis, became the loyal and creative inheritor of V.I. Lenin's work in the world proletarian revolution, especially in the field of struggling to liberate the colonial peoples.



## Part II

The 1st Congress of the Communist International, which adopted the 6 March 1919 Declaration Concerning the Colonial Policy of Imperialism, was of major significance in a host of uprisings and led to revolution in a number of countries, including Vietnam.

The Communist International, which clearly saw the important position of Indochina in the struggle against imperialism in the Far East, raised the issue of spreading Marxism-Leninism within Indochina in order to prepare for the birth within the region of revolutionary mass organizations and a communist party. The French Consulate in Vladivostok (Russia) sent a message to the French Ministry of Colonies in Paris on 25 April 1920 reporting that a communist propaganda agency there planned to organize propaganda centers in Shanghai, Saigon, Singapore and so forth. On 8 September 1920, the Nam Ky Secret Service Bureau sent a classified message to the governor-general of Indochina and the Indochina Secret Service Department reporting that it was observing a number of Russians who had just arrived in Saigon, including one named Antonisopski. The Nam Ky Secret Service Bureau informed the localities that two Russian communists who had arrived in Saigon to conduct activities were expelled on 8 November 1920. On 1 December 1920, the French Ministry of Colonies sent a cablegram to the governor-general of Indochina reminding him to take every precaution against the Communist International spreading communism to Indochina.

The efforts of the Communist International presented above were very valuable to the Indochinese revolution in the late even though the Russians who arrived in French speaking Saigon encountered many difficulties and were greatly limited by the fact that they had to go through French revolutionaries to spread Marxism to our people. These activities occurred at the same time as Uncle Ho was developing from a patriotic militant into a communist militant. Only after he participated in the Communist International at the Congress of Tours (1920) and received the active assistance of the French Communist Party and, later, of the Communist International, did the influence of the Communist International take root in Indochina.

The Indochina issue was first presented in a meaningful and clear manner along with specific guidelines and measures for resolving the problem in the speech(1) by Uncle Ho in the debate on the colonial issue on 1 July 1924 at the 5th Congress of the Communist International. On 23 June and 3 July 1924, he participated in the general debate within the meeting hall concerning the colonial issue and the agrarian and peasant issue in the colonies, in general, and Indochina, in particular.

At the 6th Congress of the Communist International, Nguyen Van Tao, who was a member of the delegation from the French Communist Party, delivered a speech during the general discussion at the meeting hall on 17 August 1928 concerning the Indochinese revolution and suggested that the Communist International give its full attention to establishing the communist party in Indochina.

Under the direct guidance of the Far Eastern Bureau, Uncle Ho was sent to Canton (1924) to establish direct relations with the revolutionary movement

within our country, organize the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, train cadres and publish materials propagandizing Leninism. On the basis of the revolutionary organizations supporting the line of the Communist International that were born and operated among the mass of workers and laborers within our country, communist groups were formed in late 1929. Learning of this, the Communist International sent a letter to the communist groups in Indochina in late October, 1929, requesting that they merge as a single communist party of a mass nature in order to overcome the decentralization, factionalism and disputes that were harming the common revolutionary cause of the people of Indochina. The Executive Committee of the Communist International assigned an outstanding cadre who had the full trust of the Indochinese revolutionary movement, Uncle Ho, to personally guide the unification of the various communist organizations and establish a single communist party.

In April, 1930, after the Vietnam Communist Party was born, the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International sent a letter to the party concerning the launching of a communist youth movement and the organizing of the Communist Youth Union in Indochina; then, in August, 1930, the Red Trade Union International held a congress and adopted a resolution on the trade union issue in Indochina.

On 11 April 1931, during its 25th session, the 11th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International resolved: "The Indochinese Communist Party, which was previously a chapter of the French Communist Party, will from now on be recognized as an independent chapter under the Communist International." Also during that plenum, the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted a platform based on the reports by Manuinsky, Tenleman, Lensky and Semodanov analyzing the situation in the colonies, which included a rather detailed presentation on Indochina.

When Uncle Ho was arrested in Hong Kong by the British imperialists, who planned to turn him over to the French imperialists for the execution of a death sentence handed down by the Nam Trieu Court in 1929, the Communist International, through the Anti-Imperialist League, issued an appeal entitled "Let Us Save the Vietnamese Revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc" which requested that all anti-imperialist organizations in the world oppose the handing of Nguyen Ai Quoc over to the French imperialists and demanding that he be set free.

Following the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide, when the French imperialists submerged the mass of workers and peasants of Indochina in a sea of blood, the organizational system of the party and the mass organizations were shattered; on 27 February 1932, the Executive Committee of the Communist International instructed the French, Chinese and Indian communist parties to do everything possible to help to rapidly restore the Indochinese Communist Party and the Indochinese revolutionary movement. At the same time, it appealed to the Indochinese communists to struggle to weather the three storms caused by the imperialists and the reactionaries and persevere in building and strengthening the communist movement in Indochina. Under the guidance of the Communist International, the Indochinese communists studying in Moscow drafted the "Program of Action of the Indochinese Communist Party." This program, which

was approved by the Communist International in June, 1932, was sent to Indochina and printed in the newspapers and journals of the Communist International for the purpose of pointing out the immediate tasks of communists and the revolutionary masses and encouraging them to not be discouraged in the face of their temporary difficulties and setbacks and to learn lessons and gain experience in order to restore and develop the movement and advance the revolution to total victory.

In order to establish a central apparatus to directly guide the revolution within the region at a time when the Party Central Committee appointed in 1930 had been broken up by the enemy and prepare for the appointment of the new Party Central Committee, the Overseas Guidance Committee was established in June, 1934, which was headed by Le Hong Phong and recognized by the Communist International. As a result of the establishment of the Overseas Guidance Committee, the revolutionary movement at home was rapidly restored and was maintained and developed, the organizational system of the party was put back together from top to bottom and the first congress was convened in March, 1935.

In the face of the new changes in the international situation, the forces of fascism reassembled and prepared to unleash a new war. The Executive Committee of the Communist International decided to convene the 7th Congress to discuss matters of strategy and tactics with a view toward maintaining peace and opposing fascism and war on the basis of unifying the working class and the democratic forces of all countries. In order to prepare for the congress, the Executive Committee of the Communist International made various documents public, including reports on the activities of the Indochinese Communist Party during the period from the 6th Congress (1928) to the 7th Congress (1935), the situation surrounding the struggle from the stage in which we had no organization to the stage in which we established an organization, the developments of the struggle of the working class and peasants and the establishment of Soviets, a detailed analysis of the class base and objectives of the Constitutional Party, of the Vietnam Nationalist Party and an analysis of the class and social origins as well as the birth of the Indochinese Communist Party and the revolutionary movement led by it.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International was the first congress to which our party sent an official delegation. During the opening session on 25 July 1935, Le Hong Phong, who was then using the name Hai An, was elected one of the chairman of the congress. On 26 July 1935, V. Pich, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, delivered a report on the activities of the Executive Committee, a portion of which dealt with the struggles in Indochina and Chile and the war of resistance of the Chinese, which were mentioned as the most significant activities during the years of serious crisis within the world capitalist system. On 29 July 1935, speaking as the head of the Indochinese Communist Party delegation, Le Hong Phong delivered an address that was attentively followed and which expressed the joy of the entire congress over the growth of our party. On 20 August 1935, the congress adopted a resolution recognizing the Indochinese Communist Party and a number of other parties as components of the Communist International. The congress elected the new International Executive Committee and International Inspection Committee; Le Hong Phong won appointment as an official member of

the Executive Committee of the Communist International along with 45 other comrades.(2)

After the close of the congress, our party's delegation returned home and re-examined the resolution of the 1st Party Congress; seeing that certain points were not consistent with the resolution of the international congress, Le Hong Phong immediately convened a plenum of the Party Central Committee in Shanghai on 26 July 1936 to disseminate the resolution of the international congress and the political report by Comrade Dimitrov and propose a change in strategy and tactics and the establishment of a broad people's front against the colonial reactionaries, against fascism and war and for freedom, a decent living and peace. The Party Central Committee unanimously adopted the resolution proposed by Le Hong Phong; later this resolution was also approved by the Communist International.(3)

Under the light of the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International and under the precise guidance of Le Hong Phong, our party launched a widespread movement to struggle for democracy, which pushed back the colonial reactionaries and their lackeys, won a number of important victories, raised the political consciousness of the masses, strengthened and developed the party organization and the mass organizations and brought the movement to new stages of development, brought the movement closer to victory.

A meeting held to discuss the Vietnamese revolution in Moscow that was convened by the Communist International and presided over by General Secretary Dimitrov send light on the unity and the creativity embodied in the line adopted by the Indochinese Communist Party under the leadership of the Communist International of struggling for democracy and against fascism.

The Communist International performed a very large service in training the first corps of theoreticians of our party. The first such cadre of our party to be trained by the Communist International was Uncle Ho. The first cadre to attend the Eastern Communist Labor College was Nguyen The Ruc in 1925.(4) From 1925 until the school closed in 1932, more than 40 Vietnamese cadres studied there.(5)

The two journals published under the guidance of the International Executive Committee, QUOC TE CONG SAN and THU TIN QUOC TE, published the documents of the Communist International regarding Indochina and printed nearly 100 articles on the Indochinese Communist Party and the Indochinese revolution by such Indochinese communists as Nguyen Ai Quoc (who also used the pen name Wang), Le Hong Phong under the pen name Litvinov, Nguyen Van Tao under the pen name An and Newmarket and so forth as well as by such Soviet and French communists as Vasilieva, Sema, Peri, Berliose, Rugio, Duypon, etc.

The German version of TAP CHI THU TIN, No 30, 4 March 1924 and the French version, No 18, 19 March 1924 were the first to contain the article "Indochina and the Pacific" (signed by Nguyen Ai Quoc).

The articles on Indochina denounced the cruel exploitation, the harsh rule and the insane acts of terror of French imperialism in Indochina. Tran Phu, the general secretary of our party, bravely sacrificed his life. The editorial

board of TAP CHI QUOC TE CONG SAN wrote an article entitled "In Memory of Ly Quy"(that is, Tran Phu), which was printed in the German version of the journal, No 9, 10 May 1932 and the French version, No 10, 15 May and No 11, 1 June 1932. When Pham Hung (Pham Van Thien) and two other comrades were sentenced to death, the editorial board of TAP CHI THU TIN QUOC TE wrote an article entitled "The New Death Penalty and the Mass Arrests in Indochina," which denounced the French imperialists and demanded the release of those who had been arrested; this article was printed in the German version, No 99, 25 November 1932.(6) Journal articles propagandized the line of the Indochinese revolution of struggling against the imperialists and feudalists, presented lessons and experiences learned from victories and defeats, demanded amnesty for political prisoners, exposed the true nature of the Constitutional Party and the "LA LUTTE" Trotskyite group, etc.

Many Indochinese communists also wrote many articles on international issues: the struggle by the people of the colonies of the French imperialists in Africa; the invasion of China by the great powers; the uprisings of the blacks in the United States and the anti-capitalist countries of Africa and the racist policy of the white colonialists; British colonialism in China, India and the Sudan; and the working class, peasants, women and children of India.

When the Franco fascists were being helped by the German and Italian fascists to counter-attack the Spanish people's front, two Vietnamese militants stood shoulder to shoulder with their friends in the international army under the leadership of the Communist International and fought very bravely beside the Spanish people.

The activities described above prove that the Indochinese Communist Party and the communists in Indochina practiced proletarian internationalism, were imbued with the communist humanitarian spirit of the Communist International and concerned themselves with the interests of the nations of Indochina as well as with the destiny of the nations of the world oppressed and exploited by capitalism and imperialism.

Looking back from the perspective of our socialist country of today, which is constantly becoming stronger, on the history of the very brave, extremely arduous struggle filled with sacrifices against the imperialists and feudalists to win national independence, we are ever so grateful to the Communist International for the very large service that it performed for the revolution of the countries of Indochina and for the Indochinese Communist Party, the forerunner of the present day Vietnam Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the leaders and organizers of every victory of the revolution of the three countries on this peninsula.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Until now, we have called this Uncle Ho's "participation in the discussion." In the report of the congress on the speeches by Uncle Ho and the other delegates, entitled "Thao luan ve van de dan toc"(Discussions sur la question nationale), the words "participation in

the discussion" are not used, consequently, we have used the word "speech."

2. In the past, books of ours have incorrectly stated that Le Hong Phong was an alternate member of the Communist International. Le Hong Phong, who used the alias Hai An and the French pen name Cheyen, was an official member. See: "Report of the Congress" and TAP CHI QUOC TE CONG SAN, German version, Nos 17-18, 29 September 1935, p 1162. Also see: the roster of the Executive Committee of the Communist International elected at the 7th Congress in the "Memoirs" of J. Duyclot, French version, Volume 2, 1935-1939, Fayard Publishing House, Paris, 1969, p 451. The books which state that Le Hong Phong delivered an address on the fourth day of the congress are incorrect. The congress opened on 25 July and worked on 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 July. Le Hong Phong delivered his address on 29 July, that is, the fifth day of the congress.
3. According to DAN CHUNG Newspaper, the central organ of the Indochinese Communist Party, No 41, 3 January 1939.
4. Also attending the Eastern Communist Labor College along with Nguyen The Ruc was Nguyen The Vinh; however, Vinh degenerated and the enemy began using him as a lackey in July, 1931 (SLOTFOM III, 44).
5. According to an article entitled "From Patriotism to Marxism..." by D. Emory printed in LE MOUVEMENT SOCIAL JOURNAL, No 90, 1-3/1975, p 40, taken from documents of the French Ministries of Colonies, 47 Vietnamese went to study in the Soviet Union, 40 of whom went through France and 7 of whom went through China. Of this number, a few persons degenerated, surrendered to the enemy and began serving as their lackeys, such as Ngo Duc Tri, Nguyen The Vinh, Tran Quoc Mai, Nguyen Huu Can and so forth; the vast majority of these cadres remained loyal to the party.
6. We have yet to determine the editions and dates of the French and English versions of TAP CHI THU TIN QUOC TE in which the article "The Death Sentence..." was published.

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## BROADENING THE PRODUCTION-BUSINESS INDEPENDENCE AND THE FINANCIAL AUTONOMY OF STATE-OPERATED INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 60-65, 70

[Article by Van Tung]

[Text] After the South was liberated and the country was reunified, our entire country entered the period of transition to socialism and is now in the first stage of this period.

Following many years of war, our backward and imbalanced economy has been encountering very many difficulties as the work of building the country has moved forward. The requirements are very large but the economy is unable to promptly meet them. Meanwhile, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are doing everything possible to encircle and sabotage our country's economy. The state of our economy is one of instability and imbalance: grain, energy, raw materials, spare parts, transportation and foreign currency are in short supply, financial difficulties are being encountered, money-commodity relations are imbalanced and our reserves of materials and goods are not large.

Within the state-operated economy, especially within industrial production, the state is unable to provide a full supply of supplies and raw materials to enterprises; as a result, industrial output value has been steadily declining and the key industrial sectors, such as the electric power, coal, cement and other sectors, usually fail to complete their yearly production plans. On the other hand, because the quantity of imported supplies has declined and prices on the world market have soared, the actual quantity of supplies being imported is even smaller. Meanwhile, the wage policy has not been improved, the system for supplying goods under ration standards to manual workers and civil servants is not being maintained; the prices of goods are fluctuating, the purchasing power of the dong has been declining and manual workers and civil servants are encountering numerous difficulties in their daily lives. The majority of the enterprises that deliver goods at the old wholesale prices are incurring losses. The old planning and management mechanisms, which are based primarily on administrativism, bureaucracy and subsidization, have clearly hampered production but have been revised slowly; the conditions needed to implement the state-operated enterprise statutes based on the system

of financial autonomy no longer exists and the state-operated enterprises are very passive in their production and business; many enterprises have had to cease production or only utilize a very low percentage of their capacity. A number of places have tried to improve their situations by operating "outside the plan" in a haphazard manner reflecting a lack of unity.

In January, 1981, in order to correct this situation, the Council of Ministers issued decision number 25-CP concerning a number of policies and measures designed to develop the production and business independence and the financial autonomy of the state-operated enterprises.

Decision 25-CP has somewhat improved management and planning at the state-operated enterprises, partially corrected the style of management characterized by administrativism, bureaucracy and subsidization and corrected the practice on the part of enterprises of relying upon and waiting for the upper level as well as their lack of initiative and activism.

The basic spirit of this decision is to broaden, on the basis of maintaining centralized, unified management by the state, the production and business independence of enterprises in accordance with the principle of operating primarily on the basis of the plan while making correct use of commodity-money relations and market relations; creating the flexibility needed for enterprises to operate at a profit; putting an end to the practice of "producing outside the plan"; increasing the financial autonomy of the enterprise and encouraging enterprises to plan the use of sources of capital, equipment, supplies and labor with a view toward achieving the highest possible economic efficiency and correctly satisfying the three interests: the interest of the state, the enterprise collective and the individual worker.

Because the requirements raised by it are correct and consistent with the actual situation, decision 25-CP has yielded many positive results: it has tapped the initiative and creativity of the enterprises in the effort to develop the potentials that lie in labor, equipment and materials in order to produce additional products and maintain and stimulate industrial production under conditions in which the economy is still imbalanced in many areas, thereby helping to stabilize the living conditions of workers, stabilize the corps of workers and provide additional sources of revenue for the state budget. In some sectors and localities, as a result of correctly understanding the basic spirit of decision 25-CP and taking positive steps to implement this decision, strong changes have occurred in industrial production. In 1981, although the state provided a smaller quantity of materials than in 1980, many sectors and localities were able to maintain their production. Many enterprises, especially enterprises processing agricultural, forestry and marine products and local industrial enterprises, increased their production. The management qualifications of enterprise leadership cadres have been significantly raised.

However, due to shortcomings in guiding the implementation of this decision and due to loopholes in certain points within the decision, the decision's implementation has sometimes been marked by deviations and negative phenomena. Some enterprises have placed heavy emphasis upon the interests of the



collective and the individual worker while giving light attention to the interests of the state, have placed more emphasis upon the production of subsidiary products than the production of main products and have attached more importance to the plan that they themselves adopt than to the plan assigned by the state. There have even been some places that have taken some of the materials supplied by the state to produce their own products or produce subsidiary products; at some places, because the delivery of products to the state and the use of cash are not managed well, internal distribution has been excessive and characterized by very large expenditures. These phenomena have adversely affected production, distribution and circulation and created disproportionate differences in income among the enterprises, sectors and areas of the country.

On 25 August 1982, in order to better develop upon the positive impact of decision 25-CP and correct the deviations mentioned above, the Council of Ministers promulgated decision number 146 HDBT "revising and amending decision 25-CP." The revision and amendment of decision 25-CP have the following purposes:

1. To improve planning in a manner consistent with actual circumstances and fully tap the initiative and creativity of the enterprise in order to strongly stimulate production and concentrate the sources of goods in the hands of the state;
2. To reorganize the purchasing of supplies and raw materials and the marketing of products as well as the cost accounting and pricing activities of the enterprise in order to correct the practice of carrying out production and doing business on the basis of the unorganized market;
3. The distribution of profits must guarantee the sources of financial revenues of the state while providing satisfactory incentive to the enterprise and the individual worker and reducing the disproportionate differences in income among the enterprises and sectors.

Under the socialist system, every enterprise is a cell of the national economy; is a place that coordinates labor with instruments of production in order to produce products and carry out the reproduction process of society; and is the place that directly implements the right of economic collective ownership of the working masses. Every enterprise and every collective has its own economic interests. Therefore, economic interests have the purpose of meeting the material and cultural needs of the labor. Under socialism, there are no opposing interests as there are under capitalism but this does not mean that there are no difference in interests. Because of their material interests, persons join together in given production relations. K. Marx said: "The economic relations of a given society are expressed first in interests."(1)

Because of management based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and because of restrictive, inflexible planning imposed from above through far too many legal norms, the enterprises and basic units, restricted and lacking responsibility in management, are unable to display activism, initiative and

creativity in production and business and fall into the habit of waiting for and relying upon the upper level.

Moreover, the national economy has vertical relations, that is, relations by sector and by administrative unit from top to bottom; at the same time, it also has vertical relations, that is, relations among basic units, and it is these relations that form the base for creating supplemental balances and creating the economic-technical vitality of enterprises. Although these are very important relations, we have given little attention to them for many years. Successfully coordinating vertical relations with the horizontal relations of enterprises is a management art. In this field, our state is researching ways to gradually improve the enterprise management mechanism and is taking action while gaining experience in preparation for improving and bringing up to date the entire enterprise management mechanism and carrying out the reform of economic management in the years ahead.

On the basis of the reasons presented above, our party and state advocate broadening the production and business independence and the financial autonomy of the enterprise on the basis of making the state plan the center of enterprise operations and correctly coordinating the three interests: the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. This is a very correct policy concerning enterprise management.

However, our party advocates developing the initiative and creativity of the locality and installation and broadening the financial autonomy of the enterprise within the framework of the centralized, unified state management system. The implementation of a method for formulating plans that involves certain flexibility with regard to the degree of legal responsibility does not mean the weakening of state planning; to the contrary, it strengthens state planning, that is, strengthens the centralized, unified system of the state because the policy to broaden the production and business independence and the financial autonomy of the enterprise must be based on making the state plan the center of enterprise operations, and the plan of the enterprise is approved by the upper level.

We know that the system of centralism and the autonomy of the enterprise are two aspects of one unified system in the organization of the socialist economy. In some respects, these two aspects are contradictory: the system of centralism demands that all elements of the economy be subordinate to a unified center while autonomy demands certain independence on the part of the enterprise. On the other hand, however, the system of centralism (not bureaucratic centralism) and enterprise autonomy are one and the same thing because each is the premise for the existence and development of the other. The autonomy of the enterprise occurs within the framework of the centralized, unified system of the state plan and cannot be opposed to or divorced from the centralized, unified system of the state plan. However, the tasks of the state plan that are established on the basis of the system of centralism cannot be completed if the enterprise does not have autonomy or if it is not fully concerned with completing the tasks assigned under the state plan. In practice, coordinating the principle of centralism with autonomy on the part of the enterprise is very complicated. Leaning more in one direction than the

other will harm the activities of the entire system of socialist economic management.

Therefore, on the one hand, we must oppose management characterized by bureaucratic centralism because it not only infringes upon the business autonomy of the enterprise and restricts the initiative of enterprises, but also leads to difficulties that cannot be overcome in implementing the centralized management method of the state plan. On the other hand, we must harshly criticize actions which are contrary to the principle of centralized management of the national economy, place excessive emphasis upon the business autonomy and independence of the enterprise, place the interests of the enterprise and the interests of the individual worker above the interests of the state, place the operations of the enterprise outside the plan and control of the state, place emphasis upon the market mechanism and do business in a manner not based on principle, in a manner contrary to socialist business viewpoints.

Our party advocates correctly coordinating the three types of interests: the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer; because, under socialism, there are no hostile interests and the interests in society, although antagonistic in some respects, are virtually identical. As a result, the possibility of harmoniously coordinating the interests of society and the interests of each and every laborer within society emerges.

Under socialism, the labor of man is organized in a planned manner; therefore, the state can determine, in a planned manner, the needs of society and can organize social production on the basis of plans. However, to develop production, we must provide strong incentive to the worker; this demands that a definite system of material incentives be established. Profit is not the basic objective of socialist production but it is an important motivation; under socialism, profit reflects the harmonious coordination of the interests of all society with the interests of each enterprise and each worker. This is clearly seen in our state's policy on coordinating the three interests within state-operated enterprises and seen in the improvement of enterprise management, the improvement of planning, the regulations on enterprise profits, on the establishment of bonus and welfare funds and so forth with a view toward encouraging every worker to concern himself with social production.

The mistakes recently made in the implementation of decision 25-CP are manifestations of foresaking the management viewpoint of democratic centralism as regards socialist enterprises, foresaking the viewpoint of our party and state on coordinating "the three economic interests" within the state-operated enterprises.

Therefore, the revisions and amendments to decision 25-CP are designed to rectify and correct deviations, properly implement the centralism and unity of the state plan, appropriately broaden the production-business independence and the financial autonomy of the enterprise and harmoniously coordinate the three interests within the state-operated enterprises in accordance with the principle of insuring that these three interests are the same.

In keeping with the spirit of the revisions and amendments to decision 25-CP, it is first of all necessary for us to redefine the production-business guidelines and tasks of the state-operated industrial enterprises, reorganize production, classify enterprises and correctly establish the production plan tasks and norms of the basic units in a manner consistent with present conditions. As regards those enterprises that occupy an important position within the national economy, the state must give priority to providing them with a full supply of equipment and primary materials and raw materials so that they can maintain stable production. As regards those enterprises that are not receiving a full supply of primary materials from the state, they have the right to look for additional supplies and raw materials from other sources, including borrowing foreign currency from the State Bank to import raw materials and spare parts for use in production. The state must permit those enterprises that are no longer able to continue their operations or unable to operate in an efficient manner to reorient or temporarily suspend their production.

The tasks of enterprise planning are to reflect the unified nature of the plan, encourage the enterprise to concentrate its capacity on the production of primary products and, at the same time, use its surplus equipment and labor and develop new sources of supplies and substitute materials in order to formulate a supplementary plan and make full use of discarded materials and defective products in the production of subsidiary products.

Thus, the plan of the enterprise can include the plan assigned by the state balanced with the supply of primary materials and the plan under which the enterprise looks for other materials in order to produce additional products. In the case in which the state provides a full supply of primary materials, the enterprise must formulate and implement its plan in exact accordance with current regulations. In the case in which the state does not provide a full supply of primary materials, the enterprise may, in addition to the norms assigned under the state plan, formulate a supplementary plan based on procuring additional materials on its own in order to produce primary products or products ordered by its customers or provide additional jobs of an industrial nature. If the additional primary materials it purchases are domestic materials, the enterprise must fully comply with the material management and price management regulations of the state; the enterprise is forbidden to purchase materials on the free market that are distributed exclusively by the state.

Subsidiary production is that portion of the enterprise's production that it organizes on the basis of making full use of the discarded materials and rejected products in its production of primary products and subsidiary raw materials and supplies purchased by the enterprise itself. The products produced in subsidiary production operations are not included among the primary products of the enterprise. The enterprise may not organize the production of subsidiary products by withholding discarded materials and rejected products that the state plans to distribute to other production installations. In order to organize subsidiary production, the enterprise must register its product, production costs and the selling price of its products with the management agency on the level directly above it.

As regards product marketing, all of the products produced by the enterprise must be sold to state-operated commerce agencies and economic units of the state in accordance with the product distribution plan approved by the agency that assigned the production plan to the enterprise. Consumer goods that are subsidiary products but are not accepted for marketing by state-operated commerce organizations, the enterprise may market them on its own at the registered and approved price but must pay tax to the state. The enterprise may not keep these products to distribute them internally at prices equal to production costs; the enterprise may only buy back a number of subsidiary products at industrial wholesale prices to sell as bonuses to its cadres, manual workers and office workers.

In addition to the revisions and amendments concerning planning and product marketing, specific revisions and amendments to this decision have also been made concerning production cost accounting, prices and profit distribution. In keeping with the spirit of the decision, the accounting of production costs and prices must insure that production costs are met and a profit is earned. In the establishment and use of funds derived from enterprise profits, a distinction must be made in terms of the percentage and the amount of profits used to establish these funds between enterprises in the heavy industrial sectors, the mining industry, the marine products harvesting industry, the construction industry and so forth and the light industrial sectors and processing industry; between that portion of the plan for which the state provides the primary materials and the supplementary and subsidiary production plan of the enterprise; and between enterprises that carry out production using materials supplied by domestic agencies and installations and enterprises that formulate their production plans on the basis of foreign currency loans with which to import materials. The changes in the percentage and the amount of profits that may be taken to establish these funds have the following purposes: insuring the sources of revenue of the state; providing appropriate incentive to enterprises and workers; reducing the disproportionate difference in income among enterprises and sectors; and, most importantly, correcting the problem of increases in income occurring not as a result of efforts by the enterprise, such as efforts resulting in increased output, higher productivity and lower production costs, not only on the basis of price differences and other illegitimate means.

The above mentioned revisions and amendments to decision 25-CP represent an improvement of economic management and bring enterprise management up to date in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

The revisions and amendments to decision 25-CP are designed to implement the policy on further improving the planning and management mechanism of state-operated enterprises. In order to implement this policy well, urgent steps must be taken to reorganize production, classify enterprises and reorganize a number of basic jobs in management, beginning with the establishment of quotas, cost accounting, statistical reporting and bookkeeping as well as increasing the management responsibility of the upper level and the combined agencies. We must accelerate the improvement of general management policies and regulations that are directly related to the production and business operations of enterprises, such as adjusting prices, reorganizing the

management of the price system and researching and preparing to carry out the reform of the basic wage system.

As the cells of socialist economy, the state-operated enterprises have the tasks of fully complying with the amendments based on Council of Ministers decision 146 HDBT, organizing their production and business in an economically efficient manner, insuring the good implementation of the state plan, producing additional products for society, raising the income of workers, correctly coordinating the interests of the state with the interests of the enterprise and the interests of the individual worker, creating strong motivation for production workers, making technological improvements and raising social labor productivity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, Political Documents Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Volume 18, p 271.

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THEY ARE BRAZENLY DISTORTING THE HISTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 83 pp 66-70

[Article by Van Tan]

[Text] The Vietnamese people have a 4,000 year history. This is not something that we imagine nor is it conjecture, rather, it is a fact, a fact confirmed by science--by books and especially by archeology. Through archeology, we have proven that the first dynasty to build our country was the dynasty of the Hung Kings, at which time the country was called Van Lang. Vestiges of that ancient age have been found in remains at Phung Nguyen in Vinh Phu, An Dao in Vinh Phu, Van Dien in Hanoi, Go Mun and Phu Hau in Vinh Phu, Viet Khe in Haiphong and many other places. By means of C14 carbon dating, Vietnamese archeologists have determined the relative and the absolute ages of the relics at the sites mentioned above. All of these are cultural vestiges of the age of Van Lang, a country which achieved a high level of development and lasted for 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. Deserving of attention is that this culture extended over an area that roughly coincided with the territory of the country of Van Lang described in books.

The masters of this culture were the people of Van Lang, a portion of which China's books on ancient history still call Lac Dan. This is totally consistent with the statements in ancient books of Vietnam and China.

The tale of Hong Bang in Tran The Phap's (Vietnam) "Linh nam chich quai" which was written at the start of the 14th Century, records: "Au Co and her 50 sons at Phong Chau deliberated amongst themselves and elevated the senior Hung to king, calling him King Hung and calling the country Van Lang...then, they established the position of prime minister, calling him Lac Hau, and the position of general, calling him Lac Tuong; the sons of the king were called Quan Lang and the daughters of the king were called My Nuong..."

In addition to "Nhi thap tu su," the ancient books of China, such as "Thuy kinh chu," "Giao chau ngoai vuc ky," "Thai binh quang ky," and so forth mentioned Lac Vuong, Lac Hau, Lac Tuong, Lac Dan, Lac Dien and so forth. Nhac Su's book "Thai binh hoan vu ky" quotes Tham Hoai Vien's book "Nam Viet chi"(the 5th Century) concerning the Hung Kings as follows: "The people were called the Hung, the king was called King Hung, his assistant was called

Minister Hung and the person to whom land was distributed was called General Hung." Thus, before Vietnam's Tran The Phap, Tham Hoai Vien of China wrote in the 9th Century about the age of the Hung Kings. After Tham Hoai Vien, countless Chinese books dealt with this age. This indicates that the information from within Vietnam, from folk legends and tales to books and archeological studies, as well as the information obtained from ancient books of China are consistent and reflect an historic fact: there was an ancient age in the history of Vietnam, the age of the country of Van Lang and the Hung Kings.

Of course, history books state that there were 18 Hung Kings and that their dynasty lasted for 2,000 years, which is something that must be further verified by modern scientific research; however, the existence of the country of Van Lang and the Hung Kings is entirely based in historic and scientific fact and cannot be refuted. We acknowledge that among the vestiges of the Dong Son culture there are, besides miscellaneous vestiges representing the culture of Van Lang, some vestiges of things brought in from the outside. This is not the least bit surprising. It happened at the end of the age of the Hung Kings as a result of the invasion by Lo Bac Duc (western Chinese) in 111; ancient Vietnam was ruled for a long time by the western Chinese and then the eastern Chinese. During that time, cultural and economic exchanges between the people of Van Lang or Au Lac and the Chinese developed. Therefore, the cultural vestiges from the end of the Van Lang period as well as vestiges of the Dong Son culture include bronze coins and a number of other items of China. Other cultural vestiges of the Van Lang age which are from the stage that preceded Chinese domination, such as the vestiges at Go Mun, Phu Hau and other places, include nothing from China.

Moreover, the presence of foreign cultural objects among the vestiges of the Dong Son culture does not diminish the special features of this culture. To the contrary, they further illustrate the uniqueness of the Dong Son culture, as seen in the carved images of weapons, axes, swords and so forth on the bronze drums and other items. Moreover, among the vestiges of the Dong Son culture, we not only find carvings of weapons, but also weapons themselves. Within the Xuan La boat-shaped tomb (Ha Son Binh) are war axes, spear tips, axe handles and spear shafts. These vestiges have never been found among the archeological ruins of China during the Han and Tan periods.

Despite these undeniable facts, some Chinese historians, whose mentality is predominantly one of national prejudice and expansionist and hegemonist chauvinism, have intentionally distorted the truth and concocted the story that there was no country of Van Lang in our history, that Vietnam was only established in the year 207 B.C. when an "official" of the House of Tan founded the country Nam Viet.(1) They also recklessly state in a report on an excavation of vestiges of the Dong Son culture that bronze coins of the Han period of China were found; therefore, the masters of that culture (the Dong Son culture) were the Chinese, not the citizens of Van Lang! What is the purpose of their groundless arguments? By their reasoning, once it can be established that there was no country of Van Lang, the masters of the so called country of Van Lang that is "imagined" by the Vietnamese were, then, the Chinese and ancient Vietnam was a country founded by the Chinese; it therefore follows that the present day Socialist Republic of Vietnam must



belong to China! This is how insanely some persons within Chinese historical circles support Chinese expansionism and hegemony.

Here, we must also respond to the author of an article printed in HONG KY Journal who stated that no one within Vietnamese historical circles is stupid enough to maintain that the army of the country Thuong An founded by King Thang in 1733 B.C. in China was the army of the enemy An in Vietnam's legend of Thanh Giong. In fact, "the young country of Van Lang during the time of the Hung Kings had to fight many 'enemies' that are still remembered by the people in legends, such as the Man, the An, the Xich Ty, the Thach Binh..." (Phan Huy Le: "These were some of the decisive strategic battles in the history of the nation").

In the history of Sino-Viet relations, the majority of the Chinese feudal dynasties, on the basis of their "Royal Dynasty" philosophy, took unto themselves the right to punish the "barbarian" countries around them and continuously sent forces to invade Vietnam. This is an historic fact that no one can refute.

In 938, Ngo Quyen drove off the Nam Han Army and won back the country's independence following more than 1,000 years of rule by Chinese feudalists. However, only 43 years later, the House of Tong unleashed another war of aggression against our country. According to their plan, the great army of the House of Tong, which was commanded by Hau Nhan Bao, was to depart from its base in Ung Chau (Nam Ninh) and attack our country through Lang Song. The naval forces left Canton and crossed the sea to attack us. They planned to directly attack Hoa Lu City, which was the capital of our country at that time. However, the ground forces of the enemy advanced no farther than Chi Lang in Lang Son, where they were defeated, their commander was killed and they were forced to withdraw in disgrace.

In 1072, King Ly Thanh Ton died. Shortly thereafter, Queen Mother Thuong Duong was imprisoned. King Ly Nhan Tong rose to the throne at only 7 years of age. Tong Than Ton and Vuong An Thach considered this to be an indication of divisions and weaknesses within the House of Ly and saw it as an opportunity to attack and occupy Vietnam. The Minister of Justice, Tham Khoi, said to Tong Than Ton: "The people of Giao Chi are nothing more than barbarians, there is no reason why that country cannot be taken." When Khoi was sent down to administer Que Chau, frantic preparations were made to attack Vietnam. Later, when Luu Di replaced Tham Khoi, preparations were again made. They once again planned to commit aggression against Vietnam.

Aware of the enemy's plan, Ly Thuong Kiet acted first. He said: "Sitting and waiting for the enemy is not as good as sending out troops first to block the enemy." In October, 1075, Ly Thuong Kiet sent 100,000 troops across the border to attack the staging bases of the enemy within enemy territory. He occupied the bases of Kham Chau, Liem Chau and Ung Chau and then withdrew on his own initiative, taking not one bit of Tong soil. The action taken by Ly Thuong Kiet was an act of self-defense, one that destroyed the bases of aggression of the Tong within their own land. It was nothing more.

As expected, in late 1076, the House of Tong ordered Quach Quy and Trieu Tiet

to send troops to invade our country. They massed troops along a 30 kilometer battle line along the northern bank of the Cau River from the Nhu Nguyet ferry landing to Nham Bien Mountain. They twice sent troops across the river, intending to attack Thang Long, but were stopped and forced to withdraw to the northern bank by Ly Thuong Kiet. Later, our army charged forth in the midst of victory, crossed over to the northern bank and drove off the enemy, killing 60 percent of the Tong forces. The Tong army found itself in a difficult position. Immediately after the first crossing of the river met with defeat, Quach Quy ordered that "anyone who talks about fighting will be beheaded." Now that they faced the danger of being totally annihilated, the enemy had no other choice but to withdraw. However, withdrawal would cause embarrassment to the "Royal Dynasty"! Ly Thuong Kiet realized this and took the initiative in proposing a cease fire and opening a route for the forces of the enemy to return to their country, thereby bringing the war to a quick conclusion under the best possible conditions for our nation. Quach Quy quickly accepted the "olive branch" and withdrew his troops amidst chaos. Our army advanced and took back all the places from which the army of Quach Quy withdrew. The House of Tong planned to permanently occupy the land of Quang Nguyen (Cao Bang). However, in the face of the struggle waged by our army and people, they were forced to give Quang Nguyen back to us.

The defeat suffered on the Nhu Nguyet River in 1077 and the fact that the Tong were forced to return Quang Nguyen were a tragic defeat for the Tong aggressors. Their will to commit aggression had been crushed. As a result, during the next 200 years, the House of Tong did not send its army to "punish" us again.

Concerning this victory, Vietnam's "Dai viet su ky toan thu"(Book 3) stated: "In winter, in December (the year of Dinh Ty, that is 1077), Trieu Tiet of the House of Tong sent his army to invade us, failed and withdrew." This sentence, although short, is very significant. Even Chinese books such as "Nhi Trinh di thu" by Trinh Di and Trinh Hien and "Tuc tu tri thong giam truong bien" by Ly Dao state that the Tong army suffered a heavy defeat on the Nhu Nguyet and was forced to withdraw.

The return of Quang Nguyen to us by the House of Tong also occurred within the framework of the major defeat that followed the battle of Nhu Nguyet. Concerning this, the Chinese book entitled "Dong hien but luc," whose author, Nguy Thai, witnessed the war of aggression of the Tong and the counter attack by Ly Thuong Kiet, clearly stated that "The Tong army could not hold onto Quang Nguyen and had to abandon it." In addition to Nguy Thai, the people of China during that time also criticized the Tong for losing Quang Nguyen in the following two lines of poetry: "Greedy for the Giao Chi elephant, we lost the gold in Quang Nguyen."

These facts are true. However, Doi and Hua turn things upside-down and brazenly distort history. As regards the relationship between the House of Tong and the House of Ly in the various wars of aggression conducted by the Tong, they take the stand of defending the acts of aggression of the Chinese feudal dynasties. They say that "Because Ly Thuong Kiet invaded China," the Tong sent their army into Vietnam to "counter-attack in self-defense." They also brag that the "counter-attack in self-defense" by the Tong won victory on

the Nhu Nguyet River and that "the army of Vietnam suffered a heavy defeat" and had to "offer a tribute and surrender...as a result of which Quach Quy withdrew his troops." This is a deliberate distortion. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are vainly trying to use Ly Thuong Kiet's attack against the land of the Tong to destroy the staging bases of the House of Tong as a reason to absolve the Chinese feudalists of more than 2,000 years ago, from the House of Tan (Do Thu) before the birth of Christ to the House of Thanh in the 18th Century, of their crimes of aggression against Vietnam. They are also vainly trying to use this to provoke great Chinese chauvinism with a view toward defending their war of aggression against our country in February, 1979, and their present multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country.

Today, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles still shamelessly say that the war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979, was a "counter-attack in self-defense," that this war was one of the 10 "most brilliant achievements" recorded since the 3rd Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party (December, 1978)! The "Royal Dynasty" thinking and the expansionism and hegemony of the Chinese feudalists are truly resilient.

Even more maliciously, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles have done everything possible to exacerbate the hostility between Vietnam and China and insidiously undermine the once warm friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Within the framework of the multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country, they are using history, literature and art (novels, movies and so forth) to sully the beautiful image of the nation of Vietnam, describing us as "aggressors" and persons who "suppress human rights."

What scheme is behind the absurd denial by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists of the existence of Van Lang and their denial of the history of committing aggression against Vietnam of the Chinese feudal dynasties? Clearly, they want to take from us our most precious heritage, the solidarity and unity of the people of the various nationalities within the territory of Vietnam in ancient years and today as well as the sense of vigilance and the indomitable will of our people to protect their independence and freedom in the face of every cruel enemy.

The above mentioned article in HONG KY Journal also contains other distortions and lies, which are not even worthy of being mentioned or refuted here. The glorious history of the nation of Vietnam is a fact known and recognized by the entire world. It will forever be the source of pride and the source of tremendous strength of our people. The more they oppose Vietnam, the more the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles will reveal their nature as a feudal "Royal Dynasty," as expansionists and hegemonists. The Vietnamese greatly value their friendship with the people of China. It is our desire to maintain this friendship. However, we cannot relax our vigilance in the face of the malicious schemes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See the article entitled "Spurious History Supporting Regional Hegemony" by Doi Kha Lai and Hua Vinh Khuong, HONG KY Journal, Beijing, No 7,

April, 1982. We have written this article to refute the fabrications of  
Doi and Hua.

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