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**VIETNAM**

**TAP CHI CONG SAN**

**No. 6, June 1963**



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

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**LET US BUILD HANOI INTO A CITY WORTHY OF ITS NAME: THE HEROIC CAPITAL OF OUR COUNTRY**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 1-8

[Editorial] In view of its important position, the capital Hanoi must be built into a city that symbolizes the socialist system in our country, that is the base of the revolutionary undertaking of the entire country.

As the political nerve center, Hanoi must firmly maintain political security and social order and safety in every situation, implement the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages" well and have an intense revolutionary movement of the masses. The Hanoi party organization must be solid and strong; the cadres and workers of Hanoi must be the embodiment of the class consciousness, the spirit of unity, the tenacious will to fight, the creativity and the sense of organization and discipline of the Vietnamese working class.

As a major economic center and an international trade center of the entire country, Hanoi must be prosperous and strong, must meet the needs of production and everyday life within the city and must contribute more and more to the overall development of the national economy through an efficient industrial-agricultural structure that includes trade sectors and products that play an important role in the economy of the entire country and in export activities. Hanoi must be the symbol of a way of working that is highly productive, highly efficient and reflects high quality, a way of working that puts many dependable products on the domestic market and a number of foreign markets.

As the largest cultural and scientific-technical center, Hanoi must be the place from which the light of politics, culture and ideology spreads to the entire country and must have a good influence upon the world. The resident of Hanoi must symbolize the new, socialist man who possesses the sense of collective ownership, is able to exercise collective ownership and possesses a civilized, wholesome and refined lifestyle. Hanoi must be the pinnacle of the country in terms of researching and applying science and technology, competently supporting economic development, improving the standard of living and strengthening the national defense security systems.

Endeavoring to truly make Hanoi a symbol of the socialist system in our country is an arduous and glorious undertaking. In this effort, we have very basic advantages in our favor. Having experienced nearly 30 years of socialist transformation and socialist construction, Hanoi has today become a production city in which the socialist production relations occupy the dominant position within the various sectors of the economy, production forces have been strengthened and there are many industrial sectors and many important facilities conducting scientific-technological research and training cadres. The outskirts of the city have been expanded. The majority of the people of Hanoi are urban cadres, manual workers and civil servants who meet political standards, are educated and possess a glorious revolutionary tradition. Here, there are many skilled manual workers and handicraftsmen and a large corps of socialist intellectuals rich in creativity. The Hanoi party organization is one of the largest in the country. There is a special relationship between the central level and local level within the city, one that permits the mobilization of a combined strength with which to build the capital.

On the other hand, however, many major difficulties are also being encountered in the work of building the capital. Material and technical bases have developed slowly, are decentralized and unbalanced; in particular, the infrastructure and public projects are very small in number, in short supply and backward. Much time is needed to correct this situation. The majority of industrial production (including small industry and the handicraft trades) is dependent upon imported raw materials. A very important portion of the essential goods supplied by the state to practically all urban residents of Hanoi is provided through foreign aid. Meanwhile, the ability of the provinces of the Red River Delta and the outskirts of Hanoi to supply grain, agricultural products and raw materials is still limited. As a result, fluctuations in exports and imports have a major impact upon the production and life of Hanoi.

Hanoi has many wage earners and is a city in which there are many cadres, workers and civil servants in the administrative and professional fields (on both the central and the local levels). These are the persons who are encountering the most difficulties in their daily lives.

For many years, the state management and economic management apparatus have been built and have operated on the basis of a mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization, one that is largely centered in Hanoi.

These factors have created a large degree of inertia within economic activities and had a negative impact in many areas of the economic and social life of the capital.

Hanoi is a focal point of the enemy's multi-faceted acts of sabotage, especially the spy war and the psychological war that they are waging in conjunction with committing acts of economic and cultural sabotage.

Over the past 2 years, amidst very difficult circumstances involving the economy and the standard of living, the party organization and people of Hanoi have made many efforts to implement the lines, positions and policies of the

party and state and have recorded a number of achievements and advances. Hanoi has stopped the decline in industrial production; gradually developed agriculture in the outskirts of the city into a food products belt; begun to bring about positive changes in export activities; made efforts to meet some of the pressing needs of everyday life by, for example, supplying grain and food products, providing jobs, building housing, providing additional sources of water and so forth; maintained political security and strengthened the armed forces.

The above mentioned achievements were recorded primarily because the mass of cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants in Hanoi have firmly maintained their political qualities, steadfastly struggled to overcome their difficulties, taken positive steps to implement and protect the lines and policies of the party and state and struggled against negative phenomena. At the same time, the various party committee echelons and levels of government in Hanoi have begun to bring about changes in their work of strengthening the basic level, in the workstyle of delving into reality and in improving economic management.

However, the overall situation of the municipality of Hanoi has changed slowly and there are still weaknesses and deficiencies in many areas. Industrial production is not stable; only a low percentage of machine capacity is being utilized; and productivity, quality and efficiency are low. Agricultural production has stood still for a long period of time, the level of intensive cultivation is low and the advantages resulting from the expansion of the suburbs have not been developed upon. The economic and scientific-technical potentials that exist within the new boundaries of the city have not been developed and are being utilized at a low level. The position of socialism has not been strengthened, and has even been set back in a number of fields, especially on the distribution-circulation front. Manual workers and civil servants still encounter very many difficulties in their daily lives; the quality of cultural, educational and public health activities is, generally speaking, low; sanitation within the city is poor; and bad customs, superstitions and social ills have been spreading. In many areas of life, the maintenance of order and security is not good.

The situation described above is due partially to objective difficulties but is primarily the result of shortcomings on our part.

Many agencies of the Party Central Committee and government do not have a clear or consistent point of view concerning the building of the capital and have not truly given priority to Hanoi in the investment of money in capital construction or in the distribution of equipment and material. Many ministries and sectors on the central level have not done a good job of building and managing their sectors within the scope of Hanoi; the links between the central economy and the local economy are still weak. Positive steps have not been taken to rectify the management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization and we have been slow to assign management responsibilities to the city. The management apparatus of the sectors on the central level have been improved slowly and the corps of cadres, manual workers and civil servants under the management of the central level is still characterized by many negative phenomena.



As for the city, the leadership being provided by the Municipal Party Committee is lacking in dynamism and sensitivity; the revolutionary-offensive will, the spirit of initiative and creativity and the spirit of self-reliance within the party organization of the city are, generally speaking, still weak; and the thinking of relying upon others, conservatism and stagnation have been corrected slowly. In many areas, the mass movement within Hanoi is still weak. Deserving of attention is the fact that the city's party organization does not have a clear understanding that the struggle between the two ways of life in our country continues to be a very arduous and complex struggle and does not see the impact of the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, consequently, it has relaxed the dictatorship of the proletariat in many areas and the management of the economy and society, especially in the field of market management, in political, ideological and cultural work and in the maintenance of order and security. Party building has yet to develop the fighting strength and leadership ability of a major party organization consisting of many highly qualified cadres. Cadre work does not meet requirements. The subward level has been built and strengthened slowly. The guidance apparatus of the municipal, ward and district levels are unable to fulfill their tasks.

Building the capital Hanoi so that it is worthy of its important position is an objective requirement of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and is, at the same time, the responsibility and the fervent aspiration of the people of the entire country.

Of course, in the building of the capital, the Party Central Committee and the government as well as the party organization, government and people of Hanoi have an important responsibility; however, the other localities of the country must also help to build the capital by strengthening their relations of economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation with the capital.

To begin with, it is necessary to research plans for building the capital in every respect in the 1980's, with attention also given to the development of the capital in subsequent years, in accordance with the following thinking: simultaneously accelerating the three revolutions; closely combining restoration and new construction; implementing the guideline "the central level and the local level, the state and the people working together to build the capital"; taking positive steps to improve and raise the level of socio-economic management, putting the management of the city on a regular basis and so forth so that the capital Hanoi truly symbolizes the socialist system and is the base of the revolutionary undertaking of the entire country.

In the plans for building the capital, we must establish clear guidelines and stages of development for creating an industrial-agricultural economic structure within the scope of the city in a manner closely linked to planning the development of the economy and the distribution of production forces throughout the country.

Generally speaking, priority must be given to locating within Hanoi sectors, trades and industrial production installations that have high technical requirements, require skilled labor, do not pollute the environment and have reasonable transportation requirements (for example, the machine industry,

especially the precision machine industry, metal products, electronics, art products, etc.

Efforts must also be focused on exported handicraft products that are produced using imported raw materials in order to provide jobs for Hanoi. Besides the sectors mentioned above, Hanoi also has sectors and trades that primarily support the production and life of the city itself, such as agricultural production, the production of common building materials, the processing of grain, the production of some food products and consumer goods...

Very much importance must be attached to efficiently deploying industrial installations within the city with a view toward meeting the need to balance industrial development with the construction of the infrastructure (especially the electric power, water and communications networks), housing and the other public projects serving the material and cultural lives of the population.

Agriculture in the outskirts of the city has the potential to not only meet the food product needs, but also the majority of the grain needs of the entire city. Plans and measures must be adopted for meeting this requirement within a few years by increasing the production of grain and food products in the outskirts of the city while creating supplemental sources of grain and food in the adjacent districts and at a number of state farms, by means of increased investments by the central level and the development of relations of cooperation and mutual help by Hanoi. Together with grain and food production, importance must be attached to industrial crops and export crops, to promoting the movement to plant trees "in memory of Uncle Ho," to strongly develop the production of livestock, poultry, fish and so forth.

With its potentials and the assistance of the central level, Hanoi must quickly achieve a high level of intensive cultivation within agriculture and eventually lead those places that have similar land and climatic conditions in crop and livestock yields.

In conjunction with developing production and strengthening the agricultural cooperatives, we must establish villages that are models of the socialist countryside by tapping the strength of cooperatives and the people and having the state provide guidance in the form of planning and blueprints and contributing to the investments in some public projects.

During the years from 1983 to 1985, the Hanoi party organization will focus its efforts on achieving the four economic and social goals set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party through requirements that are consistent with the demands of the actual situation. Every activity of the various sectors and fields of work within the city must fully reflect the resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee and must be oriented toward insuring that the four goals mentioned above are met, met through specific plans and measures.

To insure the performance of the task involved in building the capital and the immediate socio-economic tasks, we must build the Hanoi party organization so that it is strong and solid politically, ideologically and organizationally,



strengthen the government on all three levels within the city and accelerate the revolutionary movement of the masses.

We must teach all cadres and members of the party organization to display a high will to fight in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, display a high revolutionary-offensive spirit, display a high degree of initiative and creativity and combat the thinking of relying upon others, skepticism, vacillation, indifference and irresponsibility. Now, more than ever before, cadres and party members must take the lead and set examples in work and in living a wholesome life.

We must closely manage the work and activities of each cadre and party member, take strict disciplinary action against cadres and party members who commit mistakes and be determined to expel unqualified members from the party. We must reorganize the structure and the activities of the party chapters and basic party organizations on the street level. We must study how to establish coordination between the Hanoi party organization and the party organizations of the blocs of central agencies for the purpose of teaching every party member who lives and works in Hanoi to display a high sense of responsibility toward building the capital and is truly the nucleus in the struggle against the negative phenomena in society.

We must rapidly strengthen all three levels of government in Hanoi, with importance attached to strengthening the ward level. We must select good, competent cadres who respond quickly to the situation and the task at hand to supplement the leadership agencies on the various levels of the city. Determined steps must be taken to replace cadres who are incompetent or slow to make progress and cadres or party members who become degenerate or deviant must be dealt with in a stern fashion.

The Trade Union, Youth Union and Women's Union must improve their work and adopt flexible forms of organization designed to gain the participation of the masses in activities consistent with the function of each mass organization that are designed to build and manage the city. An effort must be made to launch revolutionary movements of the masses to emulate in production, work, the practice of frugality, the establishment of a wholesome lifestyle, the maintenance of order and public sanitation and the struggle against negative phenomena with the sense of pride of citizens of the capital who are the masters of their city.

In the years ahead, Hanoi must resolve the following pressing problems well:

1. Stabilizing to some degree the standard of living of the people, especially of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces.

Under the guidance of the Council of Ministers and with the assistance of the concerned ministries, sectors and localities, Hanoi must look for every way to insure a stable supply of the nine rationed products and must insure that these products meet qualitative standards and are distributed on time. In the distribution of these products, we must be determined to combat losses, spoilage, waste, collusion and the other negative phenomena.

Production and business units must correctly implement the wage and bonus policy, insure that the incomes of cadres, manual workers and civil servants rise in a reasonable manner and avoid illegitimate methods of operation, which, in essence, are acts against socialist property.

We must organize, guide and help the families of manual workers and civil servants participate in subsidiary production in order to raise their income and produce additional wealth for society; the illegitimate profiting from subsidiary production by intermediaries must be stopped.

Positive steps must be taken to provide jobs, with priority given to the children of manual workers and civil servants.

Everyone must be encouraged to display a high spirit of responsibility and actively help to overcome the difficulties being faced, accelerate production, restore socialist order in every field and create the conditions for stabilizing and improving the standard of living.

## 2. Reorganizing and accelerating production and construction.

As regards industrial production, the main guidelines for the years ahead are to make good use of existing production capacity; make investments in production, primarily investments in depth; and build new installations primarily with a view toward coordinating and making full use of existing installations. Having been given priority in the supplying of energy and raw materials, the enterprises within the capital must continue to display initiative in their production and business; at the same time, they must reorganize their management, close loopholes and rectify mistakes, especially in the search for additional supplies and the marketing of products.

Problems regarding policies and measures must be resolved well in order to strongly develop small industry and the handicraft trades and strengthen the economic ties between the state and the small industry and handicraft production installations by means of many suitable forms of organization. We must continue to strengthen and develop the cooperatives; adopt measures for transforming and managing production teams that are suited to each type; and organize and guide persons who are still engaged in private production so that their production efforts are properly oriented.

As regards communications and transportation, we must selectively improve and build the communications-transportation network. We must provide additional means of transportation to the city's communications-transportation sector and turn over to it the tasks of providing transportation by water route and highway so that the city can serve as the important communications center of the entire country.

In agriculture, while gradually reorganizing production, efforts must be concentrated on meeting a number of immediate requirements concerning food products and grain. The city must be insured of a stable supply of vegetables. We must strongly develop livestock production within the collective and household segments of the economy while restoring state-operated livestock installations (raising hogs, chickens and cattle) and

raising both the yield and output of fish in bodies of water managed by the state.

We must continue to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives, reorganize those cooperatives that are weak and deficient, perfect the product contracts with individual laborers and uncover and correct the deviations that have occurred in the implementation of this contract mechanism.

The Municipal Party Committee must reorganize and strengthen its leadership and guidance of agriculture in the outskirts of the city.

As regards capital construction, in conjunction with making selected investments in industrial and agricultural production, importance must be attached to improving and building the infrastructure, housing and other public projects while making preparations for a number of important projects that will be constructed in later years.

Construction plans must be adopted which make it possible to build projects in a well coordinated, concerted, start-to-finish manner and possible to quickly put projects into use. We must coordinate the effort to increase the investments made by the state with mobilizing additional forces of the agencies, enterprises, cooperatives and people of the city, especially the unemployed.

3. Restoring socialist order within the field of distribution and circulation.

Above everything else, we must reorganize the activities of the state-operated economic units, strengthen the practice of cost accounting, strengthen socialist business procedures and be determined to combat the negative phenomena in production and business as well as the disruption of the market. In particular, we must tightly manage the products and goods of the state and stop theft, collusion and the flow of goods to the "free" market.

We must strengthen the forces, expand the activities and improve the quality of service of socialist commerce in both the circulation of goods and service activities.

We must expand the organized market, primarily the market in essential goods; at the same time, we must strengthen the management of the "free" market. We must wage a determined struggle against speculators, smugglers, the manufacturers of fake goods and persons who operate illegal businesses and must stop and punish those who conspire with decadent elements within state-operated commerce and other state-operated economic installations. Ringleaders that monopolize and disrupt the market and disrupt the economy must be harshly prosecuted under the law.

The city must coordinate with the economic and legal agencies of the central level in conducting urgent investigations and detailed research, in a determined effort to abolish the newly emerged bourgeoisie in business and commerce.



#### 4. Maintaining security and order.

We must firmly maintain the political security and the social order and safety of the capital; a determined struggle must be waged against the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy, especially against spies and the psychological war in order to protect the key agencies of the party and state.

In order to perform the jobs mentioned above well, we must consolidate and strengthen the armed forces of the city (the army and public security force) and strongly develop the role played by the masses, the organizations on the basic level and the ward level governments in the maintenance of order and security.

We must teach cadres, party members and the masses to display a high level of revolutionary vigilance, prevent secrets from being disclosed, bravely struggle against each negative phenomenon and expose and effectively thwart criminals, hoodlums, gangsters, speculators, smugglers and those who disrupt order and security.

#### 5. Intensifying the guidance of activities on the cultural and ideological front.

Every cultural activity within the capital must be oriented toward meeting the following requirements: establishing and maintaining a wholesome, civilized, socialist style of life; eradicating the reactionary, decadent culture and superstitions; and, within the economic field, teaching initiative and creativity and combating conservatism, stagnation and the habit of relying upon others while firmly adhering to the line of the party and state and implementing the principles of socialist economic management well. Cadres and party members must take the lead in establishing the civilized and wholesome style of life. The sectors of the central level on the cultural front must join with the city in caring for the cultural and spiritual lives of the people of the capital, considering this to be a constant and important task. The city must control every cultural, literary and artistic activity that occurs within the capital and must promptly put a stop to cultural activities that are unwholesome or are being conducted solely for commercial purposes.

We must improve the quality of education, public health, physical culture-sports, the protection of mothers and newborns and the care of the youths, teenagers and children of the city, thereby making positive contributions to the effort to establish a wholesome and cultured style of life.

The resolution of the Political Bureau on the work of the capital Hanoi deeply analyzed the city's situation, confirmed the achievements that have been recorded, pointed out the shortcomings that exist and set forth the guidelines and tasks for building a strong capital. On the basis of the Political Bureau resolution, the party organization of Hanoi must practice self-criticism and criticism, review the jobs that have been performed in recent years and set forth practical tasks and measures for the years ahead.

May the entire party organization display a high revolutionary-offensive will, dare to think, dare to act, dare to assume responsibility, improve its work

and bring a new spirit to the implementation of the party's resolution on building the capital. May the other localities of the country make every effort to strengthen their cooperation with Hanoi and make positive contributions to the building of the capital.

We are confident that the party organization and the people of the capital Hanoi, who have triumphed over every enemy, will not retreat in the face of any difficulty and will strengthen their solidarity, heighten their vigilance and march bravely forward to complete their tasks and build Hanoi into a city worthy of its name, the heroic capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

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## **SUCCESSFULLY CARRYING OUT THE REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 9-16

[Article by Do Muoi]

[Text] The Need To Reorganize Industrial Production

In the recent past, on the economic front, in general, and within industry, in particular, we have overcome numerous difficulties and challenges to restore, improve, build and begin to develop production, and have recorded noteworthy achievements.

However, during the years of the war, in order to meet local rear service requirements and adapt to combat conditions, our industry had to be decentralized and divided; on the other hand, many industrial sectors were established and developed on the basis of our ability to acquire aid, consequently, investments in their construction were not well coordinated and balance was not established between production and the sources of energy and raw materials, between production and the infrastructure and services or between immediate and long range requirements.

The total liberation of the South increased the capacity of industry but, at the same time, it also made the imbalance that existed worse because the South bore the serious consequences of neo-colonialism and was totally dependent upon the outside for equipment, spare parts, fuel, supplies and raw materials, including supplies and raw materials that could be produced domestically.

Before the consequences of the long war could be overcome, our economy, a backward and seriously imbalanced economy, underwent major upheavals during the years following the war. The unfavorable changes in the international economy together with the multi-faceted acts of sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles created additional difficulties for our country's economy.

On the other hand, due to the poor results achieved in the implementation of the 1976-1980 five year plan, the slowness with which the shortcomings in management were being corrected, the slowness and the many mistakes in planning and the continued bureaucracy, subsidization and laxity in management further exacerbated the difficulties and the imbalances of the economy.

Recently, imports and the supply of materials and energy have declined but prices have increased many times. The conditions underlying the production and the marketing of industrial products have undergone major changes but production has not been reorganized and the management mechanism and policies have not been promptly changed. As a result, industrial, small industry and handicraft production have encountered additional difficulties not only resulting from the lack of energy, materials and so forth, but also difficulties with capital, cash, marketing and so forth; only about 40 percent of the equipment capacity of enterprises is being utilized.

This situation demands the partial reorganization of industrial production in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the 1983-1985 plan and the reorganization of the economic relations among the industrial production sectors, between industry and agriculture, between production and consumption, between the central level and the local level and among the sectors, localities and installations in order to bring industrial production from the point of primarily being dependent upon foreign aid to self-reliance and mutually beneficial cooperation with the fraternal countries and other countries, from subsistent production, decentralization and division to production and business based on a unified, nationwide plan and management mechanism and, on this basis, create new balances, balances which insure that production is stable, develops in the correct direction and achieves high economic efficiency.

The general situation described above affects the effort to reorganize each sector, each locality and each industrial installation to varying degrees. However, the immediate causes of the imbalance within production are very diverse and differ from one sector to another (energy, raw materials, equipment, transportation, the market, the organization of management and so forth); therefore, the reorganization carried out within each sector, each locality and each industrial installation must be based on the general situation and requirements involved in reorganizing the entire economy and must be suited to the characteristics of each sector, locality and installation in order to meet their specific, practical objectives.

#### The Guidelines, Objectives and Formula That Apply in the Reorganization of Industrial Production

The reorganization of industrial production must first be based on the present situation, namely, the very serious economic and financial imbalances that exist, especially with regard to energy, raw materials, communications-transportation, foreign currency and so forth. Therefore, it is necessary to classify needs and classify enterprises so that we can concentrate our forces on meeting those needs that are most important, maintain the operation of key enterprises, still complete the political task well even though our material resources are limited and achieve high socio-economic returns.

On the other hand, on the basis of the guidelines, tasks and plan norms adopted by the 5th Congress and the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee, we must make every effort to mobilize every force of the state and the people, of the central level, the local level and the basic level in order to develop the strengths that lie in our labor, arable land and trade sectors and develop

our capabilities and potentials in every area with a view toward developing production, establishing an efficient industrial-agricultural structure on a nationwide scale and within each territory of the country and meet the needs of everyday life, national defense and the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism better with each passing day.

Thus, reorganizing production does not mean narrowing the scope of production, rather, it is designed to establish a more efficient production system, one suited to the reduced availability of energy, fuel, raw materials and technical supplies; although some production units and installations must reorient their production and even cease production in order to be consistent with actual conditions, production as a whole will, generally speaking, continue to develop and successfully implement the guidelines, objectives and norms of the 1983-1985 state plan.

The general guidelines for reorganizing industrial production are to focus our efforts on stimulating the strong development of agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and make every effort to increase the production of consumer goods while continuing to accelerate the construction of a number important heavy industrial sectors in order to gradually but urgently correct the serious imbalances that exist regarding energy, supplies, spare parts, raw materials, communications-transportation and so forth, with a view toward competently supporting agriculture and consumer goods production and coordinating agriculture, consumer goods production and heavy industry within an efficient industrial-agricultural structure.

The specific objectives that must be met are:

--Production must achieve the highest possible economic efficiency on the basis of insuring the development of production in accordance with the planning and plans of the state, maintaining balance among the various sectors, areas, localities, installations and segments of the economy and focusing every capability we have on the performance of the primary tasks of the state plan. Priority must be given to providing the material conditions needed to increase the production of essential goods and exports, products used in the strengthening of the national defense system and products that create large sources of revenue for the budget. Among enterprises that produce the same type product, priority must be given to those installations that operate with the highest economic efficiency.

We must be determined to reorient or discontinue production at any installation that does not have the possibility of yielding practical economic returns in the immediate future or over the long range. We must reduce the scope of or stop the construction of projects that are not truly necessary or which, when constructed, will not provide the necessary production conditions. Importance must be attached to applying scientific and technological advances, improving our management and making every effort to raise labor productivity and product quality, reduce expenses and production costs, accelerate the circulation of goods, combat misappropriation, waste and bureaucracy and limit and eventually abolish the negative activities within industry.



--The reorganization of industrial production must have the purpose of creating positive balances; efforts must be made to reduce the degree of imbalance between one type of production and another, between production and the supply of energy, spare parts, supplies and materials, between production and consumption and between production and the infrastructure and services. While concentrating our efforts on insuring the implementation of the party's economic strategy and creating favorable conditions for the development of agriculture, the production of essential goods and the production of exports, efforts must still be made to accelerate the construction of several key heavy industrial sectors in order to support agriculture and consumer goods production; at the same time, we must make full use of existing installations and the capabilities and potentials that lie in our manpower, financial resources and material resources in order to create jobs and increase the social product under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level, the local level and the basic level working together."

--The reorganizing of industrial production must also be designed to revamp the organization of the production and business of the various sectors and trades from the central to the local and basic levels, establish correct production guidelines and product plans, establish suitable scales and forms of production, re-examine the equipment in use in order to retool or coordinate technical equipment for the purpose of making maximum use of equipment capacity and re-examine the labor force in order to adopt more reasonable and efficient guidelines for organizing and utilizing labor with a view toward making full use of the number of mandays and manhours required under regulations, rebalancing all factors of production forces, promoting the practice of cost accounting and improving business procedures so that they are more efficient.

--The reorganization of industrial production must be coordinated with the improvement of many other important areas of management in order to establish an economic management mechanism that is more reasonable, more dynamic and so forth, beginning with improving planning and the system of economic levers in order to insure the development of production while consolidating and strengthening the various segments of the socialist economy, among which the state-operated segment plays the dominant role.

To insure that the above mentioned objectives of the reorganization of industrial production are met, it is necessary to adhere to the following formula while reorganizing production:

--It is necessary to fully comply with the political task of the party and insure the correct implementation of the line, policies and plan guidelines set forth by the 5th Party Congress.

--The principle of democratic centralism must be implemented in the management of production and business and in the establishment of a reasonable division of labor and echelons.

--It is necessary to strongly improve planning and coordinate planning with market relations and production with consumption.

--It is necessary to closely coordinate construction and transformation, strengthen the state-operated economy and the cooperative economy and create a strong position for central industry that will enable it to play the dominant role and serve as the nucleus of the entire industrial system and the entire national economy.

--It is necessary to insure the coordination of the interests of the state, the collective and the laborer and closely coordinate the responsibilities, authority and rights of the central, local and basic levels.

--It is necessary to research and change the organization of production and management in a manner that suits the actual situation, not in a manner that is mechanical or rigid; closely coordinate large scale, medium scale and small scale, with immediate importance attached to medium and small scale; and closely coordinate mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual labor, beginning with trying to make maximum use of human labor, of manual labor in the production of the social product.

#### The Specifics Involved in Reorganizing Industrial Production

In past years, industrial production did reach new levels of development but the lack of unified and well coordinated planning caused production to become more decentralized and fragmented, worsened the many imbalances in production, increased the inefficiencies in the division of business echelons between the central economy and the local economy and among the state-operated, collective and private segments of the economy and resulted in low economic returns.

The reorganizing of industrial production is the process of correcting the situation described above in order to develop the various economic and technical sectors and the various areas of the country in accordance with planning and plans and on the basis of the guidelines, objectives and structure set forth in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses as well as the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum.

Until we have established the general diagram for the distribution of production forces by sector and territory on a nationwide scale, with a view toward creating an optimum economic structure for the country, the various leadership levels of the sectors, localities and installations must at least analyze their basic characteristics and utilize the experiences that they have gained in order to temporarily establish development guidelines for use from now to approximately 1990 to serve as the basis for reorganizing the sector economy, the economy of the territory and production and business at the basic units and organizing good economic relations and production-business cooperation with the other sectors, localities and installations.

The reorganizing of industrial production must encompass the following:

--Reorganizing the factors of the production process with a view toward achieving the highest possible economic efficiency.

--Rearranging the organization of production and, in particular, establishing a good division of labor and division of management echelons and streamlining



and rationalizing the management apparatus in order to support the development of production as competently as possible.

--In conjunction with reorganizing production, it is necessary to partially improve the economic mechanism of management so that planning and the various policies on economic levers play a strong role in supporting and stimulating the development of production.

The three elements in the reorganization of production mentioned above must be carried out in a well coordinated and efficient manner and must be centered around reorganizing production and business for the purpose of achieving the highest possible economic efficiency.

Therefore, the reorganization of industrial production must consist of the following:

1. Reorganizing the industrial production installations (the enterprises, federated enterprises, federations of enterprises, cooperatives and so forth).

The reorganizing of the industrial production installations must be oriented toward strengthening the processes of agglomeration, specialization, cooperation and federation in production. On the basis of the actual quantities of electricity, fuel, supplies, raw materials and so forth that they receive from the state or acquire themselves and on the basis of the task assigned by the state and their ability to market products in the coming period, the basic units must establish correct production guidelines, suitable product plans and an efficient scale and form of organization of production; make maximum use of existing equipment capacity while researching the possibility of coordinating their equipment and making technological improvements; rationalize the use of labor in order to raise labor productivity and make full use of existing labor; reorganize the enterprise management apparatus so that it is streamlined and effective; and redeploy the corps of cadres, technical workers and management cadres along well coordinated lines to insure efficiency in production and high quality work.

The upper levels that have the responsibility of helping the basic level and each installation must endeavor to provide the materials, spare parts and equipment needed for the production and business process to be stable and uninterrupted. It is necessary to establish reasonable and diverse economic relations among economic units through the use of economic contracts in order to implement the guidelines and norms of the state plan as best possible. Within each installation, attention must be given to maintaining the health, training and improving the manual skills of laborers and creating favorable conditions for them so that they engage in production with enthusiasm and peace of mind.

2. Reorganizing industrial production by economic and technical sector and by territory.

An economic-technical sector consists of central state-operated enterprises, local state-operated enterprises, joint public-private enterprises, cooperatives and private enterprises of the same sector as well as the

institutes that conduct economic research and scientific-technical and design research. Depending upon the specific case, the organization of a sector can also include technical supply or product marketing components. The installations of a sector are located in territories and divided into the central economy and the local economy.

The reorganization of production is designed to establish an efficient sector structure to insure the implementation of the party's strategy for economic development. Therefore, building the economic-technical sectors and organizing the management of production by sector in coordination with management by territory are an objective requirement.

On a nationwide scale, the ministry, which is the highest state management agency of the sector, is responsible to the state for administrative-economic management and the results of the production and business of the entire sector. Under the leadership of the ministry, the federations of enterprises (national or regional) can be sector management agencies (if authorized by the ministry) that directly guide the production and business of the installations throughout the sector (or the region) or they can be business organizations that operate in accordance with the principle of cost accounting. As the highest sector management agency, the ministry must guide the local people's committees in managing the production installations of the sector that belong to the local economy (including small industry and handicraft installations) in accordance with unified planning and technical policies.

Within the scope of the territory and locality, the reorganization of production must establish relations among the enterprises of the different sectors within the territory or locality in the areas production cooperation, technology, supply operations, marketing, the infrastructure, services and so forth in order to achieve the highest possible efficiency within each territory.

3. Broadening the cooperation and coordination in production and business among the economic units of the sectors, levels and different segments of the economy, closely linking production to the supplying of materials and marketing products in the most rapid and convenient manner possible for the purpose of gradually achieving an inter-sector balance and achieving the full returns from the reorganization of production. The economic relations among the enterprises and other production organizations are established through the processes of expanding the cooperation and coordination in production and business among economic units, among sectors, among localities and between the local and central levels so that they supplement one another and combine to form a single strength. On the basis of the state plan, the sectors, localities, enterprises, state farms, cooperatives and private organizations sign economic contracts of many different forms with one another in the course of their production and business in order to achieve the objectives of the plan.

The other forms of cooperation in production and business that have arisen in the process of implementing the plan but which were not anticipated may only be employed once the obligation to the state and the state plan have been fulfilled and permission has been granted by the authorized upper level; in

addition, there must be full compliance with the laws and the discipline of the state regarding market management, prices, taxes and money.

4. The reorganization of production and construction must be closely linked to strengthening and improving the socialist production relations and carrying out the socialist transformation of the non-socialist segments of the economy. In the initial stage of the period of transition, our country's economy, in general, and our industry, in particular, still consist of many different segments as we advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. As a result, good policies must be adopted in order to fully utilize the capacity of the existing segments of the economy while continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of the private, capitalist and small owner segments of the economy with a view toward reorganizing production and redistributing social labor in exact accordance with the guidelines, planning and plans of the state, thereby establishing good relations among the various segments of the economy in accordance with the line and policies of the party.

5. Rearranging the organization of management: at present, the ministries and general departments are organized by general economic sector. However, there are also some ministries that only manage one sector but their subordinate units are very small in number and their management structure is cumbersome and does not correspond to the structure of production; therefore, it is necessary to rearrange the management apparatus of the various sectors on the central level along the lines of accelerating the process of specialization by sector while establishing a streamlined management apparatus, eliminating unnecessary intermediary levels and insuring effective guidance of production by the ministries and general departments. It is also necessary to research ways to streamline and rationalize the management apparatus of the localities in the process of reorganizing production.

At the same time, it is necessary to establish a division of management echelons between the central and local levels in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum in order to clearly and reasonably define the responsibilities and authority of as well as the benefits accruing to the sectors, levels and installations in reorganizing the management of their production and business while reorganizing their production itself.

6. The reorganization of industrial production must be coordinated with the further improvement of the economic mechanism of management, which includes: improving planning, strengthening the practice of cost accounting and utilizing the system of economic levers. Reorganizing production is a major campaign, one that involves many complex problems and touches upon many aspects of the economy and society. Consequently, to achieve success it is necessary to adopt suitable policies, policies which must be researched, proposed and promulgated by the responsible agencies, in order to promptly achieve unified guidance of the reorganizing of industrial production within the various sectors and levels, support and stimulate the development of production and lead the effort to practice frugality in consumption. These policies include: an investment policy, an energy policy, a policy on the equipment and plants of enterprises, a policy that provides incentive for the application of scientific and technological advances and the improvement of



product quality, a policy regarding the labor displaced in the process of reorganizing production, a price policy and so forth.

The reorganizing of industrial production is a very widespread campaign, one that must be carried out in a gradual and steady manner over a number of years under the close and continuous leadership and guidance of the party and state.

In order to promptly meet the pressing requirements that we face and meet them in a manner consistent with existing capabilities and the guidelines for development in the years to come, the reorganization of production must be closely linked to organizing the formulation of implementation of the plans of the state for the remaining 3 years of the 1981-1985 five year plan, beginning with the 1983 plan, and with making preparations for formulating the 1986-1990 five year plan, with a view toward achieving the primary and most important economic and social objectives of the state plan.

It can be said that reorganizing production and construction in order to establish a new economic structure is the most important objective and element of the present state plan, consequently, we must plan the reorganization of production and construction and make steady, clear advances in our effort to gradually improve the structure of the economy under the 1983-1984 and the 1985 plans so that, by the time of the 1986-1990 five year plan, we will have virtually completed the improvement of the specifics involved in planning and planning methods on the basis of the efficient industrial-agricultural structure that has begun to take shape on a nationwide scale and within the main territories of the country.

In the immediate future, that is, in 1983, through the reorganizing of industrial production, it is necessary to meet the main objectives of the state plan and resolve the greatest inefficiencies in the organization of management and the economic mechanism of management, thereby creating the conditions for making new and clear progress in the formulation and implementation of the 1984 state plan.

On a nationwide level, the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers must help the Council of Ministers to truly strengthen its guidance of the reorganization of industrial production in the various sectors, localities and territories.

On a sector and local level, the ministries, heads of the general departments and chairmen of the people's committees of the provinces and of the municipalities that are directly subordinate to the central level must personally keep abreast of and guide the reorganizing of industrial production within the sector, within the locality and at production installations. They must place a number of competent specialists under the regular and specialized guidance of an assistant to investigate, research, supervise, guide and inspect implementation on the lower levels.

Reorganizing production on the basic level is extremely important and has a decisive effect upon the reorganization of production in the entire sector or locality, consequently, attention must be given to guiding it closely in order to achieve practical results. The formulation and implementation of plans for

reorganizing production must comply with the principle of democratic centralism and be carried out in the following order: the lower level must conduct a survey and formulate its reorganization plan, which must be examined and approved by the next higher level; the lower level is to carry out the reorganization of production in accordance with this plan but if there are changes in any important position, guideline or measure, instructions must be received from the upper level before they can be taken.

Due to the complex nature of the matter, it is necessary, in the process of reorganizing production, to promptly detect and correct such mistaken thinking and attitudes as the fear of difficulties and the fear of hardships; acting in a cursory, irresponsible or nonsensical manner that does not yield practical returns; being subjective or complacent or operating in a careless, sloppy fashion that has a negative, complex impact; or displaying partialism, departmentalism or localism, which lead to difficulties and weaken the socialist cooperation between one sector and another, between the sector and the locality or between the localities and installations. At the same time, it is necessary to more closely supervise, guide and inspect the process of implementation.

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**SEVERAL MATTERS CONCERNING THE DIVISION OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION**

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[Article by Nguyen Van Tran]

[Text] Establishing the Division of Economic Management Responsibilities Is a Pressing Practical Task

The policies of "simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development within a unified national economic structure" and "establishing a division of economic management responsibilities" that were adopted by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party have been researched and given concrete form in the positions, policies and regulations governing economic management and the organization of implementation. During the past 2 years, we have achieved marked results in our effort to develop agricultural production, small industry, the handicraft trades and, to some extent, distribution-circulation.

However, the results that have been achieved are still low compared to the investment of money and effort that has been made and still far from existing capabilities and potentials. At present, the structures of the central economy and the local economies are not firmly based on economic-technical foundations or the planning of sectors and territories. Many problems encountered in the construction of material and technical bases for localities have not been resolved well. In particular, the localities as well as the central sectors have usually only concerned themselves with their own production installations, with organizing the reproduction process within their territories and have been slow to organize cooperation and achieve economic coordination, thereby dividing the central economy and the local economies.

The management mechanism, generally speaking, is still heavily characterized by administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization. The local and basic levels have not been assigned the material or financial means needed to fulfill the tasks and responsibilities assigned to them. The management mechanism has not harmoniously combined the three interests, the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer, nor has it established a unity of interests among the central level,

the local level and the basic level. The material incentives that have been provided are not strong enough to encourage the installations and localities to develop their potentials and increase their contributions to the central level. For the most part, management policies and regulations are too detailed and do not provide localities and installations with the framework needed to give these policies and regulations concrete form and apply them under actual circumstances; in form, these policies and regulations are strict but, in essence, they are lax, thereby thwarting wholesome innovations and failing to prevent sloppy work. The phenomenon of bureaucratic centralism and decentralization and disorganization has impeded and reduced the effectiveness of the national economy very greatly. The cumbersome management apparatus with its many echelons and intermediary levels, its poorly defined responsibilities and tasks and its counter-productive efforts and duplication is the main factor impeding management and causing stagnation. The state management agencies usually do not fulfill the function or task assigned to them or intervene in work that lies under the authority and responsibility of the installation. The division of labor among the various ministries and division of echelons in terms of the authority and rights of the provinces and districts are unreasonable; the cooperation among components is not smooth and the spirit of communal responsibility is not being displayed.

These shortcomings have resulted in the failure to mobilize the potentials of the country and make full use of present production forces.

The present economic and management situation demands that we carry out the improvement of economic management in a well coordinated manner; in this effort, assigning economic management responsibilities is a pressing and practical task.

While the national economy continues to be marked by many imbalances, the correct guidelines are to reorganize the economy and strengthen the key economic and technical sectors and key enterprises while strongly developing the potentials that lie in our labor and arable land through the local economy; both of these efforts are designed to achieve the highest possible national income. Le Duan has said: "Developing the local economy has become a key in utilizing labor and natural resources and gradually advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production." (1) economy assumes strategic importance and current importance in the improvement of economic management and is one of the ways that the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is expressed on the central level, the local level and the basic level.

Therefore, it is necessary to broaden the authority and responsibility of the local governments on the various levels and the basic units, unify the three interests by means of a suitable management mechanism, eliminate the mode of management characterized by administrative procedures, bureaucracy and subsidization and establish a new economic management mechanism.

Thus, establishing the division of economic management responsibilities is not merely a matter of assigning responsibilities to the basic level or, as it is sometimes misunderstood, "sharing property," rather, it encompasses the following:

--Building the central economic structure and local economic structure and organizing and rearranging the production of the sectors and localities;

--Improving the mode of economic management, which includes planning and the various policies on economic levers;

--Improving the organization of the management apparatus and reorganizing cadres, which includes defining in detail the functions, tasks, responsibilities and authority of each component and each echelon within the apparatus.

The experience of the past shows that if we only make improvements within each isolated component in a manner divorced from the work that the various components perform in common and the reciprocal relations among them or if we only make improvements on one level instead of within the framework of the system of levels of the state, the desired results cannot be achieved. This time, we will try to implement this thinking in a better coordinated manner.

Establishing a division of economic management responsibilities between the central level and the local level and establishing a reasonable division of labor among the ministries are not the final objectives, are not objectives in and of themselves. The key issues here are to create the most favorable conditions possible for the basic level, to broaden the independence of installations in production and business and to regulate, coordinate and unify the activities of the installations in accordance with general guidelines and plans. Therefore, in conjunction with establishing the division of economic management responsibilities, we must boldly grant independence to the basic level, perfect the management mechanism on the basic level and give the basic level financial autonomy and both the means and authority needed to carry out expanded reproduction. In view of the way in which the matter was raised above, the establishment of the division of economic management responsibilities is designed to partially establish a model for organizing and managing our country's economy, clearly defining the role of each level within the overall apparatus so that the various levels operate in a coordinated manner under the guidance of the central level and defining the important position occupied by the basic units as the cells of the national economy.

#### The Guidelines and Main Principles That Apply in Establishing the Division of Economic Management Responsibilities

The socialist national economy of our country is a unified and indivisible entity. This unity is seen in the common objectives of the national economy, in the unified plan for the entire country and in the unified management principles and regulations for all components and installations of the economy in all four stages of the social reproduction process encompassing production-distribution-circulation-consumption.

This unity is achieved by means of a series of regulations and measures based on two fundamental principles, the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of coordinating management by sector with management by locality and territory. Centralism and democracy, the sector and the territory are the two aspects of a dialectical entity that supplement one another for the purpose of managing a living object, an extremely complex organism.



# 1. The principle of democratic centralism.

In the present situation and in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, it is necessary to overcome the malady of bureaucratic centralism and, at the same time, correct the phenomena of decentralization and disorganization.

Over the past several years, there have been living examples in economic management of both correct methods of understanding and working and incorrect methods. Some phenomena, such as excessive centralism that goes beyond the necessary requirements of management and the limits imposed by material conditions, centralism that is not based on upholding the practice of democracy and the failure to promptly examine the opinions of the basic level have led to bureaucratic centralism, to a formal, restrictive type of centralism. Bureaucratic centralism is frequently expressed in the attitude of not truly having confidence in cadres and the masses and the fear that the masses will make mistakes. On the other hand, there is the attitude of only emphasizing the need for democracy, emphasizing the characteristics of the locality and not respecting centralism, which leads to partialism, decentralization and disorganization and, in essence, weakens the principle of centralism and, as a result, makes it impossible to achieve true democracy. Both of these attitudes create stagnation and confusion in economic management.

The division of economic management responsibilities is designed to overcome the incorrect methods of understanding and working. On the one hand, it is necessary to confirm the need for an appropriate amount of centralization on the central level with regard to the basic elements of socio-economic management and the process of social reproduction and firmly control the leadership positions of the national economy from which the operations of the various sectors and levels of the country are guided and inspected. The successful fulfillment of the true functions and tasks of the central level, such as establishing the socio-economic development strategy of the entire country, efficiently deploying production forces, determining the major balances of the national economy and establishing policies, regulations, standards, quotas and so forth for the entire country, demands marked improvement in the skills of the central agencies, both in terms of theory as well as practice. On the other hand, it is necessary to strongly broaden the independence and tap the creativity of the localities and installations so that they can operate in accordance with the plans, policies and regulations of the central level. To an economy characterized by small-scale, decentralized production such as our country's economy, which is, in addition, imbalanced in many areas, is still heavily dependent upon nature and foreign countries and does not have high speed, reliable communications, boldly giving the localities the authority to manage and develop the local economy is both necessary and appropriate. We must also boldly give the basic economic units the right to make their own decisions so that they can develop their potentials. This, too, is consistent with the management principle that we should grant decision-making authority to the level that has the fullest knowledge of the matter at hand and is able to make the quickest decision.

The advanced models and the positive results that have been achieved in many areas prove that the guideline that we have been recently following of



granting greater independence, encouraging creativity and eliminating bureaucracy and subsidization is basically correct.

V.I. Lenin said: "We are proponents of democratic centralism. However, it must be clearly understood that democratic centralism is, on the one hand, truly different from bureaucratic centralism and, on the other hand, truly different from anarchy. At present, our task is to implement the system of democratic centralism within the economy and insure the absolute coordination and unity of the operations of the various economic sectors, such as the railroad, the post-telegraph and the other transportation sectors and so forth; at the same time, centralism, understood as true democracy, encompasses the ability—an ability that has been created for the first time by history—to not only fully and freely develop upon the characteristics of the locality, but also to tap the initiative of the locality, develop the independence of the locality and develop upon the varied nature of objects, methods and means in order to achieve the common objective."(2)

2. The principle of coordinating management by sector with management by locality and territory.

The principle of coordinating management by sector with management by locality and territory is the coordination of sector management (vertical), which is designed to maintain the economic-technical specialization and division of labor, with management by territory (horizontal), which is designed to maintain a reasonable socio-economic division of labor. Each sector and each level must implement this principle within an entity consisting of both elements: the sector and the territory. We should not think that the ministries only provide management by sector, that the local governments only provide management by territory and that the coordination of these two types of management is achieved on another level. We have been defining the specific and requirements involved in management by sector and by territory for a long time but have not done much to implement them.

To establish the division of economic management responsibilities, we must build the structure of the central economy and the structure of the local economy. To begin with, it is necessary to conduct sector planning in order to achieve a clear picture of how the central economic component and the local economic component will develop, clearly define how the sector will develop within the local economy and define how production will be organized and labor will be divided within the sector between the central economy and the local economy. As regards management by territory, it is necessary to conduct overall planning within the territory, planning that encompasses both that portion of the central economy that is within the territory and the local economy itself; it is necessary to organize the material and cultural lives of the territory's population and insure the implementation of laws and policies by the units and citizens of the territory, without distinguishing between the central economy and the local economy.

In order to raise socio-economic returns and eliminate partialism, departmentalism and the divisions between the central economy and the local economy, it is necessary to strongly develop cooperation and eventually establish various forms of economic association between the installations of

the central economy and the local economy, between production and distribution-circulation and transportation, between mechanized labor and manual labor, among state-operated installations, collective installations and installations in the other segments of the economy and so forth by means of suitable methods. These can range from cooperation based on contracts to joint businesses in one or many fields, vertical and horizontal cooperation, participation in product groups, the organizing of federations of enterprises or federated enterprises and cooperating in production and business in one or many fields, on a seasonal or permanent basis and so forth. This cooperation and coordination must be promoted by sector and by territory. V.I. Lenin said: "In order to transform this apparatus more thoroughly, in order for it to be supplemented by many new forces, in order to triumph over bureaucracy and overcome its harmful conservatism, assistance must be provided by the organizations on the local level, by the model installations and organizations of a 'system' that are truly small in scale but which are still part of a 'system,' that is, that are not simply a business, an economic sector or an enterprise but which represent the sum of all economic relations, the sum of all trade, even if only within a small locality."(3)

A very basic guideline that must be thoroughly implemented in economic management, in general, and the division of economic management responsibilities, in particular, is to harmoniously combine the various interests: the interests of society (represented by the central state), the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. F. Engels directed our attention to the fact that each of us acts in our own interest as we perceive our interest to be and that the various economic laws have an impact through the actions we take to satisfy our interests. In the division of economic management responsibilities, correctly defining the position occupied by the interests of the locality plays a very important role. In our country, now that the local governments have been given the responsibility of mobilizing the many undeveloped potentials that lie within the locality, the interests of the locality are distinctly economic in content, are the moving force behind all the interests of society and must be given appropriate attention. Therefore, the thinking that guides us in this effort to establish a division of economic management responsibilities is to give appropriate attention to the interests of the locality and, in this manner, cause the interests of the central level, the interests of the basic level and the interests of the individual laborer, that is, the interests of all components to increase. However, we in no way advocate giving more to the locality by taking away from the nation as a whole or the basic level.

#### **A Number of Immediate Tasks in the Establishment of the Division of Economic Management Responsibilities**

On the basis of the principles and guidelines set forth above, we can outline a number of tasks to be performed by the central sectors and the various levels of local government in the coming period.

It is necessary to establish an efficient structure for the central economy and the local economy and adopt correct development guidelines for each of these components of the national economy. On the basis of these structures, it is first of all necessary to establish a division of responsibilities

between the central level and the local level for managing installations in accordance with the guideline of boldly putting additional installations and means under the direct management of the locality in order to make full use of the labor, arable land and trade sectors within the locality.

The efficient structure of the central economy and the local economy in the immediate stage must be established on the basis of reliable scientific foundations and economic-technical-social argumentation. These are developed within the framework of formulating the general diagram for the distribution of production forces, carrying out sector and territorial planning for the entire country and for each sector and province and planning the overall development of the districts and villages. They must reflect the superior nature of the socialist economy, insure the planned and highly efficient use of the potentials and forces of the entire country and insure the elimination of all duplication and disputes. With regard to planning, it is necessary to establish reasonable decision-making boundaries for the central level, the provincial level and the district level and grant to the cooperatives and villages the right to arrange things in detail within the scope of the responsibilities of that level.

The central level directly manages the key economic installations that are of important economic-technical significance, are advanced in terms of science and technology and have a decisive impact upon the process of social reproduction and the development of the national economy in order to insure that the central level directly controls the products that are of importance to the entire country, primary export goods and a number of other special production installations. The division of product management responsibilities must be clearly defined within the system of material-equipment-consumer goods balances in order to insure the delivery by sectors and levels to the central level of those products that are under the exclusive management of the central level. All remaining economic installations must be put under the direct management of the local level, beginning with those installations that are closely associated with the mobilization of labor, arable land and natural resources within the locality and for which the locality has the favorable conditions needed to provide thorough and timely guidance. The following types of installations can be put under the direct management of the local level: state farms, forestry sites, farm stations, enterprises processing fresh agricultural products, enterprises that pre-process local products, industrial installations that produce consumer goods using local raw materials and market their products primarily within the locality, the traditional trades of the locality supporting domestic consumption or export activities, etc. The installations being put under the management of the local level must be well coordinated and encompass the sectors of agriculture, industry, building and communications-transportation.

The assigning of installation management responsibilities must be closely coordinated with the program for reorganizing production and must be decided upon on the basis of the socio-economic returns accruing to the entire national economy, not on the basis of subjective desires or the interests of a part.



Together with this work, we must promote cooperation and eventually achieve economic associations of various forms, of increasingly high levels of development, between the central economy and the local economy in all stages of the reproduction process, from production and distribution to circulation and consumption, thereby forming relationships by sector and by territory and eliminating the divisions and closed cycles that exist.

The thinking to be followed in establishing the division of planning responsibilities is to truly insure that each level is the master of its plan and to closely coordinate the plan with cost accounting and socialist business procedures while coordinating sector planning with the planning of the locality and territory.

Planning regulations must strongly encourage the installations and localities to make every effort to develop the capabilities that stem from four sources: the internal capabilities of the locality and installation, the capabilities of the upper level, the capabilities resulting from cooperation with other installations and localities and one other very important capability, local exports and imports. They must also create the conditions for the locality to formulate a plan that is higher than the norms assigned by the upper level. This must be done in accordance with the general guidelines and within the general scope of the state plan in order to avoid disruptions, in order to avoid causing other imbalances. On the one hand, a policy must be adopted that provides appropriate incentive for the production of products by the locality itself (in terms of finances and a number of specific products); on the other hand, it is absolutely necessary to bring that portion of the plan under which the locality produces products on its own within the overall balance and into compliance with the guidelines and policies of the state.

Within the system of economic levers, correctly managing finances and the budget and establishing a correct division of financial and budgetary responsibilities are of key importance in unifying the three interests, are a force that must be correctly oriented and are, at the same time, a necessary tool in correcting and preventing deviations.

Despite the recent addition of a number of accounts receivable and accounts payable to the provincial and district budgets (resolution 108/CP dated 13 May 1978), the financial management system basically remains a system of "expenditures equalling revenues."

The establishment of a division of financial and budgetary management responsibilities must create the conditions for each level to truly be the masters of its budget and must closely link the interests of the locality to the development of local potentials and the fulfillment of obligations to the central level. For example, the central enterprises and the local enterprises must submit their profits and their state-operated revenues for inclusion in the central budget and the local budget at a specific rate set for each locality, a rate that must be stabilized over a period of several years; in this way, the effective operations of the central enterprises located within the locality will have a marked influence upon the local budget and cause the locality to concern itself with the operations of the central enterprises.



We must research the possibility of adding to the local budget an accounts receivable based on the agricultural products, forestry products and marine products contributed by the locality to the central level in order to provide incentive for localities to strongly develop their potentials and fulfill their obligations to the central level well. We must amend and adjust quotas and standards and define the framework within which localities are to apply them to their specific conditions. We must eventually reach the point where localities balance their revenues and expenditures and actively contribute to the central level and the building of the locality, thereby limiting the amount of unnecessary intervention in the daily work of the localities. We must intensify the control, inspection and supervision of the finances, bookkeeping and cost accounting practices of all economic units and budgetary units and must strictly prohibit the establishment of illicit funds of every form and expenditures that lie beyond regulations.

In the fields of supply and commerce, it is necessary to reorganize the supply and commerce networks, eliminate counter-productive measures and, at the same time, insure that each local level has the right to manage and use the supplies and goods provided by the central level in accordance with the regulations and policies of the central level. We must correct the problem of many central agencies trading or purchasing supplies within the same area, which leads to competition with one another. In this spirit, it is necessary to strengthen the district supply corporation and general merchandise corporation and provide them with additional cadres, additional means, additional capital and so forth so that they can serve as the agents of the corporations on the upper levels while doing business on their own and developing sources of merchandise within the district in accordance with state regulations.

Thus, the tasks and responsibilities of the various levels of local government will increase. The decisive prerequisites to insuring that these changes occur in life are the organization of the apparatus and cadres.

It is necessary to strengthen the organization of the state management apparatus and the organization of the production-business apparatus and improve the work regulations, the workstyle and the efficiency of the various sectors and levels. The state apparatus from the central to the provincial, district and village levels must be reorganized and streamlined by reducing the number of intermediary layers and centers; each level and each component must have clearly defined functions, tasks, responsibility and authority and clearly defined relations with agencies on the upper and lower levels; cooperation and communal responsibility must be markedly strengthened. We must implement the manager system in coordination with collective leadership and production-business installations.

Within the various production and business organizations, it is necessary to strengthen the installations on the basic level in keeping with their nature as the cells of the national economy.

We must properly implement the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum on building the district and strengthening the district level; the districts must have an

adequate number of key cadres for the district apparatus and the district level must be able to fulfill the functions and tasks assigned to it.

Here, as in other tasks, cadre work plays the decisive role. It is necessary to evaluate leadership and management cadres on the basis of the skills that they have exhibited in their work, not on the basis of their academic titles and degrees. Cadres who specialize in a narrow technical field, who do not have a firm knowledge of management, do not have experience in life and do not have a firm grasp of revolutionary viewpoints and the revolutionary line should not be assigned leadership jobs or key management jobs. They need time to be challenged or trained. In the complex socio-economic situation that we are experiencing now, full importance must be attached to the following standards: perseverance in carrying out the socialist revolution, bravery, loyalty, daring to assume responsibility, daring to make decisions, daring to face the truth squarely and truly acting in the interests of socialism, the interests of the laboring people. In order to promote the establishment of the division of management responsibilities, it is necessary to reorganize and reassign competent cadres to the large economic units and the districts. The central sectors should streamline themselves so that cadres can be sent to these units.

Firmly adhering to the basic principles and guidelines that apply with regard to the division of economic management responsibilities and gaining experience from the work that has already been performed, we are determined to perform this work well in order to bring about a change in the economic situation, carry out the task of stabilizing the economy and prepare for stronger stages of development under the next 5-year plan.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Several Matters Concerning the Local Economy," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 10, 1979, p 14.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, pp 185-186.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 282.

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## IMPROVING PLANNING AND THE DIVISION OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 25-30

[Article by Che Viet Tan]

[Text] In the effort to bring about a change in our country's present economic management situation, there are two aspects deserving of attention:

--Many installations and localities are looking for ways to overcome their difficulties and many good methods of working and many new factors have emerged; however, due to the slowness with which preliminary and final reviews have been conducted, installations and localities are still confused because they have not clearly defined that which is correct and that which is incorrect in order to achieve a uniform evaluation, stimulate the development of that which is correct and rectify that which is incorrect. While resolving the problems posed by the old management mechanism, some installations, localities and sectors have caused new deviations and negative phenomena to arise and have been inclined to place heavy emphasis upon the market mechanism.

--Some agencies on the central, provincial and municipal levels and some cadres have not kept pace with the development of the situation and are still very conservative in their thinking, are still trying to maintain "the old order" and "the old procedures" of the management mechanism characterized by administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization.

The salient characteristic of the situation surrounding the effort to bring about changes in the management mechanism is that new advances are intermixed with conservative thinking, sluggishness, negative phenomena and some new deviations.

In view of the trend of development of the country's situation, the changes that are occurring within the economic management mechanism are necessary and must undergo a "period of incubation" in order for the new economic management mechanism to take shape, thereby ushering in a new period of prosperous development for the country.

The problem being faced now is the need to quickly establish a new economic management mechanism that is consistent with the complex and diverse objects of economic management in our country. To accomplish this, we must first concentrate our efforts on improving planning, which is the central element of the economic management system.

Although we have been improving planning for several years, it is clear that we cannot abolish the rigid and restrictive bureaucratic centralism, stop the practice of "tearing down fences" and departing from the plan and establish a new planning mechanism in a short period of time.

To replace the old planning mechanism with the new planning mechanism, we must attach importance to the system of legal norms and to the various economic levers; tap the initiative and creativity of the localities and installations and establish high standards of discipline and responsibility; constantly strengthen the various segments of the socialist economy and make full use of the private economy and the subsidiary household economy within the orb of the state plan.

As the resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out, the improvement of planning "must insure that the central, local and basic management levels are truly the masters of their plans, that is, truly formulate, balance, defend and implement their plans; plans must be formulated from the basic level upward and must fully reflect the principles of cost accounting and socialist business."

Broadening the independence of the installations, localities and sectors in production and business in conjunction with strengthening the unified, centralized management provided by the central level in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism is a requirement in the nature of a law in planning and economic management, is consistent with the characteristics of our country's economy in the present stage and will insure that the planning mechanism is dynamic and flexible and succeeds in mobilizing every economic capability, thereby creating an overall strength that will contribute to the balancing of the economy from the basic level to the local level, the sector and the entire national economy. The state-operated economic installations must truly set examples by achieving high economic efficiency in their production and business and by complying with the policies, regulations and laws of the state.

At this time, our country's economy is only producing slightly more than 100,000 products (at a time when other countries are producing tens of millions of products); the central level only concentrates its efforts on establishing stable balances for several hundred products on the product list of the state plan (the primary industrial and agricultural products, the key construction projects, export goods and so forth) and there are still about 100,000 products that have been classified and assigned to the sectors, localities and installations to balance within their plans on the basis of their specific conditions. The state implements and concise and effective system of legal norms in a manner closely linked to the use of economic levers; at the same time, it provides guidance in the form of stable rates of increase, ranging from the lowest to the highest possible rate, and



obligations that are stabilized for a period of 3 or 5 years so that installations and districts have a basis upon which to formulate their plans (without having to wait for the annual control figures of the state).

In our country at this time, the shift from the planning mechanism characterized by too many norms of an authoritarian nature and by bureaucracy and subsidization to the new planning mechanism that is closely associated with cost accounting and socialist business procedures and characterized by a concise and effective system of norms and laws coordinated with the use of the various economic levers and the establishment of balances by units themselves is designed to achieve greater economic efficiency in the production and business activities of the sectors, localities and installations in everything from the formulation of plans to their implementation. The basic economic units and production-business organizations must attach more importance to the norms on quality and efficiency in accordance with the principles of cost accounting. Management regulations must insure that installations can operate in a flexible manner, respond quickly to changes, "use exports to obtain imports," "use imports to produce exports" and achieve a rapid turnover of capital in order to rapidly increase the accumulation of capital and expand their production in a manner that benefits themselves and their sector and enables them to contribute more to the state. The basic economic units are not the only ones that must practice cost accounting and socialist business procedures; the localities, provinces (municipalities) and districts must, when drafting their plans, also calculate the economic returns from the various draft plans on the basis of profit and loss comparisons (from a socialist point of view) and must use every economic capability at their disposal in order to produce many products at the lowest possible cost.

As regards the ministries and localities, the central level keeps a close accounting of production and business efficiency, the returns from capital investments, the amount of time needed to reclaim investments, the returns per dong invested, the accumulation of capital, payments for inclusion in the budget, export-import capabilities and so forth and keeps a clear accounting of the quantity and value of products sent to the locality by the central level and vice versa, which includes all exports and imports. The relationship between the central level and the local level here is a two-way relationship; these accounting practices never reduce the responsibility of the central level toward the locality (including those that are encountering many difficulties), to the contrary, they have an important effect in correcting both of the inclinations that arise here--the inclination to rely upon the upper level, upon the central level and the inclination to not fulfill responsibilities to the local level--on the basis of establishing correct relationships between the central level and the locality regarding obligations, responsibilities, authority and interests.

As regards the non-socialist segments of the economy, which still occupy an important position in our country, the state cannot directly or thoroughly plan their activities by means of "input-output" regulations; rather, it can only carry out the planning of these sectors by managing their "input-output" activities by means of economic measures, policies, economic levers and the various administrative-legal measures. Of course, we may not, simply because we wish to make use of the dynamism of the market, relax our adherence to the

principles governing the use of the market in economic management and planning as this would set the economy adrift in the market and eventually diminish the role of the plan. In form, some of the activities on the socialist market are similar to those on the capitalist market: there are commodities, money and the incentives provided by profit and the impact of supply and demand; in essence, however, the socialist market differs from the capitalist market. It is the market that belongs to the socialist mode of production that lies within the planned economy and is regulated by the socialist economic laws, not by the law of value. The socialist market is under the management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and is planned, led and controlled by socialist commerce. The socialist market lies within the scope of the planned economy and the activities of this market supplement the system of legal norms of the plan as economic levers. It is necessary to select an appropriate and suitable scope of direct planning and necessary to insure that the central level controls the vital areas of the economy; at the same time, indirect planning measures must be strengthened and greater use must be made of the various economic levers.

In our country's present situation, the plans that are first formulated are not balanced in every respect, consequently, we must continue to balance plans in the process of implementing them. For this reason, of importance in the management of plans is the need to insure that the various levels provide closer and more timely guidance and utilize work plans to provide centralized, well coordinated guidance in key areas. Economic activities must be managed in accordance with the approved plan; when unexpected developments arise and adjustments are necessary, the plan must be rebalanced.

In order to improve planning, we must establish the division of economic management responsibilities. Establishing the division of responsibilities is a principle in the science of economic management. Only by establishing the division of responsibilities it is possible to clearly define the responsibilities of the system that guides the economy and insure that this system is dynamic and effective.

We are establishing the division of economic management responsibilities for the purpose of meeting two basic requirements:

--Our country's economy is basically still a small-scale production economy and the effort to meet the main socio-economic targets regarding grain, consumer goods and export goods must still be based primarily on agriculture, small industry, the handicraft trades and so forth; as a result, we must create favorable conditions for developing these sectors and trades.

--We must clearly reflect the viewpoint of our party that each management level must truly be the master of the economy, display initiative and creativity and resolve the problems of its level so that the central level can concentrate on key jobs befitting the importance of the central level.

What must be emphasized is the fact that we did not overly centralize and must now "decentralize" as has been the case in a number of other countries. Our problem is that the two processes of the centralization of the economy and the democratization of the economy are being carried out simultaneously, thereby

causing agglomeration and centralization to occur while creating the conditions for the economy to vigorously "explode" so that, on this basis, greater centralization can be achieved.

The division of economic management responsibilities is also designed to cultivate the spirit of initiative, bring installations into activities based on the cost accounting management mechanism and build the district level into an economic management level that formulates a comprehensive plan.

It is necessary to emphasize the fundamental principles that serve as the basis for the division of economic management responsibilities:

1) The division of economic management responsibilities must strengthen the centralized and unified nature of the economy.

The socialist economy consists of large and complex systems that are related to one another within the economy as a whole. In particular, under the conditions of our country, a country within which small-scale production still predominates and the economy still consists of many different segments, there are very many factors and components that have an impact upon one another within very diverse relationships which our present capabilities (and existing means) do not permit us to handle and control as a single object. Therefore, separating these objects into their individual components and establishing a division of responsibilities for managing them is a natural step to take. It is also the basis underlying our present establishment of economic management responsibilities. The social economy is a complex system encompassing many components that have reciprocal relationships. A management system has a structure that consists of levels in which the lower level manages each component and the upper level provides management by coordinating the activities of the lower level. The establishment of the division of economic management responsibilities is the establishment of management levels. How these levels are divided depends upon how the objects being managed are separated and how the national economy is divided into sectors so that a type of division of management levels is established that is suited to the type of sector.

When attempting to achieve the objectives of the entire economy, the central management system must work through the management systems on the local and basic levels. Within the scope of the constraints imposed by the coordinating measures of the central management system, the management systems of the localities and installations must, when managing their components for the purpose of achieving the specific objectives of the locality and installation (within the constraints mentioned above), must, at the same time, insure that the objectives of the entire economy are met.

In order for the system of management levels to operate, there must, regardless of the coordinating measures taken by the central level, also be balance and coordination among the various components.

In the present economic situation, a situation in which many serious imbalances still exist and economic management, in general, and distribution-circulation, in particular, involve many problems that must be resolved, the



division of economic management responsibilities must be designed to meet the pressing requirements of the economy:

- + Stimulating the development of production, increasing exports and increasing economic and social returns;
- + Helping to reorganize the economy, reorganize production and resolve the problems that exist in distribution and circulation;
- + Insuring the unity of the three interests, strengthening the economic cooperation and coordination among installations and localities and generating a combined strength with a view toward resolving the imbalances of the economy and strengthening the system of responsibility, the system of discipline and the planned, unified nature of the economy.

2) The division of economic management responsibilities must uphold the principle of democratic centralism, which is a principle of a very highly scientific nature in the organizing of the management systems and the establishment of the division of economic management responsibilities.

The new viewpoints of modern cybernetics provide us with a deeper understanding of the scientific content of this principle.

The division of economic management responsibilities must contribute to the appropriate broadening of the independence of installations in production and business and create the full authority, responsibility, means and conditions needed for the installations to assume responsibility for resolving the problem that arise in production within the framework of state regulations. The agencies of the state must respect the status of the basic units as individuals under the law and must avoid, in every way possible, intervening in a counter-productive way in production. It is necessary to fully implement the manager system and to have but one manager controlling the entire management apparatus of the installation. This is the correct way to apply the guideline "granting decision making powers to the level that has the best conditions for understanding and performing work." We must avoid situations wherein many upper levels take over or intervene in the production and business of the installations, localities or sectors, thereby causing the installations, localities and sectors to lose their independence.

The main task of the management system is to make decisions, that is, to provide the management information needed to command the objects of management; these objects of management not only receive management information from the management system, but also supply to the system information on their present state and reflect their response to the impact of the management information provided by the upper level by means of feedback. This is the democratic aspect of the economic management system.

Centralism is the centralization of the decision making authority of the management system; only the management system may make decisions, the objects of management may not take it upon themselves to make decisions. Democracy is manifested in feedback. Democratic is the impact of feedback upon the



management system for the purpose of helping the upper level to adjust and improve upon its decisions.

One of the important characteristics of feedback is not passive feedback, but positive feedback; positive feedback serves to increase the practical effects of decisions and insures the stability and balance of the entire management system and everything managed within the system.

Thus, centralism and democracy must be closely linked to each other in an organic fashion. Centralism without democracy is centralism without feedback and will lead to one side being dictatorial and bureaucratic and the other side resisting and wanting to "tear down fences" and free itself from this centralism.

However, attention must be given to the fact that the socio-economic system is a dynamic system and that the balance and stability of this system are dynamic balance and stability, consequently, the management system must change swiftly and acclimate to this "dynamic" nature.

The problem we face at this time is how to boldly assign responsibilities to the local and basic levels but still maintain the centralized, unified management provided by the central level. Plans, budgets, supply operations, labor management and so forth must fully reflect the spirit of granting independence to the localities and installations but not affecting the central level's right to provide centralized management.

3) The standard for evaluating the division of economic management responsibilities must be economic returns (examined from the perspective of the entire national economy). The sector that has the best conditions and the fullest knowledge should be given the authority and the responsibility to resolve the problems that lie within its scope. In other words, problems should be resolved under specific conditions and on the level where solutions yield the highest possible economic returns (thus, many different plans must be proposed with the optimum plan being selected from among them).

4) It is necessary to implement the policy on building the central economy while developing the local economy within a unified national economic structure and implement the principle of coordinating the sector with the locality and territory. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: the economic-technical sectors, which are the backbone of the economy, firmly occupy the key positions of the national economy and in developing the local economy for the purpose of resolving the grain, food products, consumer goods and exports goods problems. We cannot give light attention to the role and position of the sector and must further strengthen sector-wide management (we cannot restrict ourselves to directly managed units as is the case now). And, we must direct the efforts of the sectors toward supporting local economic development and must heighten the spirit of responsibility of the localities toward the installations of the central economy located within them and combat the attitudes of indifference and even opposition toward these installations on the part of the localities.

- 5) The division of economic management responsibilities must be carried out in a well coordinated manner.

The reproduction process encompasses a system of activities that are closely linked to one another; therefore, when establishing the division of responsibilities, we must do so in a well coordinated manner by assigning responsibilities that range from plans to budgets, finances, credit, supplies and so forth and to cadres and material bases. Present facts show that there are some financial and banking policies and regulations that are impeding and restricting the effort of installations to develop their potentials and tying the hands of enterprises directors and cooperative heads, making it impossible for them to do business. For this reason, we must research and clearly analyze the complex economic relations that exist and will develop within a basic unit or a province or district and, on this basis, accurately determine well coordinated responsibilities, the responsibilities that are best suited to them, for units engaged in production and business and avoid the situation wherein restrictions are removed by one party only to be reimposed by another.

- 6) The division of economic management responsibilities must be flexible, diverse and suited to the level of development of each type unit or installation. The present situations of our basic units, provinces and districts vary very widely, consequently, management responsibilities cannot be assigned in the same way everywhere. The responsibilities, authority, obligations and interests of each locality and each type basic unit (and even the state-operated industrial enterprises, the central enterprises and the local enterprises) also vary very widely. As a result, it is necessary to classify the localities and basic units in order to determine the specifics involved in the assignment of management responsibilities in a manner suited to each type.

The above mentioned principles and thinking concerning the division of management responsibilities represent the application of the various economic laws under the conditions of our economy, which is in the initial stage of the period of transition to large-scale socialist production. If we do not adhere to the necessary viewpoints and principles, we will not be able to establish a correct division of responsibilities and will either further disrupt the economy or fail to develop the economic potentials of the local and basic levels.

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## THE MILITARY THEORY OF MARX AND THE PRESENT TASK OF DEFENDING THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 31-35, 41

[Article by Lieutenant General Pham Hong Son]

[Text] The theory of Marx concerning military matters, uprisings and war was based on his important argument that no class of exploiters leaves the arena of history without utilizing its military strength; therefore, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples cannot seize state power if they do not use violent force to crush the military attacks of the ruling class, in addition to employing the other forms of struggle.

Besides the projects in military theory conducted by F. Engels, who was considered to have the task of delving deeply into the field of military affairs, Marx, between 1848 and the time of his death, wrote very much about military affairs, uprisings, war, armed forces, military activities, military history, the uprisings of the proletariat, national liberation wars and wars between capitalist countries. Marx was the first person to clearly define the nature of violent force, of war, of the relationships between war and politics, between military affairs and economic activities and so forth.

The military theory of Marx and Engels is completely different from all military theories that preceded Marx because it is based on the philosophy of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It sets forth totally new arguments concerning war, in general, and revolutionary war and armed uprisings, in particular, in the new age, the age of the proletariat stepping into the arena of history, playing the central role and leading the revolution. The military theories of the slave owner classes, of the feudal powers and the bourgeoisie in bygone times as well as now are designed to support wars to rob from the laboring people at home and from other nations. We do not find in these theories any arguments concerning uprisings or revolutionary war or the organizing and buildup of the armed forces of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. Only the military doctrine of Marxism presents these arguments. From the perspective of its significance in liberating mankind from all oppression and exploitation and abolishing violence and war themselves, this doctrine is extremely humanitarian.

Both Marx and Engels confirmed that war is an historic phenomenon, is the product and the constant ally of societies that have class antagonisms. In the space of only 5,500 years, the nations on this planet have experienced more than 14,000 wars. World War II alone killed more than 50 million people. The objectives of scientific socialism are to abolish the causes of war and bring perpetual happiness and peace to mankind. Marx and Engels wrote: "When the antagonisms among the classes within a nation no longer exist, the hostile relations among nations will disappear along with these antagonisms."(1) Lenin also said: "There can no longer be any doubt that only a revolution by the proletariat can and surely will put an end to every form of war, in general."(2)

Marx cited historic fact to show that the ruling class never destroys that which is in its own interest and will definitely use violent force to protect its interests; therefore, the proletariat has no choice but to use violent force to seize political power. However, to Marx, violent force was nothing more than "the midwife of every old society that is about to give birth to a new society; violent force is the tool"...(3) but violent force and war are not all-powerful, as Mao Zedong maintained.

For the first time ever, Marx and Engels distinguished between just wars and unjust wars. Marx always said that we must avoid examining every war from a onesided point of view and must fully support the uprisings and wars of the oppressed classes and peoples. He always criticized those who did not understand that every war must be examined from a class viewpoint, from the perspective of whether it stimulates or impedes the development of the revolution, of the national liberation movement, of the interests of the laboring masses. War is an extension of the political line of a given class, consequently, when examining a war, we must study the political relations of the state and the class waging the war in their entirety.

The military doctrine of Marxism is totally divorced from and contrary to the military theory of the bourgeoisie concerning how to organize military affairs. On the basis of the viewpoint that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses, Marx advocated arming the broad revolutionary masses and widely teaching to the masses and their armed forces the goals of revolutionary uprisings and war; on this basis, he proposed his theory on the people's war.

Marx held that only the working class can arm the masses for the purpose of waging a popular war against the ruling class. Arming all the people is anathema to the feudal class and bourgeoisie; these classes would rather compromise with and allow their country to be lost to the enemy than arm the people. When discussing wars of liberation and wars of self-defense fought by the oppressed peoples, Marx and Engels very deeply analyzed the tremendous role played by the armed masses. The great value of this argument lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of the world, it revealed to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples the guidelines concerning their military organization, an organization born within the proletariat and the laboring people. Thus, Marx and Engels laid the theoretical foundation for a people's war as the form of military organization of the proletariat and for the famous argument on arming the working class and laboring people.



Besides arming the revolutionary masses, Marx, Engels and, later, Lenin stressed the need to establish a new style army of the socialist state, a revolutionary army totally different from the army of the bourgeoisie, once the proletariat seizes political power. Lenin developed the military theory of Marx and Engels into a complete Marxist military doctrine. He maintained that as long as the bourgeoisie continues to exist on a worldwide scale, it is not only necessary to arm the people, to organize militia units, but also necessary to build a regular-force, revolutionary army that is equipped with modern equipment, receives thorough, systematic training and has a corps of professional cadres who have received detailed training and are experienced. The principles employed in the building of the new style army of the first socialist state in the world supplemented the theory of Marx and Engels on military organization and have perfected this theory against the background of the proletariat having seized political power.

The doctrine of Marx and Engels concerning the methods for carrying out uprisings, revolutionary wars and self-defense wars is totally different from bourgeois military theory.

From the viewpoint of people's war, Engels spoke at great length about the need for nations to be flexible and creative when using the various modes of uprisings and war to win decisive victory. He said: "The liberation of the proletariat will, in turn, display its special characteristics in military work and create its own new and special military methods."(4)

One of the most important reasons why the Vietnamese revolution has won victory has been the fact that our party has creatively applied the military doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and raised the people's war, which is the backbone of the military doctrine of Marx, to a new level, to a new stage of qualitative development. One of these innovations has been: "The use of violent revolutionary force in the form of two forces, the political forces of the masses and the armed forces of the people; the staging of local uprisings in the countryside and the development of uprisings into a revolutionary war; the coordination of the military struggle with the political struggle and the diplomatic struggle; the coordination of uprisings by the masses with revolutionary war, uprisings with attacks, attacks with uprisings; the fight fought against the enemy in all three strategic regions: the mountainous jungles, the rural lowlands and the cities; the fight fought against the enemy by the three spearheads: military activities, political activities and military proselyting activities; the coordination of the three arms of the military, the coordination of the guerrilla war with the conventional war and the coordination of large-scale, medium-scale and small-scale attacks; gaining control in order to annihilate the enemy and annihilating the enemy in order to gain control; and firmly adhering to the guideline of fighting a protracted war while knowing how to create and seize opportunities to launch strategic offensives that changed the war situation and culminated in a general offensive and uprising in order to crush the forces of the enemy and win final victory."(5)

At present, the U.S. imperialists are still scheming to launch a global counter-attack and strengthen their military forces in order to achieve military superiority in the world, strengthen their leadership of the

capitalist work, play the role of international policeman and thwart the development of the three revolutionary currents. They are intensifying the arms race on an unprecedented scale, making rash propaganda statements about nuclear war, publicly pursuing a policy of armed attacks against the national liberation movement and intensifying the expansion of their system of military bases in the world. Meanwhile, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are continuing to pursue their policy of collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and Thailand, together with the other reactionary powers, for the purpose of undermining the Kampuchean revolution and the Lao revolution. China has continuously refused to negotiate a peace with Vietnam, constantly created a state of tension along the northern border of Vietnam, occupied the Paracel Islands of Vietnam and declared that the Spratly Islands of Vietnam are Chinese territory. Having suffered tragic defeat in their large-scale wars against Vietnam, they are now waging a multifaceted war of sabotage to weaken and eventually annex our country.

Historic experience has shown that the expansionists and hegemonists who rule in China are always scheming to annex Vietnam, are always preparing for or waging wars to steal our country from us and assimilate the Vietnamese. From the time of Tan Thuy Hoang through the dynasties of the Duong, Tong, Nguyen, Minh and Thanh, there was not one period in which China did not wage at least a few wars of aggression against Vietnam.

Today, having been defeated in two ways of aggression against our country, the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles are waging a multifaceted war of sabotage to gradually weaken our country; at the same time, they are making active preparations to launch a large-scale war to annex our country when the opportunity arises. For this reason, we must be constantly vigilant, "must mobilize our entire party, all our people and our entire army to make the greatest possible efforts, determined to win victory over the multifaceted war of sabotage of the enemy while guaranteeing that our country is always in a state of readiness and fully capable of defeating the enemy in any situation."(6)

We must constantly increase the strength of the country in every respect so that we are able to take the initiative in every situation. Reducing our vigilance or relaxing our defense of the country will only have the opposite effect, that is, will only encourage the aggressive, warmongering powers outside the country and the reactionaries within the country. Only by increasing the strength of the country by means of developing the economy, carrying out cultural development and strengthening the national defense system is it possible to discourage the enemy so that they do not even dare to harbor illusions about committing aggression against or undermining the socialist system of our people.

This demands that we have a firm grasp of the relationship between the two strategic tasks, that we focus our efforts on building socialism, building every potential of the country and increasing the strength of the socialist system in every respect and use it as the base for increasing the strength of our national defense system, the importance of which cannot be given light attention for 1 minute. We must strengthen the political and spiritual unanimity of the people, strengthen the solidarity of the various

nationalities and the solidarity between the army and the people, especially in the border provinces. It must be realized that as long as the Chinese authorities do not change their hostile policy toward Vietnam, they do not seek peace with us. As Lenin once said: "We are now making the shift from war time to peace time but must never forget that war will reoccur. As long as there are capitalism and socialism, these two philosophies cannot live in peace: in the end, either socialism or capitalism will triumph... What we are experiencing is only a ceasefire. The capitalists will find an excuse for launching another war against us."(7)

In the present war to defend the fatherland, besides the strengths of the armed masses, we must have a regular force and modern army to insure that we triumph over the enemy should they recklessly unleash a war of aggression. Building a regular-force and modern army is a pressing requirement in the cause of defending the fatherland. In this work, we are encountering many difficulties, primarily because our economy is backward and our people are still encountering many difficulties in their daily lives. To resolve this problem, we must fully adhere to the viewpoint that the economy is the foundation of the national defense system because, as Engels once said: "Nothing is more dependent upon economic conditions than the army and the navy."(8) On the other hand, we must coordinate the economy with the national defense system in accordance with basic, long-range guidelines; at the same time, we must foresee developments in order to make prompt and appropriate adjustments when changes occur in order to insure victory over the enemy. We must formulate plans for mobilizing the national economy to be ready to fight a war of aggression. We must always be ready to make the shift from peace time to war time. We must never be caught unprepared, regardless of the situation. A unified strategic deployment must be established so that we are the masters of both the economy and the national defense system on a nationwide scale and within each locality. The national defense industry must be appropriately strengthened. While performing the task of maintaining combat readiness, a component of the army's forces and a component of the national defense industry must participate in economic construction. Our national defense industry is a part of the industry of the entire country and must be given appropriate responsibilities within the overall economy in order to accelerate economic development and strengthen the national defense system.

In the present age of science and technology, all armies of the world are modernizing. Strategic combat activities not only involve the army on the ground, but also strategic air raids by the air force, the interdiction of sea lanes by the navy and so forth; therefore, the national defense task not only demands that we build up the army, but also that we build up our air force and navy.

The present task of defending the fatherland is unlike the task we had when waging the war of liberation, that is, we cannot allow the enemy to deeply penetrate our country before annihilating them. The task of defending the fatherland demands that we stop and annihilate the enemy at the border. Therefore, we must not only widely arm the masses throughout the country, but must also have an increasingly regular force and modern people's army. In order to build a strong army, our economy and science must be strong so that we can arm ourselves; however, in the immediate future and for a long time to

come, we must rely upon the assistance of the Soviet Union and the socialist community to provide the modern base of the army so that it is strong enough to protect socialism in Vietnam and fulfill our international obligation.

On the basis of the scientific achievements and the military art of the war of liberation, which itself was an achievement in the creative application of the military theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country, inheriting and developing upon the very best of the military science of other nations and the experiences of our people in the revolutionary struggle and intensifying our study of the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, we must bring Marxist-Leninist military science and art in our country to a new level of development with a view toward carrying out the task of building a strong and solid national defense system in the best possible manner, preparing the country to maintain combat readiness in peace time and winning victory over the enemy should they recklessly unleash a war of aggression against our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 45.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 187.
3. F. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 312.
4. F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J. Stalin: "On the People's War," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 59.
5. Le Duan: "The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress," TAP CHI HOC TAP, No 12, 1976, p 45.
6. Le Duan: "The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 33.
7. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 564.
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## KARL MARX'S LESSON IN SCIENTIFIC LABOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 36-41

[Article by Pham Nhu Cuong]

[Text] Karl Marx had a diverse and rich personality that was rarely seen. He was the embodiment of the qualities of a scholar who conducted tireless research to discover the truths of science, a revolutionary militant who took the struggle for the freedom and happiness of the worker as his *raison d'être* and source of enthusiasm, a brilliant strategist and tactician and a respected leader of the proletarian movement.

Marx's life was greatly shortened (he lived on 65 years: 1818-1883) by many serious illnesses that had their origins in a life of mental labor, in extremely tense socio-political activities and in a life of abject poverty. However, he chose the course that he would follow while still a youth: when we select an occupation that permits us to do the best that we can to bring happiness to mankind, its heavy burdens cannot bring us to our knees...

Marx's mind "was like a battleship berthed at a pier but under a full head of steam, always ready to depart in any direction in the ocean of human thought." (1) It was, in the fullest sense of the term, an encyclopedic mind of a scientist who worked with all his strength, who set for himself the strictest possible demands concerning the practical and theoretical foundations of each conclusion he reached. Once, when debating with Marx the reasons for the delay in the publication of one of his economic works, Engels wrote to him in the form of a reproach: "...The main reason for this delay is your own very thoroughness." (2)

The book "Capital" was the result of 40 years of labor that began in 1843 and ended in the final years of Marx's life. Each step forward in recognizing the laws of social progress was the result of a high concentration of intellectual energy. Behind each discovery of theory, behind each page in the drafts that he wrote to clarify something to himself (as Marx often said) was a large volume of books that were read and reread, were carefully studied in the forms of excerpted passages and summaries that sometimes required hours, days, months and even years of patient thought in order to understand things

thoroughly. Without this, as Engels said: "There would have been many more books like "Capital."(3)

At the very start of his life as a student, Marx displayed a thirst for knowledge with all the zeal of the young. He matriculated in many courses at the same time. In addition to studying lessons on the law, Marx also studied Greek and Roman mythology, studied the history and theory of modern art, bought very many books to read, especially books on history, and studied foreign languages. In a letter to his father, Marx confided: "...I have limited my contacts with friends and it is only with great reluctance that I have gone to visit friends on a few occasions, this so that I can bury my head in science and art..."(4)

Marx also composed poetry but it is clear that his special talent lay in the field of scientific research. As he read books and thought about matters, Marx became increasingly aware of the need to delve deeply in philosophical issues. In 1837, at 19 years of age, Marx wrote: "Once again, I have been convinced by my own experience that without philosophy it is impossible to achieve results..."(5) Also in that year, Marx devoted his efforts to researching Hegel's philosophy and quickly became the most distinguished personality in the club of intellectuals of the young Hegel faction. In 1839, Marx concentrated on studying the history of philosophy and, in April 1841, defended his doctoral thesis in philosophy, which was entitled: "The Differences Between the Philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus Concerning Nature." The year 1842 was marked by Marx coming into contact with Feuerbach's work "The Essence of Christianity."

Paul Lafargue very correctly observed: "Karl Marx was one of the few persons to hold a leading position in both the field of science and in the field of social activity; Marx combined these two aspects so closely that we would not be able to understand him if we separated the scientist from the socialist militant."(6)

This characteristic emerged at the very outset: Marx studied philosophy not only for the joy of acquiring knowledge, but primarily because of his need to understand and explain the issues of contemporary society. It was also because he came in contact with the real issues of society while working on the RHINE RIVER Newspaper that Marx realized the ineffectiveness of Hegel's idealistic theory concerning the state and began to criticize it. To implement this criticism, Marx studied the histories of France, Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Italy and Sweden, the socio-political systems of those countries and the history of the French bourgeois revolution in the 18th century. He analyzed the works of French, German, British and Italian historians, philosophers and politicians. It was on the basis of these historical studies that Marx wrote the draft of "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy Concerning Jurisdiction, thereby opening the way for Marx's first great scientific discovery: material social relations, ownership relations are the foundation, are the first cause of every social phenomenon. The 1844 draft, the thesis on Feuerbach, the book "German Ideology" and so forth, each of these steps forward in the process of molding his materialist view of history was the result of serious mental labor combined with intense social activities. And, each step forward that Marx took in the molding of

his doctrine was, at the same time, another step in his disassociation, his severing of himself in terms of thinking and points of view from his liberal, progressive bourgeois and petty bourgeois contemporaries.

Whereas in the 1840's, Marx and Engels researched social production in macrocosm, in the subsequent stage, Marx focused his efforts on researching capitalist production in microcosm, researching the underlying processes of capitalism in order to determine the mechanism of its operation.

Specific data played a very large role in the molding of the economic doctrine of Marx and in the arguments used by Marx to defend his doctrine. For example, to support his view that land rents are a form of profit to landowners in capitalist society and criticize the mistakes of D. Ricardo concerning this matter, Marx researched in detail statistical data on the price of bread in Great Britain each year from 1641 to 1859. Marx also employed statistical data to expose the mistakes of the Proudhon faction. Marx's "Capital" supplied us with a huge volume of specific data on the birth and development of capitalist production.

However, there was another type of event of no less importance in the formation of the economic doctrine of Marx, a type that we, for want of better words, can call "events in the realm of theory." Marx fully documented and carefully researched in a critical spirit the history of bourgeois political economic thinking. Marx told his daughters that the work he preferred was to "investigate old books." For many years in a row, Marx tirelessly worked all day in the reading room of the British Museum, the largest library in the world at that time; returning home, he stayed up until midnight to review notes, summaries and excerpts. Marx wrote thousands of pages in draft form presenting various hypotheses for his outline of "Capital." The drafts that Marx wrote are still in existence today and, although they are not complete, they could still fill a large library.

In order to write "Capital," Marx, in addition to detailed socio-economic data and books on theory, also gave his attention to the realist literary works of the great authors. In "Capital," in order to prove his arguments, Marx quoted from many of the works of such eminent authors as Balzac, Dickens, Shakespeare, Cervantes and so forth.

Marx retained his enthusiasm for science until the final days of his life. Although he was rather old and his health had failed, Marx still had a special enthusiasm for new books, still read and still filled the pages he read with marks and notes. The scope of the scientific matters with which Marx was concerned was still very broad because he always exhibited "a harsh attitude of self-criticism, one which made him want to bring his economic discoveries to the pinnacle of perfection before passing them on to readers." (7)

In the late 1870's and the early 1880's, together with studying the United States and Russia in greater detail, Marx also researched many matters within the field of the natural sciences from the point of view of their close relationship with matters of political economics. Marx had an especially high evaluation of scientific discoveries that directly benefitted man, influenced the development of technology and production and had an important impact upon

the welfare of the masses. He also extensively studied advanced mathematics, partly because economic research demands the calculation of many long problems and partly because mathematics is closely related to philosophy, to the logic of the dialectic, both of which are fields that Marx considered to be of decisive importance in establishing a correct method of thinking.

The issues of world history, including the history of liberation movements, were also studied by Marx in the process of preparing to write Volumes II and III of "Capital." This proves that Marx intended to conduct more extensive research in political economics, that he wanted to reveal the economic laws of the systems that preceded capitalism and, in this manner, delve more deeply into and further develop his materialist view of history. Marx intended to summarize his knowledge of history by formulating charts on the development of all countries. Although this desire was only partially realized, primarily with regard to the history of Europe and a few countries of Asia and Africa, that which Marx did achieve is admired by us for its completeness. The four large notebooks that Marx kept in 1881-82 on the history of the world encompassed the events that occurred between the 1st and the 17th centuries. Marx's notes were not simply copies of what Marx had read in books about historic events, rather, they most often reflected his own views concerning those events.

Marx and Engels were the scientists who first saw the genuine scientific value and revolutionary significance of the discoveries made by Darwin and Morgan. Deserving of attention is the fact that Darwin's dialectical and spontaneous materialist viewpoint was crystallized at the precise time that Marx and Engels were formulating their scientific world view--the philosophy of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. As for himself, Marx had already finished the formulation of his economic theory (his work "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economics" and Darwin's work "On the Origin of Species Through Natural Selection" were published in the same year).

While the orthodox scientific world in Europe and, to some extent, in the United States decided to ignore the contribution made by Morgan, Marx and Engels found in his work on ancient society (along with numerous other works by many other scholars on primitive society) much valuable material that gave greater depth to their materialist view of history.

In the fulfillment of his mission as one who broke new ground and created a totally new doctrine, Marx also displayed great revolutionary bravery in rejecting and casting aside without hesitation every traditional form of prestige, thereby opening the way for the birth of genuine scientific truth. Marx often called his economic research a "critique" ("Capital" was also called "Critique of Political Economics"). Marx bravely went against the current of his times because he understood that when one stands at the threshold of science as well as when one steps into hell, he must demand the following of himself:

"Here, the spirit must be firm."

"Here, one may not yield to the counsel of fear."(8)



The bravery displayed here was synonymous with absolute scientific fidelity. Denouncing Malthus as someone who knelt before the most reactionary classes in capitalist society, Marx wrote: "Someone who searches for a way to make science conform with a viewpoint that is not drawn from science itself (regardless of how many other serious mistakes are made) but from outside science, with a viewpoint that is controlled by interests that are divorced from science, that lie outside science, is a person whom I consider to be a coward."(9)

Although the above is only a presentation of some aspects of the scientific labor of Marx, it is enough to permit us to conclude that, as a scholar, Marx did not possess innate genius that enabled him to easily record achievements. In a letter to Maurice La Sa-to-ro [Vietnamese phonetics], Marx wrote: "In science, there is no smooth, straight path; only those persons who are not afraid of the rigors involved in climbing the crooked, narrow paths of science can hope to reach the gleaming pinnacles of science."(10) In fact, Marx made the greatest effort a person could make in order to reach the pinnacle of the knowledge of mankind in all fields. However, Marx did not acquire knowledge in a passive manner, rather, he became the master of it and used it as a necessary instrument in the process of his mental labor filled with creativity. And, as Marx said, "We cannot rely upon help from microscopes of scientific catalysts; the only strength that can be used as a tool here is abstraction."(11)

Marx left us the bulk of his doctrine in "Capital." At the same time, he also gave us the scientific methodology that helped him to formulate his theory of political economics by researching and explaining real capitalist society in detail. As Lenin wrote: "Whereas Marx did not leave us a book entitled 'Logic'(with a capital L), he did leave us the logic of 'Capital'... In 'Capital,' logic, the dialectic and the theory of knowledge...are applied within the same science... In it are the history of capitalism and analyses of the concepts summarizing that history."(12)

With special praise for Marx's presentation of capitalist production beginning with the trading of goods, Lenin said: "...This is how, generally speaking, the dialectic must be presented (researched) (because Marx's dialectic regarding capitalist society involves only one special case of the dialectic's application."(13)

The methods employed by Marx in "Capital" encompass all the fundamental arguments of dialectical materialism and the materialist view of history that Marx began to formulate in the 1840's. In a letter that he wrote following the publication of Volume I of "Capital," Marx said: "When I am free of the heavy economic burden I bear I will write 'The Dialectic.'"(14) It is very regrettable that Marx never fulfilled this intention!

By researching, studying and learning the methods of scientific labor employed by Marx, we see in Marx a high degree of abstraction and generalization, which combine to form a major strength that make it possible to determine the inner most essence of things, the "pure state" of things separated from every minor detail, thereby providing us with an abstract "theoretical" model of things; on the other hand, this same characteristic makes it impossible to employ

Marx's theory directly, rather, it must be given concrete form, must be supplemented by a number of intermediary elements when being applied in order to research the different specific societies.

Marx, himself, frequently emphasized that his view concerning the successive stages of development of mankind cannot be turned into "some sort of philosophical-historical theory on evolution in general that can be applied to every nation as a predetermined destiny with no regard for its specific historic circumstances."(15)

Applying the doctrine of Marx in order to solve the problems of real life means applying dialectical materialism and political economics to study a given set of specific production relations as they exist and develop and use the events of real economic life as the sole standard for testing the correctness of our research.

The works of V.I. Lenin, such as "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "The Economy and Politics in the Age of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and so forth, are models of the application of the doctrine of Marx for the purpose of finding correct solutions to the new problems raised by life, thereby advancing Marxism to a new stage of development.

Through the revered President Ho Chi Minh, Marxism-Leninism brought the Vietnamese revolution from the crisis it was experiencing concerning which line to follow during the early decades of the 1920's. And, over the past half century, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party has correctly resolved numerous complex problems of the Vietnamese revolution and set an outstanding example of how to creatively apply both the theory and the methodology of Marx.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Paul Lafargue: "Memories of Marx and Engels," French version, 1958, p 76.
2. "Letters Regarding Capital": the Correspondence of Marx and Engels, French version, Socialist Publishing House, Paris, p 114.
3. V. Vigotski: "Why is K. Marx's Capital Always of Contemporary Value?", French version, Moscow, 1975, p 8.
4. "K. Marx, His Life and Work," Russian version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1973, p 21.
5. "From Pushkin to Tolstoy," stories and short novels, French version, Paris, p 28.
6. K. Marx: His Life and Work," p 536.
7. Ibid., p 566.

8. K. Marx: "Concerning the Critique of Political Economics," Russian version, p 10 (these are two sentences that Marx took from the comedy "Dante's Inferno").
9. V. Vigotski: "Why Is K. Marx's Capital Always of Contemporary Value?", p 57.
10. K. Marx: "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume I, p 47.
11. V. Vigotski: "Why Is K. Marx's Capital....," p 71.
12. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, fourth printing, Volume 38, p 315.
13. Ibid., p 359.
14. "K. Marx: His Life and Work," p 422.
15. K. Marx-F. Engels: "Correspondence," French version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, p 321.

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## BRINGING ABOUT A STRONG CHANGE IN LITERARY AND ARTISTIC CREATIVITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 42-45

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Our literature and art are revolutionary literature and art. They are inextricably linked to the destiny of the nation, the life of the people. In the cause of liberating the fatherland, they made glorious contributions to the victory that was won, thereby proving themselves worthy of standing in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literature and art in the world today.

Since our entire country entered the period of transition to socialism, our literature and art have recorded many significant achievements. "Over the past several years, a number of works of value have appeared, works that have clearly played a role in molding the new thinking and feelings. Some works and some artists have won high honors in international contests..."(1) We respect these achievements and praise every effort that is made in this field for the sake of the country, for the sake of the people. However, we are not satisfied: generally speaking, the quality of works is not high and their "socialist content is not profound, is not a strong attraction and does not leave deep impressions that guide persons in thinking and acting correctly."(2) It is as though we have ceased making progress. Why is this? What is impeding our literary and artistic creativity, impeding what should be very strong and very widespread progress by our robust and challenged revolutionary literature and art?

The answer is not a simple one.

There was a time when some thought that the obstacle lay in superficial concepts of literature and art. It is true that this infantilism has yet to disappear completely, especially in the localities, and that adherence to established models, the use of formulas and brevity have, to some extent, harmed literary and artistic creativity. However, when analyzing this from the point of view of who specifically has been harmed and how they have been harmed, we see no single or primary cause, nor any universal cause, for that matter.



Is the fact that the public does not understand art and has not been fully educated in aesthetic tastes an obstacle to literary and artistic creativity? This is not the case either. Our literature and art have an appreciative public, even though some persons still have backward tastes and even though it once appeared that these tastes were spreading. It is our task to create works of art that are worthy of the public, to create an ideal public for our works instead of waiting for a pure and perfect public for our works to emerge. We must not chase after those who are backward and have much money and turn art into something done for profit. Let us be like that singer who stood firm in the face of jeers from persons who were in a frenzy over rock music and won over his audience by revealing his ability and his soul through a well known revolutionary song. Art has always been a means for teaching proper aesthetic tastes; instead of merely waiting for the judgement of public opinion, art, itself, must create legitimate and supportive public opinion.

Our daily material lives continue to involve many difficulties, and literary and artistic activities also demand certain material and technical means that we temporarily do not have in adequate supply. This situation, of course, is somewhat unfavorable; however, it is not the main obstacle to literary and artistic creativity either. Difficulties serve to provide us with challenges and countless persons of talent have written "timeless literature" amidst countless difficulties; in addition, our writers and artists stand ready to accept and share the difficulties of the country.

There are many other things that can be cited as obstacles. In the final analysis, because literary and artistic activities are very subtle and complicated forms of activity, the things that can impede them are truly not small in number. An incorrect concept, shallow knowledge, a deficiency in the skills of the artist, a shortcoming in organization or management, a justified or unjustified feeling of dissatisfaction and so forth, all of these are objective or subjective obstacles that lie in one person or another and harm literary and artistic creativity. However, literary and artistic creativity comes from within, from the abundance, the overflow of "subjective images of the objective world"(Lenin). To our writers and artists, this is the need to express oneself as the conscious master of history, as an activist participating in the transformation and the building of life. Therefore, the most important factor, the most decisive factor continues to be writers and artists and the largest, the primary obstacle, if any exists, continues to be writers and artists.

Let us begin by examining writers and artists themselves, because works of art are the products of writers and artists, and then examine the other causes.

As creative persons, our writers and artists must take the initiative in overcoming every subjective and objective obstacle to their creativity, beginning with overcoming themselves.

Overcoming oneself primarily means making one's awareness more correct, fuller and deeper than it was yesterday, that is, elevating oneself to the level of vision and thinking of the party concerning revolutionary reality, the country, life and man.

We can take pride in the fact that we have a trustworthy corps of persons engaged in literary and artistic work, a corps that encompasses many generations and many talents. However, our writers and artists are only familiar with topics involving patriotic resistance against aggression, not with topics involving socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. The realization that Vietnam, following more than 30 years of war, has now truly embarked on the socialist revolution through its own efforts in a very difficult period of history and is blazing a path straight to socialism, that is, the realization that Vietnamese socialist realism is being tested while moving forward, this realization is still a vague realization on the part of many of our writers and artists and, because it is vague, confusion and mistakes sometimes occur.

Which revolution has not experienced setbacks and confusion in its initial stages? In addition, the socialist revolution is "a complete break with the traditional system of ownership," "with traditional thinking" ("The Communist Manifesto"). Moreover, our socialist revolution in Vietnam has no precedent: although complying with the general, universal laws of the socialist revolution and making every effort to study the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, our revolution must resolve its own new problems, problems of its own, within a country that was once a colony, within a backward agricultural economy that experienced a long war and still hears the sound of gunfire, a country in which the public ownership of the instruments of production came into being on the basis of a production force that is very small and has not, as a result, had much of an impact and a country which, after many years of working, is still not self-sufficient but whose every shortage is met by foreign aid. Moreover, the socialist revolution in Vietnam is occurring amidst very complex changes in the world situation. Only by being fully aware of all these facts and examining all previous revolutions, the successful as well as the unsuccessful ones, and the many things that had to be done over--is it possible to understand the reasons for our subjective shortcomings and the objective necessity of this complex stage, possible to fully respect the achievements that have been recorded and possible to truly take pride in that which is heroic and great in the Vietnamese revolution.

Now, more than ever before, we must clearly recognize where we are in the course of history, what we are doing and what we want to do. How is the decisive, prolonged, complex, back and forth struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism and is being waged under the circumstances of the multifaceted war of sabotage being carried out by the Beijing expansionists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against our country occurring in each field of social life and even in the field of literature and art? A correct methodology helps us to see the essence of socialist revolutionary realism in Vietnam.

A flesh and blood closeness to the life of our people--going to progressive places, living among progressive persons--is necessary in order to break the encirclement of ourselves by negative phenomena, welcome the new that is being born with joyful hearts and, on this basis, see more clearly the value of the life that we are seeking to achieve today.

A high sense of party consciousness and the full spirit of responsibility of a militant on the cultural and ideological front in the new stage of the revolution, who gives his all in life and on paper with knowledge, experience and talent that are always being cultivated, will surely lead to worthy works of art.

Art is nothing if it does not have full confidence in life. Art is strength, is beauty, is joy and can be everything if it confirms the value of our life and stimulates the new that is bravely casting off countless shackles to emerge in today's life with all the confidence and talent of the creative person.

Of course, the strength of our writers and artists also lies in their organization. Therefore, together with each individual writer and artist improving himself in every respect, improving his awareness, thinking, lifestyle, knowledge, ethics, work and talent, every effort must be made to improve the organization and management of the corps of writers and artists so that they are more effective.

At present, our organizing of the corps of writers and artists does not meet the requirements of revolutionary tasks.

The literary and art associations must reorganize their apparatus, make good preparations for their congresses and conduct these congresses well. Each association must fulfill its function as a revolutionary organization responsible for the development of a specialized sector. Each must have an activity program that extends from now until 1985 and for the rest of the 1980's that is in the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, establish an activity fund, establish a respected and effective leadership committee and bring its members together in a feeling of love and mutual respect, of mutual trust and assistance and encourage and develop talents.

The management agencies of the state in the field of literature and art must also be improved in order to develop each creative potential of writers and artists, develop and improve the quality of literary and artistic activities in support of the political task of the party and state and, at the same time, struggle against the enemy's sabotage on the cultural front, sweep away the slave, reactionary and decadent literature and art, overcome the negative phenomena within literary and artistic life and restore order within this field.

In order to give concrete form to the literature and art line of the party in the new stage of the revolution, reorganizing the sector (which includes continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of the art groups in the South) is clearly important and pressing work.

It is necessary to immediately put an end to capitalist business practices in art; this situation is undermining art and creating loopholes for the enemy to take advantage of and for dealers in art to make themselves wealthy.

We are endeavoring to gradually abolish the system of administrative management and subsidies within literary and artistic activities. Our objective is to support the laboring people, support socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. We must bring literature and art to each production installation and each unit of the armed forces, especially in the border provinces and new economic zones, with a view toward helping to establish a beautiful literary and artistic life. We must not pursue ordinary, backward tastes, reduce the stature of art or abandon the noble title of artist.

At present, we do not have much material wealth; however, this does not mean that we cannot create for writers and artists writing camps, music rooms and the other minimum material and technical conditions and means needed for literary and artistic creativity. Proof of this can be seen in the facts that nearly two-thirds the 1982 cultural activity fund remains unused and there are many sources of revenue from literature and art that are being ignored, that are not in the hands of the state and are not being paid to artists.

The regulations and policies governing everything from the elementary and advanced training of writers and artists and the review and approval of works and manuscripts to the funds for creative work, subsidies for the performing arts and so forth must be re-examined and improved to suit the new situation and must be the same throughout the country in order to create favorable conditions for literary and artistic activities.

Finally, it is very necessary to establish a scientific and effective working mechanism that coordinates the associations of the specialized sectors, the Ministry of Culture and the literary and art committees of the party on the central level and within the localities to guide and manage the literary and art sector in the spirit "the party must strengthen its leadership of this field and, at the same time, improve its leadership to be consistent with its special characteristics." (3)

By firmly adhering to the line of the party, closely associating ourselves with the life of the people and displaying a high spirit of self-reliance, initiative and creativity, we will surely bring about a new and strong change in literary and artistic creativity and build new pinnacles upon the firm foundation of our socialist literature and art.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No4-1982, p 57.
2. "The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 99-100.
3. "The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates,"...p 102.

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## OUR WORK IN THE THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ART OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 46-50

[Article by Phan Cu De]

[Text] Over the past several years, the literature and art of our country have recorded a number of achievements worthy of enthusiasm and have developed in both breadth and depth. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress observed: "In the field of literary and artistic creativity, several works of value have appeared over the past several years that have had a clear impact in molding the new thinking, the new feelings(...). Clearly, a step forward was taken in the effort to build and transform culture along socialist lines."(1)

These overall achievements included very significant contributions by the corps of persons who work in the field of the theory, criticism and research of literature and art. In slightly more than 4 years (1979-1983), 20 books on literary theory and criticism were published. There have been profound and detailed essays on the classical poets. There have been serious, thorough projects researching and criticizing modern literature. In addition to the critical works and the essays that have been published each year to promptly praise new works ("Thoughts on Literature," "The Writer," "Ideology and Style"), many projects have focused on researching the typical works of revolutionary literature ("President Ho Chi Minh, the Great Poet of the Nation," "The Poems of To Huu"). Deserving of attention is the fact that efforts have been made in the field of the theory and criticism of art to conduct summaries in order to outline the portraits and style of an increasingly large corps of writers and artists, set forth laws and confirm the tremendous achievements recorded by "the vanguard anti-imperialist literature and art of the present age" ("The Vietnamese Author (1945-1975)"; "Literature Resists the United States for National Salvation"; "Vietnamese Literature on the Path of Socialist Realism"). In the field of the theory and criticism of literature and art, the opinions of classical Marxist authors concerning literature and art have also been presented ("Studying Lenin's Thinking on Literature and Art"; "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Some Matters Concerning the Theory of Literature and Art"). The theory and criticism of literature and art have also helped us to gain a firmer grasp of a number of

principles and the literature and art line of the party ("On a Path"; "Bright Eyes, Bright Heart"; "Concerning National Character in Literature"). The field of theory and criticism has also participated in the struggle of the party to protect the truth against opportunists and Marxist impersonators. A number of essays have helped readers to clearly distinguish between the Marxist-Leninist, socialist nature of the literature and art line of the Vietnam Communist Party and the non-Marxism-Leninist, anti-socialist nature of Maoist literature and art. Some projects in the research of theory have defined the basic characteristics of neo-colonialist literature and art and contributed to the effort to sweep away the remnants of the reactionary and decadent literature and art ("Continuing the Struggle To Abolish the Remnants of the Neo-Colonialist Culture"; "The Commandoes of Neo-Colonialism on the Cultural and Ideological Front" and so forth).

In recent years, new advances have been made in the methodology employed in the field of theory and criticism. Upholding the tradition of preceding generations, theoreticians and critics have continued to improve upon the socio-historic methodology in research, that is, researching literature from an historical point of view and within the close relationship that it has with social life, with the different degrees of consciousness within the superstructure of knowledge and with the world view of the writer. Several theses have delved into linguistic methods and confirmed the scientific effectiveness of employing both structural linguistics and historical linguistics to establish the relationship between the synchronic and the diachronic. A number of other theses have developed upon the tradition of preceding generations in applying the comparative literature method by employing it in coordination with linguistic methods and the methods of sociological investigation in the critique and research of literature ("Semantics and Literary Criticism"; "Concerning the Science and Art of Literary Criticism"). These projects uniformly criticized the idealist viewpoint and formalism of the "new criticism," criticized the consciousness of structuralism and criticized the position taken by a number of persons who want to combine the structural method with the dialectical method or--in their terminology--to "structuralize the dialectic."

However, besides the achievements worthy of enthusiasm that have been recorded, which represent the dominant feature of cultural life, literature and art in our country, there have also been deviations and mistakes and, at times, there has been a lack of direction in a number of important components.

Some writers and artists want to create the new, want to reach new, high pinnacles and want to rapidly overcome the faults of the past, such as the remnants of infantilism, brevity and adherence to formulas. However, these persons have a tenuous footing on a dangerous piece of ground. They are inclined to deny the literary achievements that were recorded in the 30 years of revolutionary war and are even unsure about the fundamental principles of socialist realist literature and art. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress praised the achievements recorded by literature and art in the two great wars of the nation: this literature and art "are worthy of standing in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literature and art of the present age." Yet, some of the persons in the field of theory and criticism have vacillated and lost confidence, maintaining that we do not

have a literature that wrote about the war because writers do not dare tell the whole truth, especially with regard to casualties, deaths and the fear and cowardice of humans in the face of the cruel destruction caused by war; "authors are disposed to writing about those who were more fortunate" "as though they were more concerned with what is proper than what is true"; "one-half of a loaf of bread is bread but one-half of the truth is a lie," etc. Some persons incorrectly argue that we do not have a genuine socialist realism, only "a conformist literature" dyed a deeply subjective color, a "conformist realism" that only concentrates on describing the noble (that which should exist), not the truth (that which does exist)...

Some of the arguments mentioned above are the result of the failure to recognize the essence of the reality of the heroic struggle waged by our nation over the past several decades under the leadership of the party; the failure to recognize the strength, of which we can justifiably be very proud, of a system of revolutionary literature and art that always burns brightly with the flame of ideals; and the failure to recognize that the noble, the beautiful and the heroic are the most profound and vivid expressions of the essence of a proletarian party in our country's literature and art over the past 30 years. That which is new to us is closely linked to the fine traditions of the nation, of the revolution. The new man is not a person who is only conscious of his own individuality, who is proud to have destroyed and demolished everything and is not dependent upon principles or models that existed previously. We do not advocate that a person be conservative and know nothing but how to obey; however, if we reject the yesterday of the revolution, it does not mean that we should bring back the yesterday of neo-colonialism in Saigon. The history of our country's literature and art proves this. Once a component of petty bourgeois intellectuals panics, vacillates, turns its back on the worker movement and abandons the principles of Marxist aesthetics and the line of the party on literature and art, it will sooner or later spontaneously fall victim to liberal bourgeois inclinations and deceive itself with arguments that are grand and pompous but are very vague politically and in terms of class viewpoint and the socialist stand. In a number of articles published in some newspapers and journals, we see traces of the aesthetic idealism of Kant and Hegel and faintly here the dissonant, out of date sounds of the anti-socialist realism essays of Camus and Garodi. If we analyze them closely, we also see the theory on the similarity of the forms of structures in the idealist and equivocal structural methodology of Lucien Goldman!

Deserving of attention is the fact that, this time, we have allowed the rightism and the laxity toward liberalism to persist. Despite the opinions expressed by leaders of the party, some newspapers and journals have not promptly waged a concerted and serious struggle to correct mistaken viewpoints. As a result, a situation of uncertainty exists in which right and wrong have become confused, thereby creating the conditions for opportunistic trends to develop.

The underlying causes of the mistakes mentioned above are the facts that some writers and artists are still uncertain, lack political sensitivity, do not recognize the strong and complex changes occurring in the revolutionary situation at home and in the world, are divorced from reality, from the lives



of the laboring masses and do not realize the arduous and decisive nature of the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in the field of culture, literature and art during the period of transition to socialism.

At a time when the field of theory and criticism must help to increase the political sensitivity and cultivate the revolutionary sentiments of writers and artists so that works of art serve the cause of the revolution better with each passing day, some writers and artists at times worry that we are "making politics everything," worry that we have fallen into the so called "old-order criticism" and want to "make art and politics synonymous" and display more courage in terms of our stand and viewpoint through "heavy handed" criticism. At a time when we must mobilize writers and authors into the forefront of the struggle and into a permanent closeness to the lives of the laboring masses, some persons are criticizing us as "making reality everything," as "rendering the relationship between reality and literature ordinary" and, on this basis, falling into a crude and simple style of criticism that does not require consideration of the special characteristics of artistic creativity! At a time when we must closely associate the destiny of the individual with the destiny of the fatherland and closely link the individual to the collective under the guideline "one for all, all for one," some writers and artists maintain that, following 30 years of war, the task of literature and art now is to help to liberate man as an individual, just as this was the task of anti-feudalist humanism during the early period of the bourgeois revolution! At a time when we must rely upon our key force, the corps of creative persons and persons within the fields of theory and criticism who participated in the two wars of resistance, and, at the same time, tap the creativity of young writers, a tendency has emerged in a few newspapers to intentionally deny the achievements of the preceding generation of critics, thereby giving the false impression that there is, within this corps, an antagonism between a conservative force and a progressive force, a "Maoist" force and a force opposing Maoism, a force that conducts its criticism and research by the descriptive method and a force that is applying the new method! At a time when theory and criticism must continuously launch attacks on the ideological front to sweep away the remnants of the neo-colonialist literature and art, block the infiltration of decadent and reactionary literary and artistic trends, guide public opinion and correct unwholesome tastes among the public, at some times and places--especially in the cities of the South--we have allowed commercialism, pragmatism and ordinary naturalism to crowd us out in the various fields of literature and art.

The resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum confirmed the fact that our ideological work in the recent past has been rightist. This is equally true in our literary and artistic work, especially within the fields of theory and criticism. Admittedly, there have also been manifestations of conservatism, dogmatism, an affected style and leftism, which we must resolutely oppose; however, the main malady continues to be rightism, the manifestations of which are uncertainty and deviations regarding viewpoint, lax management, a relaxation of the struggle and a lack of close attention and centralization in guidance and organization. Since the adoption of the Secretariat's resolution on ideological work in the years ahead (1981), especially since the adoption of the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress (1982), we have noticed, with a



sense of happiness, that these mistakes are gradually being corrected. However, in the field of theory and criticism, there are still manifestations of a lack of clear understanding and rightism regarding viewpoints. This is a situation that must be rapidly corrected and overcome.

Theory and criticism have a very important task. They bring about a thorough understanding of the literature and art line of the party in every field of literature and art. At the 4th National Literature and Art Congress, in his speech "On the Criticism of Literature and Art," Truong Chinh confirmed: "Criticism is a specific mode of guidance employed by the party in the field of literature and art; criticism is a weapon to defend the line of the party on literature and art." (2) At present, in order to thoroughly implement the spirit of the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum, successfully complete the political tasks of the present stage, make positive contributions to the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in the period of transition and win victory for socialism, work within the field of theory and criticism must focus on combating rightist thinking, bourgeois inclinations and petty bourgeois vacillations in literature and art; theory and criticism must display a higher spirit of vigilance in the face of the malicious schemes of sabotage of the enemy on the ideological and cultural front and must concentrate on sweeping away the remnants of the decadent, reactionary literature and art left behind by neo-colonialism. On the other hand, work in the field of theory and criticism must also combat conservative thinking, the thinking of being satisfied with our accomplishments, remoteness from life, unwillingness to study and cultivate one's occupational skills and the failure to realize all the new demands resulting from the development of the situation or the new aesthetic needs of the public, especially youths.

We must reach agreement with one another concerning the viewpoints of the party regarding the criticism of literature and art: "The party has confidence in and highly praises the contributions that have been made by writers and artists." (3) This indicates the trust that the party has in the corps of writers and artists, the militants on the ideological and cultural front, and the party's expectations regarding the literary and artistic talents within our country. In order to fulfill the expectations and repay the trust of the party, we, the theorists and critics, as well as writers and artists themselves, must display the high sense of responsibility of militants in literature and art, competently serve the interests of the people, make worthy contributions to socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland and fully meet the requirements of the party that we firmly adhere to the socialist realist method, raise our party consciousness, be in the forefront of the present revolutionary struggle and be as close to the life of the laboring masses as flesh is to blood.

We must quickly correct the situation that has developed in the recent past in which the criticism of literature and art are backward compared to life, must display greater militancy in the field of theory and criticism and must guide both artistic creativity and the appreciation of art. This demands that we quickly strengthen the corps of persons whose job it is to criticize literature and art, a corps that encompasses many generations working at many different agencies; gain a deep understanding of many different types of art;

create the conditions needed for these persons to perform their work; and broaden our cultural exchange with foreign countries, especially with regard to establishing contacts with the theorists and critics of the socialist countries. We must consolidate and strengthen the corps of theorists and critics on newspapers and journals, at publishing houses and news agencies and within literary and art societies so that they can fulfill their role of propagandizing and disseminating the line of the party on literature and art. The field of theory and criticism has the responsibility of guiding public opinion, promptly praising good works and organizing the debate of pressing, contemporary issues or issues concerning which there are still contrary opinions within literature and art; appropriate space must be provided in the press for articles on the theory and criticism of literature and art. Theory and criticism are not solely the work of the professional critics. We must make an effort to arrange regular meetings among writers, artists, theorists and critics and between professional critics and the critics of the masses. The various sectors, such as sociology, can assist the field of theory and criticism very much by surveying public opinion and the tastes of the public.

It is our hope that, in the years ahead, with the sense of responsibility and the effort at self-improvement of theorists and critics, with determination to promptly restructure the organization and guidance of the specialized agencies, our theory and criticism of literature and art will rapidly overcome their stagnation and backwardness, improve their quality and promptly meet the pressing requirements of the revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 57.
2. Truong Chinh: "On the Criticism of Literature and Art," the VAN NGHE WEEKLY, No 12-12-1969.
3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 58.

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## ART IS NO COMMODITY!

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 51-54, 83

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] Behind is us the time when art was a commodity and literature was sold in the marketplace. Yet, recently, at a time when our socialist art has been developing in a wholesome manner, a trend has emerged to bring art within the orb of commerce and the pursuit of money.

Let us examine how music has become a product of commerce in Ho Chi Minh City during the final months of 1982:

Every night, there are more than 50 establishments operating within the city which offer musical performances with dinners or dinners with music. The price of admission to the musical performances ranges from 10 to 20 dong and each establishment has as many as 2,000 seats, so, each can earn a profit of 7,000 to 10,000 dong per night. During each evening of musical entertainment, the audience hears about 20 songs performed by about 10 singers and an orchestra. The problem, however, lies in who is in the audience, who the performers are, how they perform and, in particular, the fact that what they sing depends upon the money that is thrown at them by the audience. A kind of "literary and art agent" serves as middleman. The singers are usually brought together and sent by these "employers" to the various establishments, as many as 5 to 7 per night; they sing three songs at each place, sometimes even six, if the money from the audience is good, consequently, they quickly become tired and begin to sing poorly. Frequently, the singers are not carefully selected: some persons who sing have no talent and some persons who are no longer qualified to sing brazenly stage "encore" appearances by singing a medley of foreign songs. The styles of the singers are odd and affected. The programs are unstructured. Because wholesome songs are not suited to "enticing" money from the audience, performers immediately try to please their audiences by singing heart-rending, provocative and crazed songs from the West or the U.S.-puppet period or jump about and go into convulsive, wild gyrations even when singing songs that have an intimate, romantic melody. Such behavior truly serves the interests of the do-nothing, money-men and profiteers who earn their livings in violation of the law: they quietly sit drinking themselves into a stupor while stuffing the "tips" in the brassieres of their

performers or they fight one another for control of singers, brazenly hurling about more than 9,000 dong worth of restaurant furniture and breaking it to pieces, as though they were in some sort of barroom brawl.

Or, if we examine "commercial theatrical art" over the past several years, we see that not only has it survived, it has also spread as though it were in competition with our socialist, revolutionary theatrical art. Having developed rather deep roots in the South during the U.S.-puppet period, commercial theatrical art created for itself a public that persists to this day. It was transformed beginning as far back as 1975, but not thoroughly, consequently, it has not readily or voluntarily abandoned its position, instead, it has reacted fiercely and cleverly. Commercial theatrical performances resemble one another in appearance and are usually haphazard in style, lacking in ideological content and set within a time frame of a few days; however, each company has a "star" and the play that they are performing has a few spots in it that are designed to attract audiences by playing upon their curiosity, their instinctive desires and their permissive tastes, thereby encouraging the public to spend money on tickets. The "star" receives a salary of 1,000 dong per performance, or several tens of thousands of dong per month; the other performers only receive 20 or 30 dong per performance, consequently, they sell things at outdoor markets during the day and go on stage at night. It is easy to understand why these performers are so intense when they perform scenes involving self-adulation, acrobatics, drunkenness and so forth but are so constrained, formal and uninteresting when performing scenes that depict labor or the building of the new life. Generally speaking, the style of acting is haphazard and shallow. The public mainly comes to enjoy a particular person's singing voice or buy some chocolate. In such a situation, art is not legitimate art. Such is the general description of commercial theatrical art. It is regrettable that it still has not been stopped and continues to spread because it reaps money for its playwrights and performers, for its "stars" and for its patrons.

Although they only comprise a small counter-trend within our widespread socialist art system, commercial theatrical art and, generally speaking, commercial art are, in the present situation, even having an influence in the North by causing and spreading an attitude of fearing audiences and an attitude of trying to attract audiences. In the field of publishing there is also a part 3 to plans and this part 3 is sometimes implemented with greater excitement and urgency than part 1. Printing houses take it upon themselves to print more books than allowed and then distribute them on their own to earn revenue. In the field of fine arts, there is a tendency to paint pictures of light-hearted subjects that sell well and easily bring in money; foreign guests have even commissioned decadent, romantic paintings. Some state agencies rent for themselves or rent to others banned films, even films being stored by them, and show these films widely in order to earn money. To some people, the standard by which a play is evaluated and selected is "will it attract audiences?" They think of ways to put "attractions" into a play or film. Some persons have virtually declared: "Above everything else, it must be an attraction, must draw the public!" And, sadly, actors and actresses who play love scenes, sing yellow music, take off their clothing or play other exciting scenes are more popular and sometimes even more numerous than those who diligently train so that they are able to depict the normal life of



struggling and working to build socialism. Sometimes, a theatrical work or a movie is incorrectly evaluated by the price of admission set by its backers: a ticket for a certain play is 10 dong but a ticket for a certain movie is 50 dong. A viewing public has emerged that is chosen on the basis of how much they are prepared to spend for a scalped ticket. All of these factors explain the lack of order and civility that exists at many places where cultural activities are being held.

Art that is commercial is no longer legitimate art. Very often, it is nothing more than licentious gratification, nothing more than pure amusement. It is not that we have no need for amusement or deny the entertainment function of art. We consider the comedy, the melodrama, the mystery and so forth of a play or movie, for example, to have the purpose of satisfying one of the varied artistic needs of the people. We talk about the three basic functions of literature and art being recognition, education and aesthetics or about the six functions of literature and art (the three just mentioned plus symbolism, social intercourse and entertainment) but always talk about them within their organic relationship to one another; entertainment cannot stand in opposition to the other functions; therefore, entertainment must be wholesome, productive entertainment. Entertainment of the type we see at the places that stage musical performances for a profit or in the cheap jokes of commercial theatrical art is non-art, is anti-art, is harmful entertainment. And, indeed, to whom is this entertainment? In this situation, it is truly onesided and inaccurate for someone to maintain that "following many years of savage war, our people must have entertainment first and worry about other things later" or spread the argument "we have never given attention to the entertainment function of literature and art but now this debt is due and payable because the longer we put off payment, the higher the interest will be" and so forth.

Commercial art that is designed only to earn money is inevitably dependent upon money. To attract customers, it sells itself to persons who have much money. Does the commercial music of Ho Chi Minh City during the final months of 1982 serve persons that have no money or only a little money, does it serve the genuine laboring people, the persons who are building and defending the fatherland? Therefore, upright public opinion within literary and art circles and among the masses and both the city's party committee and people's committee have harshly criticized and exposed the serious nature of the music business and the harm that it causes to the cultural life of the people. To attract audiences, even in the North, plays containing yellow music and mock dagger attacks, such as "The Unfurled Branch" and "A Time of Love," have emerged. Much money can be earned within the orb of commercialism but art is reduced in value, easily becomes alien, loses its foundation, falls into the position of a servant, pursues a backward public and lacks responsibility with regard to guiding and educating the masses; artists become practitioners of a cheap, permissive trade and abandon their function as the engineers of the soul in the building of the new social consciousness and the building of a beautiful spiritual life for the masses.

Commercial art whose sole pursuit is money usually causes much disruption within each art company and among these companies. Within each company, incomes can vary to the point of being excessive. Each month, in pursuit of

money, some companies put on as many as 30 performances in 20 days and spend the other 10 days singing at parties and gatherings, consequently, they have no time to learn, to cultivate their talent and more than a few of these performers go on stage trying to remember words to their song and merely pretend to be singing. Because their plays are outdated and do not leave impressions or engender any thinking that are new or profound, the "star" is ultimately the most important factor in raising business revenue (when a "star" joins a company, business income increases by 60 to 70 percent), consequently, there is usually competition to steal "stars" and many "stars" raise their price and go from one company to another. Because some draw audiences and some do not, the incomes of the companies vary very widely; therefore, the incomes of the playwright, the producer and the actor who plays the main role can be tens or hundreds of times different.

Commercial art also gives rise to very many negative phenomena in social life. Smelling money, many "unethical" persons, even many state agencies on the city, precinct and ward levels that have no art management function have directly or indirectly organized businesses in art to "generate funds" and develop music, theatrical art, cinematography, photography, audio-video tapes and so forth in a random fashion without control of their organization, contents and quality, thereby undermining the regulations of the state and disrupting the management of culture and art. Some places where cultural activities are conducted have gradually become centers for enjoying pleasures that lack culture. The "literary and art agents" practice exploitation by the "overseer" method, exploitation by ticket gouging. The prices of tickets are ultimately determined by them. Although they live as parasites upon artists, they can, by means of speculating in tickets, determine whether an evening's performance is attended by a full audience or no audience at all.

Due to all the disruptions mentioned above, commercial art--which is a manifestation of the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our literature and art--also creates weaknesses that are used by the enemy. We should not forget that we are in the initial stage of the period of transition; that the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" is also a very sharp struggle on the cultural front; and that the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in a multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country, of which ideological and cultural sabotage is an extremely malicious part. Literature and art are an effective ideological weapon; we cannot relax our grip on this weapon nor can we allow money to cause it to be used incorrectly. In a number of localities, there have been a couple of times when we have lacked vigilance in this field. Under the old regime in the South, any place at which literature and art were even only slightly revolutionary in nature or which spoke at all about national independence, about the patriotic resistance against the United States and so forth was immediately suppressed; yet, why are we now allowing random development to occur, allowing anyone to sing what they want, perform what they want as long as it earns a lot of money, why are we allowing the work of raising the ideological level and improving the aesthetic tastes of the masses to drift?

No! The situation cannot be allowed to continue! Art must belong to the people, must serve the people. Lenin, himself, said this. Art must offer a

strong attraction but its attraction must first be the ideological and artistic value of the work itself, not cleverness based on commercial requirements. Art is not a means for achieving fame and fortune. On the one hand, we must practice frugality and not create art at any price; on the other hand, we must make an effort to increase the sources of revenues for the state, the larger, the better, in order to develop and improve the quality of literary and artistic activities. However, the main objective of our literature and art is to serve, not provide income nor make a few individuals wealthy. We must "properly coordinate the objective of providing service and the cost accounting system within cultural and art activities"(1), not force all art companies to be self-sufficient, to maintain a balanced budget at the cost of abandoning or giving light attention to the objective of providing service.

No! Art is not a commodity. We sell books, paintings, films, music tapes, records and art products, in general; however, art, itself, is not something that can be exchanged for money. Turning art into a commodity and into money demeans art, undermines art and removes from their lofty positions both art and the person who created it--the artist.

As regards a society in which the artist is nothing more than a worker who works for the benefit of the capitalist, as was the case when Be-rang-gie [Vietnamese phonetics] sung:

"I live only to write songs,  
Sir, if you take this work from me  
I will write songs in order to live,"

Marx stated: "This threat is an ironic admission that the poet will no longer be a poet."(2) Marx said: "Of course, the writer must earn money so that he can live and write but, regardless of the situation, he should not live and write for the purpose of earning money."(3) Today, we are working hard to establish socialist literature and art that possess a rich national color and have a profound impact upon the spiritual lives and the feelings of the people. This is a system of literature and art that is new and noble from the perspective of what it describes and whom it serves, its method of expression and style, its corps of artists-militants, which extends over many generations and is becoming larger with each passing day and its great ideological and emotional themes that are closely associated with the country, with the people and with the revolutionary undertaking of Vietnam--in summary, from the perspective of its noble social and aesthetic ideals that are gradually being implemented in Vietnam. There is no reason for us to allow commercial art to pollute this literature and art of ours.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels: "On Literature and Art," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 120.
3. Ibid.

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## SEVERAL MATTERS CONCERNING THE THEORY OF LITERATURE AND ART IN THE SOUTH AT THIS TIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 55-59

[Article by Tran Trong Dang Dan]

### [Text] I. The Functions of Literature and Art

Among the principles in the theory of literature and art, we generally officially recognize three functions in the following order: 1) awareness; 2) education; 3) aesthetics.

On the basis of the realities involved in the creation of literary and artistic works and the receiving of these works for publication in the South over the past 7 years, one issue that is deserving of thought and study has very clearly emerged: the demand that literature and art satisfy the need for entertainment. Thus, is entertainment a function of literature and art?

To begin with, we must resolutely reject the various theories that are opposed to the viewpoint of historical materialism concerning the origins of literature and art, such as the amusement instinct theory, which considers the primary characteristic of aesthetic enjoyment to be the tendency to seek "pure amusement" independent of any practical purpose. We have not forgotten that during the more than 20 years of their aggression against the South, the U.S. imperialists created a consumer society and published more than 34,000 books and slightly less than 1,000 newspapers and magazines, the majority of which were designed to satisfy the pure entertainment needs of that consumer society. We also know that in the South during the period that it was under U.S.-puppet control, there were very many theories, theories that were specious to the point of being radical, that rejected the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature, art and aesthetics, which included the principles on how the functions of literature and art are defined. For example, such theories as "literature does not have a moral imperative" and "the novel need not subscribe to the truth" demanded that the function of recognition be a function of science, that education be the function of the study of ethics and that literature and art lie only within the "scope of aesthetics"(!?). And, one reads or views literature and art solely for the purpose of "appreciating beauty or amusing oneself."(!)



We recognize that the entertainment needs of a portion of the literature and art public in the South at this time are somewhat influenced by these erroneous theories and the works of literature and art of that consumer society.

In the "Teachers College Bookcase" of Giao Duc Publishing House (Hanoi, 1969), there is a book entitled "The Theoretical Basis of Literature." The section of this book entitled "The Functions of Literature and Art" begins as follows: "The experience of each person shows that after a strenuous day of work, we do not want to read a textbook on political economics, rather, we want to attend a musical recital, view an exhibit of paintings or pick up a short novel that does not require us to think. There is something different that attracts us in these works of art." In my opinion, although the author does not directly use the term "entertainment function," raising the matter in this manner is virtually the same thing as saying that literature and art must satisfy the entertainment needs of the public.

There is also the opinion that the mere satisfaction of entertainment needs embodies the aesthetic function of literature and art. This assertion is only partially correct. Because, beauty lies not only in form, it lies in content as well. It encompasses the beauty that is seen whenever that which is humorous, that which is majestic and sometimes that which is pitiful are expressed well.

There are many other aspects of the functions of literature and art that must be stressed, such as the fact that because literature must employ language, music must employ sound and painting must employ color and shading, should not attention be given to their "symbolic function"? In addition, because it is always through their works that literature and art flow in time from one generation to the next and spread, in terms of spacial relationships, among the nationalities and nations, must not importance be attached to "the social intercourse" function?

In summary, literature and art must have an entertainment function but it would be a mistake to separate this function from the other functions. A work of literature or art that is of value always fulfills the following functions: 1) awareness; 2) education; 3) aesthetics; 4) symbolism; 5) social intercourse; 6) entertainment. These six functions have an organic relationship with one another and support one another; it is not good to give light attention to any of these functions.

## II. Reflecting Reality

We have learned the negative results of applying the concept of reflecting reality in a manner not based on principle, such as expanding the concept of realism to the point where it "has no bounds"; we also remember the harm caused by incorrect methods of understanding, explaining and appraising literature and art that reflects revolutionary reality, which led to the mistaken activities in the fields of theory and creativity of some writers in the "Humanist-Masterpiece" school and so forth.

Among the literature and art public of the South, there are, of course, still influences of the various viewpoints which demand that literature and art reflect reality by the method of bourgeois objectivity. There are even many viewpoints concerning this matter, viewpoints that are sophistic to the point of being shocking and are extremely pragmatic, that were spread during the U.S.-puppet period and still control the minds of some persons.

During a meeting, a person who introduced himself as a professor under the old regime, expressed enthusiastic support when quoting someone else's disapproval of literature and art having the task of reflecting reality. He cited the viewpoint of a writer whom he, himself, recognized as a "teacher," saying that literature and art need not reflect reality because "the works of Khuat Nguyen and the poems of Ly Bach and Do Phu contain non-realist factors"; because the ancient Arab painters usually painted faces in profile and painted the bodies and limbs of their subjects facing frontward but their paintings are still of artistic value; and To Dong Pha in China colored the bamboo in his paintings crimson red. When someone once asked him if he had ever seen red bamboo in his life, he replied: And who is to say that there is not black bamboo, too?" On the basis of this opinion, he decided that literature and art only "require beauty, not truth"! It must be understood that the person who presented and endorsed the words quoted above had thousands of students and pupils; and, in the South now, there is more than one person who thinks in this manner. Similar ways of thinking and explaining things have occasionally been encountered in contacts with a number of level II and level III school teachers or college students in recent years.

This is but one of very many examples of the sophism that exists with regard to rejecting the task that literature and art have in reflecting reality. This is a pernicious remnant of the anti-Marxist and non-Marxist theories that were spread in South Vietnam during the 20 year war of aggression waged by the United States, and is a remnant that we must make every effort to eradicate today.

With the principles of the theory of literature, art and aesthetics and with the fundamental principles that we employ to appraise works of literature and art, such as the principle regarding the historical nature of works, the principle of incorporating our literary and art heritage in a selective, critical and creative manner and so forth, we can easily refute all of these sophistical arguments. The principles of our theory on literature, art and aesthetics rest upon a very firm foundation. They are the reflection of Marxist-Leninist theory. The documents that our party has authored concerning culture, literature and art over the past 35 years and more have incorporated within this foundation the realities of Vietnam and have, as a result, made it even more solid.

From another perspective, we realize that in the process of the development of literature and art, new problems will inevitably arise, problems with which theory must keep pace in order to resolve them. As regards the matter of reflecting reality, even if we eliminate all the mistaken theories propagated by ideological enemies, an example of which was presented above, there are still new aspects of the issue that have arisen as a result of the realities of literary and artistic life. When speaking, writing, participating in

forums or teaching about the theory of literature and art in the South, when reading a number of new works, some recent essays and critical works and so forth, some persons, expressing concern, have raised the matter of the necessary and proper distance between reality as it exists and reality as it is described and reflected in literature and art; the matter of how much in the realities of life is positive and how much is negative and what the ratio between the two is; the matter of the extent of each of these factors and the ratio between them within each piece of literature and art, within each genre, within each stage of literature and art, etc.

Instead of raising the questions of "distance, extent and ratio," we should raise the question of "how to correctly reflect reality." Why is the path to socialism in the South marked by many advantages yet very many difficulties? It is truly not easy to understand this life clearly and correctly, to see the many complex principles involved in it. It is even less easy to reflect them in a clear and correct manner within works of literature and art, reflect them in observations, thoughts and the guidelines for a process of revolutionary development. To Huu said: "The value of art lies not in the art itself, but in the value of the life confirmed by art, in the new that is stimulated by art. If we do not have the confidence to confirm the existence of the new in life, revolutionary literature and art have no reason to exist themselves." (1) Life in the South is ablaze with the revolutionary fervor of the decisive, minute-to-minute struggle between the two ways of life; capitalism will never willingly yield to socialism. Confirming the new, the positive and struggling against that which is negative and backward in life are clearly the task of literature and art. It is in this process of confirming these new values that writers and artists confirm their own self-worth.

### III. The Public

When talking about literary and artistic life, we clearly must give thought to how works of literature and art are received, primarily by the public. Actually, researching the literature and art public is not a simple matter, it demands the coordination of several other fields of science, such as psychology, sociology, statistics and so forth; thus, it demands a very large investment of manpower and money compared to other types of research.

However, when a job becomes necessary, it must be performed, performed, that is, to the extent possible. In the provinces and municipalities of the South especially, which have undergone historic changes in the recent past, very complicated problems are involved in the receiving of literature and art by the public, the resolution of which will resolve very many other basic problems.

Literature and art must bring to the public that which is new (recognition); must elevate and move them (education); must bring to them that which is beautiful (aesthetics)... However, there is one question that transcends all of these requires: who are they? Who are the public of literature and art at this time? We must first evaluate their level of recognition before we can determine what is new to them. We must evaluate their level of thinking and ethics before we can talk about teaching and moving them. We must determine



what their aesthetic tastes are before we can think about bringing to them the beauty that they need.

In research as well as in the management and guidance of culture, literature and art in the provinces and municipalities of the South over the past 7 years, the evaluation of the public has not always avoided one or the other of the following extremes: either underestimating the public and considering them to be the victims of neo-colonialist culture, literature and art or overevaluating the public and viewing the harm caused to them by the culture, the literature, the art and all the activities of the psychological warfare machine of the Americans and the puppets as insignificant! Such shallow appraisals can lead to unsuitable policies and measures that harm our present literary and artistic life.

In fact, the process of cultivating the ability of the public to receive works of literature and art is a dynamic process. The ascendancy of the new, the good and the decline of the old and the bad are interposed and occur side by side, not in perfect sequence with historic events. It is clear that, before the August Revolution, before the 1954 Geneva Accords went into effect and before 30 April 1975, in the areas under French occupation as well as the areas controlled by the Americans and the puppets, there was, among the public, the ability to receive literature and art in a correct and wholesome manner. Because, even in the areas under enemy control, the people still were influenced to some degree by revolutionary culture, literature and art; on the other hand, each person still subscribed, to some degree, to the genuine traditions of national literature and still possessed genuine folk aesthetic tastes. At the same time, we must also recognize one inevitable fact, namely, that following the August Revolution, following the restoration of peace in the North and following the great victory that was won on 30 April 1975, there was and continues to be a long period of time during which some members of the public receive works of literature and art in an incorrect, unhealthy manner because the harmful vestiges of the decadent literature and art of the old systems cannot be eradicated all at once. Moreover, by a variety of methods, hostile literature and art that are new to us continue to have an impact upon the public. Meanwhile, our activities in the fields of culture, literature and art are insufficient to satisfy the rising legitimate needs of the new public. We are also mindful of the fact that, following liberation day and the reunification of the country, the literature and art public in the different areas experienced a major disruption. The different segments of this public have exchanged opinions and influenced one another, thus creating an amalgam of aesthetic tastes, one which requires that we be very dialectical in our view, very sophisticated and very alert in order to discern what is correct, what is incorrect, what is strong and what is weak so that we can support or reject the various aspects of our present cultural, literary and artistic life.

In the period of transition to socialism, a period during which the economy still consists of many different segments and society encompasses many classes and strata, the public does not constitute a single homogenous stratum. Socialist literature and art cannot pursue the base, backward and reactionary tastes of the strata of exploiters and parasites.



Researching the public and surveying the ability of the public to receive works of art and literature and, on this basis, raising the public to the standards of socialist realist literature and art, this is one of the extremely pressing tasks we face in building our literary and artistic life in the South at this time. In October, 1958, at the National Cultural Cadre Conference, President Ho pointed out: "...To elevate the masses, we must first determine to which level we are elevating them; if it is to 'the middle,' it is neither high nor low. This is to say that we must first determine the universal level, that is, determine what the foundation is and then, on the basis of this universal level, this foundation, elevate the masses." (2) These words are of burning contemporary significance in our present cultural, literary and artistic life in the South.

The public has a need to enjoy literature and art. Revolutionary literature and art must meet this need and must firmly adhere to the correct stand and viewpoints of the party when doing so. Literature and art are of a class nature. The enemy uses literature and art to serve their interests, cause us harm, monopolize the thinking and spirit of our people and, on this basis, harm us in many other ways. Any literary or artistic activities of ours that are not conducted in accordance with correct viewpoints serve the purposes of the enemy to one degree or another. Our literature and art are indispensable spiritual sustenance to the laboring people and must, at the same time, be an effective weapon of the revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Taken from an article entitled "Literature and Art Conference Discusses the Implementation of the Resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum," VAN NGHE, No 8, 19-2-1983.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "On Cultural, Literary and Artistic Work," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, pp 38-39.

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## SELECTING CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 60-65

[Article by Pham Quan]

[Text] In 1922, at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party(b), Lenin, while discussing practical organizational work for the purpose of insuring the successful implementation of the party's political line, emphasized two key factors, the selection of cadres and the inspection of compliance with the line.

The correct selection of cadres not only insures the successful performance of the political task during each stage of the revolution, but also insures that the achievements of the revolution are permanently maintained and developed upon.

During the period in which the party was engaged in clandestine activities, every mistake and shortcoming in the selection of cadres had a direct and harmful effect, sometimes immediately, upon the party's organization. The mistaken selection of only one person who lacks loyalty and who, when captured by the enemy, tells everything in the face of their hostile blows, can result in the breakup of the entire basic organization of the party. Therefore, in order for the party organization to survive, cadres had to be selected very carefully. Only in this way could the party stand firm in the face of the enemy's terror, move forward to overcome every difficulty and danger and mobilize and lead the masses in a steadfast and widespread struggle. The primary area in which cadres of the party were selected during that period was within the revolutionary struggle of the masses. In the course of the movement's development, outstanding persons emerged who were selected and trained as cadres by the party; at the same time, anyone who did not stand firmly, who was disloyal fell by the wayside. Through the challenges faced in its work and in the struggle, the party organization could easily distinguish between persons who possessed abilities, dared to endure hardships, dared to make sacrifices and would rather die than surrender and persons who were weak and cowardly, who wavered or showed signs of opportunism.

When the party seized political power and began leading the socialist revolution, a very new task was faced: the task of managing the state,

managing the society and managing the economy for the purpose of successfully building socialism. This was a difficult and complex task because, as Lenin pointed out: "The problem lies in organizing in accordance with the new mode the deepest bases, the economic bases of the lives of tens and hundreds of millions of persons."(1)

In this stage of the revolution, the corps of cadres must be constantly enlarged in order to insure the leadership of the party in every field of social activity. This corps must not only be large enough, it must also possess qualities and skills commensurate with its task. The growth of cadres in this stage of the revolution comes not only from practical activities, from within the revolutionary movement of the masses, not only from learning and training oneself in one's everyday job, but also as a result of systematic and continuous elementary and advanced training at schools and as a result of many other methods suited to each type cadre. Therefore, the selection of cadres is broader in scope and larger in scale and must be conducted by many different methods. In order to select an ample number of qualified cadres and effectively meet the requirements of tasks, it is of basic importance to conduct cadre planning and, on this basis, adopt plans for training cadres to meet immediate and long-range needs. And, looking even farther ahead, as pointed out in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress: "We must create a widespread source of reserves, even when recruiting students for the party schools and colleges, in order to train them to be leadership cadres, management cadres and economic-technical cadres on the basic level."(2)

What is the correct way to select cadres? In the experience of our party and many fraternal parties, selecting cadres correctly means:

--Knowing about cadres and researching, in a detailed and systematic fashion, their strengths as well as their weaknesses and knowing in which position, in which job and where each cadre can contribute the most to the common effort.

--Giving attention to training, guiding and helping cadres so that they continuously make progress and attention to those cadres who are making progress rapidly in order to more strongly stimulate their growth.

--Boldly and promptly discovering and promoting new persons and young cadres who represent the new generation, the new mode of management. They should not be allowed to remain in the same place forever nor should they be utilized to the point where they are "worn out."

--Above everything else, it is necessary to correctly select and deploy the key cadres of the various levels and sectors in order to insure the correct selection of other cadres. If the key cadres and the persons in charge on the various levels and within the various sectors are not dependable, difficulties will surely be encountered in the evaluation and selection of the other types of cadres and it will be difficult to avoid "factions," "cliques," "wings," etc.

In recent years, our party has issued many documents, resolutions and directives on cadre work, which includes the selection of cadres. In particular, resolution number 32 of the Political Bureau of the 4th Party

Central Committee on organizational work and the Report on Party Building at the 5th Congress of the Party dealt with these matters in detail. The Report on Party Building at the 5th Congress emphasized the need to urgently reorganize and redeploy cadres and stated: "There must be a clear determination to bring about changes in organization and replace those personnel who have shown themselves unable to fulfill their tasks, beginning with the cadres in charge of the various levels and sectors and within important agencies and units."(3)

On the basis of the above mentioned documents of the party, we can reach conclusions that are in the nature of principles in the selection of cadres:

1. Selecting persons on the basis of the job to be performed and selecting the right person for the job.

When someone is being selected for a certain job, it is first of all necessary to determine whether the person being selected is able to meet the requirements of the job that he or she will undertake and perform that job in a highly effective manner. In other words, persons must be selected for a specific job; for each job, we must select persons who are well qualified and competent, persons who can complete the job in the best possible manner. If someone else is more qualified and competent and can perform the job better than anyone else, the common interests of society require that the better qualified person be selected. Selecting persons and assigning persons to jobs solely because of their "circumstances" or the "process" they are going through so that everyone has a "position," so that everyone is "happy" and so forth not only harm the work being performed, but also impede the progress of cadres.

In order to correctly select cadres, it is first of all necessary to carefully examine each specific job and duty in order to determine which standards cadres must meet and which of these standards are most important, which are absolutely indispensable and which are of secondary importance and can be waived. It is also necessary to know each cadre well, to have a firm grasp of each cadre's strengths and weaknesses in order to assign cadres to the right job. Each cadre has his or her own strengths and weaknesses; if carefully selected and deployed, we can develop upon these strengths and limit these weaknesses to the benefit of the work being performed. Conversely, selecting cadres incorrectly and not utilizing their strengths or good points adversely affects the work at hand and reduces the zeal of cadres. Assigning a cadre who is skilled in science but lacks management skills to a management position, putting a skilled manual worker in charge of the administrative management office of the enterprise, putting a skilled surgeon in charge of the organizing of cadres within the hospital or sector and so forth and similar methods of selecting and assigning cadres only serve to create additional disruptions and cause much more harm than good. Concerning this point President Ho taught: "We must utilize cadres skillfully. Not everyone does everything well. Therefore, we must utilize personnel properly, must rectify their shortcomings and help them to develop upon their strengths. We often utilize persons with no regard for their talent. For example, a blacksmith is given the job of building cabinets while a carpenter is given the job of forging knives. As a result, both persons are confused. If we had



selected these persons on the basis of their talent, both would have been successful."(4)

2. Adopting the correct viewpoint and employing the correct methods in the evaluation of persons, the evaluation of cadres.

In order to correctly select cadres, it is necessary, in addition to closely adhering to the requirements of jobs, to adopt the correct viewpoint and employ the correct methods in evaluating persons and evaluating cadres. Man, as Marx said, is the embodiment of social relations. The evaluation of persons, therefore, must be objective and comprehensive. The evaluation of a cadre requires a process of close and careful observation, careful and correct investigation and deliberation and the opinions of persons who know the cadre and the job that will be performed, namely, immediate superiors, colleagues on the same level and subordinate cadres.

The experienced leader never relies solely upon indirect sources of information, that is, on hearsay to evaluate or select a cadre, rather, he inspects the work performed by that cadre in order to personally evaluate him.

The fair leader must know what the masses think about the cadre in question, how the cadre evaluates himself and, more importantly, must know all that there is to know about the cadre so that he can be assigned to a suitable job.

It is also necessary to examine the work record and the personal history of a cadre because they play a role of some importance in reflecting the cadre's background and work history. However, regardless of what is indicated by them, the work record and personal history of a cadre are only statements on a piece of paper and are not a full reflection of the activities of the cadre. The evaluation of a cadre cannot be based solely on external occurrences, either. Everyone has his own personality and attitudes and behavior are not always accurate reflections of a person's true self. Conversely, because of these external appearances, it is frequently easy to make mistakes and to incorrectly evaluate cadres. The main standard for evaluating persons is the results of their work. This is the measurement, the concrete expression of a person's qualities and skills. However, the examination of the results of a person's work must not be restricted to simply one point in time but must encompass an entire process of work. At the same time, by relying upon accurate bases, it is necessary to predict the prospects for each cadre and determine whether they can develop further or have reached the limit of their capacity.

Together with examining the results of work, attention must be given to examining the level of awareness and thinking, the level of political enlightenment and, in particular, the motives of cadres. If a cadre has achieved high results in his work but has done so for personal motives, he must be helped and further challenged in order to avoid making mistakes when evaluating him.

In the evaluation of cadres, diplomas, academic degrees, experience in life, experience in the struggle, experience in work and so forth are all factors

that must be examined. However, we should not give absolute value to any one factor and consider it to be the sole standard in the evaluation of cadres.

In the evaluation of subordinate cadres, the person in charge cannot help but make mistakes if, instead of personally examining the results of each person's work and meeting with each person, he only relies upon reports, upon hearsay or only "views things on the surface" and satisfies himself with impressions. If the person in charge likes to be flattered, likes to be sweet-talked or allows personal likes and dislikes to control him, he can very easily be taken advantage of by bad persons. One must maintain an objective and sincere attitude; examine things scientifically; survey the opinions of the majority of the persons who know the cadre in question and the new job to be performed; recognize who is a fraud or an opportunist; recognize who is "overevaluating" and concealing his true self; recognize persons who would not dare do something to cause the displeasure of others or dare to struggle to protect the truth or struggle against mistakes; and find cadres who are capable, who dare to think, dare to act and dare to assume responsibility, who dare to forthrightly engage in self-criticism and criticize others and who dare to rectify their shortcomings.

### 3. Adopting correct guidelines and methods for selecting cadres:

Cadres, regardless of their sector or level, must possess qualities and skills commensurate with their task in order to insure that the task assigned to them is completed. This is the highest principle in the selection of cadres and is also the basic principle in the handling of every matter related to cadre work. Having a firm grasp of the requirements of a job and correctly selecting the person who can best meet these requirements, these are the main guidelines that apply in the selection of cadres. Only in this way is it possible to correctly implement the teaching of Lenin that we must insure that "the performance of a job is always within the grasp of cadres who have a full knowledge of their special job and can insure the successful performance of it."(5)

Together with adhering to these main guidelines, importance must also be attached to selecting persons who have been forged and challenged in the realities of the revolutionary struggle. If cadres possess equal qualities and skills, attention should be given to selecting from among them those persons who have been forged and challenged. This is particularly true with regard to the corps of leadership cadres of the party and state because, as our party has pointed out: "The main sources of trainees are cadres on the basic level who have experience in work, production and combat and within the movement and the actual work of each sector; from among these persons, we must select those who show prospects and provide them with training."(6)

This is a very necessary practice because the realities of the revolutionary struggle are always the best school for forging and selecting persons. Only those persons who immerse themselves in the overall struggle, who are truly a militant of the corps as a whole, who dare to face difficulties squarely and attack difficulties in order to triumph over them can forge the necessary virtues of a revolutionary cadre. Conversely, those persons who have not been challenged, have not dealt with difficulties and have only learned about the

revolutionary through books or under favorable circumstances usually do not yet possess the necessary capabilities. Even in the Soviet Union today, even though the revolution has entered the period of developed socialism, the CPSU still gives very much attention in its selection of cadres to how cadres have been forged and to selecting cadres who have experienced many challenges in actual work.

Each cadre has a different work experience and a different personal background; therefore, each must be forged and challenged in a different way. Some persons must be sent to places where harsh, difficult circumstances exist so that they can be challenged; other persons must be assigned places where the work is difficult and complex in order to test their strength; some persons must be sent to the basic level where they will have an opportunity to gain a deep understanding of actual conditions and forge their style with regard to how they deal with the masses. The forging and challenging of cadres are designed to help cadres develop the correct philosophy of life, world view, method of thinking and mass viewpoint, to encourage them to make an effort to improve their willpower, their spirit, their job skills, etc. The form and the degree of forging must be consistent with each cadre so that each can make the best possible progress through his own efforts.

At present, our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a situation in which the enemy could launch a large-scale war of aggression. The struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism is also a very sharp struggle. Due to this situation, we cannot relax our class consciousness or our revolutionary vigilance in the selection of cadres.

On the basis of insuring that standards are met, importance must be attached to selecting persons from a working class background, especially from large-scale industry. The purposes of increasing the large-scale industrial working class component of the corps of leadership cadres and management cadres in a manner closely linked to raising the ideological level and strengthening the stand of the working class are not only to insure the implementation of the party's political line, but also to bring back to leadership on the various levels an industrial style, a planned, concerted and thorough style of work in which importance is attached to conducting inspections and an effective effort is made to overcome every negative manifestation of the small-scale producer as well as every manifestation of bureaucracy, authoritarianism and arrogance.

In the selection of cadres, we must not only adopt the correct viewpoint and correct guidelines, but must also employ correct methods of working.

The selection of cadres must be carried out in a collective, democratic fashion; at the same time, we must emphasize the responsibility that the person in charge has and must operate under the inspection and scrutiny of the authorized level. The various party committee echelons, the executive committees of the mass organizations, leadership collectives and cadres who know the persons and jobs under consideration can, if they display a high

spirit of responsibility and firmly adhere to requirements and standards, introduce party members and even outstanding persons outside the party to the various organizations of the party and agencies of the state for selection and training as leadership cadres and management cadres. The persons who are in charge of the various levels and sectors have the responsibility of selecting the persons who will take their place and introducing them to the party organization for consideration for training. In addition, persons in charge also have the responsibility of guiding those who will replace them. Following each term of office, each member of a party committee must, on the basis of practicing self-criticism and criticizing the activities of the party committee and on the basis of the requirements, structure and standards of the upcoming session of the party committee, contribute his opinions concerning who should step down from the party committee and who should remain on it and must nominate new, worthy persons to be evaluated, selected and elected by the party organization congress.

Within the economic-technical sectors, cadres can be evaluated once every few years in order to discover and select persons who show prospects for training as leadership cadres or management cadres, as leading specialists of the scientific, economic and technical sectors, etc.

In the education sector, we must find good teachers through the "teach well, learn well" emulation movement and within the Associations of Skilled Teachers for training as specialists in education science or as education management cadres.

To find good cadres, we must search for them at advanced installations. The exciting life at these installations is a rich source of good cadres.

Some fraternal socialist countries still select cadres by the optimum action plan. This means that when jobs of some importance are about to be performed, the person in charge is presented with many different plans and selects the best of these plans for implementation while putting the person who developed the plan in charge of the work.

In order to establish well coordinated leadership echelons on which there is a unity of opinion, importance must be attached to the opinions of the person in charge when selecting those who will work with him, beginning with his assistants.

The selection of cadres from among persons being trained at the various schools requires that the results of the study and training of the students of the colleges and professional academies be given attention and be closely observed. Upon graduation and if conditions permit, outstanding students can be allowed to select places of employment that are best suited to them so that they can rapidly develop upon the results of their study. They can also be assigned to production installations and plans can be adopted to help and train them to become management cadres or leadership cadres on the lower level and subsequently on higher levels. As regards these young forces, it is necessary to boldly assign responsibilities to them and, through the results of the work that they perform, select certain persons for training as cadres.



At present, some departments, sectors and localities within our country have begun to plan the elementary and advanced training of cadres and adopt regulations on the recruiting of trainees, the sending of cadres to schools and the appointment and dismissal of the various types of cadres. Some places have also set up councils to help the person in charge examine and decide matters concerning cadre work and take appropriate, concrete measures to survey the opinions of the mass of cadres, party members and persons outside the party when selecting and promoting cadres. These are good practices, practices which have begun to overcome the habit of doing as one sees fit, the shortcuts, the factions, the cliques and so forth in the selection of cadres.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 210.
2. "The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 111.
3. Ibid., p 112.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 42.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 349.
6. "The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 111.

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## THE PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY OF HOANG HOA DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 66-71

[Article by Huu Hanh]

[Text] I. A Solution to the Grain and Food Problem

Hoang Hoa District in Thanh Hoa Province has only 12,067 hectares of farmland. Over the past 20 years, Hoang Hoa has made numerous efforts and sent more than 60,000 persons (one-quarter of its population) to build new economic zones in other districts of the province and in other provinces.(1) As a result, over the past several years, Hoang Hoa District has only been able to maintain its cropland per capita average at 680 square meters.

Because it has little land and a large population, Hoang Hoa organized an effort to develop its fields in depth by means of practicing multicropping, opening new land to cultivation and practicing intensive cultivation to raise crop yields, as a result of which it has achieved marked returns from the production of grain and food products within the district.

Multicropping and the opening of new land to cultivation within the district have been carried out by means of rotation cultivation formulas and suitable allocations of crops. Some types of fields are used to raise two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop per year. Some types are used to raise two subsidiary food crops and one rice crop per year. Other types are used to raise one 10th month rice and one dry land crop. This method of operating has been clearly established in the rice fields of 21 villages, which account for more than 11,000 hectares of farmland (61 percent of the amount of area under cultivation each year within the district). The sweet potato production area, which lies in the 26 villages within the rice and subsidiary food crop growing areas in the southern portion of the district, measures from 2,500 to 4,500 hectares. Western potatoes are grown on 1,500 to 2,000 hectares. Peanut production is centralized in the 17 villages in the middle of the district and accounts for 1,000 to 1,500 hectares. By turning the land over many times through multicropping, Hoang Hoa raised 24,000 hectares of crops (the coefficient of cropland use was 1.98 times) in 1976; in 1977, it raised 25,031 hectares (the coefficient of cropland use was 2.08 times); in 1978 and 1979, it raised 25,300 hectares of crops (the coefficient of cropland use was 2.16

times) each year. In 1980, 1981 and 1982, it raised more than 27,000 hectares of crops (the coefficient of cropland use was 2.26 times) each year. This efficient use of cropland through multicropping and putting fields back into production has enabled Hoang Hoa, a district which once only had about 680 square meters of farmland per capita, to achieve an average of 1,400 square meters of farmland per capita.

Together with practicing multicropping and expanding the amount of area under cultivation, Hoang Hoa has attached importance to and initiated the intensive cultivation of crops, especially grain crops. The average rice yields per season in years in which serious natural disasters have not occurred were: 24.55 quintals per hectare in 1976; 24.9 quintals per hectare in 1979; 26.4 quintals in 1981; and 29.1 quintals in 1982. Sweet potato yields have averaged 60.7 quintals per hectare, with the highest yield being 87.6 quintals per hectare (1981). Sweet potato yields have ranged from 50 to 100 quintals per hectare and so forth.

The increases in the amount of area under cultivation and crop yields have enabled Hoang Hoa to achieve an increasingly high crop output, especially an increasingly high grain output.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Grain Output (tons)</u>	<u>Index of Growth</u>	<u>Subsidiary Food Crop Output in Paddy Equivalent (tons)</u>	<u>Subsidiary Food Crops as a % of Grain Output</u>
1975	44121	100	5440	12.3
1976	48393	109	5639	11.6
1977	45677	103	6719	14.7
1978	46033	104	10285	22.3
1979	54911	124	10003	18.2
1980+	39194	88	12405	31.6
1981	60779	137	16328	26.9
1982	63767	146	13305	21.0

(+) The 1980 10th month crop was a complete loss as a result of flooding.

The rapid growth in the amount of area under cultivation (by means of multicropping) and the rapid increase in the yields (by means of intensive cultivation) and output of subsidiary food crops and grain have provided an extremely important solution to two problems in Hoang Hoa.

First, by rapidly increasing subsidiary food crop output to the point where subsidiary food crops account for a rather large percentage of Hoang Hoa's grain, the district has successfully resolved its grain problem. In particular, during years of natural disasters and major crop losses (such as 1978 when 12,000 tons of paddy were lost to waterlogging and 1980 when heaving flooding destroyed 15,000 tons of paddy in fields), the people of Hoang Hoa, although they lacked rice, have still had subsidiary food crops to eat (especially winter subsidiary food crops), their standard of living has been stable and they have also had surplus subsidiary food crops with which to help other places.

Secondly, the increase in the production of subsidiary food crops has been the decisive factor in the rate of development of the district's hog herd. Hoang Hoa's hog herd has increased in size (number of hogs) and quality (market weight). The increase from an average of 1.7 to 1.9 hogs per hectare under cultivation during the years from 1976 to 1980 to 2.5 hogs in the years from 1980 to 1982 provided much livestock manure with which to effectively support intensive cultivation on the increasing amounts of land under cultivation. Hoang Hoa has the largest hog herd in Thanh Hoa Province, consequently, it has favorable conditions for providing food products to the people of the district and annually sells from 900 to 1,000 tons of pork, live weight, to the state; moreover, it also has sizable food product reserves, which it uses to trade for essential commodities needed to support the development of production and support everyday life within the district.

The positive efforts that have been made over a period of many years to resolve the grain and food problem (by reducing the population by sending persons to build new economic zones, implementing planned parenthood in order to maintain the rate of population growth at 1.5 percent while practicing multicropping and intensive cultivation) have yielded marked returns: on 1 hectare of cropland within the district, they produce enough grain and food to support about 5 citizens of the district (with a per capita grain consumption of 15 to 17 kilograms per month), supply to the state more than 550 kilograms of paddy (718 kilograms in 1981 and 1,140 kilograms in 1982) and produce 80 kilograms of pork, live weight. This success shows that with Hoang Hoa's method of operation, even though it is a densely populated district, it is still entirely possible to resolve the grain and food problem, stabilize and improve the standard of living of the people within the district and, in addition, provide a good supply of paddy and rice and sell many food products to the state.(2)

The above mentioned solution to the grain and food problem has not been uniformly implemented in all agricultural production areas of the district. The villages in the western portion of the district, which have water conservancy projects, have effective irrigation and drainage and have completed their farmland water conservancy projects within fields, have implemented multicropping and intensive cultivation well and produce from 400 to 600 kilograms of grain (in paddy equivalent) per capita, thereby firmly resolving their grain problem, even though they only have from 650 to 800 square meters of cropland per capita.

The cooperatives in the middle of the district have implemented intensive cultivation and achieved rice and subsidiary food crop yields similar to those that have been achieved in the area mentioned above. However, multicropping and the expansion of the amount of land under cultivation are still being limited by the lack of a complete system of drainage projects to alleviate waterlogging. The construction of the two drainage sluices along the dike in this area, which will cost about 2 million dong (in 1970 fixed prices), might enable this area to avoid the loss of hundreds of thousands of tons of paddy to flooding and waterlogging each year, restore hundreds of hectares of 10th month rice fields that have lain fallow and initiate multicropping and intensive cultivation, thereby guaranteeing stable harvests. Thus, this area will be able to develop its cropland use in depth and quickly achieve the



target of 400 to 500 tons of grain (in paddy equivalent) per capita as the above mentioned area of the district has.

In the villages in the sandy, coastal area of Hoang Hoa, an area in which many sweet potatoes used to be raised, the people once consumed primarily sweet potatoes along with shrimp and fish and used the products of shrimp and fish for livestock feed. In recent years, the villages in this area have made an effort to introduce wet rice to their sandy fields; sweet potatoes no longer occupy the dominant position in production or in the daily meals of the people. To achieve this end, Hoang Hoa District built a system of canals and ditches; however, it still does not have electricity with which to operate pumps and irrigate rice. Rainwater drains through the sandy soil very quickly. The rice grown in this area suffers a serious shortage of water, yields are low and harvests are poor. Facts have shown that converting the area's specialized subsidiary food crop growing area into an area that raises both rice and subsidiary food crops has yielded few returns and does not allow the solution of the problems of grain for humans and feed for livestock. The solution to the grain and food problem in the sandy coastal area of Hoang Hoa District is: to return to building a specialized subsidiary food crop production area by practicing multicropping and companion cropping, planting overlapping catch crops, expanding the amount of area under cultivation and practicing the intensive cultivation of high yield subsidiary food crops in order to produce a large volume of grain and provide a fundamental and stable solution to the grain problem in the form of primarily subsidiary food crops (not filler) to the citizens of the coastal area.

## II. Developing the Trade Sectors Producing Consumer and Export Goods

In each of the past several years, Hoang Hoa District has had roughly 10,000 persons working in small industry and the handicraft trades producing consumer and export goods. Despite encountering numerous difficulties with supplies, equipment, raw materials and building materials, the small industry and handicraft sector of Hoang Hoa District has still maintained a normal rate of development.

The output value of the small industry and the handicraft trades of Hoang Hoa has risen from 9.2 million dong in 1976 to 12.6 million dong in 1977; 14.2 million dong in 1978; 15 million dong in 1979; only 10.7 million dong in 1980 due to the serious damage caused to sources of raw materials by typhoons; 12 million dong in 1981; and 13.5 million dong in 1982 (calculated at fixed prices). Each year, the small industry and handicraft production of Hoang Hoa has increased by about 10 percent and accounts for approximately 28 percent of the total output value of the district's agricultural and small industry output. The handicraft trades within the agricultural cooperatives have developed better, accounting for about 70 percent of the total output value of the small industry and handicraft trades within the district (the highest output value recorded in any one year was 11.7 million dong).

Of the annual production of the small industry and handicraft trades of Hoang Hoa, about 10 percent supports agricultural production, 52 percent is in the form of consumer goods marketed within the district, 20 percent is in the form of export goods and the remaining products are sold outside the district. The

value of the products of the small industry and handicraft trades of Hoang Hoa that were exported in 1976 was nearly 1.2 million dong; this figure rose to 2.2 million dong in 1977, 2.6 million dong in 1978, nearly 2.5 million dong in 1979, more than 3 million dong in 1980, more than 3.3 million dong in 1981 and 3.5 million dong in 1982.

All of the products of the district's small industry and handicraft trades, such as mosquito netting, embroidered rugs, rush mats, woven rattan and bamboo products and so forth, are produced from raw materials brought in from outside the district. This indicates that the small industry and handicraft activities of Hoang Hoa are not stable.

Do the conditions exist within the Hoang Hoa locality to develop the production of the raw materials needed for small industry and handicraft production?

All of the land in the hamlets of Hoang Hoa can be used to raise bamboo and rattan. If the cultivation of rattan and bamboo were to be organized in accordance with an overall plan for the entire district, it would be entirely possible to provide a stable and long range supply of raw materials for expanding and developing the woven rattan and bamboo trade within the district.

Hoang Hoa District has more than 600 hectares of silt fields lying along the Cung River and the Lach Truong River, fields which are well suited to the cultivation of rushes. Recently, 200 hectares of rushes were planted. Organizing the planting of the full 600 hectares with rushes and making concerted investments in the intensive cultivation of this crop there will provide a full supply of the raw materials needed to maintain and expand the rush product trade of Hoang Hoa.

At present, Hoang Hoa has as many as 100,000 productive coconut trees, from which millions of coconuts are harvested each year. As a result, there is a rather large quantity of coconut meat in the district that is used as raw material in the extraction of oil, the production of high quality soap and the making of cakes and candies. Each year, thousands of tons of coconut fiber are used as raw materials in the production of rugs and rope for exportation. If Hoang Hoa District learns how to utilize its marketing cooperative system (which has been the leader of the Ministry of Home Trade for many years in a row, has many years of experience and has recorded many achievements in marketing activities in support of production and everyday life within the district), it is fully capable of organizing purchases through many different suitable forms in order to acquire the coconut raw material that now lies among the people and supplying it to the trades that produce products from coconuts (especially exported coconut rope) so that they can operate in a stable fashion and earn significant income for the district economy.

Hoang Hoa also has many small industry and handicraft trades that have long standing traditions and practice highly developed skills, such as the production of wood furniture, the production of building materials and so forth; however, these trades have long had to rely upon sources of raw materials outside the district. Because not enough wood can be purchased and

brought into the district, labor can be sent from Hoang Hoa into the mountain districts to operate a joint business in the harvesting of timber (including tree branches and tips), with finished wood being brought back to the carpentry trade of the district to produce household furniture and wood products serving production, construction and the housing repair needs of the people. Limestone and coal for the production of lime, bricks, tiles and so forth can be purchased on a stable basis in cash or through the trade of Hoang Hoa's agricultural and food products. The volume of transportation required will be large; if reorganized and placed under the management of the district level, the transport forces (primarily the water route transport forces) of Hoang Hoa are fully capable of performing this work...

Whether or not the small industry and the handicraft trades of the district actually do move forward to fully develop their capacity and establish a district industrial model in the initial stage of building an agro-fishing-industrial economic structure in Hoang Hoa depends upon how well implementation is organized not only by the basic level, but by the district level as well.

### III. The District's Limitations

Although it is experiencing the same set of difficult circumstances that other districts are, over the past several years, Hoang Hoa has found solutions that have enabled it to efficiently develop its production; therefore, economic activities and everyday life within the district have changed for the better. However, these economic solutions have only been implemented and yielded good results within a few individual production units and at a couple places that have favorable economic conditions and good material-technical bases; they have not been widely implemented in all production installations, all economic areas or all production sectors within the district. As a result, the economy of Hoang Hoa is still in a difficult situation and has yet to become an agro-fishing-industrial economy that has good conditions for carrying out expanded socialist reproduction. This is because the district lacks the necessary material conditions and does not have the forces needed to perform economic work.

In their work, it has always been the style of the people of Hoang Hoa to calculate economic returns, that is, to perform every job with consideration given to its final returns in order to decide a plan for organizing the job. The implementation of Secretariat directive 208, Political Bureau directive 33 and resolution 33 of the Council of Ministers on "reorganizing production and management on the basic level and within the scope of the district and building and strengthening the district level" in Hoang Hoa has also been carried out in this same cost-effective method, not in an ostentatious fashion that far exceeds the underdeveloped economic strengths of the district, in order to avoid waste and avoid harming economic development and the standard of living within the district.

Recently, Hoang Hoa District finished the reorganization of its district level apparatus based on the 15 model committees and offices set forth in the regulations of the upper level. In actuality, however, the material conditions and economic forces needed for this new organizational apparatus to

operate have not been put entirely under the district's management; therefore, this apparatus is ineffective in organizing production and managing production installations and is still in the nature of a cumbersome administrative management apparatus.

Recently, some production, business and service units were put under the management of Hoang Hoa District by the province; the majority of the remaining units of this type have required compensation for unprofitable operations for many years, consequently, they would not have the direct effect of increasing the economic strength of the district. After putting units under the management of the district, the concerned sectors on the provincial level have usually relaxed their guidance and not created favorable conditions for the units placed under the district's management to operate normally; some sectors have even posed obstacles to the district (such as putting a hog breeding farm under the management of the district but cutting the supply of feed). The highly profitable production and business installations that were constructed by the locality (such as the Xuan Tien Boat Transportation Cooperative) or installations that utilize labor and land of the district (such as the duck farm) still have not been put under the district's management in order to increase the district's economic strength.

To date, Hoang Hoa District still has not been given financial and budgetary management responsibilities. As a result, the building and management of the financial system and budget of the district have not had the effect of raising the district's level of financial management or creating the conditions for the district to increase the sources of revenue with which to support economic and cultural development within the district and provide additional capital in the form of subsidies to installations so that they can expand their business and production.

The independence of the district level and the right of the district level to assume responsibility on its own in building the district into a center equipping the cooperatives and other production installations with material-technical bases are also not being respected within Hoang Hoa District; moreover, pressure has been brought to bear that has slowed and reduced the effectiveness of the development of the district's economy. There have been some projects that the district has felt should be built first in order to rapidly put them into use, realize significant returns from their operations, reclaim capital rapidly and acquire additional material-technical forces in order to develop the economy of a large agricultural production area within the district (such as the above mentioned plan for the construction of two drainage sluices along the dike) but for which the concerned sectors on the upper level have postponed their assistance in construction. Conversely, there have been other types of projects which the district has felt it unnecessary to build as new projects (because they would require costly investments, reclaim capital slowly and provide limited support), feeling instead that only supplemental investments need be made in upgrading the material bases of existing installations in order to achieve high economic efficiency; however, the district's requests have not been granted and it has been compelled to comply with the plan for new construction of the concerned sector on the provincial level. This was the case with the newly constructed



district state-operated machine enterprise, an enterprise that is large in scale but which operates poorly and, as a result, has low economic efficiency.

Ocean fishing is an economic sector that holds large potentials within the agro-fishing-industrial economic structure of Hoang Hoa District. The district level in Hoang Hoa has long lacked authority and even not been held responsible in the organizing and management of production, the management of materials and the management of the procurement and distribution of products. As a result, Hoang Hoa District has yet to find an effective solution to the problems of its ocean fishing sector, that is, the sector's prolonged stagnation and weak development, its mounting indebtedness to the state (10 million dong at present), the flow of many fish products to the "free" market, the sale of very few fish products to the state and so forth.

The situation described above shows that Hoang Hoa has its hands tied in many areas and does not yet possess the full forces needed for the district to perform economic work.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Hoang Hoa District has maintained a population growth rate of 1.5 percent for many years in a row.
2. Hoang Hoa is among the districts and cities that lead Thanh Hoa Province in the sale of grain and food products to the state.

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NGUYEN AI QUOC, THE 1930-1931 REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE NGHE-TINH SOVIETS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 72-77

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] Immediately after it was born and following the correct strategy and tactics, our party launched the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement, built the alliance of workers and peasants and established soviet governments, as a result of which the red flag with sickle fluttered in the air in many localities in Nghe-Tinh. Although Nguyen Ai Quoc was active overseas at that time and busy with numerous jobs assigned by the Communist International, he and the Party Central Committee still observed and led the Vietnamese revolution.

Displaying a high spirit of responsibility in the face of the surging tide of the Indochinese revolution, Nguyen Ai Quoc promptly advised our Party Central Committee: "The proletariat is the army of the anti-imperialist revolution and the agrarian revolution in our country. At present, the movement is developing strongly and we must avoid causing the proletariat to make a mistake that might result in the defeat of the revolution. Therefore, the mode by which we lead the masses is extremely important and is something with which the party must be fully concerned..."(1)

Possessing deep revolutionary feelings and doing everything possible to quickly collect daily information on the struggles in Indochina during 1930 and 1931, Nguyen Ai Quoc (using the pen names K. V. or K.,V. and so forth) wrote many reports to the Communist International, the Peasants' International and the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International on the revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets, along with which he sent statistical data and comparative charts for each month and year. He clearly described the specific changes, the slogans, the nature, the scale, the results and the strengths and weaknesses of the various struggles as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the movement in Nam Ky, Trung Ky and Bac Ky. He pleaded with the Communist International, the organizations directly subordinate to it and fraternal parties to concern themselves more with the Indochinese revolutionary movement. He asked that these organizations promptly write letters encouraging the movement, that they contribute their opinions and experiences concerning the struggle, provide moral and material assistance and be the dependable rear base of the brave struggle of the people of Indochina.

When the movement was savagely terrorized by the enemy, Nguyen Ai Quoc suggested that the Communist International issue an appeal to the proletariat of the entire world to strongly support the revolutionary movement of the people of Indochina, denounce the French colonialists and block the bloody hands of the murderers. At the suggestion of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Communist International issued the appeal "Let Us Save the Indochinese Revolutionaries," one passage of which read: "Let us sound the alarm! If the international working class does not promptly and strenuously resist in order to block the hands of the murderers, they will execute our revolutionaries in Indochina"(2); and, the appeal concluded: "The international working class has the task of supporting its brothers in Indochina who are struggling to free themselves from the rule of the French imperialists and the domestic feudal class and the task of taking resolute actions to help them open the doors of the imperialist prisons in order to snatch from the grips of death all those revolutionaries who have been condemned to die."(3)

In 1930 and 1931, as a result of the appeal issued by the Communist International, a campaign was launched within the International Communist and Worker Movement against the bloody terror of the French imperialists in Indochina. The Communist International and the fraternal parties highly praised the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets in our country.

Nguyen Ai Quoc strongly inspired the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets. He praised the unparalleled spirit of brave struggle of our cadres, party members and masses during that period. He observed that the conditions did not yet exist within our country for an uprising to seize political power and that the general line of the Vietnamese revolution in 1930 and 1931 was to rally, organize and mobilize the people to struggle for their vital, daily interests, not to stage a local uprising. However, when the Nghe-Tinh soviets were established, Nguyen Ai Quoc considered them to be a great innovation of the masses. On 19 February 1931, he sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist International a report entitled "Red Nghe-Tinh," which highly evaluated the tenacious, unyielding revolutionary tradition of the people of Nghe Tinh: "Nghe Tinh became famous during the period that the French subjugated our country and in the national revolutionary movement (1905-1925). In the present struggle, the workers and peasants of Nghe Tinh have continued to firmly uphold their revolutionary tradition. Nghe-Tinh is truly worthy of the title "Red."(4)

The 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets enhanced the prestige of the Indochinese Communist Party; the oppressed masses developed even greater confidence in the leadership of the party. The laboring people of the world also expressed sympathy with the Indochinese Communist Party and the soviet governments. "The fact that the soviet governments in northern Trung Ky lasted for 4 months was a glorious page in the history of the revolutionary movement in Indochina."(5)

The 1930-1931 revolutionary movement was, in essence, a revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. The soviet governments were governments of workers and peasants under the leadership of the party of the working class. During the period in which preparations were being made to found our party, Nguyen Ai

Quoc laid the foundation for the alliance of workers and peasants. In the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement, this remarkable alliance came into being. "How glorious it is! For the first time in the history of our region's revolution, workers, peasants and soldiers have joined hands on the frontline."(6) On the momentum of this "upsurge," the voices of our workers and peasants blended as one in a shout of hatred of the imperialists and their feudal lackeys and their blood dyed the red flag with sickle in the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement.

On the basis of the realities of the worker movement and the peasant movement within the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets, Nguyen Ai Quoc voiced opinions that provided prompt, specific guidance so that the effort to build and make the alliance of workers and peasants stronger with each passing day could continue.

As regards the worker movement, Nguyen Ai Quoc, having gained experienced from the strike at the Nam Dinh Textile Mill, pointed out a number of shortcomings that our party had committed in its leadership of the worker movement. They were: the organizations of the party were not entirely in agreement with one another. The strike was not thoroughly prepared and was not organized, either. Workers were not given a clear understanding of the strike nor the methods to be employed in organizing the subsequent struggle. Party members did not know how to lead and lacked resolve. The timing of the strike was incorrect (near a payday and in the middle of a famine). Before the strike occurred, letters were sent to the French authorities and the owner of the mill, consequently, they knew about the strike in advance and suppressed it with ease. The length of the struggle caused the masses to tire. The activities of the responsible comrades were extremely obvious and resulted in the masses knowing about the plan for the struggle too early. A struggle committee was not elected prior to the start of the strike; following the strike, light attention was given to explaining to workers exactly what had happened and to gaining useful experience...

Nguyen Ai Quoc also pointed out the narrowmindedness that existed with regard to increasing trade union membership. To correct this deviation, he clearly explained the standards of a trade union member as follows: "...Every worker who realizes the need for an organization to defend his interests can join the trade union, even though that person may have no understanding of other issues. The trade union and the struggle will educate him. Trade union members who are not very active in the union or who display hesitancy in the struggle should not be expelled from the union. Revolutionary spirit is the sole prerequisite to a trade union joining the Confederation of Trade Unions. However, we should not conclude, for this reason, that every worker who joins the trade union is already a revolutionary. Some workers struggle merely for the sake of their immediate interests and know nothing at all about the revolution. However, because the trade union is an organization that has a vanguard unit and a political line, it is also a revolutionary organization."(7)

As regards the task of trade unions participating in the struggle on the anti-imperialist front, Nguyen Ai Quoc stated: "A trade union must participate in the struggle on the anti-imperialist front as a member of the collective.



Many persons think that by joining the front a trade union loses its independence. However, it continues to be independent and continues to conduct its own work. A trade union only joins the front for the purpose of participating in the common struggle against imperialism."(8)

Nguyen Ai Quoc also advised the delegates of the various civilian proselyting committees to meet and study ways to successfully organize trade unions within their localities (regions, provinces, etc.). Thorough preparations had to be made for the holding of worker congresses on the various levels. The holding of congresses had to be thoroughly discussed within each trade union organization. Every trade union had to thoroughly research the worker situation in order to be able to make recommendations concerning their main aspirations. The press must debate the congresses of workers...

As regards the peasant movement, Nguyen Ai Quoc, having gained experience from the struggles waged by the peasants of Thai Binh Province, pointed out several shortcomings: the failure to organize a reserve force that could strengthen the movement; the failure to tell the masses the objective of the struggle; the failure to prevent bourgeoisie and spies from infiltrating the movement; the failure to tell the masses who all of the leaders of the struggle were; and the failure to gain experience from the struggles waged by the peasants of Nghe An. Nguyen Ai Quoc also observed that the struggle of the peasants in Bac Ky had not achieved good results because of the following reasons: the party did not have sufficient forces to lead the struggle of the masses well; the various organizations of the party were not truly closely linked to one another; there was a lack of communication among Bac Ky, Trung Ky and Nam Ky and one region did not gain experience from another.

While researching the Indochinese peasant movement, Nguyen Ai Quoc expressed his thoughts to the Party Central Committee concerning a matter of revolutionary strategy: "We have yet to mention the importance of the agrarian revolution in each stage of the revolution. The relationship between the peasant and agrarian issue and the revolution has not been made very clear."(9) In addition, he said: "The Declaration on the Agrarian Issue reads in part 'we advocate the return of cropland to middle peasants and poor peasants'; the way in which this sentence is written and the fact that middle peasants are placed before poor peasants might cause some misunderstandings..."(10). On this basis, he offered many opinions that provided very correct guidance: the peasant masses must be made clearly aware of their plight and see the need to struggle against the imperialists, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. It was necessary to teach the significance of the agrarian revolution to the masses and explain to them the basic goals of the democratic bourgeois revolution. They had to be shown the need to align themselves with the working class and be led by the communist party, the vanguard unit of the working class. Propaganda had to be conducted to build opposition to the Reformist Council, to every reform, to every group and party of a nationalist nature. The Peasant Confederation had to publish a newspaper and encourage peasants to write articles in it. Poor peasants and middle peasants had to be brought within the Peasant Association. During the early period of the revolutionary movement, some wealthy peasants might join with poor peasants and middle peasants only to resist the revolution later; therefore, they could not, from the very outset, be allowed to join the

peasant association and their influence upon poor peasants and middle peasants had to be prevented. The peasant association had to establish close ties with the trade unions. Peasants and workers accepted the supreme political leadership of the party but had to distinguish between the party and the organizations of the peasant association and trade unions. The party had to propagandize its line through its own cadres. When propagandizing the policy of the party, cadres had to use persuasion, not orders, and had to make every effort to give the peasant masses confidence in the party.

Very concerned with leading peasants in the struggle, Nguyen Ai Quoc reminded party members to rely upon the general line of the party when leading the struggles of peasants; to coordinate the economic struggle with the political struggle and use every opportunity to spread the thinking of the agrarian revolution and encourage peasants to organize self-defense units. The demands of peasants were: politically, they demanded the freedom to form associations, the freedom to hold meetings and freedom of speech; they opposed the white terror, opposed the sending of peasants to work as coolies at plantations and to other colonies... Economically, they demanded the reduction of taxes, the repeal of the head tax, the reduction of land rents, the elimination of the land lease system and the abolishment of servile labor. Poor peasants demanded an increase in wages, the reduction of work hours, social security and time off with pay. Preparations for the struggle had to first involve a propaganda campaign to gain the participation in the struggle of the vast majority of the masses; once the necessary conditions existed, large-scale struggles had to be organized. In order to combat the enemy's oppression, thorough preparations had to be made and each struggle had to be led in accordance with a plan; the peasant self-defense units had to be developed and trained. Peasants had to be made aware of their forces and their role. They had to understand that every act of individualism and every inclination to employ terror was contrary to the revolutionary line of the party. It was necessary to explain to peasants that only a strong and organized force could contend with the campaign of white terror of the enemy. Leading the peasantry meant thoroughly researching the local situation in order to launch a mass movement. Every struggle had the objective of expanding the influence of the party and the Peasant Association and the objective of drawing the masses into the Peasant Association...

Also on the basis of the realities of the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets, Nguyen Ai Quoc expressed very much concern for guiding the effort to build a party that was strong and solid politically, ideologically and organizationally, because it was the factor of special importance insuring the victory of the revolution.

The cadres and members of the party were forged and challenged in the revolutionary movement but did not have the opportunity to systematically study Marxism-Leninism or the line and policies of the party. For this reason, in order to provide cadres and party members with a stronger grasp of theory, a stronger grasp of politics and deeper work experience, Nguyen Ai Quoc proposed to the Party Central Committee that it establish a committee consisting of five comrades in charge of party member propaganda and training; that a four page newspaper called TIEN PHONG be published two times each week; and that it organize a training school offering a 1 month course of study in

the following subjects: political terms, the nature and objectives of the party, the platform of the party, the organization of the party, party chapters and the worker-peasant movement (with changes gradually being made to this program of study as experience was gained). On the other hand, Nguyen Ai Quoc also suggested to the Communist International that it hold a class to provide training to cadres of our party in Hong Kong. (\*) To strengthen the working class nature of the party, Nguyen Ai Quoc, together with attaching importance to the education of cadres and party members, also concerned himself with giving party members assignments within the worker movement and, when developing the party, he gave his attention to building the working class component among party members.

In a letter entitled "Criticism of the Resolutions of the Central Committee" in 1931, he expressed the following correct and profound thoughts: "...The sentence 'the party is the command staff of the Trade Union' is too narrow in meaning; it should read 'the party is the general staff of the proletariat and laboring people.'

As regards Soviet Russia, we should also say 'the Russian proletariat seized political power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.'

It is incorrect to say 'temporary economic instability'; rather, the matter should be presented as it is in the resolution of the Communist International: 'Partial stability and temporary instability.'

We must more clearly explain the relationship between the Indochinese revolution and the world revolution."(11)

Nguyen Ai Quoc criticized the Party Central Committee and the regional party committees for their formal, ineffective, less than thorough workstyle which was not suited to the situation or to clandestine work...

As regards work methods, he pointed out: the regional party committees must issue directives that clearly explain why these shortcomings were committed and clearly define the work methods to be employed from this point onward.

The secretaries of the regional and provincial party committees were instructed to no longer take over every job within the locality. Every party committee had to define the tasks of each party chapter and party member. Only in this way could each person have a specific responsibility to fulfill.

Directives sent to the party chapters had to be easily understood so that the members of the chapters could debate and research their implementation; attention had to be given to inspecting the work performed by the party organizations on the lower level.

The executive committees of the various organizations of the party had to include comrades who volunteered to work for the party committee when the enemy was conducting their campaign of terror, or these persons could take the place of any party committee member who was absent.



As regards immediate work, Nguyen Ai Quoc emphasized: "We must explain to party members the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and rectify shortcomings while struggling against erroneous tendencies.

Nguyen Ai Quoc also criticized the way in which the Trung Ky and Bac Ky Regional Party Committees held their conferences: "Prior to conferences being held, no one, not party members or the comrades in charge, researches the various issues. Issues are not brought forth for discussion until conferences are held, and this practice surely results in issues not being thoroughly debated. Conferences are too long (18 sessions for the Trung Ky Regional Party Committee and 13 days for the Bac Ky Regional Party Committee) and waste much time without the issues being fully discussed."(12)

Although submerged by the French imperialists in a sea of blood, the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe-Tinh soviets proved the tenacious fighting spirit and the abundant revolutionary capabilities of our people under the leadership of the party and Nguyen Ai Quoc. The Communist International and the Central Committee of our party expressed very high praise for the service performed by Nguyen Ai Quoc in the Indochinese revolutionary movement, in general, and the Vietnamese revolutionary movement, in particular, during that period.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Concerning the Resolutions of the Indochinese Communist Party," material on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee.
2. Excerpt from the article "Let Us Save the Indochinese Revolutionaries!" printed in CU TINH QUOC TE Journal (anonymous), No 44, 1930, p 516.
3. Ibid., p 517.
4. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Red Nghe Tinh," 19 February 1931 (document of the Institute of Party History Research of the Marx-Lenin Institute).
5. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "In Commemoration of the 4th Anniversary of the Founding of the Indochinese Communist Party"(document on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
6. Excerpt from "Appeal to Workers, Peasants and Soldiers by the Party Central Committee in June, 1930" (document on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
7. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "News on the Struggle in Trung Ky"(document on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
8. Ibid.
9. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Criticism of the Resolutions of the Central Committee," 1931 (document on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).



10. Ibid.

\* Where the work office of Nguyen Ai Quoc was located.

11. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Criticism of the Resolutions...".

12. Excerpt from letter written by Nguyen Ai Quoc in April, 1931, to the Party Central Committee (document on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).

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## A VALUABLE BOOK ON YOUTHS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 78-83

[Book Review by Tien Hai]

[Text] "Youth in the Cause of Building and Defending the Socialist Fatherland"(\*) is a valuable book. It is valuable primarily because it is a work of a profound theoretical and practical nature. It is also valuable because it expresses the love and respect, the special concern of Le Duan, the general secretary of our party, for youths and the youth movement.

Consisting of 150 pages, "Youth in the Cause of Building and Defending the Socialist Fatherland" raises and answers many basic questions concerning youth and work involve youth. Every issue from confirming the role and position of youths in the revolution to pointing out the weaknesses and shortcomings of youths and the youth movement, setting guidelines for the struggle and the forging of youths, defining the responsibilities of the Youth Union, the party, the state and all society toward youths and the youth movement and so forth is presented in a scientific, concise, profound, vivid and detailed manner.

To discuss youths is to discuss a special social force that has a very important role and position in the revolution. Under the leadership of the party and President Ho, four successive generations of Vietnamese youths, along with all the people, have recorded countless achievements over the past half century and more: defeating the two imperialist powers, France and the United States, toppling old style colonialism and neo-colonialism in our country, bringing the 30 year war of liberation to a conclusion, completing the reunification of the country and then winning victory over the two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. And, today, along with the people of the entire country, youths are carrying out the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

At present, in the new stage of the revolution, the role and position of the young generation have not diminished one bit, rather, they have increased in importance many times. Numbering more than 14 million, youths are present everywhere and account for a very high percentage of the persons within the economic, technical and national defense sectors: 65 percent in industry, in

general (80 percent within the modern industrial sectors); 52 percent within agriculture; 60 percent of the core of middle level technical cadres; 40 percent of the corps of high level technical cadres; and more than 80 percent of the armed forces.

The issue is quite clear but, to this day, there are still more than a few persons who still hold youths in very low regard. They failed to see the basic strengths of youths and only give their attention to the weaknesses and shortcomings of youths in order to conclude that youths are not dependable, that youths are far inferior to adults, etc. Le Duan harshly criticizes these incorrect points of view. He says: "At present, many persons hold youths in low regard, maintaining that they are inferior to adults. This is not at all correct. According to the laws of evolution of society, each generation is more progressive than the one that preceded it"(\*\*)(p 126). Le Duan also confirms: "There must be a large stratum of youths who are rich in enthusiasm, dare to assume responsibility, fear no difficulty, are sensitive to the new and rapidly accept the new in order for the revolution to be accelerated and continue to move forward. Thus, youths are not only the shock force, they also place the role as nucleus in the revolution"(p 25). And, "Only when youth are strong can the nation be strong"(p 89).

Having correctly defined the important role and position of youths in the revolution, Le Duan very highly evaluates the contributions and the extraordinary growth of our country's young generation. It is a generation that has always "manifested boundless loyalty to the fatherland, to socialism, to the people and to the party, has always taken the lead on every revolutionary front, overcome every difficulty and hardship and recorded countless heroic achievements, thereby making very large contributions to the great victories of the nation"(p 130).

Fighting under the banner of the party and with the wholehearted care shown them by the new system, the young generation has displayed fine revolutionary qualities and abundant creativity. Countless youths have become outstanding sons of the country, recorded earth-shattering feats of arms and glorious achievements in many fields, displayed the bravery and intelligence of the nation and brought glory to the country, to the Vietnamese fatherland.

Following in the tradition of the soldiers who symbolized youth prior to the August Revolution and during the wars of resistance against France and the United States, such as Ly Tu Trong, Nguyen Hoang Ton, Tran Van On, Vo Thi Sau, Cu Chinh Lan, Mac Thi Bui, Nguyen Van Troi, Le Thi Hong Gam, Tran Thi Tam, Quach Thi Trang, Ho Thi Ky and so forth, today, in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland, new bright examples of revolutionary heroism are being set by Le Dinh Chinh, Nguyen Ba Lai, Hoang Thi Hong Chiem, Dinh Trong Lich, Le The Bui and tens of thousands of outstanding young persons and collectives of model youths among manual workers, farmers, army troops, students, teachers and persons working in the fields of science, technology, culture and art.

For this reason, Le Duan, with profound confidence and deep love and respect, states: "Our party and people are very proud of our beloved young generation. The Party Central Committee has a high evaluation of the tremendous

contributions and the extraordinary growth of our country's young generation, of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and is confident that today's youth will always display their revolutionary nature, constantly endeavor to bring themselves to the level of their historic task, uphold the glorious tradition and cause of the party in an outstanding manner and always be worthy of being the sons and daughters of the heroic nation of Vietnam, of the great President Ho Chi Minh"(p 131).

Together with highly evaluating the tremendous role and position and the contributions and growth of youths in the revolution, Le Duan also points out the shortcomings and weaknesses of youths and the youth movement. He says: "Although it has recorded many achievements, our youth movement is still marked by many shortcomings and difficulties. Generally speaking, the movement is not truly uniform or strong. We must promptly summarize the experiences that have been gained, look for shortcomings and define their causes in order to rectify them and further accelerate the movement.

The reasons why the youth movement is not uniform or strong are many. However, the basic problem is that the revolutionary spirit of a rather large number of Youth Union members and youths does not meet the demands of the weighty revolutionary tasks being faced now"(p 6).

The revolutionary spirit of some Youth Union members and youths is declining. This is a fact. And, it is a problem with which Le Duan is very concerned. Under the arduous and harsh circumstances of the war, very many youths sacrificed everything, lacked sufficient food, wore tattered clothing and never complained or demanded anything; "under the peaceful conditions that exist now, there are, even among these heroes, persons who are unhappy about their wages, about what they are receiving, about their position and future and are not truly content with their work. Although their revolutionary spirit should be higher in the socialist revolution, the will to struggle of some persons has, in fact, declined"(p 9). "Within the army of persons who are marching enthusiastically toward the frontline in response to the appeal by our great fatherland, an army whose course is still a winding one, there are some persons who still have questions in their hearts and even some persons who have abandoned the course mid-way because of the temptations of individual considerations"(p 56). And, Le Duan is not encouraged by the fact that "some youths, when discussing the important work of the state at meetings, feel as though they are being forced and behave in their daily lives and at work as though they were exhausted and disinterested"(p 11).

In addition, in the face of the difficulties now being encountered with the economy and in everyday life, "besides the majority of youths and strata of the people who have a correct attitude toward these difficulties and act correctly, there are some persons who view the situation in a distorted manner, as a result of which they have wavered, become pessimistic, lost confidence and lost some of their will to struggle and a small number of persons who have fallen by the wayside in the face of the psychological warfare efforts of the enemy"(p 134).

In order for youths to excellently complete their glorious historic mission in the new stage and always be worthy of being the shock force of the revolution



and the nation, Le Duan points out several very basic and practical steps that must be taken:

To begin with, as regards youths themselves, Le Duan states: "The most important matter facing our youths at this time is to cultivate revolutionary spirit"(p 14). "Youth is the time of life in which to make contributions. If we give too much thought to enjoyment and place personal pleasure above serving the revolution, serving the fatherland, we demean the qualities of a revolutionary youth and waste the best days of our lives. Youths should make sacrificing and struggling for the revolution the greatest happiness in their lives and not allow their revolutionary zeal to turn cool because of what they think they have lost as individuals. Someone who thinks only about material interests, only about his own interests, is poor, even if he lives in a mansion and eats the finest of foods, because his mind is empty and his heart does not beat in rhythm with the revolution"(pp 83-84). Heightening one's spirit of revolutionary struggle is a very important requirement of each and every patriot. This requirement has even greater importance to youths because, "if they do not heighten their spirit of revolutionary struggle, youths will fail to fulfill their weighty and glorious task in the new stage"(p 10). When one possesses a high revolutionary spirit, there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome, there is no job that cannot be performed.

Developing such a revolutionary spirit is not at all easy. It requires that each Youth Union member and youth "constantly improve themselves and always practice self-criticism and criticism, because self-criticism and criticism are the law of progress, are a good weapon for forging one's thinking"(pp 76-77). "They must clearly understand the fundamentals of communism...; it is not enough for them to diligently study and learn from books, newspapers and magazines, rather, they must learn within the realities of the revolutionary struggle, within labor and production, within a closeness to the lives of workers and farmers"(p 77). It is necessary to overcome petty bourgeois thinking and the thinking of individualism because, "if petty bourgeois thinking is not eliminated, it will weaken the revolutionary will, weaken the militant corps and cast a shadow over the socialist ethics of our revolutionary young generation"(p 76).

Together with forging the working class stand and heightening their revolutionary spirit, Le Duan demands that youths constantly endeavor to increase their knowledge of the revolution. He says: "Carrying out a revolution not only demands revolutionary spirit, it also demands an understanding of the revolution, demands revolutionary knowledge. It is not enough to merely possess revolutionary spirit. We must combine an intense revolutionary zeal and enthusiasm with a scientific and precise knowledge of things. The purpose of carrying out a revolution is to become the master of things, to command things, to force them to develop in accordance with our projections and serve the interests of the people.

Revolutionary knowledge helps us to see the objectives of our fight and the guidelines governing our activities. If we only possess enthusiasm but do not follow the correct course, we will fall into an abyss and sometimes even cause major harm to the revolution.

Revolutionary knowledge also helps us to fully strengthen our revolutionary spirit. If we only possess spirit but do not see the objective of our fight, our revolutionary spirit, instead of being raised, might decline if our revolutionary activities are unsuccessful"(pp 13-14).

There is no other way for youths to deepen their revolutionary knowledge than by studying: studying Marxism-Leninism, studying the lines and policies of the party, studying culture and, in particular, studying to learn science and technology. Le Duan points out: "Achieving a firm grasp of science and technology is a very important and pressing task of youths; because, if they do not occupy the battle positions of science and technology, they cannot talk about building modern industry, building a modern agriculture. This is a strenuous task. The production of material wealth demands arduous labor; studying to learn science and technology is no less difficult. We must be industrious, diligent, determined and persistent, must endure hardships and difficulty in order to achieve results in our studies. Only such youths can fulfill their task for the country"(p 32). He also assigns youths the task of "assuming the important and glorious responsibility of rapidly delving into science and technology in order to learn, within a relatively short amount of time, the scientific and technical knowledge within all sectors"(p 59).

Youth are the new strata of persons; therefore, they must take the lead in building and implementing a new style of life, the cultured style of life, the socialist style of life. This is another requirement that Le Duan establishes for youths. "Youths must cultivate within themselves the consciousness and the habit of respecting and complying with the law and must live a law-abiding and disciplined style of life"(p 118). "More than anyone else, youths must protect the state government and fulfill all the obligations of the citizen, such as the obligation to defend the fatherland, the obligation to work and the obligation to study"(p 119). "Youths must always love and respect the people. This sentiment, this consciousness must be manifested in their style of life, in their daily contacts with the people"(p 122). "In their relationships with friends, youths must display true love and unity toward one another. They must be honest, forthright and open; they must not deal with one another through trickery, lie to one another or be jealous of one another. They must sympathize with and respect one another, share one another's joys and concerns and help one another make constant progress"(p 124). "Youths must have the correct view toward love; most importantly, they should not consider falling in love at too young an age, that is, before they have an independent life of their own. True, lasting and beautiful love is not some romantic, fleeting passion, but based on mutual respect, on consideration for each other's disposition and opinions and on a closeness to each other in terms of ideals in order to always help each other make progress throughout life and encourage each other to fulfill obligations to society"(p 124). "In their relationships with teenagers and children, Youth Union members and youths must, as the persons in charge...be worthy of being the older brothers and sisters who wholeheartedly care for, teach, guide and protect children. Children always look up to youths, to the persons who are slightly older than they and learn from and imitate them. Whatever youths are, children will be. Therefore, Youth Union members and youths must set good examples for teenagers and children to follow"(p 125).

In order for youths to be able to complete their glorious historic mission for the revolution and the nation, youths, themselves, must, of course, make every

effort to struggle and forge themselves. However, this is not enough. In view of the fact that the party is leading the state government, Le Duan requests that all party organizations, government organizations, mass organizations and all society fully concern themselves with youths and the youth movement. He observes: "From the very moment that it was born, our party has attached very much importance to the education of youths. In the recent past, we have performed this job well, but not as fully or thoroughly as it could have been performed"(p 111). And, "at certain times and places, the various party organizations have not fully concerned themselves with Youth Union work. This shortcoming must be rectified"(p 22).

The Youth Union, which is the organization that is directly responsible for mobilizing and educating youths, must display a higher spirit of responsibility and build and strengthen its organization from the central to the local and basic levels so that it is truly a strong and solid organization. Because, "only by building a strong and solid Youth Union organization is it possible for the Youth Union to serve as the competent arm of the party and possible for it to achieve the strength needed to complete the tasks assigned by the party.

The youth movement is a revolutionary movement of the masses, and the masses of youths are right in villages, enterprises, agencies, schools, army units, etc. The organizations that directly lead the mass of youths are primarily the basic organizations of the Youth Union, that is, the Youth Union chapters. To lead the revolutionary movement of the mass of youths, it is first of all necessary to strengthen the Youth Union chapters so that they become the worthy representatives of the Youth Union Central Committee within every locality and unit and, at the same time, represent the will and aspirations of the mass of youths on the basic level"(p 20). As regards the leadership of the Youth Union Central Committee, "of utmost importance is the need to keep abreast of what is happening on the basic level, keep abreast of what is happening within the revolutionary movement of the mass of youths, promptly discover the creative experiences of the masses and summarize, disseminate and develop upon these experiences in order to stimulate the advance of the youth movement"(p 21).

Together with Le Duan's previously published works on youths, "Youth in the Cause of Building and Defending the Socialist Fatherland" has further enhanced the theoretical base of the youth movement and truly become a beacon guiding the youth movement in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Le Duan's work was published by Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, in 1982.
- \*\* The passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers within parentheses are taken from "Youth in the Cause of Building and Defending the Socialist Fatherland."

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## THE URGENT AND WIDESPREAD OFFENSIVE FOR PEACE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 83 pp 84-88

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] The large corps of militants struggling to safeguard world peace has entered the new campaigns of 1983.

Recently, in March, more than 460,000 peace militants in the German Federal Republic staged "sieges" around U.S. bases, enterprises producing modern weapons and the positions that have been prepared to receive Pershing II and Cruise missiles from the United States... More than 200,000 British peace militants joined hands in "sieges" around the Graham Common Air Base of the United States, the Boc-phin [Vietnamese phonetics] Nuclear Warhead Production Plant, the On-to-ma-xton [Vietnamese phonetics] Nuclear Research Center and the submarine base on the Clyde River. An intense effort is underway throughout Japan to collect tens of millions of signatures in the struggle for peace. In Greece, a huge meeting attended by more than 100,000 peace militants in the center of the capital Athens demanded the dismantling of U.S. military bases in that country.

All of this is only the beginning. The struggle for peace in 1983 will be the most widespread, the most intense and the most resolute display of forces, a worldwide display of forces, designed to block the criminal hands of the most bellicose powers and safeguard peace on this planet.

### No One Can Sleep Peacefully

No one who is following the present world situation can sleep soundly. A true danger is weighing heavily upon the lives of the more than 4 billion people on this planet. It is the danger of a nuclear war; a nuclear war, even a small one, will inevitably escalate into a destructive war of worldwide proportions.

In the world today there are nearly 50,000 nuclear warheads and more than 10,000 means for launching them, which include medium and long-range missiles together with strategic aircraft... According to calculations made by weapons experts, if the total number of convention and nuclear bombs on the face of the earth now was converted into ordinary TNT, there would be more than 4 tons of explosives per person! Weapons experts of the United States and Great



Britain as well as the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have calculated that if all these bombs were used in one global conflict, they would not only inflict horrible damage to the majority of life on this planet, but also create horrible consequences for everything that survives in the radioactive environment in the air, at sea and on land.

There are already too many weapons of mass murder on our planet. Yet, the imperialist ruling circles continue to devote their efforts to the arms race, the scale of which is larger than ever before. In the next 5 years, the Reagan administration plans to allocate 1.8 trillion dollars for the U.S. defense budget, that is, twice as much as during the previous 5 years. The United States and the other imperialist countries are still unwilling to enter into serious negotiations for the purpose of reaching agreement on ceasing all nuclear weapons tests, ceasing the production of all types and all quantities of nuclear weapons and then destroying some and eventually all nuclear weapons so that life on this planet is more secure and stable, as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have frequently proposed.

The persons living on this planet cannot sleep soundly when the authorities and strategists of the United States and West are talking about the possible outbreak of a "limited war," a "theater nuclear war" and even a "general nuclear war" and making plans to win victory in these wars! They talk about nuclear wars killing hundreds and thousands of millions of persons with the matter-of-fact, indifferent and irresponsible attitude of persons who are quite used to committing crimes.

**Now or Never!**

The security of the peaceful life on this planet is being seriously threatened. In the resolute, steadfast and long struggle to maintain world peace, this year of 1983 occupies a position of special importance.

In 1983, the people of the world, including Americans, are raising stern, clear and unequivocal voices against the large-scale arms race that the bellicose powers in Washington and Western Europe are stubbornly pursuing with a view toward disrupting the present East-West balance of military forces, the serious consequences of which to mankind cannot be fully measured.

In 1983, the people of the world, especially the people of Western Europe and the United States, are raising stern, clear and unequivocal voices against the intention of the United States to begin, in December, 1983, the installation of 572 medium-range missiles in the countries of Europe, thereby causing the threat of nuclear war on this continent to increase drastically, with very serious consequences to world security and peace.

In 1983, the peace loving people of the entire world are raising stern, clear and unequivocal voices against a host of strategic schemes of the ringleaders of the imperialists in America: making space a target of war; accelerating the mass production of the neutron bomb, a bomb that thoroughly destroys life with virtually no damage to buildings, a bomb that the United States brazenly calls "the clean bomb"; having U.S. military forces or mercenaries of the United States intervene or be ready to intervene in the Middle East, in

Central America and the Caribbean and in South Africa; and insanely implementing the highly dangerous strategy of U.S. President Reagan: the strategy of direct confrontation in every region of the world.

We cannot waver or hesitate any longer! If the random development of nuclear weapons is not promptly prevented, if the bellicose extremist powers, such as the Israeli zionists and the racist regime in South Africa, are not prevented from obtaining the nuclear bomb, the situation will be difficult to control.

In this year of 1983, the display by hundreds of millions of persons on this planet of the highest possible will to struggle will make it possible to create a new situation, to bring about a new turning point, to force the last bellicose powers of imperialism to withdraw and to eventually establish a new detente and create a new trend that increasingly favors the forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

The struggle to safeguard world peace is in a very difficult and serious period. Peace militants must be alert and take the initiative. The criminal plans formulated by Washington cannot be allowed to be implemented before arising in struggle. By then, it will be too late! Actions must be taken immediately. It is necessary to take urgent, determined, calm and effective action with the justifiable confidence that the peace-loving forces of the world will surely achieve their noble goal.

#### A Powerful and Spirited Army

The army struggling to safeguard world peace at this time is more powerful than ever before. The people of all continents have been and are awakening. The national liberation movement resisting every colonialist power, both old and new, is stronger than ever before. In 1982, tens of millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals in the United States, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy and so forth went into the streets in record numbers to struggle for peace. In 1983, the struggle will surely be waged even more strongly, thereby drawing to it even more people.

The movement to safeguard world peace has gained much experience and employs countless methods of struggle that are very creative. They range from bilateral exchanges and talks and conferences within individual localities, sector or circles to large international conferences; from the publication of books and newspaper articles that systematically present each major issue with which mankind is concerned to the organizing of exhibits of propaganda paintings and the dissemination of songs, styles of dancing and documentary films; from widespread efforts to obtain signatures to large meetings to display the will and determination to struggle for peace; from the organizing of walks and bicycle trips by hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of persons to the releasing of birds of peace and balloons bearing large slogans and banners; from large sailing festivals with large peace symbols printed on thousands of sails to the "besieging" of missile bases and nuclear submarine bases of the bellicose powers conducted by peace armies consisting of pupils, students, engineers, teachers, housewives, mothers carrying babies or pushing hundreds of baby carriages and so forth.

In 1983, the peace movement is beckoning to every person in every field of activity, to every circle to join its ranks. Now, more than ever before, each person on this planet must stand up and become the master of his or her life, a life which is truly being threatened. Doctors are standing over their patients to perform surgery upon them or bring them through a dangerous illness; great effort is expended to save but one life! Thus, is there one public health worker of conscience in the world who is not indignant over the fact that the warmongerers are always eager to push the button and bring death to tens and hundreds of millions of lives in a nuclear conflict!

The imperialist ringleaders have very little regard for the struggle waged by the people. However, they cannot help but shake with fear in the face of the decisive struggle being waged by hundreds of millions of persons who have simultaneously deployed themselves on all continents and are employing a wide variety of forms and will continue to display their power and their steadfast spirit until their goal has been achieved.

The present struggle for peace is a great struggle, one unprecedented in history, one that encompasses the basic forces of mankind: manual workers, farmers, intellectuals and so forth in an alliance with the other strata and classes for the purpose of firmly maintaining peace on earth. This corps consists of persons from all walks of life, all age groups, all occupations, all religions, all races and all cultures.

Taking the lead in this great struggle are the communists, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, whose ambition it is to liberate mankind from oppression and exploitation and from wars of aggression. The world socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, is the citadel of peace in the world. Socialism is a social system that is closely linked to peace, to friendship among nations. The great military might of the Soviet Union and the military might of the fraternal socialist countries, which are constantly being strengthened, are sufficient to deter even the hottest heads among the imperialist warmongerers; they are dependable forces in protecting the creative labors of the people of the entire world and effectively opposing the aggressive, adventurous powers of the present age.

The psychological war machine of the imperialists and the expansionists and hegemonists, which specializes in deceiving public opinion, places the Soviet Union on a par with the United States and the socialist countries on a par with the imperialist countries; they falsely state that the tragedy of war will be the result of the "threat posed by the Soviet Union," of "the ambition of communism"; they try to deceive public opinion into thinking that the struggle must be waged against both the Soviet Union and the United States, the two countries that have the largest nuclear forces; at the same time, they falsely accuse the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of impeding the negotiations on reducing strategic weapons, ending the arms race and so forth.

Widespread public opinion in the world has a very high evaluation of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. At the United Nations, the Soviet government has solemnly pledged to not use nuclear weapons first and has requested that the America side and the allies of the United States do likewise. However,



the U.S. government has rejected this request. This shows who it is that truly desires peace and who is purposely pursuing a scheme to unleash war.

#### Alert, United and Creative

All of the peace militants on earth are throwing themselves into a widespread offensive to protect the beautiful life that exists on this planet. Within this worldwide movement, ideological work has become very important.

We cannot simply think that because the forces of peace are stronger than the bellicose powers, the struggle can be relaxed. The imperialist, militarist ruling circles and the corporations that produce weapons, especially strategic weapons, are small in number but control huge war machines. Their greed for profit and their ambition to conquer the world are boundless. As a result, we can never relax our vigilance. Under present conditions, we can never be vigilant enough because a nuclear war can break out as a result of mistaken, blind calculations by the ringleaders of imperialism or as a result of technical difficulties, an alert sounded by mistake, incorrect information and so forth. A nuclear war will be a war conducted by pushing buttons, a war involving high speed electronic computers; when it breaks out, it will immediately become an uncontrollable wild horse.

Soviet strategists have also raised the possibility that a nuclear war could break out because a responsible officer within the imperialist war machine, because of insanity or one of many other reasons, pushes the button that launches a nuclear warhead and causes a large-scale war to break out... Checking the nerves, the psychological state of the military personnel within the war machine has become a serious matter in the age of nuclear weapons.

We should not think that the militants struggling within the peace movement lack weapons that have deterrent strength or lack the ability to persuade the imperialist ringleaders. The imperialists have contempt for the masses but become very frightened when the masses arise in a spirited, steadfast and widespread struggle. Therefore, the peace movement must become a movement of intense activities conducted by hundreds of millions of persons on all continents and directed by them toward the imperialist ruling circles. The movement must align itself with every force with which it can align itself and must win the support of every force and individual whose support it can win. Many generals and admirals of France, Italy, the German Federal Republic, America, Spain, Greece, Portugal and so forth are participating in the struggle for peace in many different ways. A number of bourgeois politicians, senators, governors and former secretaries of state in the United States and the other Western countries as well as some capitalists and owners of large corporations that produce consumer goods are opposed to the arms race and direct confrontation policies of the Reagan administration. The movement to safeguard peace and oppose the arms race is highly humanitarian in nature and will have a tremendous impact upon the goal of building a life of security and prosperity on earth. The shift of huge funds away from the arms race and to peaceful construction will generate countless wealth for mankind.



In order to develop upon its positive impact, the peace movement must employ a wide variety of creative forms and methods of struggle that are of a profound mass nature and are suited to each place, each time and each walk of life.

The imperialist ringleaders, especially the U.S. administration headed by Reagan over the past 2 years, having set detente to one side, are implementing a radical and bellicose political policy that advocates direct confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist communist and planning for a destructive nuclear war with a view toward satisfying their insane ambitions.

Fully aware of the clear danger of a nuclear war, the entire community of man is mobilizing its spiritual and material potentials in order to block the hands of those who would unleash war and safeguard peace on earth.

The year 1983 will surely be recorded in history as a year in which the powerful forces of peace on earth reached a new level of development in both size and quality, achieved a combined strength, thwarted the bellicose actions of the ringleaders of the aggressors, brought about a turning point in the world political situation and erected a milestone of unequalled beauty ushering in a new period of detente through new victories by the great struggle for peace in the months ahead.

The banner of safeguarding world peace is being brandished on all continents. It is the banner of the awakened consciences, the banner of the solidarity, the banner of the struggle, the banner of the inevitable victory of progressive mankind.

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